

TRUANCY: EXPLORATIONS IN SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY

FIONA M. SPENCER PATERSON

PH.D.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

1986



The work for this thesis is my own,
and it has been composed by myself.

ABSTRACT

Truancy is being out of place. Discussions of this entail questions of an individual's relation to the normality of schooling and relations of authority within a particular social order. In considering this, the thesis examines the way in which schooling links particular forms of the family with the state, through relations of class, gender and age in a process of identity-formation. This is analysed in terms of social cartography. It involves the explication of the social map of 'the truant', and makes it possible to explain how one particular order of social relations has come to be defined as an educational necessity, and how alternatives have consequently been marginalised as 'problems' for a system of schooling.

Initially, the argument deals with issues at the level of class relations. There is a discussion of how specific programmes of power, based on a mode of constituting space and time which was congruent with relations of industrial capital, became translated into a problem of the neutral administration of the state apparatus for eradicating problematic schooling. It is maintained that the rules involved in implementing this contained an implicit agenda for social action which made possible the structuring of the formalised identity of teacher and, in consequence, that of pupil. The example of teachers is used to show the way in which state policy could embody contradiction. This illustrates, not only that institutions spawned their own programmes, but also that these could operate as constraints and resources for negotiating strategies of those involved in schooling.

The application of state rules to existing schooling provision involved distinguishing situations and actions which were officially acceptable/unacceptable. Through a discussion of what is termed *formalised* and *in-formed* identity (that is, officially promoted identity and individual interpretations of this), there will be an explanation given as to how this marginalised particular forms of family relations, by rendering them problematic for schooling. As a result, there has been the emergence of the *problem family*.

The final stage of the argument concerns the way in which 'neutralised' institutional changes enabled the channelling of overtly class-based concerns into those which were overtly individual (though covertly class-based). This fostered a shift from an apparent harmony between formalised and in-formed identity being an indication of class members knowing their place , to becoming the basis for individuals being able to ascend the hierarchy of school assessment and, thus, achieve a better position (though, within structural limits). Consequently, this has made it possible for concerns about dissonance, in respect of truancy, to be expressed in terms of worries about the failure of such children to achieve.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dr. David Nelken, of University College, London, has supervised my research from its inception, providing encouragement and support through difficult times. In the later stages of the project, John Holmwood, of Edinburgh University, agreed to perform the task of second supervisor. My thanks must go to him for the diligence and conscientiousness with which he has undertaken this task. I would also like to acknowledge a debt to Dr. Philip Corrigan, of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, who has provided me with valuable discussion of my work and also access to his own. My parents, John and Barbara Spencer, helped with caring for my children at a crucial stage in the project. Finally, thanks to Ray Paterson, who has endured the formation of the argument and patiently proof-read the final thesis.

CONTENTS

	Introduction	1
Chapter 1	Social Problems and Educational Knowledge: A Sociological Critique	9
Chapter 2	Social Cartography	42
Chapter 3	The Regulation of 19th. Century Schools: Whose Programmes?	64
Chapter 4	The Organisation of Schooling	97
Chapter 5	Professionalism and Teaching: Programmes and Strategies	118
Chapter 6	Schooling the Family	141
Chapter 7	The Emergence of the Individual	162
Chapter 8	Conclusions	182
	Notes	191
Appendix 1	Lord Presidents of the Council; Vice-Presidents of the Committee of Council on Education; Secretaries of the Education Department	229
Appendix 2	Scottish Inspectors 1840-1872	230
Appendix 3	Extract from Instructions to Inspectors	233
Appendix 4	Extract from Authorised School Plans	239

Appendix 5	Population of Scotland by Regions 1801-1901; Urbanised Proportion of the Total Population	242
Appendix 6	Timetables for Edinburgh Normal School	244
Appendix 7	Authorised Registers	245
Appendix 8	Extract from Revised Code	249
	Bibliography	250

INTRODUCTION

The central aim of this thesis is to show that the taken-for-granted assumptions of writers dealing with truancy are permeated by the concerns expressed in the 'knowledge' created about education in the early stages of state regulation of schooling. It is based on the view that people's experiences are filtered through cognitive categories both for their own understanding and for their presentation of this for the understanding of others. These categories are not 'natural' descriptions, but are socially constructed as part of a nexus of relations of knowledge/power and are propagated through the institutional forms of these relations.

The issue, therefore, is not that of the truth or falsity of knowledge claims, nor is it that of a progressive accumulation of knowledge. Rather, it is a question of the links between knowledge and its pre-conditions; in other words, between knowledge and the institutional structures to which it is integrally tied. *How* they are linked in any given case requires substantive investigation. This has been the purpose of the research for this thesis. Fundamentally, this work is concerned with displaying what it is to give an adequate sociological account of a social problem and showing how this can further our understanding of the social world.

Substantively, this will be tackled through an investigation, in relation to Scotland, of representations about truancy since, I shall argue, they embody the visible surface of knowledge/power relations. The way in which these representations link social action and knowledge will be discussed in terms of social cartography which will be used to understand how certain representations have become orthodoxies. In other words, it will be used to elucidate discourse on truancy, and to explain the relations of space and time which are integral to it.

I shall maintain that discourse on truancy is characterised by three themes around which identification of this behaviour and explanations of its source are constructed:

- (1) problematic schools
- (2) problematic home backgrounds
- (3) problematic children

As we shall see, the predominance of particular themes change as institutional possibilities change. The first and second were generated early in the process of state intervention into schooling. The possibilities for the third emerge, in embryonic form, with the introduction of a mode of inspection which required the individual examination of pupils. At its sharpest, this individualisation is expressed in the domain of 20th. century child psychiatry.

It will be shown that studies of truancy *assume* that truanting is increasing, that it is linked with crime, poor schoolwork, inadequate family relations; even though, in terms of their own theoretical paradigm, the evidence on which such claims are based is problematic. This is a systematic feature of the literature rather than a facet of isolated studies. It emphasises the need for an explanation of these claims: they cannot be treated as chance assumptions of inadequate research.

Most writers have a working definition of what is meant by truancy, yet there is no consensus as to the range of behaviour to which the term refers. Some define truancy as absence of a child from school without permission of either the parents or the school. Others define it as absence without the permission of the school. Within the research paradigm in which most work is conducted such problems are held to be technical: solvable when the tools of the research, such as clearly defined categories about which there is general agreement, have been refined.

I shall argue, though, that these 'technical' difficulties relate to areas of conceptual disagreement which are indicative of broader issues. These are concerned with appropriate relations of authority; claims about normality; and claims about the role of schooling.

Attendance, as a 'problem' encapsulates these issues, for to describe someone as truanting is to state that they are in the wrong physical location in respect of social mores. This judgement involves a claim about that person's temporal location: biographically, they ought to be elsewhere at that given time of the day/week/year. Truanting is being out of place and discussions of this entail questions of an individual's relation to the normality of schooling within a particular social order.

In considering this, I shall be examining the way in which schooling links particular forms of the family with the state, through relations of class, gender and age in a process of identity-formation. I shall argue that this needs to be understood in terms of a theory of social cartography, which will enable me to explain how one particular order of social relations has come to be defined as an educational necessity, and how alternatives are consequently marginalised as 'problems' for a system of schooling. In short, to understand truancy, it is necessary to look at the way in which the theory and practice of a state system of schooling and its problems were constructed.

There are three steps to my argument. Firstly, I shall deal with the issues at the level of class relations and discuss how specific programmes of power based on one particular mode of constituting space and time (one which was congruent with relations of industrial capital) became translated into a problem of the neutral administration of the state apparatus for eradicating problematic schooling. I shall argue that the rules involved in implementing state regulation of schooling contained an implicit agenda for social action which made possible the structuring of the formalised identity of teacher and, in consequence,

that of pupil. I shall use the example of teachers as illustrative of the way in which state policy could embody contradiction. I show, not only that institutions spawned their own programmes, but also the way in which these could operate as constraints and resources for negotiating strategies of those involved in schooling.

Secondly, I shall maintain that the application of state rules to existing schooling provision involved distinguishing situations and actions which were acceptable from those which were officially unacceptable. Through a discussion of dissonance between what I shall call *formalised* and *in-formed* identity (that is, between officially promoted social identity and people's lived versions of it) I shall explain how this made it possible to marginalise particular forms of family relations by rendering them problematic for schooling. I shall then argue that as a result, there emerges the *problem family*, the key to understanding 'problematic home backgrounds'.

In the third stage of my argument I shall show the way in which 'neutralised' institutional changes made possible the channelling of overtly class-based concerns into overtly individual concerns (though covertly class-based). Assessments of schooling were no longer to be class based, but were to become a question of counting the performance of individuals.

This made possible an important epistemological and ontological shift: the dissonance between the formalised identities fostered by the state regulated school and the in-formed identities of participants in the system became an *individualised* problem. An apparent harmony between formalised and in-formed identity was to shift from being an indication of class members knowing their place, to becoming the basis for individuals being able to ascend the hierarchy of school assessment and, in so doing, achieve a better position.

These themes emerged as a result of social action in the past. They therefore need to be understood historically, in order to explain what has made it possible for them to form the core of the way in which truancy is officially discussed in the present.

In the 1970's and 1980's in Scotland the discursive field of truancy traverses three different domains: the medical (consisting primarily of theories and practices of child guidance professionals; involving child psychiatrists and medical social workers); the educational (consisting of the theories and practices of schooling; involving teachers, the school inspectorate, local authority education departments, school councils and attendance officers or educational welfare officers); the social (consisting of theories and practices relating to problems of the social'; involving social workers, children's panels and list 'D' schools). The theories and practices within each domain define the relative importance of truancy as an issue in that sphere.

The primary focus of this thesis is on the educational domain since, as has been indicated, the topic of truancy is intrinsically linked with the issue of the importance of schooling. Its genesis has therefore been sought in the concerns expressed in contributions to official educational discourse prior to the introduction of compulsory schooling for all children in Scotland. I am not claiming to provide a comprehensive history of schooling, or inspection, though both these topics contributed facets to the research project. Events are only analysed in relation to their importance for the social map of truancy which this thesis is aimed at outlining.

It will be argued that official documents, that is, school inspector reports and the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education in terms of which they were structured, should be understood in relation to the purpose of inspection as a means of mediating between

individuals and groups interested in running schools, and state interest in giving financial aid to schooling. Of particular importance is the period 1839 - 1872. I have done a textual analysis of these documents for this period; these form the core of the 19th. century material which has been used. Supplementary to these has been work on evidence given to the 1864 Select Committee on Education (Inspectors' Reports), as well as that given to the 1865 Select Committee on the Constitution of the Committee of Council on Education. Secondary sources, such as traditional histories, will be cited where appropriate.

School inspectors' instructions covered three broad areas of interest:
"1st....inquiry in neighbourhoods from whence applications have been made for aid to erect new schools, in order to enable the Committee of Council to determine the propriety of granting funds in aid of the expenses proposed to be incurred,.....

2dly....the inspection of the several schools aided by public grants issued under the authority of the Committee, and an examination of the method and matter of instruction, and the character of the discipline established in them,.....

3dly. As incidental to and in furtherance of these duties, Inspectors may also be required by the Committee to make inquiries respecting the state of elementary education in particular districts."²

This means that the inspectorate played a central role in the construction of knowledge about schooling which was made available both to the government and to individual schools, many of which would otherwise have had little awareness of schooling matters beyond their own, immediate, locality. Area reports were published in Parliamentary Papers, and it is these which form the basis of the textual analysis.³

Although the Committee of Council was set up (1839) to deal with educational affairs in general, as well as to administer the grant for education in particular, for the whole of Great Britain, this research

has primarily drawn on material concerned with Scotland.⁴ Scotland already possessed a legally established system of education in the form of parochial schools which were supervised by the Presbyteries and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland's own Education Committee. The intervention of the Committee of Council can be seen as attempting to extend the scope of supervision beyond those schools of the established church to schools which had previously been unsupervised. The rationale was to encourage efficient schools by opening up the possibility of financial aid. Attempts by the primarily secular Committee of Council to recruit, as an inspector, the secretary of the primarily religious General Assembly Education Committee are illustrative of the close links between these two bodies.⁵ The established church was consulted on the appointment of inspectors. By 1844, because of the battle surrounding the Disruption,⁶ a separate inspector was appointed for the Free Church, thereby establishing denominational inspection, which was to continue until 1872.

Although I have indicated that reports were based on area, it should be noted that the particular boundaries of an inspection area did not remain constant throughout the whole of this period. Aside from the complication of denominational inspection, the increase in numbers of inspectors employed meant that these boundaries changed from time to time - in 1840 there was one inspector; by 1850 there were two; by 1860 there were ten; and by 1870 there were thirteen. To some extent this problem is alleviated by information within the reports which indicated the characteristics of areas which inspectors held to be relevant to considerations about schooling.

The Act of 1872 which introduced compulsory schooling for all children into Scotland, marks a significant change in the organisation of government regulation. Up until then, though there were specific amendments to regulations sometimes made with respect to Scotland, these were *within* the overall framework of the Committee of Council on Education, which dealt with the whole of Great Britain. After this Act,

the Scotch Education Department was created in order to oversee spending in Scotland. This legislation marked the success of state-structured schooling in claiming legitimate authority in the definition and regulation of what was to count as normal social and educational experience for the future adult population.

The contemporary social map of truancy has been drawn primarily from a textual analysis of the Pack Report on Truancy and Indiscipline in Schools in Scotland,⁷ and local authority reports on truancy which appeared as a direct response to Pack. These are dated from the middle to the late 1970's. Supplementary to this material have been local authority papers relating to the attendance service in Scotland. In addition, various secondary sources will be cited.

CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE: A SOCIOLOGICAL CRITIQUE

Section 1

Truancy is a topic which has been discussed in terms of problematic individuals. Apparently, it is a problem to be solved. In contrast to this view, within this thesis it will be treated as a problem whose constitution is to be explained. As I shall demonstrate, it is a social problem embedded within the institutional network of schooling. Thus, in order to provide an explanation of it I shall firstly need to examine the way in which it has been constructed within the literature on social problems. I shall do this in Section 2. This will enable me to identify significant issues which have not been satisfactorily dealt with and to explain my view of how they may be more appropriately discussed. This will bring me to a consideration of the institutional network in which truancy is sited. In Section 3, through a discussion of the way in which accounts of relations of schooling are linked with wider social relations, I shall outline my understanding of this process.

The initial grounding for my approach lies within Durkheim's argument that, "A social fact is normal, in relation to a given social typewhen it is present in the average society of that species....." In this argument Durkheim was directing attention to the importance of *social* phenomena, as opposed to phenomena of the individual. While not precluding the possibility of pathological individuals being involved in activities often considered to be socially deviant, such as crime, he maintained that the categorisation of specific actions as deviant must be dealt with in sociological terms, for it was not reducible to psychological explanation. Thus, for

Durkheim, crime in particular, and deviance in general were, "...an integral part of all healthy societies."²

In other words, the corollary of social norms and values is their violation, since a universal and absolute uniformity is impossible, "...for the immediate physical milieu in which each one of us is placed, the hereditary antecedents, and the social influences vary from one individual to the next, and consequently diversify consciousnesses. It is impossible for all to be alike, if only because each one has his own organism and that these organisms occupy different areas in space."³ Following Durkheim's argument, then, the pathological, within a given context, will be treated as a barometer of that context.

A central component of the method used to carry out this investigation is Foucault's notion of the discursive field. This refers to, "...finite sets of effective oral or written utterances."⁴ It encompasses both theories and institutionalised practices; for how a problem is constructed has implications for the way in which solutions are developed. The purpose of an investigation making use of this concept is to describe and analyse discourses as, "...a specific order of historical reality, whose organisation is irreducible either to the history of careers, thoughts and intentions of individual agents (the authors of the utterances) or to a supra-individual teleology of discovery and intellectual evolution (the truth of the utterances)."⁵ Implicit in the adoption of the concept of discursive field is the belief that discourse should not be treated as a group of signs *simply indicating* more or less accurately the objects to which they refer, but as *practices that systematically form* the objects of which they speak.⁶

Therefore, this thesis will not attempt to show that truancy is 'really' a sign of incipient delinquency⁷ or of an inability to cope with problems⁸: it will not concentrate on the *ground* of statements about truancy. Instead, it aims to relate these statements to the rules which

enable them to form truancy as an object of discourse and, thus, constitute the conditions of its historical appearance.⁹ Methodologically, this involves analysing historical material to illuminate the sociological dimensions of contemporary discussions of truancy. This thesis is not a quest for the story of the underlying 'reality' of truancy, the narration of which will reveal the development of an increasingly enlightened set of agencies struggling to save these wandering souls from the darkness of their ignorance. There will be no attempt to recreate the temporal flow within which events have unfolded (that is, it is not a narrative history such as, for example, Rubinstein's work¹⁰). Rather it will intersect time, excavating layers of 'reality' which have been constructed by actors engaged in producing knowledge about their world.

The advantage of making use of the concept of discursive field is that it allows an investigation of the construction of knowledge while taking into account the power relations characteristic of the wider social formation; in this case, the power relations of nascent industrial capitalist Britain. This work is therefore an exercise in what Bailyn¹¹, in his review of significant developments in contemporary historiography, has described as the integration of manifest and latent history. That is, the uniting of events which were matters of conscious concern in their own time (in this case, constructing a form of social order by regulating the population) with those events of which contemporaries were unaware (that is, the social construction of normality/deviance) in order to show, in terms of the past, how the present has been made possible.

This has implications for the status allocated to agency in this thesis. Individual actors are treated as important *in relation* to their position in the knowledge/power nexus. This does not mean that they are held to be merely 'instances' of their structural position. The issue has been succinctly stated by Philip Abrams, who noted that we are in, "...a world of which we are both the creators and the creatures,

both makers and prisoners; a world which our actions construct and a world that powerfully constrains us."²

The concern within this research has been with the sociological significance of action (rather than, for example, with its personal significance in the lives of particular people). To elaborate, people in strategic socio-structural locations can attempt to *produce* the kinds of social relations which, in terms of their own theories of the social world, are held to be necessary for the creation/continuance of a particular social formation.³ This will be discussed in the thesis using Foucault's concept of programmes of power; that is, "...sets of calculated, reasoned prescriptions in terms of which institutions are meant to be re-organised, spaces arranged, behaviours regulated."⁴

I shall argue that the documents which form the basis for this study reveal that discourse on truancy needs to be understood as embodying various levels of programme. At the level of the ruling elite, the programme concerns the structuring of social relations as part of the new social order of industrial capitalism, by directing schooling at the children of the working classes. At the level of administration, there is the programme of the efficient implementation, at a minimum cost, of the rules set out for the systematisation of schooling. At the level of teachers involved in the practice of state-regulated schooling, there is the programme of professionalising the occupation of teaching. It is the delineation of the explanatory themes within these programmes which makes it possible to analyse the discursive field of truancy. In this thesis I shall be examining the institutionalisation of particular programmes which made it possible for one particular version of *what* schooling should be and *how* it should be to become amplified, both epistemologically and ontologically, so that it came to be equated with education. In short, I shall be showing *how* state intervention into schooling effected a re-structuring of diversity in order to present it as uniformity.

There is always a danger, when discussing official discourse, of colluding with this presentation of uniformity. Thus the counterpart of the concentration of this research on the knowledge/power complex is a tendency to give less overt attention to relations of conflict. For example, in the 19th. century, which was the period in which systematic state intervention into schooling began, elementary education was a controversial matter. As early as 1819 a Bill for state support of universal education for the working classes was presented to parliament.¹⁵ It failed to gain support. In 1848, in his Principles of Political Economy, John Stuart Mill was arguing that state provision of education and compulsion were indissoluble. Further, that the provision of education was a duty of the state both to children and to the community.¹⁶ Throughout the period between 1839 and 1872 there were several attempts to get Scottish Bills concerning this through parliament.¹⁷ Yet state provision and universal compulsion were not instituted in Scotland until 1872, and it was the 1880's before this happened in England and Wales.

To explain why this was the case would involve an examination of disputes concerning the nature of government intervention in relation to the role of particular religious denominations in providing schools. There were fears, for example, that state inspection would mean the regulation of the schools of non-established religions by members of the established church. This was the reason for inspection being denominational. At the level of a ruling class I would need to look at struggles between land-based fractions, who were concerned about the implications of schooling for the withdrawal of children, a cheap source of labour, from the agricultural workforce; and a rising industrial bourgeoisie concerned with the necessity of fostering a new order of social relations. The picture was further complicated by those members of the industrial bourgeoisie who were resistant to any moves which might restrict the extent to which they could benefit from the low cost of child labour. At the level of the working class I would have to consider the objections of parents who relied on their children's earnings, or who argued that universal compulsion was an

insulting interference by the state because of the ways in which compulsion was associated with 'neglected' or 'delinquent' children; then there were the working class campaigns to stop child labour, those campaigns expressing the demand for publicly provided, secular schooling and, of course, Chartist and Owenite socialist demands for popular education.¹⁶

There was clearly diversity in respect of education at all social levels. But this has not been my concern, for out of the diversity emerged an official uniformity. It is by focusing on *this* that I can look at the way in which a relatively small number of people in particular strategic locations can structure social relations in order to produce a 'knowledge' of normality for a large number of people. A 'knowledge' which does not accord with the experiences of many of those people, but in terms of which their ways of living are officially judged as appropriate or otherwise.

In other words, the corollary of the recognition that the theories and practices of a discursive field make possible the constitution of *this particular* knowledge, is the awareness that differing social relations within the nexus of knowledge/power could enable *other* knowledge to be constructed. Put simply, the models accepted within a discursive field are the visible result of the denial of alternatives. Now and then, glimpses of alternatives can be caught, when they appear as objects of criticism for the prevailing orthodoxy: as heresies which help to shape this orthodoxy through their negation.

The exercise is not without its ambiguities, for the very possibility of analysing a discursive field necessitates the researcher being located outwith the sphere in which the act of truanting is an immediate concern. Yet, paradoxically, the analysis of discourse on truancy becomes, in its very act of formation, an intervention in that discourse. However, this research differs from other work which I

have discovered on truancy, in that it does not set out to find a 'solution' to the 'problem', or to locate the 'problem' with the child, the home, the school or any combination of these. Therefore, despite its paradoxical nature, I believe the exercise to be worthwhile since it is an attempt to provide a broader understanding of a significant social phenomenon.

Section 2

An examination of the literature claiming a concern with truancy reveals diverse discussions of truants and their characteristics, but outwith the limits of this focus, there remains a startling silence on the phenomenon of truancy itself. This individualisation of what shall be termed a social fact, is characteristic of 'correctionalist' research in the area of social problems which is carried out in terms of a positivist research paradigm.¹⁹ The kinds of questions which such research, wishing to reduce or eliminate deviance, concentrates on are, "Who is deviant?

How did he become a deviant?

Why does he continue in deviance, despite controls brought to bear on him?

What socio-cultural conditions are most likely to produce deviants?

How may deviants be best controlled?"²⁰

Writers working within this paradigm are concerned about truancy because it *endangers* children since it is the "kindergarten of crime".²¹ Thus, Burt noted, "Among cases brought to me on other grounds, 24 per cent of the boys and 9 per cent of the girls proved to have been truants in the past; and, in nearly every one, truancy was the earliest offence."²² Supporting this view, Tyerman indicates that, "Of 137 pupils whose parents were prosecuted for their children's truancy during the.....period which I studied, 64 had police records by the end of the following year."²³ These children, it is maintained, 'drift into delinquency'. They often wander away from school because they cannot cope satisfactorily with their difficulties for, "The typical persistent truant is unhappy at home, unpopular at school, and unsuccessful in his classwork."²⁴

Writers tell us that truanting children will tend to come from decaying inner city areas or council estates, be poorly dressed, have broken

homes or parents with unhappy marriages, and have at least one sibling who is a truant and who is likely to be a delinquent as well. The parents will set a poor example to their children, having low standards, neglecting their off-spring and being ineffective in their supervision. On the whole, the children tend to be intellectually and academically inferior to their peers and, though they may be sociable, are unreliable, showing little perseverance at school. Poor attendance increases the difficulties of keeping up with the work of other children, thus a vicious circle of failure and truancy is established.

This *endangered truant* theme resonates throughout the literature, blinkering researchers to the questions raised by the 76 per cent of boys and the 91 per cent of girls in Burt's group who had *not* been found to have been involved in truanting; and the 73 cases in Tyerman's group who did not subsequently have police records. The elementary error in logic which has crept into these studies which wish to show truancy to be a predictor for delinquency can be illustrated. The proposition that some alcoholics are also social drinkers may be held to be true; but it does not necessarily follow that those who drink socially are in the process of becoming alcoholics. Similarly, even if it were accepted that juvenile delinquents often are truant from school, this would not justify the claim that children playing truant are heading towards delinquency.

The features of the *endangered truant* theme are characteristic of discussions of social problems. Typically, such discussions implicitly refer to people of low status and therefore involve little social respect. They are often concerned with threats to the social order (which is held to be a 'natural' order) and are based on the direct linking of cultural practices with structural position.²⁵ More specifically, the theme of the *endangered truant* embodies an overlap between discourse on truancy and discourse on juvenile delinquency which signifies an overlap of practices concerning children.²⁶

These practices conflate measures of 'care and control' and presuppose a particular conception of the degree of legitimate autonomy of action which is appropriate for children. This conception is historical, though it is often taken, by those involved in the practices, to be 'natural'. The strict limits of this autonomy reflects the low social status of children.

Explanations for their behaviour are linked to forms of upbringing, in particular, family background. The family is held to occupy the principle site in which cultural practices are linked with structural position. It is therefore both a theoretical object and a practical target²⁷ being the focus for a series of interventions aimed at securing an upbringing for the future adult population which will reinforce the existing social order. These interventions are almost always targeted at the child and at the relationship of the child to adults (especially to the mother and father),²⁸ Class position is usually signified by areal location, with some localities being seen as particularly problematic (eg. 'decaying inner city areas' and 'council estates'). The cultural practices which are assumed to be connected with these predispose parents to being neglectful, having low standards and being inadequate at supervising their children. Thus communities within such localities are seen as being characterised by problem behaviour and hence as requiring more intense intervention by outside agencies.

The logical problem referred to earlier also lies at the heart of the assumed link between structural position and cultural practice. Thus writers neglect to consider those people who occupy the same structural position but who are not involved in problem practices (ie. children from these areas who attend school and who are not delinquent).

But researchers within the correctionist paradigm are not only haunted by the endangered truant, another spectre appears within the material:

that of the *fearful truant* or school phobic. Worries about this group take a different form, "A psychiatrist often feels responsible for a patient's life if he is aware that the patient is suicidal. The child who refuses to go to school is being self-destructive. Contacts outside the family are avoided, the career is jeopardised, and the future is cut off, in a way that could be described as social suicide."²⁹

School phobia is variously held to be a *symptom*,³⁰ an *illness*,³¹ a *maladaptive avoidance response maintained by fear reduction*.³² It is an *indication* of a more deep-seated problem of separation anxiety, or it is *caused by* separation anxiety. This is attributed to faulty family dynamics (ie. indulgent and over-bearing mothers, submissive and disinterested fathers, double-bind families) which contrast with a favourable school situation. The nature which this phenomenon is claimed to have, varies according to the theoretical pre-disposition of the writer.

Those writing about the fearful truant are generally members of staff of Child Guidance Clinics. These clinics emerged in the first half of the twentieth century as one strand of more general moves to establish child medicine as a professionally distinctive field.³³ Advocates of child medicine were concerned with the aetiologies of problems of childhood in terms of physiological bases. Those interested in child guidance transformed this aim of controlling disease into the control of relations underpinning social disease. Characteristically, they focused on the impact of the social environment on child and family relations while attempting to rationalise the intervention of multiple external agencies on the family.³⁴

Child guidance operates through the 'case conference', a discussion with all agencies involved in a particular case, the purpose of which is to encourage adjustment to outside agencies by exorcising internal

problems (this method being indicative of the interplay of psychiatric and psychoanalytic theories and practices which permeate these clinics). It is at this point that individualistic explanations of difficulties are most clearly visible, for it is here that medical theories and educational theories coalesce in the *problematic child*. The literature often emerges in the form of case histories and seeks to generalise theories from particular family relations which are deemed problematic. This offers some explanation for the conceptual confusion indicated earlier, as this method of working means that theoretical assumptions remain taken for granted. Assumptions which, as Jencks argues, "embody the values and interest of the theorist, which in turn generate normative models of the social world."³⁵ In consequence of this neglect of assumptions, the object of knowledge, school phobia, becomes treated as existing independently of theories about schooling, children and social relations, as well as providing reinforcement for the notion of the *normality* of uninterrupted experience of schooling for children.

The *fearful truant* first emerges in 1932 with Broadwin's description of two cases seen at a clinic³⁶; by the 1940's and 1950's a body of knowledge concerning this phenomenon had built up, based on possible treatment and detection of 'cases' discovered in Child Guidance clinics, and disseminated through professional journals. By 1959 Waldfogel et al.³⁷ were instructing teachers in signs of 'incipient school phobia' and scouring classrooms for 'undetected cases'.

However, despite these difficulties, and the fact that the distinctiveness of school phobics as a group is a matter of some debate,³⁸ there are certain features about which most writers are in agreement

ENDANGERED TRUANT

FEARFUL TRUANT

(1)	Voluntary	Involuntary
(2)	Wanders streets	Remains at home
(3)	Doesn't like school	May want to go to but unable to do so
(4)	Lacks caring parents	Over-caring parents
(5)	Poorly-kept home	Well-kept home
(6)	Schoolwork inadequate	Schoolwork fine

Having identified the characteristics of these endangered and fearful children it becomes important, within the literature, to discover the incidence of this phenomenon. At this point we enter the 'Numbers Game'.

Truancy, as Turner³⁹ tells us, is an increasing problem; the Pack report on Truancy and Indiscipline in Schools in Scotland agreed with this, though, interestingly, they also noted that when the committee was set up in 1974, "...comprehensive information about the incidence in Scotland was not available. The S.E.D. no longer gathered information on attendance rates and figures provided by those submitting evidence had been prepared under a variety of circumstances and for a variety of purposes, making meaningful comparisons difficult."⁴⁰ They therefore commissioned their own survey.

There have been other attempts to discover the extent of the 'problem'. For example, the D.E.S. 'snapshot' on 17th. January 1974 which quantified 'unjustified absences' - those for whose absence the school knew of no legitimate reason by the 23rd. January 1974. However, as with similar attempts by the I.L.E.A. in 1971 and on 13th. May 1981,⁴¹ results were difficult to interpret as, "Unfortunately the nature of many of the school returns makes it impossible to separate the unacceptable and the unknown."⁴² As Coombes⁴³ points out, such

'snapshot' methods tend to produce artificial figures as schools make a special effort to reduce the number of absentees on the particular day by, for example, warning pupils that registration procedures will be more strictly enforced on the date in question.

Absence rates themselves, though, provide little information on the nature of these absences. Coombes notes, "A teacher with thirty children in a class will produce an acceptable percentage attendance of ninety per cent throughout the month. This may well mean that three pupils were absent throughout this period, or six pupils had two weeks off, or every child in the class had every Friday afternoon off."⁴⁴

School registers are the only source of figures which are kept as a matter of routine, but their inadequacies are felt by many researchers to outweigh their possible usefulness. They don't reveal the number of children who leave school after registration, nor those who arrive too late to get marked present, nor can they give information about the number of children who are on the school premises but not in classes. The difficulties in compiling the figures are compounded by the doubt concerning what would constitute accurate figures.

Though most writers clearly have a working definition of what is meant by truancy, there is no common agreement as to the range of behaviour to which the term refers. This means that surveys are rarely comparable, as they rarely share the same definition of their object of study. Further, surveys often start out with (in their own terms) clearly established absence rates, but end up with *estimates* of truancy rates.⁴⁵ Thus, for Tyerman, truancy is, "unjustified absence on a child's own initiative without permission of parents or school."⁴⁶ Whereas Pack includes what is sometimes referred to as parentally condoned absence, "Truancy is unauthorised absence from school, for any period, as a result of pre-meditated or spontaneous action on the part of pupil, parent or both."⁴⁷

Within the correctionist research paradigm such problems are held to be technical: that is, solvable when the tools of their research, such as clearly defined categories about which there is general agreement, have been refined sufficiently to enable absenteeism to be properly analysed and truants to be identified.

A closer examination, though, reveals that these 'technical' difficulties are related to areas of conceptual disagreement which are indicative of broader issues. Both definitions share the notion that legitimate responsibility for a child's behaviour rests ultimately with someone other than the child. The first, views both parents and school as having authority over the child; the second, recognises as legitimate, only the authority of the school. Neither understands that the existence and nature of legitimate authority over children is historically variable and therefore requires inquiry rather than assertion. However, in common with most work on children, within these definitions, "the child emerges.....as a formal category and as a social status accompanied by programmes of care and schemes of education."⁴⁸

The issues raised here can be characterised in terms of Foucault's notion of *biopolitics*. This concept was created as part of an analysis of the new order of power relations which, Foucault argues, emerged in Western societies from about the 18th. century, and which leads him to designate them as *disciplinary*. He states that the development of techniques which made possible the accumulation of capital were inseparable from the 'technology of subjection' which solved the problem of the 'accumulation of men'.⁴⁹ "Historically, the process by which the bourgeoisie became...the politically dominant class was masked by the establishment of an explicit, coded and formally egalitarian juridical framework, made possible by the organization of a parliamentary, representative regime. But the development and generalization of disciplinary mechanisms constituted the other, dark side of these processes....tiny, everyday, physical mechanisms....all

those systems of micro-power that are essentially non-egalitarian and asymmetrical that we call the disciplines. And although, in a formal way, the representative regime makes it possible...for the will of all to form the fundamental authority of sovereignty, the disciplines provide, at the base, a guarantee of the submission of forces and bodies."⁵⁰

Power relations characteristic of disciplinary societies can be distinguished in two basic forms - an anatomo-politics of the human body and a biopolitics of the population - and are linked by intermediary relations. The first is, "...centred on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterised the disciplines....."⁵¹

The second form is, "...focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls....."⁵²

Thus, the formation of disciplinary societies was linked with the deployment of biopower. Characteristic of biopolitical issues is that they refer to techniques of power which are strategically sited in the body, which operate through discipline and have, as their object, the regulation of the population. Essential features of biopolitics are techniques of qualifying, measuring, appraising, hierarchising, effecting distributions around the *norm*.⁵³ These techniques form the methodological core of work on truancy, which is viewed as *abnormal* activity. In biopolitical terms, the question of truancy refers to the contention that social actors who are children should be physically

present in particular places at specific times. 'Problem children' are acting in a way which challenges this definition of appropriateness as, at times, are their parents (either by willfully ignoring the necessity of school attendance for their child, or by lacking insight into the implications of their behaviour within the family). Indeed, Jencks has argued that, "any view of the child reflects a preferred, but unexplored, model of the social order."⁵⁴

It is a consensual functionalist model of the social world which constitutes the core of unexplicated assumptions on which most discussions of truancy rest and which has, therefore, limited the extent to which the topic has been explored. Thus, Kahn and Nursten, for example, maintain that rejecting school is equivalent to rejecting society;⁵⁵ and Tyerman claims, "Most persistent truants are not precocious youths, but maladjusted children who would become unsatisfactory employees instead of being unsatisfactory pupils."⁵⁶ For these writers, the condition of the possibility of a happy, well-adjusted citizen is the passing of a certain period of life within the education system. As Clarke has pointed out, this view disguises, "...the fact that the social order may be changed to suit the interests of certain groups rather than others and still remain an order and not necessarily disintegrate into total disorder."⁵⁷

In contrast, advocates of labelling research have viewed the social world as consisting of groups which are in conflict over legitimate definitions and control of social situations. These researchers have been highly critical of correctionalist studies and are less concerned with the elimination of deviance than with its 'appreciation'.⁵⁸ They view deviance as a relative phenomenon which is a question of social definition, "deviance may be conceived as a process by which the members of a group, community, or society (1) interpret behaviour as deviant, (2) define persons who so behave as a certain kind of deviant, and (3) accord them the treatment considered appropriate to such deviants."⁵⁹ Where the correctionalist wanted to know "Who is

deviant?", the appreciationist asked, "What are the circumstances under which a person gets set apart, henceforth to be considered a deviant?" Rather than "How did he become a deviant?", the concern is to find out "How is the person cast in that social role?" In particular, those influenced by the work of Schutz were concerned to explore the relationship between first order constructs (ie. actors' understandings of situations) and constructs of the second order (sociologists' accounts of first order constructs), thus developing a methodological imperative to, "inquire into members' and sociologists' rules for imputing deviance to an event."⁶⁰

An investigation into truancy from within this paradigm could be expected to note that most of the research relies on teachers' definitions and perceptions of truants when samples are being selected for study. This problem has been most clearly discussed in the work of Fogelman and Richardson.⁶¹ To define a truant they used, "teachers' knowledge of the attendance behaviour of each study child", supplemented with their information on personal characteristics and circumstances of the children. Their findings remain largely consistent with those of most other work but they stress that their data cannot be taken as conclusive. This is partially because of the position of the children in some of the categories they used (eg. ratings of above/below average ability; impressions of parental interest; and general comments on the child) relied on judgements of teachers and could therefore be influenced by a 'negative halo effect', perhaps in terms of teacher expectations of working class children, or their expectations of truants. There might then be an examination of how absences come to be defined as adequately/inadequately explained, possibly to throw light on whether and how the halo effect operates.

Although extensive investigation did not reveal any work which had been done on truancy from this perspective, the work of Hargreaves et al.⁶² on deviance in schools is illustrative of its use within an examination of an educational setting. Through a detailed analysis of

classroom conduct they attempted to, "explicate the common-sense knowledge by which teachers are able to link acts to rules and thereby define the act as deviant."⁶³

The problem with this is that though it enables an investigation of processes through which individuals negotiate meaning, it does not make it possible for an examination to be made of the relations of authority involved in the context of the action, or the categories through which people construct their meanings. A concern with the selecting practices of teachers in defining behaviour as normal/deviant presupposes that those occupying the (structural) position of teacher are *authorised* to have their definitions accepted as legitimate. This legitimacy derives from their structural relationship to an institution (schooling), which derives its authority from its position within a given form of social order. Yet all this remains unexplored since it is the taken-for-granted parameter of a negotiating process the analysis of which is sensitised to the 'recipe knowledge'⁶⁴ brought to bear by actors in their attempt to deal with contingencies which arise during the course of the interaction.

Clarke⁶⁵ has argued that an adequate account of how a social problem arose requires a theory of how a particular social order is organised and operated. A research paradigm which only makes it possible to analyse social order in terms of symbolic interaction between individuals is inadequate for this task. This is because it directs attention to the way in which behaviour is fitted into a particular category. It does not further the development of an understanding of the category itself - where it comes from, why this particular category is available to be drawn on and what implications the category carries with its use.

Labelling theorists recognise the use of cognitive maps or filters through which we understand the world, but their concentration on the

processes of negotiation in specific contexts have led them to neglect these maps and the institutional sites through which they are operationalised. To categorise absence from school as truancy is to make use of such a map. It involves the designation of absence as unauthorised and, consequently, as problematic. If it is accepted that the perception of a child and the perception of that child's behaviour are integrally linked (as the notion of the halo effect implies), and that ways of behaving are only intelligible by way of categorisations and their component parts, then it becomes important to explore the social construction of the classification truancy. Therefore, to enquire into truancy is to ask about one particular map which provides available sets of meanings in this area.

The institutional site which is of focal concern in respect of the social map of truancy is the state school. In the next section I shall therefore discuss analyses of the significance of state schooling.

Section 3

The background of the thesis, which has been presented so far, indicates that this work is intended as a contribution to the sociology of social problems. However, we can see that this cannot be discussed independently of issues of the sociology of educational knowledge. It is with this aspect that this section deals.

The problem of the exploration of categories was taken up by Young⁶⁶ when, via a criticism of the traditional sociology of education as 'taking' the pre-defined problems of the education system rather than 'making' sociological problems to be investigated, he advocated a 'new' sociology of education. His 'revolutionary' enterprise⁶⁷ was an attempt to change the kind of question which would be posed.

Basically, he was arguing that what were important were not questions about access, which had been a major concern of traditional sociologists of education, but questions about to what access was to be gained. Influenced by Schutz, he argued that knowledge was an ideal-typical construct. Zones of knowledge, as encompassed by the curriculum, are constructs of underlying meanings and are therefore a reflection of political interests. Thus, how we define a fact and whether we do so depends on the meaning systems through which we understand the world. The definition of zones of knowledge also involves defining possible questions, methods of answering them and the criteria of validity by which we can consider them successfully answered. The curriculum, therefore, reflects power relations.

If, following Karabel and Halsey,⁶⁸ it is accepted that the traditional sociology of education allied itself to stratification, the new sociology of education was an attempt to form a new alliance - with the sociology of knowledge. Although heavily influenced by

phenomenology, Young has also been critical of this theoretical approach for he maintains that it does not understand the reification of the curriculum as part of, "...a historically specific social reality expressing particular production relations among men."⁶⁹

Young has been heavily criticised both for his problematic conception of knowledge in general⁷⁰ and science in particular.⁷¹ For present purposes though, the discussion will focus on his understanding of power relations for, it will be argued, that it has been his inability to deal directly with these which has contributed to the blocking of the new pathway along which he would lead us. He argues for the importance of considering constraints and power differentials in relation to acting subjects. It is his notion of society as a product of competing definitions and claims to moral and cognitive legitimacy which generates his interest in the political nature of knowledge which is expressed in its control. His substantive work has, as its aim, the need to find out how one definition gets approved over others. This leads him to investigate the curriculum, as an expression of current legitimacies.

In view of this, it is possible to understand the significance for his theory, of Young's work on English Schools' Councils, which were, at that time, the only source of funds for curriculum development projects in that country. He showed how the Councils constrained the autonomy of the teachers while at the same time reinforcing it as a belief. Projects being provided with funding were either 'theoretical' - using university 'subject experts', and thus failing to question the basic structure of academic subjects; or 'practical' - collecting and ordering samples of 'good practice' for dissemination to schools, thus failing to question the practice of 'good teachers'.

However, though he has shown the operation of certain institutional

constraints, Young's work remains internal to the education system. Because of this, he is forced to presuppose power differentials, but is unable to provide an explanation of them. Thus, though he asserts a political characterisation of educational knowledge, he explores this only in terms of institutional constraints - he shows the way in which university definitions of subjects can influence school curriculum projects but offers no exploration of the relation of these to a wider social context.⁷²

Though this new paradigm stimulated an interest in research which had been relatively neglected in Britain, ie. examinations of what goes on in schools,⁷³ and has thus dealt with the context in the immediate sense, the wider context of the system of schooling itself, which had been a concern of the traditional sociologists, was neglected.

Work for this thesis has been predicated on the view that while writers such as Young have laid important stress on the political characterisation of knowledge and the institutionalised constraints on its construction, a more adequate analysis of the creation of knowledge requires that these constraints be conceptualised as *one dimension* of knowledge/power relations. For though these relations may be about exclusion, limitation and prohibition, they are also about constructing, "...programmes for the formation of a social reality."⁷⁴

The concept of programme can be used to begin to construct a more adequate sociology of educational knowledge for, as Foucault argued, programmes, "...crystallise into institutions, they inform individual behaviour, they act as grids for the perception and evaluation of things."⁷⁵ They are, "...sets of calculated, reasoned prescriptions in terms of which institutions are meant to be reorganised, spaces arranged, behaviours regulated."⁷⁶ In short, programmes are both prescriptive for action and codifying of experience for knowledge.

The importance of the concept of programme, is that it directs attention to such questions as *whose* programmes; *what* were they about; *how* were they implemented; *what* has been the *result* of this implementation? I shall be arguing that an adequate sociology of educational knowledge must be able to provide answers to each of these questions. At the core of any attempt to answer these questions adequately there must lie an account of the role of schooling. Therefore before going on to display what I see as being involved in providing answers I shall look more closely at discussions of this role.

In his writings on education, Durkheim maintained, "...education isthe means by which society prepares,....., the essential conditions of its very existence."'' The implications of this are a matter of some dispute. Michael Apple⁷⁹ has identified two characteristic positions on this issue. On the one hand, there are human capital theorists⁸⁰ who view schools as critical for industrial growth and social mobility, since they maximise the distribution of technical knowledge among the population. Pupils learn skills and expertise which they can 'invest', thereby becoming upwardly mobile and moving into better occupations. This, it is claimed, guarantees a supply of well-trained people which are necessary for an expanding economy.

Allocation theorists, on the other hand, reject the meritocratic interpretation of the process. They argue that the teaching of technical competence is a secondary aspect of schooling since they maintain that schools allocate people within a hierarchical division of labour and inculcate into them dispositions, norms and values appropriate to their position.

As Apple⁸⁰ points out, both approaches presuppose that schools are institutions of *distribution*. The first views schooling as maximising the distribution of technical knowledge thus enabling individuals to

maximise their chances of attainment in a competitive and open market. The problematic assumptions in this have been well documented.⁹¹ The second, views schooling as a mechanism for the distribution of norms and dispositions that reinforce and reproduce economically based class positions. An important example of this view has been the work of Althusser who, drawing on Marx's argument that, "...every social formation must reproduce the conditions of its production at the same time as it produces...."⁹², has stressed the *reproductive* role of education within a social formation.

Though, in some respects, this posits a similar relation (functional for the maintenance of existing social formations) it avoids both the technological optimism and the assumed consensus of earlier functional arguments, since it derives from the Marxian analysis of capitalist social formations as embodying an essential antagonism (that of labour and capital). The importance of schooling as one aspect of the reproduction of social formations is accepted here. However, I shall argue that Althusser's view of the role of relations of economic power, his focus on the distribution of knowledge, and the implications which this has for human subjects and social action⁹³ contain problems for an adequate understanding of the significance of schooling.

His discussion of schooling takes place as part of a more general account of the reproduction of the forces and relations of production in capitalist social formations. For him, the important question about schooling is: what is its role in this process? His answer is that within school, children, "...learn to read, write and to add - ie. a number of techniques, and a number of other things as well, including elementsof 'scientific' or 'literary' culture, which are directly useful in the different jobs in production (one instruction for manual workers, another for technicians, a third for engineers, a final one for higher management, etc.)."⁹⁴

This apparently *technical* division of labour is held by Althusser to be the form and mask of the social division and organisation of labour.⁸⁶ He maintains that the educational system is an Ideological State Apparatus, which means that, unlike Repressive State Apparatuses which function ultimately by violence, it functions *primarily* at the level of ideology.⁸⁶ In mature capitalist society the educational I.S.A. replaces the church as the dominant I.S.A.⁸⁷ and is part of the two levels of superstructure (the politico-legal and ideology) which are determined 'in the last instance' by the economic base.

However, Althusser has a narrow definition of social relations which occur within social formations characterised by a particular mode of production. This derives from an over-emphasis on the explanatory efficacy of relations of economic power and a consequent absence of any consideration of other forms of power relation. Thus, although under his discussion of relations of production Althusser introduces a form of social relation which involves unwaged labour and which cannot be immediately linked to relations of economic power, ie. the family, he provides no adequate account of it.

To clarify this, Althusser argues that prior to capitalism social formations were characterised by the dominance of the Church I.S.A. and that in contemporary capitalist formations, "...the school-family couple has replaced the Church-family couple"⁸⁸ But his focus on economic relations as explaining the primacy of Church or school I.S.A.'s leads him to neglect direct discussion of the privileged and enduring role which he gives to the family in relation to the I.S.A. in dominance. This begs the questions: How are we to understand this role? What is the nature of the relationship between the school and the family? Put another way, the family remains a 'given' (with no discussion of its form or content) which, in Althusser's argument, is an assumed mechanism for reproducing the labour force. But he provides no explanation as to why it should be linked to an I.S.A. in dominance or what the significance of this linking might be.

This brings me to Althusser's view of *how* schooling fulfils the task of reproduction. He maintains that it does this by distributing knowledge to people according to their future position in the labour force. This presupposes that schools transmit, to passive recipients, necessary knowledge for the efficient distribution of a labour force. This presupposition is reinforced by the link which Althusser describes between schooling and economy and which implies that forms of knowledge are immanent in this relation. That is to say, they are 'always already there' for *consumption* by potential labour. As Erben and Gleeson²⁹ point out, Althusser's theory presupposes a reflectionist conception of knowledge and a passive model of socialisation. This passive model cannot account for deviance, it neglects ambiguity and it cannot explain how radicals emerge from, escape from, and engage with these apparatuses. In short, within Althusser's scheme structure has extinguished action. Indeed, as Bourdieu and Passeron have argued, "To grant the educational system the absolute independence which it claims or, on the contrary, to see in it only the reflection of a state of the economic system or the direct expression of the value system of 'society as a whole' is to refuse to see that its *relative autonomy* enables it to serve external demands under the guise of independence and neutrality....."³⁰

Althusser's argument, then, has serious problems but his work is significant because, as Dale³¹ indicates, he is one of the few writers who recognises the importance of state involvement in schooling. Although schooling in contemporary capitalist Britain is state-provided and compulsory for all children (as, indeed, it is in many other places) there has been a noticeable absence of discussion of this in literature on schooling. Roger Dale has remarked that, "...for sociologists and economists of education who effectively ignore, and for those political scientists who study, the inner workings of the 'education sub-government', the State is regarded as an effectively neutral means of delivery of intended outcomes decided elsewhere;...."³²

Dale's work is a direct contribution to developing an understanding of the relation between the state and schooling in capitalist social formations. He holds that the state consists of institutions necessary for securing the conditions of existence of the capitalist mode of production. It can therefore be distinguished from governments which, "...attempt to represent the short-term interests of the temporarily dominant coalitions within a social formation;..."³³

He explains that capital cannot secure its own reproduction firstly, because the ground rules (ie. legal framework of contract and property, financial guarantees) have to be specified by an apparently disinterested party with the power to enforce them. Secondly, since, by its very nature, the capitalist system generates both competitors and antagonists it needs protection from both internal and external attacks. Finally, particular capitals are confined within individual economic sectors whose separate conditions of optimum existence may be mutually conflicting.

As a result of this, there are three core problem areas for the capitalist state:

- (1) support of the capital accumulation process
- (2) guaranteeing a context for its continued expansion
- (3) legitimation of the capitalist mode of production and the State's own part in it.³⁴

He argues that these problems are permanently insoluble since they are mutually contradictory. Therefore they are permanently on the agenda of the state apparatus, though their prominence is variable depending on circumstances at any given time. Since these problems are also variable in content neither they, nor the means by which they will be tackled, are specifiable in advance.

Dale places two limits on this model. Firstly, on a practical level, the whole range of activities of a state apparatus cannot be seen as

permanently problematic. Secondly, there is the organic limit that each state apparatus has its own history, daily practices, and individual apparatuses which, ".develop in directions, and take on a broad over-all character, within the constraints of the basic demands made of them, which does not merely *not* follow the design of any one government, but can render them ineffective or inadequate vehicles for the execution of particular kinds of policy. State apparatuses are not directable at will."⁹⁵ Thus, though the core problems are reflected in the policy options available within the education system and provide an important dynamic for it, the form of operation of the apparatus for tackling them provides a further factor which facilitates dealing with certain questions and inhibits others.

Dale's work constitutes an important advance in the sociology of education for he highlights the importance of the *machinery* of education, what empowers it, and how and where it is directed. He does this by offering a clarification of the concept of reproduction in terms of a model which can take into account differing bases and forms of relations of power and which, avoiding the stasis of Althusser's notion of reproduction, presupposes that, "Opposition, then, not support, must be expected and a major part of state policy is concerned with dealing with that opposition in one way or another."⁹⁶

This thesis is a contribution towards reducing the important gap which Dale has identified. It therefore has, as an aim, the development of an understanding of the significance of the way in which the state has been linked with schooling. In order to pursue this aim though I shall argue that in order for schooling to be able to contribute to the *reproduction* of a social formation, schools must be able to facilitate the *production* of knowledge appropriate to this purpose.⁹⁷

The importance of state involvement in the provision of schooling can be understood in terms of a more general feature of state activity to

which Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer have recently drawn attention. That is, the regulation of much of social life by means of the detailed definition of acceptable forms and images of social activity and individual and collective identity.⁹⁸

They refer to this as, "...*moral regulation*: a project of normalizing, rendering natural, taken for granted, in a word 'obvious', what are in fact ontological and epistemological premises of a particular and historical form of social order."⁹⁹ In so doing, "...state agencies attempt to give unitary and unifying expression to what are in reality multifaceted and differential historical experiences of groups within society, denying their particularity."¹⁰⁰

I shall be drawing on Corrigan's work, in particular, and on his argument concerning the need to make visible the way in which the 'public' structural features of compulsory, state provided and regulated, 'mass' schooling are differentially productive of 'private' social identities.¹⁰¹

He argues that during the period in which there has been systematic state involvement in schooling the *form* of schooling has become 'naturalised' so that it is now the taken-for-granted means through which alternative educational ends may be pursued. This has involved a narrowing of discussions to questions of access and control. This shift needs to be understood as part of a more general displacement of questions of power to questions of control (ie. problems of politics have been transformed into problems of administration). State intervention into schooling, he maintains, is one aspect of a more general project of social formation and involves, "...an extended, protracted struggle to individualise, to place social beings in relations to institutions which appear neutral in their workings, democratic in their management and equitable in their potential outcomes."¹⁰² This individualism derives from a 19th-century belief,

"..that the 'children of other classes'.....needed to be 'freed' from their collective moralities and cultural forms, to be made rational individuals, who could then take their place in the 'new social order'.¹⁰³

He refers to the *struggle* to individualise, since, as he points out, state intervention involved an imposition of one particular model against alternative visions of the form and content of social arrangements. He argues that beyond this general project of social formation lies one of *socialization* which embodied a partially explicit psychology of the working class mind. Thus, "Inscribed in the original structuration of schooling are images of what it means to be rational."¹⁰⁴ In this context he points to the 'texture' of schooling, the regulation of expression within schooling, that is, performances, speech, action which are encouraged/discouraged, approved/marginalised, and the implications which this has for the assessment and grading of people. In schools, "..forms of the presentation of a certain kind of self, a social identity, appear to in-form and structure the content of what is actually said."¹⁰⁵

I shall be addressing the issue of identity formation in Chapter 2, where I shall be extending Corrigan's discussion, in order to provide an account of deviance, in my argument that an important means of explaining the way in which schooling is productive of social identity is through social cartography. Further, by de-centring the economic form of power relations and following these attempts of others to clarify these relations in other forms, my focus on the production and structuring of knowledge, will enable me to contribute to another, related, gap which has been identified by Miriam David. She states, "Studies of how schools work and of how families work abound. Descriptions of State policies, especially educational policies, are legion. But the links have not been made between the State, the family and education."¹⁰⁶ Specifically, I shall be looking at how state

intervention into schooling made it possible for one particular form of family relations to become officially equated with normality.

In summary, an adequate account of the significance of schooling requires an understanding that relations of power in any social formation are multi-form and are not derived from a unitary base. Therefore their reproduction through schooling will also be multi-form. Thus, for example, an understanding of the form and the content of the family requires an understanding of power relations based on gender. These relations may be articulated to economic relations, but they are not reducible to these.¹⁰⁷ A broader understanding of relations of power also makes it possible to consider the relationship between the school and the family which Althusser does little more than signal.

Further, because relations of power are multi-form it is important to recognise that their articulation may embody contradictions which generate tensions in relations within schooling. For example, state action in structuring and regulating teaching in order to incorporate teachers as state agents helped foster the professionalisation of this occupation. *At the same time* the programme of professionalism was used as a strategy by teachers for resisting incorporation. My argument will imply, then, not a passively socialised workforce, but an actively engaged population whose lived experience has been interpreted and negotiated in and through the official forms of structuring which I shall outline.

The purpose of the discussion so far has been to outline the concerns and assumptions which have underpinned the research for this thesis. To stress, this thesis is concerned with relations of knowledge/power. It is an investigation of *how* it is that capitalist social relations are influential on the production of educational knowledge. This will be

done by displaying the way in which state structured schooling is productive of knowledge; of social identities; and of deviance. I have stated that in order to do this I shall be developing social cartography as an interpretive framework. In the next chapter I shall explain, in some detail, what is involved in this.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY

Section 1

I argued in the last chapter that an important feature of the sociology of education has been either the *assumption* of a particular social context as the background to a focus on the internal workings of schooling, or the *assertion* of particular links between schooling and its social context. There has, however, been a neglect of the detailing of *how* links between the two are structured. This, I have maintained, has been because of problems in the ways in which power has been conceptualised. That is, attempts to deal with power have often either reduced it to institutionalised constraint (Young) or economic relations (Althusser).

In this chapter I shall argue that social cartography, by focusing on relations of power/knowledge and incorporating differing forms of power relations, makes it possible to look at the way in which the production of knowledge and the structuring of social relations are connected. In particular, it will enable me to look at the relationship between structural form (the general issue of truancy) and individual identity (the individual truant in terms of which the general issue is usually discussed).¹

In order to do this I shall need to explain the view of power which I am presupposing, before turning my attention to the exposition of social cartography. Power is a generic term referring to resources generated and mobilised in social relationships. This definition is, of necessity, minimal since, following Foucault, I shall maintain that

power is not an independent entity which people either do or do not have (the zero-sum notion). Rather, it is, "...a complex strategic relation in a given society."² It exists through action, even if this, "...is integrated into a disparate field of possibilities brought to bear upon permanent structures."³ Relations of power, therefore, are immanent in other forms of relation (ie. they do not exist outside them).

They are not necessarily consensual, though consensus may be involved. Neither are they necessarily based on violence. Rather, consensus and violence are instruments which reflect respectively, the strongest and weakest moments in relations of power.⁴ Foucault has stated that, "The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome."⁵ It does not simply prevent or mediate particular forms, but also produces, across multiple points, relations of inequality. These relations are socially (not personally) structured and are transformed/strengthened and even reversed in an unceasing struggle for them.⁶ Relations of power are therefore inescapable, though their particular forms are subject to negotiation/opposition/reversal.

The definition of power which I am adopting here, therefore moves beyond a narrow conception as exclusion/prohibition, to a definition which also incorporates the positive dimension of construction. The forms which are dealt with in this thesis are primarily those of class, gender and age; interwoven with these, at another level, are those of profession.

The locution of space integral to social cartography is not original to this. In particular, my argument is derived from the work of Foucault, who has used spatial concepts both metaphorically and non-metaphorically. However, nowhere have I found any sustained

articulation of what is involved in the systematic use of spatial concepts comparable to that which I am advancing here.

Foucault has argued that the significance of spatial concepts lies in their integral links to relations of power. "Territory is no doubt a geographical notion, but it's first of all a juridico-political one: the area controlled by a certain kind of power. Field is an economico-juridico notion.....Domain is a juridico-political notion.....Region is a fiscal, administrative, military notion....."⁷ Thus the analysis of knowledge in terms of these concepts highlights the way in which, "...knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power."⁸

The locution of space within his work has metaphorical connotations, for example, in discussions of discursive field and the theory of discourse. However, it proceeds beyond the level of metaphor in Discipline and Punish⁹ where institutions are discussed in terms of spatial configurations and there is a focus on the dissemination of micro-power through the organisation of space, and on panoptism as a technological invention in the order of power.

Spatial concepts within social cartography should be understood as operating in the second sense. Which is to say that they refer to technologies of power relations which operate at the level of knowledge/action. The specification of mechanisms which make it possible to organise social space also facilitates the clarification of the structuring of social time which is embedded in these. These mechanisms will be discussed in terms of strategies and programmes which are implemented through technologies.

Social cartography is both an informal pre-requisite for everyday social interaction and a formal sociological enterprise. As an informal

pre-requisite for everyday interaction social cartography is the reference which has to be made by participants to the social-structural outline of the features involved in any category, including the social connotations of these, which promote a shared understanding of that category when it is used, and consequently a shared definition of the situations in which it is used. It is significant since the ability to define a situation competently in terms of any category depends on being able to locate both the self and the situation in a general scheme of the social world. Consequently, it also embodies a specific understanding of social identity.

It is a formal sociological enterprise in that to provide an account of a category involves an analysis of the constituents in relation to general concepts (ie. those applicable outside this particular map) and to phenomena specific to this map, in a way which will clarify the structural forms of the taken-for-granted aspects of the category. In so doing, this enables an explanation to be constructed of what has made it possible for the particular concepts, and that which they signify, to be taken as unproblematic ('natural'). In other words, it involves a questioning of what is often left unquestioned, making it possible to show, in detail, how *one particular version* of reality/truth has come to be REALITY/TRUTH.

A map is, "...a representation, scheme, or epitome of the disposition or state of anything."¹⁰ It is a depiction, in terms of spatial arrangements, which facilitates our recognition and understanding of our position in relation to other possible positions. That is, it provides us with an orientation to where we are, in relation to where we are not and, importantly, an orientation to *who* we are (eg. British, French, etc.) in terms of our relation to the political structuring of territories.

It is therefore also a depiction of political arrangements. Since nation states and their frontiers are not static, this depiction is historical, it intersects time. It reflects a specific set of arrangements at a given point in time, though it does not reveal the temporal stream of processes which resulted in the possibility of any particular map. Its co-ordinates therefore reflect particular configurations of space/time. Thus, a map of the British Empire displays the political-spatial arrangements which resulted from wars, treaties etc., but it does not display a full account of the process of any particular war, treaty etc.. Yet, by tracing the organisation of domains the relations of power embedded in these are thrown into relief. In short, a map provides us with an orientation to the world in terms of strategies of power/knowledge.

These characteristics are important features of a social map, which is a scheme of the disposition of the constituents of a category of understanding. It exists in and through the construction of that category as part of a nexus of relations of knowledge/power and is propagated through the institutional forms of these relations. It operates on the level of knowledge, providing an important key to understanding social action.

An integral part of any social map is an understanding of social identity. Foucault has stated "...it's my hypothesis that the individual is not a pre-given entity which is seized on by the exercise of power. The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces."¹

In respect of schooling, Philip Corrigan¹² has pointed out that this supposedly neutral, knowledge-providing agency was structured to transform social relations and effect a particular form of socialisation. This was to foster, "...the presentation of a certain kind

of self, a social identity.."³ This social identity in-forms and structures the content of what is said and what is done in schools and has important implications for the assessment of speech and action as acceptable/unacceptable, and for the grading of pupils.

At this point I would like to extend Corrigan's argument, by making a distinction between two types of identity: *formalised* identity, which refers to a person's structural position and which embodies particular repertoires for social action; and *in-formed* identity, an individual's interpretation of their formalised identity, which is negotiated through social interaction in any given situation. In any situation there will be a *range* of social action which participants will accept as being harmonious with the relevant formalised identities. Outside of this range, social action will be defined as deviant. That is, *deviance can be understood as a dissonance between formalised and in-formed identity*. The extent of the range of social action which is acceptable and the implications of any dissonance between formalised and in-formed identity is, in a large part, dependent on the institutional site of the action, and would need to be empirically specified in any given case.

To put this another way, in order to be able to interact competently in any situation, people need to refer, in a taken-for-granted way, to a map, or image of a 'normal' version of that situation. This involves a range of 'acceptable'/normal identities and repertoires which are embodied in these. This, to refer to another perspective in sociology, is how people know on which recipes they may draw, in order to use their Schutzian recipe knowledge in social interaction. It is important to note, though, that the ability of people to use an acceptable repertoire of social action and therefore present an in-formed identity which is apparently harmonious with an appropriate formalised identity should not be confused with their acceptance of this. That is, "...role-performance at school need not (or, should not) be read as role-acceptance and, above all, role-internalization."⁴

When there is a situation where there is dissonance between the formalised identity integral to the 'acceptable'/normal map and the in-formed identity of someone involved in that situation, then a second map comes into play. This map enables people to make sense of the content of the dissonance, by providing a version of social identities and repertoires which are held to be integral to people whose behaviour takes this particular form.

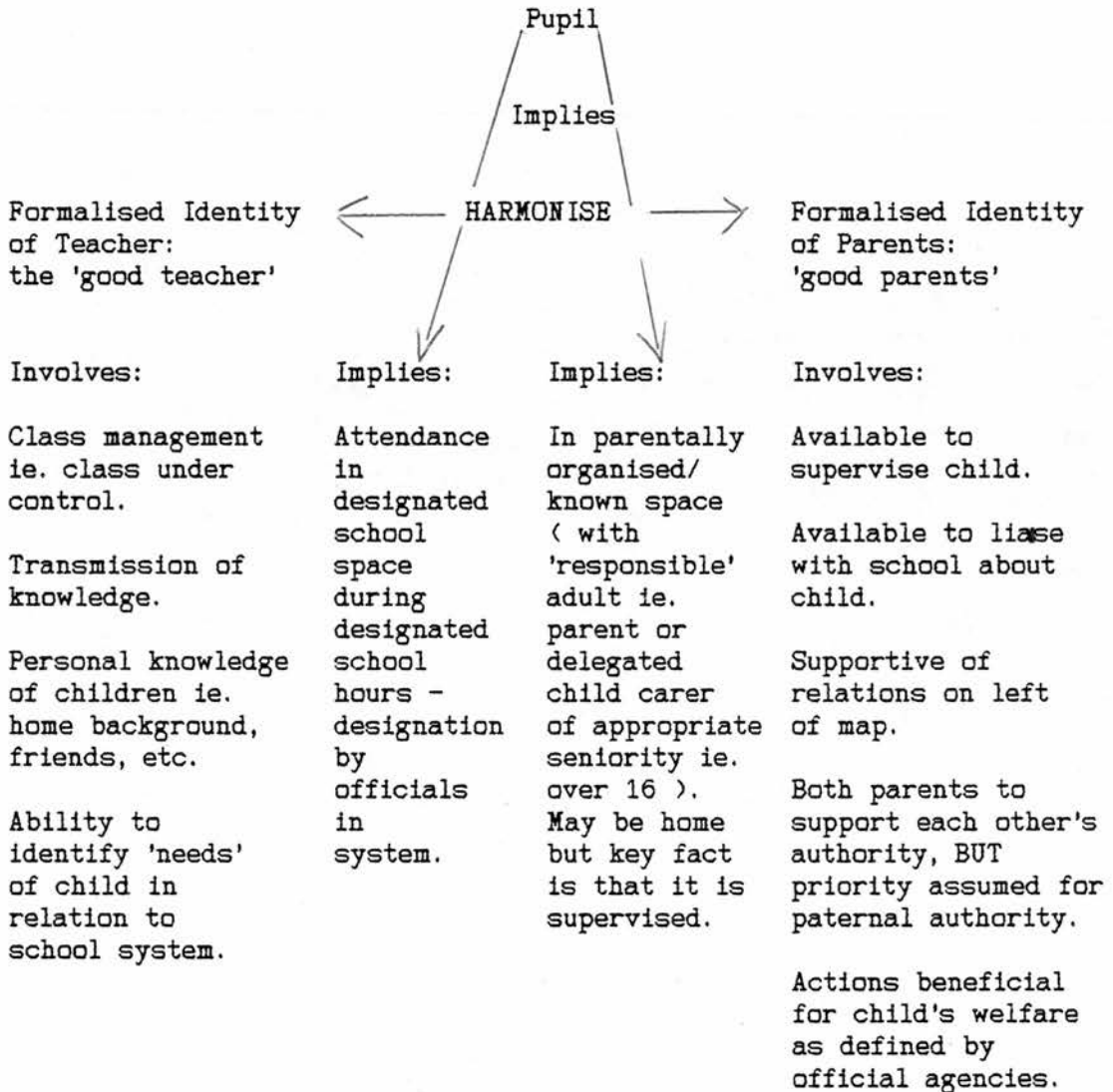
The distinction between formalised and in-formed identity is analogous to Marx's distinction between the *formal* subordination of a non-capitalist labour process to a capitalist, during the period of the rise to dominance of capitalist relations of production, and the *real* subordination of labour under capitalism.¹⁵ This analogy serves to highlight a distinction between two kinds of dissonance. The first, is dissonance resulting from the imposition of a particular model of 'normality' onto existing social relations of another form. The structuring of 'normal' family relations, which I describe in Chapter 6, is an example of this. The second, is dissonance which is *generated by the success* of the imposed model. Two examples here are the struggle of teachers for professional autonomy (described in Chapter 5), and the contemporary problem of effecting *continuity* between schooling and wider social relations, which has emerged as a result of the success of the 19th. century programme of structuring *discontinuity* between these. (I shall discuss this in Chapter 8)

I shall now clarify this discussion by giving, as examples of this, the social map of the formalised identity of child and its counterpart, the social map of the formalised identity of truant, both of which I have derived from contemporary (late 20th.century) discourse on truancy.

SOCIAL MAP OF FORMALISED IDENTITY OF CHILD

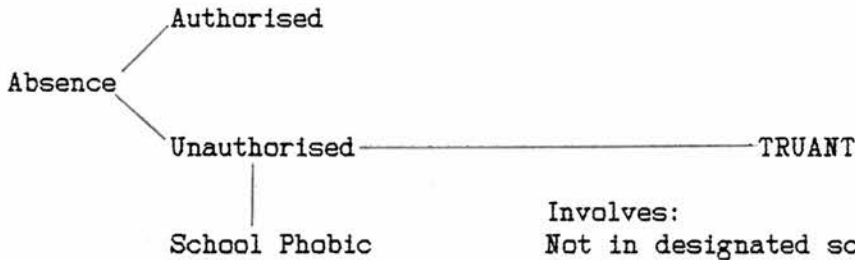
CHILD

Acceptance of Legitimate Authority Relations



In consequence, behaves according to formal/informal authoritatively defined rules of situation. Therefore only barrier to child's achievement is individual's capability.

SOCIAL MAP OF FORMALISED IDENTITY OF TRUANT



Involves:
Not in designated school space during designated school time.
Not acquiescent to legitimate authority relations.
Endangered as not in responsibly supervised space (out of vision).

Potential risks:
Delinquency, out of place - outside the law.
Poor schoolwork - can't achieve, insufficient reception of knowledge.
Inability to cope with being a member of the workforce - shorthand for responsible, contributing member of the social order.

ROOTED IN

Problem Families

Dissonance between formalised and in-formed identity of parents.
Authority relations not harmonising with those of the school.

Implies:
Inability to reconcile 'needs' of parents with 'needs' of child.

Over-caring relations involving dominant mothers and recessive fathers.

Problem Schooling

Structure and content inappropriate for approved identity formation.

Implies:
Areal location - 'deprived' areas, council estates - carries implication of structural location, ie. working class.

Structural deviation from formalised family eg. single parent family.

Faulty authority relations within family - unco-operative child, out of control, inadequate parent.

Parents unavailable to liaise with school or supervise children, their leisure pursuits and their friendships ie. 'uncaring'.

The first map displays the notion of normal social relations involving children which is implicit in discussions of truancy. It involves power/knowledge claims concerning relations of class, gender and age, and presupposes the subordination of working class people, women and young people. These claims are mediated through mechanisms involving relations of professional power. When the exercise of these forms is overt and formally supported by institutional structures then I shall refer to this as involving legitimate authority. This map therefore expresses particular forms of power relation in terms of the normality of legitimate authority.

Particular social maps are institutionally propagated and embody a particular understanding of the correct ordering of social time which involves a scheduling of social identities.¹⁶ Which is to say that someone who is truanting is out of place in terms of the social map of normality which is propagated through State schooling. This map carries within it the formalised identity of pupil, which implies child, not adult; not parent; not teacher; not worker. It implies a particular relationship of subordination to these other identities; it implies one whose movements ought to be authorised. It implies someone who is physically present at authorised times in an authorised place ie. school.

When a pupil's absence from school is unauthorised the social map of normality becomes the *implicit* counterpart of the social map of truancy. Therefore, against this first map should be set the social map of the formalised identity of truant. This consists of the explication of the category 'truant' in terms of knowledge/orthodoxies about truancy as a social problem. It expresses particular forms of power relation in terms of problems for legitimate authority: children out of control of relations of schooling¹⁷, children out of parental control, priority being given to maternal authority within family relations, parents not 'co-operating' with (ie. conforming to) school authority.



So far, though, I have only described a certain kind of knowledge which state structured schooling has produced. If I am to sustain my claim that social cartography will enable me to demonstrate *how* schooling has produced knowledge, deviance and social identities, I shall need to be able to explain where these maps come from. It would be a mistake to assume that these maps of social knowledge are expressions of some neutral central value system or some generalised consensus. These social maps are today's result of the strategies and programmes of key groups who have historically been able to negotiate successfully for the institutionalisation of *their* programme over those of other groups.

Foucault has argued that, "...the formation of discourses and the genealogy of knowledge need to be analysed,.....in terms of tactics and strategies of power. Tactics and strategies deployed through implantations, distributions, demarcations, control of territories and organisations of domains."¹⁹ Along with programmes¹⁹, strategy is a means of linking action and knowledge. It is formed by the convergence of aims and objectives which are successively linked and based on particular relations.²⁰

At the level of knowledge, I have referred to a social map. At the level of action, I shall refer to an institutional diagram. A diagram is "...a figure or plan intended to explain rather than represent actual appearance."²¹ The diagram on page 53 provides an explanation of the action which has made possible the social maps on pages 49 and 50, and, as such, can also be seen as a key to the organisation of this thesis.

DIAGRAM OF LEVELS OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTION
WHICH MADE POSSIBLE THE SOCIAL MAPS OF CHILD AND TRUANT

Ruling Elite/Fraction of Ruling Class¹

Administration²

Professionalisation
of Teaching⁵

Technology of Inspection³
involved:

The structuring of space and the
structuring of identities within
schools⁴

The structuring of time through the
problem, in terms of the social
division of labour, of a clash
between in-formed identity and
formalised identity in school
Formulation of the content of the
curriculum to be relevant to
be relevant to appropriate identity
formation⁶

Attempt to make administration
cost-efficient: Revised Code

The structuring of individuals
through tighter implementation
of regulation and supervision
beyond inspection visit. Used
mechanisms of the register and
individual written examination to
construct a hierarchy of
achievement⁷

-
- (1) Aimed to propagate social relations congruent with industrial capitalist order. Central problem of schooling the working classes set the parameters for institutional action.
 - (2) Education office structured and implemented rules for allocating grants.
 - (3) The key officials (ie. inspectors) mediated between the education office and the sector of the social world which it was to structure. Their reports constituted 'knowledge' of that world in terms of the parameters of the administrative rules. They show how these regulations relate to that world, by stating problems and advantages of implementation. That is, they are the point of the visible application and modification of the programmes.
 - (4) This was to provide a model for extra-school relations.
 - (5) Involved the contradiction of teachers' strategies based on this power form in conflict with the institutionalised programme
 - (6) This made possible the construction of a particular knowledge of the problem of schooling working class children: that of *knowing their place*.
 - (7) This made possible the epistemological and ontological shift to the problem of schooling as being concerned with *the ability of individual subjects to achieve a position*.

The programmes and strategies outlined in the diagram need to be understood as operating at several levels:

- (1) at the level of a ruling elite or fraction of a ruling class
- (2) at the level of administration
- (3) at the level of professionalisation

The institutions through which they operated acted as pressure points for the application and modification of the programmes and strategies. As Dale has pointed out, in considering this it is important to consider the implications which particular institutional mechanisms may have.

Further, it is also important to consider the contradictions which may be embodied in particular programmes and strategies. Thus the programme of structuring the social identity of teacher and professionalising the occupation in order to raise the status of this group as purveyors of authorised social relations within their local communities, involved the propagation of a professional identity among teachers. This made possible the contesting of claims to legitimate authority over schooling between the state and teachers. Thus, there were the unsuccessful struggles of the Educational Institute for Scotland to assert professional power/knowledge, claiming it to be the basis for legitimate authority over what happened in education. This was against the institutionally supreme class power which successfully claimed legitimate authority on the basis of ruling class responsibility.

The institutional action embodied in the diagram involved a specialisation of spatial arrangements, which were aimed at moulding thought and action. This presupposed a generalisation of individuals - a moulding of individuality in relation to a formalised identity (the personification of a strategy). It also involved a structuring of temporal relations through the social division of labour which regulated rhythms of population life (a compartmentalisation of living). Further, there was the structuring of what was to count as

good teaching practice and its transformation into what was to count as teaching. What it was to be a good pupil and to provide efficient schooling coalesced to produce one particular pattern of school attendance as *regular* attendance. A shift from the structure of schooling to the content marks another level of institutional action. It is the *content* of this structure of normality/abnormality which constitutes the core substance of the map of the social problem. This content is based on one particular form of family relations: male-dominated, with the woman's primary task being to service the needs of her husband and children.

A final shift in terms of institutional action signalled the emergence of the possibility of an ontological and epistemological shift. Schooling, aimed at structuring social relations and producing knowledge of/for a class, had involved the generalisation of individuals. Changes in the mechanisms for regulating schooling in the 1860's involved the individualisation of general school assessment thus making possible the shift to schooling being aimed at fostering individual achievement. This shift from an overtly class-focused concern to an overtly individualistic concern was a prerequisite for the emergence of the individual problematic child - the truant.

Having set out what is involved in social cartography, the questions it has enabled me to ask and the kinds of answers which it will help me to display, I shall return, briefly, to the four questions which, I have argued, will need to be answered if social cartography is to be considered as a worthwhile sociological endeavour. These concern with whose programmes I shall be dealing; what were they about; how were they implemented; and with what result. In arguing my thesis I shall be providing answers to each of these. However, before embarking on this in the rest of the thesis, I shall conclude this chapter with a section which will provide an overview and an impression of relations of schooling into which the state was intervening.

Section 2

Following the Durkheimian argument referred to earlier, truancy is viewed here as the deviant counterpart of normal school attendance. Its social map is therefore integrally linked to the theory and practice of a system of schooling. This theory and practice involve issues of biopolitics. Jones and Williamson²² have already explored the usefulness of Foucault's concepts of biopolitics and disciplinary relations in their discussion of popular education in 19th. century England. In *Birth of the Schoolroom* they investigate how it was possible for popular education to be formulated as a necessity.

Their research into 19th. century writings on education reveals three major areas of expressed concern: the expense and difficulties of poor relief administration; the threat posed to governmental authority by the extent of immorality; and the increase in crime, particularly juvenile crime registered in police and judicial statistics. These areas were treated as *moral* problems, that is, problems of the principles and habits (*mores*) of the population. Thus, poor relief (which was viewed as economically and politically important in connection with the prosperity and strength of the nation) and the problem of its expense were viewed in relation to popular mores. If poor relief was necessary, it was argued, then it should encourage independence not dependence. Therefore it was important to teach destitute and orphaned children a trade so that they could support themselves by their own labour. This was the way in which popular education was formulated as a necessity in relation to the State of the Poor. The concern with the State of Public Morals took as its object a range of behaviour from licentiousness to free thought and irreligion. This behaviour was viewed as a deterioration in the state of popular habits and was held to be subversive of governmental, legal and religious authority. Popular education was defined here as a need for the diffusion of true and religious principles of conduct among the whole population. The Increase in Crime was seen as being connected

with a proliferation of criminal habits among a population basically devoid of moral principle. Popular instruction here was a tactic to develop true principles of conduct as the basis for the formation of useful habits.

After 1830, "...the statement of the need for popular education....., was formulated in relation to a set of problems, concerning: the rate of crime and of juvenile delinquency in particular; the extent of pauperism and its growth; and the problem of public health in respect of habits of cleanliness and such like; but it was formulated in relation to these problems ONLY in so far as they were represented as being determined by the existence of conditions (moral topographies) which trained up children continually to crime, to pauperism and to unhealthy habits."²³ In this period there is a predominance of two types of statement which often intersect. *Topographical* statements dealt with *spatial* themes, identifying types of conduct (eg. criminality) with features of a particular area; variations in these features were seen as predisposing the people of that area to a corresponding change in their mores. *Historical* statements dealt with *temporal* themes. Sectors of the population, distinguished by habits of life (eg. criminals, paupers), were held to have passed through a series of stages on the way to their particular habits; in turn, this was used as an explanation for the habits of the population concerned. Classes were defined in terms of these two dimensions: knowledge of classes being constituted in relation to concerns about moral topographies and the upbringing assumed to be implicit in these. Thus the growth in criminality implied a moral contagion between the criminal and other classes. The expression 'dangerous classes' was, "...the general mode of formulation of political and social problems."²⁴

All this opened up the possibility of *topography management* which was directed at eliminating topographies of the 'dangerous classes' and which took two forms: one operated on general characteristics of topographies (eg. routing new roads through the centre of criminal

districts); the other created separate spaces of moral training to take the place of that which people would otherwise receive as a result of the moral topography of their class.²⁵ Similarly, time was treated as a dimension of the process of moral transformation, raising the issue of the necessary duration of a child's attendance at school in order to ensure optimal moral education.

In short, Jones and Williamson show that, ".....it is not simply as a means of socialisation or social control that early nineteenth century schooling exists, but as a means of securing public morality and preventing crime, as a means for forming a population with useful habits through the instrument of good principles in order to secure a moral foundation for governmental and religious authority. Similarly, in a later period schooling begins to exist specifically as a means for regulating the relations between the classes of the population by forming an instrument which is able to modify a class's moral topography, that is the very conditions that were perceived to define a class in its essential traits. Schools then became a set of techniques specifically adapted to class characteristics forming together with the other conditions of a class's existence a new regime for the correct upbringing of that clas's juvenile members."²⁶

In the conclusion to their argument, Jones and Williamson note a discursive shift which made possible a re-definition of the function of schooling and consequently a reversal of opposition to compulsion. This shift involved the belief that the competitiveness of British manufacturers was not so much hindered by the removal of a cheap source of labour, as helped by a workforce which could introduce and quickly adapt to innovations in productive techniques. This pre-supposed a numerate and literate, that is, a schooled workforce. The shift further involved a change in the representation of schooling as a condition of individual liberty. They maintain that within political discourse this was basically seen as the ability of a person

to organise their own affairs rationally and to participate in a friendly society or co-operative. This presupposed the ability to read, write and count. The statement of the necessity for compulsory schooling was, then, founded on a discursive field which had a discourse on institutions at its centre. This was intersected by a political discourse on the conditions of freedom within a liberal state, and a political-economic discourse on the conditions of competition within world markets.²⁷

Jones and Williamson note that there was a change in the mode of state inspection of schools in the 1860's. They argue that there is a need for further research to discover whether the discursive shift outlined above was implicated in this change or whether the change must have formed a fundamental condition of the shift.²⁸ In the later part of the thesis I shall be looking in some detail at the way in which state inspection changed in the 1860's and shall be arguing that this administrative change had fundamental epistemological and ontological implications for education. This made possible the emergence of an argument for the necessity of universal compulsory schooling in the form in which Jones and Williamson outline.

Theory and practice involving issues of biopolitics can be further illustrated by contrasting the pattern of attendance which is today considered as normal with that of early 19th. century Scotland. Today, for people between the ages of 5 and 16, full time attendance at a purpose-built location where specially trained adults offer instruction, authorised by the state, is considered to be normal and appropriate. However, the situation in 19th. century Scotland, prior to the intervention of the state, was very different.

A school, at this time, was simply any place where instruction (usually in reading, though sometimes in writing and arithmetic) was offered, and a teacher was anyone who offered the instruction. A dame

school, for example, was usually held by a single woman in her kitchen. In isolated areas, such as in the Highlands and Islands, where instruction was available only intermittently, an itinerant teacher, who might be a pupil from a neighbouring school, would give instruction in a local house.²⁹

An elite of schools had secure funding; teachers who were trained or had some experience of university; and offered the possibility of studying a range of subjects at a level sufficiently advanced to enable successful pupils to enter university. Generally speaking, these would be the more affluent endowed schools, most burgh schools, some parochial schools³⁰, and, even more rarely, affluent schools run on a teacher's own adventure. It is on the basis of these schools, and, in particular, on the formal possibility of a pupil moving from parish school to university, that Scotland's reputation in terms of a 'democratic intellect' is generally propounded.³¹ Most schools, though, were not of this sort, and the sparse evidence indicates that they were often makeshift affairs, being held in lofts, sheds, or similar premises, taught by those, such as failed businessmen and people unable to continue their normal occupations because of injury, who were unable to sell their skills in other labour markets; or, alternatively, who mixed teaching with other occupations. The schools often continued for as long as the teacher was able to eke out a living from them, and ceased to exist when a sufficient income could no longer be made and the teacher moved on. Even where this was not the case, facilities were likely to be limited, ".the typical turn-of-the-century schoolhouse was a small drystone or stone and mortar building, with a thatched or divoted roof, measuring about thirty feet in length, twelve to eighteen feet in width, and six or seven feet in height. The interior, lighted by three or four small windows, was partitioned, with only the master's living section floored. The common practice of the master taking boarders added to the already cramped conditions."³²

A pattern of schooling as part of a hierarchy of instruction, and therefore as antecedent to other activities, similar to that which is today considered as normal, was at this time merely one of a number of patterns which co-existed. For the young people who might potentially attend school, it was one aspect of a way of life which was circumscribed by seasonal rhythms and opportunities to participate in the local labour market. For example, reports of state school inspectors note districts where agricultural labourers attended school three months every year in winter, but extended their attendance over so many years that in some of the inspected schools some of the pupils might be older than their teacher. The interspersing of schooling with periods of wage-earning was a common pattern.³³ Thus, in rural districts or fishing villages schools might cease to exist at periods such as harvest-time, when the teacher, as well as the pupils could be engaged in other tasks related to the harvest. Often, though, rather than ceasing to exist altogether, a school might run with fewer pupils, for example, if weather conditions prevented pupils from reaching the school. Or, alternatively, it might run with a teacher-substitute if the demands of a teacher's other occupation meant that they needed to be elsewhere, for example, if the teacher was a trainee ('stickit') minister who would have to attend university for a few terms.

In short, schooling at this period was a diverse phenomenon. Schools did not tend to be purpose-built, or characterised by particular architectural forms in the way that they are today. The space given to schools was, like the time allocated to them, largely dependent on the local way of life. People attended school as and when they felt it appropriate, there being little uniformity either to the rhythm or the overall duration of their attendance. The shift from multiple patterns of schooling with a fluidity of social identities such that pupil/teacher/worker were not mutually exclusive categories to that of today, where any pattern other than that of full time school attendance, involving participation in a hierarchy of instruction prior to other activities is considered as deviant, and where the social identities of

teacher and pupil are clearly demarcated, involved both a change in common practices as well as a closing off of alternative possibilities in favour of one particular pattern of social action which was to become the norm. By contrasting these two situations it can be seen that the creation of the 'normal' also involved a change in the social constitution of time and space.

In this thesis I shall be looking at how it was possible to move from this first situation to the second. I shall argue that it was in and through this institutional shift that the contours of the problem of truancy were outlined: for the shift involved the creation of an authorised time and place for schooling and truancy is, first and foremost, about being in an unauthorised place at an unauthorised time. At another level, therefore, this thesis is also concerned with the construction of a particular theory and practice of normal spatial/temporal relations. Durkheim maintained that, "At the roots of all our judgements there are a certain number of essential ideas which dominate all our intellectual life; they are what philosophers since Aristotle have called the categories of the understanding : ideas of time, space.....They are like the solid frame which encloses all thought..."³⁴

This discourse, the structuring of events both at the level of knowledge and action, was being constructed in a world in which the social relations of industrial capitalism were usurping pre-existing social relations. The categorisation of space and the counting of time were therefore important for the construction of a new social order. Spatial arrangements will be shown to be important because, more than simply the physical context of action, they were predicated on a theory of moral action - bad habits being identified with problematic spatial organisation. Similarly, temporal relations were important not simply because they specified a time of day, week, year when schooling was to be experienced; but because schooling was about the correct upbringing of the population, it was therefore to precede full participation in the

social order. It thus pre-supposed the social identity of pupil as involving children and precluding the social identity of worker.

The regulation of schools was therefore about the regulation of areas of life, in the sense of physical locations, forms of social interaction and individual biography. It was about the structuring of what was viewed as a social necessity and its transformation into an educational necessity.

CHAPTER 3

THE REGULATION OF 19TH. CENTURY SCHOOLS: WHOSE PROGRAMMES?

Section 1

I have indicated that a social map is today's result of yesterday's programmes of power, and that the key to understanding the social map of truancy is the role of state involvement in schooling. Further, I take from Foucault the argument that the institutional form of the knowledge/power nexus within a disciplinary regime is hierarchical and operates invisibly, through the definition of modes of operation as 'practical' within a given context. Therefore, in order to explain the framework in terms of which 'knowledge' about schooling and attendance were produced, in this chapter I shall examine state involvement in schooling. In doing this I shall be able to examine a topic which has virtually been ignored within histories of schooling, that is, the way in which the kind of knowledge which could be produced in inspection reports was structured. In other words, I shall be providing a re-assessment of the significance of these documents.

My discussion needs to be set against two different kinds of account of the substantive material with which I am dealing in this chapter. These are those concerning administrative history¹ and histories of Scottish education.² Both kinds involve the narration of events, punctuated by legislative enactments, in terms of the interplay of organisations and individuals. They are characterised by the tendency to assume, often implicitly, that they are referring to a, more or less smooth, process of evolution towards an enlightened and *enlightening* expansion of schooling provision for the mass of the population. Such histories view state intervention in the form of inspection as a

logical step in this rational progression, with the reports of inspectors being equated with KNOWLEDGE about schooling.

There are, though, problems concerning the explanatory efficacy of these accounts. For example, they cannot explain why it was that official action was targeted at improving the social status and formalised identity of teachers; yet, attempts by teachers to further this, by professionalising the occupation, were firmly restricted, in so far as these attempts involved a shift in the control of the structuring and content of the occupation from the State to teachers themselves. (I shall discuss this directly in Chapter 5)

A further example is that, other than in terms of the personal intransigence of individual politicians or state officials, they cannot explain why inspectors were stopped from holding annual meetings to discuss their mutual problems. From about 1846 school inspectors met annually in London for this purpose. Gradually, this conference became a forum for expressing opinions on official education policy and by the mid-fifties controversial matters were being put to the vote. It was at this point that the process of suppressing these meetings began. Initially, the Lord President (Earl Granville) and the Vice-President (C.B. Adderley) disputed the right of inspectors to criticise official policy, on the grounds that they were civil servants, and the practice was stopped. Finally, in 1859 the conferences themselves were stopped by the new Vice-President, Robert Lowe.³

To appreciate the significance of this it is necessary to understand the position and role of inspectors in respect of the nexus of relations of knowledge/power. As Corrigan has argued,⁴ to focus on personnel and performance is to obscure the significance of structural forms. I shall show that it is by considering these structural forms that it becomes possible to understand the deeper implications, in terms of producing and sustaining a social order, of official insistence

on the necessity of the authorisation of social action at all levels of the institutional hierarchy. Such an exercise quickly reveals the impossibility of sustaining accounts of these events in terms of an evolutionary progression.

Ultimately, such accounts must be rejected as inadequate. For even though some⁵ may provide us with descriptions of the fine detail of events, they all miss the integral linking of these to wider social relations. At best, this aspect is construed as the *context* or background against which organisations and individuals are sited: an asserted linking of occurrences in a narration containing no examination of the means or the significance of their linking. At worst, it is absent altogether from an inward-looking description of events.⁶

In contrast, I shall maintain that state intervention into the structuring of schooling should be considered in terms of the transformation of general programmes of class power, in the substantive form of issues of space/time, into the neutral administration of economic and efficient education. I shall do this by directly examining the links between relations of state power and the legitimising authority of the institutional apparatus for intervening into schooling.

In developing my argument I shall (in Section 2) draw on work which has been done on this period by historians and sociologists, in order to outline, briefly, the way in which existing social relations were considered to be a problem. I shall then explain with whose strategies I am dealing and why the state was a target for the adoption of these as programmes of power, before indicating the reason for these programmes being supported in Scotland beyond the relatively small group of people who were involved in their initial promotion.

In Section 3 I shall turn my attention directly to the 19th. century state in Britain. I shall again be drawing on the work of others in order to describe what was involved in this, in relation to a discussion of schooling. This description will then enable me to examine more closely, the mechanisms through which the programmes to which I have referred were institutionalised. I shall do this by examining the Committee of Privy Council on Education, the education office and the relationship between these. My discussion of these and my argument in Section 4 have been based on the evidence given to the 1864 Select Committee on Education (Inspectors' Reports) and that given to the 1865 Select Committee on the Constitution of the Committee of Council on Education as well as the work of historians in this area.

A description of mechanisms and the initial purposes for which they were set up provides only a partial account of institutionalisation. A full account needs also to explain how their implementation was sustained. I shall argue that this was partly achieved by ensuring that personnel were recruited through patronage. I shall go on to show (in Section 4) that it was further sustained by the strict interpretation of Committee of Council Minutes, the censorship of inspection reports and the restriction of inspectors' interaction. Finally, I shall maintain that this form of the institutionalisation made possible the production of *a particular class-based knowledge* of schooling and its problems. *A knowledge* which, because of the particular form of its production, was to become 'neutralised' and was later to be equated with KNOWLEDGE OF EDUCATION and its PROBLEMS.

Section 2

I indicated earlier that as part of the construction of the social relations of industrial capitalism a new order of spatial/temporal relations was being moulded; but, in what way was the old order a problem?

The description of pre-regulation schooling is a reflection of a wider social situation prior to the large-scale organisation of industrial production. At this period rhythms of living were governed by natural seasons and irregular task-work. Consequently, mixed occupations were not unusual and the home was often also the place of productive work, the division of labour in respect of this reflecting familial authority relations. This spatial/temporal order was not an obstacle for early forms of industrialisation, such as the putting out system, which used the home-based family as a unit of production. It became a problem, as Thompson⁷ has pointed out, with the use of technical innovations involving the development of large-scale organisation and machine power, since these necessitated the synchronisation of order which was facilitated by clock-time. Further, it fostered a compartmentalisation of living, which is exemplified by the setting up of a special location for work. This created the political problem of the control and regulation of the workforce.

Smelser⁸, in his analysis of the textile industry, argues that initially this problem was avoided by employing family groups in the workplace - following the traditional pattern of father as skilled worker and mother and children as auxiliary workers. However, the demise of this pattern, in the 1820's and 1830's, accompanied an increase in the scale of factories and technical developments which reduced the need for skilled workers and increased the need for the unskilled.⁹

This shifting of the authority relations of the family back to the home, no longer considered as a place of work, necessitated the development of a different form of work discipline. The authority relations of the family had acted as a bridge between an older social order and a new one which was to be, "...marked by time-thrift and by a clear demarcation between 'work' and 'life'."¹⁰ The problem of the spatial/temporal order was, then, a problem for the organisation of industrial capitalism: it was that of the construction of a new social order involving authority relations and popular mores which would facilitate the organisation and discipline of a workforce. At this level, it was an issue of class control.

But for whom, in particular, was this an issue of schooling and what were the factors which made it possible for it to be constructed in this particular way? Johnson¹¹ identifies certain 'experts' as being important agitators for a state educational system. "Expertise is best described through a kind of composite biography, focusing on central or symptomatic individuals, but 'placing' them socially."¹²

He considers intellectuals and radical politicians in the 1830's and examines the significance of philosophic radicalism, pointing out that Utilitarianism was being propagated at this time. Indeed, as Finer has argued, "Any Benthamite was automatically an educationist, since his philosophy depended on the perfectability of society through the free play of its members' ENLIGHTENED self-interest.....Education was desirable because it prevented juvenile delinquency and mendicancy; because it increased a labourer's skill, productivity, and earning power; because it prevented the growth of criminal classes; and because it led the workman to realize his true interests lay not in "communism" or Chartism, but in harmony with his employers."¹³ Johnson notes also that from Malthus' *Second Essay on Population* onwards economists were endorsing educational solutions and further, that the political ideas of James Mill were based on a psychology which required a general 'rational' education.

Although he argues that the direct influence of Benthamism was waning by the late 1830's, he suggests that by this time it had already become a fundamental component of middle class common sense. He states, "...many of the innovations that broke with conservative attitudes arose, in part, from this London intellectual milieu - SDUK, mechanics' institutes, the middle class end of the attack on the Taxes on Knowledge."¹⁴

However, despite its importance, Johnson stresses that it would be a mistake to identify 'expertise' with Benthamism or a particular intellectual milieu. "The precipitating moment of 'expertise' was the contradictory juxtaposition of liberal theories and the observation, out of a bourgeois culture, of working-class behaviour.....Only provincial men could gauge the gulf between political improvement and the actual state of the class."¹⁵

Johnson divides educational 'experts' into two groupings: older men, that is, aged 38 - 45 in 1830 and who held positions in government by 1835 (eg. Edwin Chadwick - Poor Law Commission; Leonard Horner - factory inspector; G.R.Porter - head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade; Nassau Senior - economist and personal adviser to Whig ministers since 1831) and younger men, such as James Kay, who were 17 - 28 in 1830.

In the latter group Kay's career was typical of the 'expert' pattern. Coming from commercial origins, his family being in cotton, calico printing and banking, he had views which were largely compatible with the industrial bourgeoisie. He trained in Edinburgh and also became involved in statistical enquiry. He had contacts with Chadwick and Senior and was appointed as a Poor Law Commissioner.

There were, "...certain nodal points where experts met and discussed their enthusiasms: London salons, the London and provincial statistical societies, the annual meetings of the Statistical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the provincial networks of organisations like the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, caucuses around particular government enquiries or departments, especially the Poor Law Commission, and the friendships and contacts tying Edinburgh to London."¹⁶

Two aspects of this which are of particular importance for this thesis are the Edinburgh - London connection and the interest in statistics. Most important government figures at this time had received part of their education in Edinburgh.¹⁷ The significance of this was that during the period in which these men were attending university there the courses offered were heavily influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment with its stress on conjectural history which involved a notion of evolution (ie. the study of successive epochs of human society).¹⁸ Of particular importance here was Dugald Stewart¹⁹ who taught James Mill and who introduced both Horner and possibly Kay to the ideas of Smith and Ferguson²⁰. His influence extended to the group which formed the Edinburgh Review (to which figures such as Brougham were regular contributors), an important Whig journal which provided a medium for a wider dissemination of these ideas.²¹

As has been indicated, links between these 'experts' extended beyond their university experience. Thus, Corrigan claims that from 1808 James Mill with, later David Ricardo, Francis Place and, acting as Bentham's secretary for a while, J.S. Mill, discussed the ideas of the Scottish Moralists and those of political economy, although there were some differences in their views²².

In short, these experts, "...did not form a 'group' in the classic sociological sense, nor even, united by a single organisation, a

'movement'. But personal links WERE quite dense, and expertise DID have a definite social character and a real ideological coherence. At its heart was a coalition of liberal intellectuals with strong personal or ideological links with industrial capital. The apparent exceptions to this - men from landed or clerical backgrounds - none the less adopted the viewpoint of capital as a perspective and city or industrial populations as an object of concern."²³

Having looked at the kind of people who were advocating strategies which involved education as a solution to the problems of the new order, we shall now need to look at the reasons for education being seen in this way, before going on to examine the reasons for the state being seen as a means to this end.

As I have suggested, these 'experts' viewed industrialisation as basically progressive. However, they were also concerned with its accompanying problems. Some difficulties were seen as unsolvable because they were 'providential'. For example, periodic crises of capital accumulation were naturalised by being discussed in terms of 'storms' or 'seasons'; the inequalities of class were also dealt with in this way.²⁴ The dangers of these, though, was that ignorance might lead some people to see them as causes for discontent.

Problems which were not viewed as 'natural' were not held to be connected with large-scale industrial capitalism. Rather, they were discussed in terms of metaphors of 'invasion' and 'disease'²⁵ and, as Jones and Williamson have argued, were viewed as problems of the principles and habits of the population.²⁶

Johnson points out that two possible kinds of politics are embedded in these views, "...a populist, anti-aristocratic radicalism or an alliance with 'reforming' politicians to 'change the people'."²⁷ Both kinds

shared a deflection of responsibility for these problems from industrial capitalism and, as he argues, in the writings of the 'experts' the two responses were not mutually exclusive since the moral engineering necessary for changing people required the persuasion of aristocratic politicians to act. Thus, though policies differed in relation to the specific problems with which their advocates were concerned, they all stressed the importance of transforming working class belief and behaviour.²⁹ Hence the importance of schooling as a means for achieving this end.

This transformation was, though, to be structured from the perspective of these 'experts' with their shared aims and interests, and not, for example, from the perspectives of Chartism, Owenism or trades unionism all of which were advocating national provision of schooling at this time.

The strategies of the 'experts' in advocating State intervention into schooling were not, therefore, simply concerned with the provision of something which was lacking, they were aimed at correcting that which was already present.²⁹ It is important to stress that, because they did not constitute a united 'movement', although 'experts' were advocating a national system of education, there was no unity as to what was meant by this. Further, it needs to be remembered that they were working within the pre-given limits of a politics of education dominated by disputes between religious factions.

Therefore, Johnson argues that they canvassed maximum and minimum versions of their proposed programmes. These ranged from proposals involving a complete state system (ie. Ministry of Public Instruction, control over curriculum, books, the training and certification of teachers, compulsory attendance, separation of religious and secular instruction, the statutory levying of school rates and the creation of a structure of local administration.), to municipal solutions requiring

enabling legislation. "But the commonest form of programme envisaged, as the key priority, the founding of a government department.....with a few limited but strategic functions. The model of government action was 'incremental', persuasive, directive - a matter of educating the educators Government should thus supply,..., 'the great element of all state organizations - a central, controlling and directing power'."³⁰

Arguments in favour of state action also derived from political economists at this time, who argued that since education was unlike other commodities, laissez-faire was an inappropriate principle on which to base schooling. The reason for this was that it was believed that an endogenous demand could not be assumed since a taste for schooling required cultivation. To fail to do this was to open the way to 'neglect' or to Socialist or Chartist agitators. Beside this needs to be placed the critique of existing philanthropic educational practices. This was both quantitative and organisational. It involved a second feature of Kay's biography which is of particular significance for this thesis: that is, the interest in statistics.

The political use of educational statistics to reveal the inadequacies of philanthropic provision of schooling was a defining feature of 'expertise'.³¹ But these 'facts' were not only understood as displaying the quantitative insufficiency of day-schools, but were also used to display the qualitative poverty of private schools and the intrinsic organisational deficiencies of philanthropy. This, by definition, relied on the fluctuating interest of benefactors. Therefore resources were often inadequate for the maintenance of existing schools and any improvement or expansion was out of the question. Lacking in adequate supervision, the existing schools were held to be often wasteful and inefficient. "Only the state could bring direction to its 'zig-zag course', coherence to its 'education in sections', and regular supervision and guaranteed support to its intrinsic impermanence."³²

The class fraction to which I have been referring in this discussion constituted a relatively small number of people. Yet, in Scotland, which had large areas not directly affected by the changes in urban industrialisation, the impact of these ideas carried beyond this narrow grouping of 'experts' and into these same areas. In order to account for this I shall return to a consideration of the development of statistics.

The interest which the 'experts' showed in statistical enquiry can be related to what Ian Hacking³³ has referred to as 'statistical utilitarianism'. This contributed to the 19th. century 'avalanche of numbers' and was an intrinsic part of the moral classification of things and people at this time. The first major statistical work was the 21 volume *Statistical Survey of Scotland (1791-1799)*³⁴ which was compiled from responses of Church of Scotland ministers to questions about the state of their parishes. The word 'statistical' in this work was used to denote, "...an inquiry directed at the conditions of life of a country, in order to establish the quantum of happiness of the inhabitants."³⁵

By the middle of the century the 'avalanche' was well and truly under way, fostering a method of solving practical problems by the collection of data, "...classifications multiplied because this was the form of this new kind of discourse. Even though any new single classification usually had a straightforward motivation that can be reported by the external historian; the very fact of the classifications and of the counting was internal to a new practice."³⁶

Although Sinclair and the Calvinist ministers of the Church of Scotland were not Benthamites, they shared a Benthamite interest in a 'calculus of felicity'.³⁷ This affinity makes it possible to understand the broader impact of these ideas in Scotland, and brings into consideration the significance of the Scottish dimension. A notable

feature of Scottish culture has been the impact of presbyterianism.³⁸ Max Weber, in discussing the compatibility of protestantism and capitalism, has argued that the Reformation meant the instigation of a total regulation of conduct which permeated all aspects of public and private life.³⁹ In particular Calvinism, the doctrinal core of Scotland's established religion, maintained that a Christian's social activity in the world (including that which served the mundane life of the community) was for the greater glory of God. "Brotherly love,.....is expressed in the first place in the fulfilment of the daily tasks given by the *lex naturae*;.....that of service in the interest of the rational organization of our social environment. For the wonderfully purposeful organization and arrangement of this cosmos is,....designed by God to serve the utility of the human race."⁴⁰ Weber held that this was the source of the utilitarian character of Calvinist ethics, "The God of Calvinism demanded of his believers not single good works, but a life of good works combined into a unified system."⁴¹

The methodically rationalised ethical conduct demanded by Calvinism was congruous with other forms of utilitarianism and reinforced the movement towards the disciplinary society which was involved in the form of industrial capitalism being developed in 19th. century Britain. Because of the status of Calvinism in Scotland, there were institutionalised moves towards a disciplinary society being made by ministers throughout the country, even in non-industrial areas.

However, congruity with other social phenomena does not necessarily mean an identity of interests; for the order which the Calvinists were concerned with was that of God, not that of industrial capitalism. Thus, class was not a feature of primary importance in their view, as it was in the view of members of the Committee of Council on Education. This was because the Calvinists held that there was no way of knowing who were among God's elect. *Everyone*, therefore, had to live *as if* they were. This indicates why life-style and habits were so important to adherents to the religion.

This *overlap*, as opposed to *direct coincidence*, of concerns indicates the reason for Scottish inspection reports being less overtly class focused than the English,⁴² and further, it illuminates the outrage expressed in Scottish petitions to the Committee of Council concerning moves which were obviously class-based, such as the Revised Code's requirement that a child's parents should be identified in terms of their social class in school documentation.⁴³

This discussion of the significance of Calvinism and the muted language of class should not, though, be construed as implying that Scotland was a haven of egalitarianism. This type of belief has been analysed by McCrone et al. who argue that, "No myth is more prevalent and persistent than that asserting Scotland is a 'more equal' society than England (or Britain) and that Scots are somehow 'more egalitarian' than others in these islands."⁴⁴ They stress that like most myths, it exemplifies a set of social beliefs and values from which are derived accounts of the world and social identities for the believers. As such, it draws selectively on the past and should not, therefore, be taken to be an accurate description of the distribution of resources and opportunities in the social structure.⁴⁵ "The ideological hero is undoubtedly the 'lad o' pairts' born into poverty but succeeding in the world despite formidable obstacles.Success came because the institutional means to mobility were there and every encouragement was given to the young man who sought a university education."⁴⁶

In particular, it is often referred to in the context of discussions of Scottish education. This can be related to the early attempt in Scotland to make widespread, systematic provision of schooling. This was the result of presbyterian effort to adhere to Knox's argument, in the First Book of Discipline (1560) concerning the importance of providing a school in every parish.

However, assertions of egalitarianism are not so much made on the basis of what is intrinsic to the Scottish situation as *relative* to what is held to be lacking in England⁴⁷: it is a way of establishing distance from English hierarchy and aristocratic status structures.⁴⁸ Thus, many parishes, especially the poorer ones, didn't achieve Knox's ideal.⁴⁹ Although the organisation of the Scottish church was more democratic than that of the episcopalians in that ultimate control lay in the kirk sessions, which had powerful voices in presbyteries and the General Assembly; elections of members were managed, and in cities and smaller towns this meant middle class control.⁵⁰

Further, the upper classes of society tended to send their children to school in England. Thus Grant⁵¹ notes that children attending burgh schools (the schools which are often referred to in discussions of educational mobility) tended to belong to social classes which could loosely be described as upper working or lower middle. Therefore the kind of mixing of social groupings often implied in respect of Scottish education would be more pertinent to *formal possibility* than necessarily describing the actuality of social mixture.⁵²

In fact, the term 'egalitarianism' is quite misleading for in education it referred to this *formal possibility* for an able male pupil to proceed from parish school to university.⁵³ In other words, it was used to indicate *equality of (male) opportunity* - a notion which would today be characterised as *elitist*. The myth is premised on the existence of a hierarchical social order rather than a classless society⁵⁴ and signified a commitment to the social hierarchy of the parish⁵⁵; "...it refers to the individualism of the petty property owner, it is the equality and democracy of the 'elect' - it is the equality of the Kirkyard and the kailyard."⁵⁶

In summary, a major task for governing the state in 19th. century was the generation of authority relations and popular mores which would be

appropriate for the population of an emergent industrial economy. In looking at those with whose programmes I am dealing, I have argued that many significant figures whose strategies pre-figured those programmes which became embedded in the power structure of the state were involved in government at this time. They had shared social and intellectual concerns, partially rooted in common educational experiences, which gave them an agreed basis from which to define problems and debate solutions. This was important for the form which relations of government took. For example, the concern with the collection and classification of information, especially in statistical form, contributed to the emergence of a new kind of state servant who would be able to carry this out - that is, the inspector. In short, the programmes of power which became entrenched within the state derived their coherence from the coalescence of facets of particular strategies. I shall now discuss their institutionalisation within the apparatus of the state.

Section 3

As is characteristic in a capitalist society, the formation of the state in 19th. century Britain can be related to what Weber has described as a 'rational organisation of labour', focusing attention on the recruitment and regulation of the labour force.⁵⁷

Importantly, state formation, especially in respect of the agencies established in the 1830's and 1840's had, as a major facet, the moral regulation of the population: that is, the production and reproduction of particular moral norms, attitudes and expectations within the population generally.⁵⁸ Thus the agencies of the state need to be understood in terms of the structuring of social relations which were, "...at once promoting, (but, of course also restraining) the reproduction of a political classification; and suppressing alternative ways of being; or of conceptualising social life."⁵⁹ The classification involved in the 19th. century material was derived from a view of society as consisting of a series of ranks, each in its place, the preservation of society being equated with the preservation of those ranks⁶⁰.

This should be understood in terms of the nature of the changes in the mode of governing Britain in the 19th. century. The roots of this have been located as early as the 1780's when changes of personnel gradually shifted from being changes of individuals within government (this being the government of the sovereign and therefore continuous from their accession until their death⁶¹) to the replacement of governing teams by alternative teams. This was the precursor of the 19th. century party system. Possible problems of continuity raised by such a development were met by a gradually emerging permanent civil service.

These alterations have been well documented,⁶² especially in relation to the way in which, from about the 1830's onwards, governing was increasingly delegated to extra-parliamentary officials and this administrative machinery began to take shape. As Parris has argued, "At the beginning of the 19th. century, parliament was in a very real sense a legislature.....It was parliament, not a minister of the interior, which authorized the construction of roads and the paving of towns."⁶³In contrast, by the end of the century, "...to say that the administration legislated through Parliament is not to say that Parliament legislated. Only in form was Parliament a law-making body: in substance the law was made elsewhere."⁶⁴

The particular 'elsewhere' which is of concern in relation to state intervention into schooling is the office of education which was under the formal control of the Committee of Privy Council on Education whose Minutes, the Codes into which they were collected and the supplementary rules, illustrate the significance of this form of governing through administration.

The Committee of Council on Education was established in 1839 by an Order in Council from the Privy Council Office. The work of this office mainly consisted of the management and preparation of such Orders which, unlike statutes, do not require the sanction of parliament since they are, "...issued by the sovereign by virtue of the royal prerogative.....(though) in practice they are only issued on the advice of the ministers of the crown...."⁶⁵ Thus the Committee of Council was created as an arm of *executive* government and, as such, was constrained by government policies and Exchequer controls rather than by parliament.⁶⁶

Initially, its membership consisted of the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary. Its composition, though, was not fixed. Members could be chosen on the

Lord President's authority though a few, such as the Chancellor and the Home Secretary, were self-selected; there was no necessity for any other office to be represented.⁶⁷ Disquiet over its lack of responsibility to parliament led to an Act being passed in 1856 which sanctioned the appointment of a Vice-President, who would be a minister of state who must also be a member of the Privy Council, to assist the Lord President and act for him in his absence, as well as represent the Committee of Council in that house of parliament where the Lord President might not happen to sit.⁶⁸

However, the Act failed to provide any clarification of relations and spheres of responsibility, thus reinforcing the confusion already present in the relations between the Committee of Council, the education office and the legislature.⁶⁹ The precise role which the Committee of Council played is, therefore, difficult to determine, either on a formal or an informal level. This difficulty is exacerbated because no record of its proceedings were kept,⁷⁰ so that only those Minutes which were passed are available for examination.

Further, there are problems in assessing the frequency of meetings after February 1841 and any attempt has to rely primarily on guesswork. The reason for this is that though a record of attendance was started in the Office Minute Book on 11th. April 1839, and the first volume of manuscript Minutes was completed by February 1841, later manuscript records have been destroyed. In his discussion of various sources of information on this Campbell⁷¹ suggests that by the 1850's meetings were sporadic and that, aside from a burst of activity during the drafting of the Revised Code, they continued to decline.

The evidence given to the 1865 Select Committee to inquire into the Constitution of the Committee of Council provides support for the view taken here, that the Committee of Council was a formal device for ratifying the decisions of the education office. This claim is not

simply based on the hostile opinions of witnesses such as Adderley, (Vice-President 1858-1859) who described it as a 'farce' and a 'useless encumbrance'⁷² to the education office; or the Marquess of Salisbury (Lord President 1858 - 1859) who, noting that members were not always interested in educational affairs, stated that when he summonsed the Committee, "It was generally ill-received when he proposed it, and, in the event, none of the members attended, so he acted on his own responsibility."⁷³ Rather, it is based on the remarkable uncertainty of witnesses who had been involved with it as to what its role had been and even as to when it had met. Thus, no one had any clear idea of when the last meeting had taken place, and when asked how often he had summoned the Committee, Salisbury 'thought he did so' on three or four occasions.

Reviewing the evidence given to the Select Committee in connection with the Committee of Council's relation to the education office, Bishop notes, "Upon the major issues of functions and powers, the views of no two witnesses coincided; frequently they contradicted each other and even themselves."⁷⁴ Had the Committee of Council been more than a formal device, it is likely that there would have been more consistency and less vagueness as to its work.⁷⁵

The creation of a Privy Council committee was not, in itself, a new phenomenon. There were plenty of precedents in the conduct of government affairs for the establishment of temporary boards, and at the outset, the Committee of Council was not intended to be permanent.⁷⁶ The apparently casual manner in which the business of the Committee of Council seems to have been conducted was in accordance with other temporary boards.⁷⁷

What marked it as characteristic of the new mode of government was its creation of an administrative machinery to enforce the regulation of the statutory provision of finance for schooling. The key mechanisms

of this were the inspectorate, which dealt with visits to schools to assess their suitability for financial aid, and the education office which related requests for aid to the Minutes governing its provision, and who processed inspection reports. The main work of the Lord President, in relation to his heading of the education office, was concerned with questions of policy and patronage, this last being the way in which members of the education department were recruited.

In the last section I argued that those involved in this changing mode of government had shared aims and interests. But the explanation of the creation of a phenomenon does not necessarily explain how that phenomenon is sustained. Patronage was the normal method of recruitment at this time and was one means of helping to ensure an overall continuity in departmental action as well as the acceptance of its parameters.

This was the period of the emergence of the proto-typical civil servant, "Upper-middle-class in origin, Oxbridge education, proficiency in literary studies: such were the marks by which they were known."⁷⁸ After Northcote-Trevelyan (1853) and the introduction of examinations for assessing recruits, the education office was one of the slowest parts of the civil service to comply. Patronage continued in this department long after other departments had introduced competitive examination,⁷⁹ Lingen (Secretary to the Education Office 1850 - 1870) arguing vigorously that, "...since rank and wealth held the keys to advancement socially, politically and commercially he saw no reason for the abolition of patronage."⁸⁰ The class-specific^{a1} nature of this view is underlined by the fact that this was the period in which the education office was advocating the use of examinations for assessing children in schools.

However, apart from this distinct class division in methods of assessing individuals, the failure to introduce examinations should not

be overstressed in its significance for, as Parris notes, "The Administrative Class type was not created by Open Competition. Open Competition served to perpetuate a type which had already come to the top."⁸²

Most of the day-to-day running of the office was in the hands of the secretary who, unlike the Lord President, did not sit in one of the houses of parliament.⁸³ After the appointment of a Vice-President problems of building grants were usually dealt with by him. One witness to the 1865 Select Committee argued that the Vice-President did about nine-tenths of business and the Lord President about one-tenth, there being little contact between the secretary and the Lord President.⁸⁴ After the introduction of annual grants in 1846, two examiners were appointed to read inspection reports.⁸⁵

The rules issued by the office were generalisations of decisions which arose in daily practice of interpreting Minutes in the education office.⁸⁶ New Minutes, unless they were defined by the office as *declaratory* (as in the Minutes forbidding inspectors to criticise department policy) had to be placed before parliament. Officially, the Lord President would instruct the secretary to draft a new Minute, it would then be circulated confidentially to Committee of Council members who would send remarks on it; a Committee meeting would be called to pass the Minute, which would then be sent to the House of Commons. In practice, though, the instruction might come from the Vice-President and the meeting was sometimes dispensed with. The placing before parliament was generally seen as a formality and, for example, a major change in Minutes such as the Revised Code, was laid before parliament on the day of pro-rogation (6/8/1861).⁸⁷ The secretary was a key figure in the office, acting as a 'gatekeeper' in relation to what was or was not to be referred to the Vice-President or Lord President. The importance of this role has been stressed by Bishop⁸⁸ who argues that *effective control of education lay, within broad limits, with the secretary.*

Therefore it is the work of the higher officials in the education office, as well as that of the inspectorate, which is important for an understanding of how it was possible for the problem of schooling working class children to shape the definition of what constitutes problems for the education system. For though inspection reports, the education department's primary source of information on schools, were aimed at 'fact-gathering', what counted as a relevant 'fact' was always *in relation* to this concern with schooling working class people. Knowledge of schooling and its problems was produced within the constraints of an organisation with class-specific terms of reference.

Section 4

Premised on the view that an important aspect of power relations is the ability to get a particular view accepted as taken-for-granted knowledge, this section argues that the translation of the parameters of class-directed policies into 'neutral' ground-rules for their administration and implementation secured the continuity of the initial purposes for which the machinery for regulating schooling was constructed. This is the 'secret of power' with which this thesis deals, "Power is tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial part of itself.secrecy.....is indispensable to its operation."²⁹ If the mask slips, as it does in the evidence given to the Select Committee on Education (Inspectors' Reports)³⁰, its construction can be examined and its implications made visible.

Unlike the Poor Law inspectorate, or the factory inspectorate which provided the model for the Committee of Council's inspection arrangements, the role of the school inspector was permeated with ambiguity. This was because the primary function was not the enforcement of a law. As an agent of the Committee of Council he gathered information about schools in terms of an official list of headings³¹ which defined information to be considered as relevant for the appropriate administration of government money.

Though the Minutes of the Committee of Council altered some aspects, for example, the extension of instructions to Scotland,³² the basis of these instructions remained fundamentally the same during this period. In summary, "The reports of the inspectors are intended to convey such further information respecting the state of elementary education in Great Britain as to enable Parliament to determine in what mode the sum voted for the education of the poorer classes can be most usefully applied. With this view reports on the state of particular districts may be required....."³³

The aim was to encourage local efforts 'for the improvement and expansion of elementary education', as well as the development of expertise through experience and observation to create and disseminate a body of knowledge about 'good' schooling. It was maintained that inspection was not intended as a means of controlling schooling but was aimed at assisting schools.⁹⁴ This statement has sometimes been taken at face value by historians working in this area.⁹⁵ However, the question of the extent to which controlling and assisting were mutually exclusive categories rather than differing dimensions of this form of state intervention is raised by evidence submitted to the 1864 Select Committee during a discussion of an extension to the system of grants which was introduced in the mid-1840's. "As soon as annual grants began to be made in 1846, a very considerable change in the duties of the inspectors took place. Previously they had merely to visit the schools, which were opened to their inspection, and to report upon them, very much at their own discretion. But as soon as annual grants began to be made to schools and to depend upon certain conditions, which were embodied in the minutes of the Committee of Council, the duties of the inspectors in the examination of particular schools from that time had to conform more strictly and uniformly to the minutes in question. They had to verify the conditions upon which those grants were dependent,....."⁹⁶

Further, during this period it was ruled that no annually renewable grants would be made, "...unless the right of inspection be retained, in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several Schools, with such improvements which may from time to time be suggested by the Committee."⁹⁷ The objects of aid and knowledge, schools, were also to be the objects of regulation. This gave the role of the collectors of knowledge its ambiguity, for they were both to gather, classify and disseminate information about schooling in terms of its greater or lesser efficiency; and to maximise the effectiveness of the parliamentary grant by ensuring that it was concentrated on areas which lacked the means but supplied the evidence of the possibility of developing efficient education.

Some information might appear to suggest that inspection reports only had a limited impact on schooling, and that this impact would in part be limited by the Committee of Council's own rules. For example, the instruction to inspectors not to interfere with teaching and complaints by inspectors that reports went unread and advice unheeded; especially after the change from issuing the Blue Books (books of inspection reports) free to all districts, to restrictions on their issue which were brought about by financial constraints.⁹⁶

However, after this, (ie. starting in 1858) school managers were sent the full report of their school. Though this practice was later altered, a summary was still sent to the managers.⁹⁹ Thus the results of an inspection visit were still communicated to school managers as the relationship between inspection and the awarding of the grant would imply. Further, Myers¹⁰⁰ has pointed out that inspection reports were reviewed and commented on by the periodical and public press. It was the possibility of finance which would enhance the reception of reports and which sets the context in which the above limitations must be assessed, for grants were paid after the annual inspection with the education office indicating areas required for improvement and withholding payments if necessary.¹⁰¹

It has been argued in this section that the Minutes of the Committee of Council provided the formal parameters within which inspectors could express their experience of visiting schools. The 'secret of power' referred to earlier is revealed by extending this argument to show that informal constraints amounting, in some instances, to actual censorship of reports by staff in the education office were being operated.

In April 1864 accusations were made in the House of Commons that the Committee of Council were destroying the value of inspection reports by exercising indiscriminate censorship. There followed a Select Committee investigation¹⁰² which concluded that, ".the supervision

exercised in objecting to the insertion of irrelevant matter, of mere dissertation, and of controversial argument, is consistent with the powers of the Committee of Council, and has,....., been exercised fairly.....No objection is made to statements of facts observed by the Inspectors within the circle of their official experience, whatever may be their bearing on the policy of the Committee of Council."¹⁰³

At the same time, though, it was also agreed that, "...the heads of the office have exercised a censorship over the Inspectors' reports as to the insertion of argumentative or irrelevant matter."¹⁰⁴; holding such power to be essential to the department's work. However, the evidence presented to the Committee indicates that more complex procedures were involved than this conclusion, at first sight, suggests.

It should be stressed that the argument within this section is *not* that censorship operated in such a way as to eliminate *all* disagreement as the House of Commons accusations appear to suggest. Nor is it being suggested that at *all* times the Minutes were uniformly applied to *all* reports. What is being maintained is that the Minutes provided a framework in terms of which inspectors' reports were assessed and that this framework made it possible to set up a distinction between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' disagreement.

The implications of this can be explored by examining the evidence presented to the Select Committee, as well as extracts from censored reports where these are available. When an inspector's report was received in the education office it would be read by an examiner who would bring doubtful passages to the attention of the secretary. If the secretary felt they were important the report would be sent to the Vice-President. This form of censorship had been present from the inception of the education office,¹⁰⁵ though the strictness with which the Minutes were applied varied for in 1860 a controversial report was published.¹⁰⁶

However, following this there was a review of the Instructions to Inspectors relating to the regulation of reports. The result of this was the issuing of an *explanatory minute*¹⁰⁷ on 31st. January 1861 to the effect that, "...Inspectors must confine themselves to the state of the schools under their inspection and to practical suggestions for their improvement; if any report.....does not conform to this standard, it is to be returned to the Inspector for revision; and if on its being again received from him it appears to be open to the same objection, it is to be put aside as a document not proper to be printed at the public expense."¹⁰⁸

A clarification of this Minute was issued in a letter of instruction to inspectors dated August 1863, stating, "...by the term 'state of schools under your inspection', you will understand facts observed within the circle of your official experience; and by the term 'practical suggestions for their improvement', you will understand suggestions consistent with the principles of Minutes sanctioned by Parliament."¹⁰⁹

This formal constraint was confirmed by Lingen in his evidence¹¹⁰ that practical suggestions which were not consistent with the principle of existing Minutes were forbidden. This interpretation of *practical as consistent with Minutes* represents a visible aspect of a phenomenon which also operated at the less visible level of inspectors recognising what would be acceptable and what would not be acceptable in reports. Thus, for example,

"Question 384 You state that you took a great deal of care in drawing that report up?

Answer I did

Question 385 That is, you took a great deal of care to keep from it all opinions adverse to the policy of the Committee of Council?

Answer I did.

.....

Question 387 The result was that if you entertained any opinions

unfavourable to their policy you did not express them?

Answer I did not."

When asked if the report was an 'imperfect transcript' the witness responded,

Answer 389 It was not a full account of all that I had seen and all that I had heard, but it was a faithful one.

Question 390 It was faithful, so far as it went; but you were obliged to omit opinions, and also things that you had heard and seen, because you felt that your report would be suppressed unless you did so?

Answer Yes " " " "

This form of self-censorship was explicitly encouraged within the education office. Thus, in 1859 when Lowe became Vice-President, he ordered that the practice of marking objectionable passages was to cease and that reports should simply be returned to inspectors who must make them conform to instructions.¹¹² Along with the returned report an inspector would receive a copy of the 1861 Minute and an intimation that unless it was altered the report would not be laid before parliament.¹¹³

The situation was summed up by Lingen, "...Here is the Minute, stating what the report ought to be; here is a report sent in; here is the judgement of the Committee, that it does not conform to the Minute; the Inspector says, "Why?"; the answer is, that we do not consider it good policy, or for the interests of the service, to tell you;....."¹¹⁴

The stress on self-censorship was the main defence of members of the office to charges of autocratic behaviour with respect to this issue, as they maintained that an inspector, by making the changes himself, had given his consent to them.¹¹⁵ Thus Lowe indicated that the reason for the Declaratory Minute of 1861 was, "...my reluctance to strike out anything myself,.....I thought it might raise a controversy between

the Inspector and the office, and that he would say, as I believe, in some cases he did say, that the context was interfered with, by striking out portions; and that the meaning of what remained was altered....."¹¹⁶

Any inspector who criticised the department was held to be insubordinate. Therefore, a refusal to make the alterations which had been officially requested could call into question an inspector's suitability for their post. As one witness stated, "I considered that the Department having laid down rules for his guidance, it was his duty to conform to them; if he was unable to conform to those rules, he was not a gentleman of the intelligence required for the office he held. If, on the other hand, he was able to conform to them, and did not do so, then it was quite right that his report should be laid aside as unfit to presented to Parliament."¹¹⁷

The picture which is emerging of the relationship between inspectors, their reports and the Committee of Council office is that of an informal censorship, often carried out by the inspector himself, either at the explicit instigation of the department or as a result of previous experience of the operation of criteria of acceptability. Formal methods of censoring were only invoked when these informal methods had broken down.

Yet, given that the office maintained that they did not censor 'facts'¹¹⁸ it is necessary to confront directly the nature of these 'facts' in order to give a more adequate consideration of the material. Some of the evidence to the Select Committee shows that what were accepted as 'facts' could sometimes disagree with the department's policy and that if they came within the terms of such a disagreement then it was felt to be legitimate to suppress them. Thus,

"Question 117 I understand you to admit that the reports were not presented if any of the arguments contained in the

Inspectors' reports contradicted the policy of the department?

Answer Yes, that is true as regards argument only; if an Inspector had reported a matter which he had observed, whether it was for the policy of the department or against it, that would not come within the scope of the Minute.

Question 118 But if he pointed out those facts by showing how they confuted the policy of the department, that inference would be objected to?

Answer Yes, I think so."¹¹⁹

Therefore 'facts' could be incorporated into arguments in favour of the department but not against it. Yet the distinction between what counted as a 'fact' and what counted as an argument is unclear.¹²⁰ An example of this is in the discussion of suppressed passages from an 1861 report,

"Question 612 What I wish to know is, why you think this passage, for instance, was intended to harass the department - 'The schoolmistress at Conway is the best infant teacher in my district, admirably suited for her duties in every respect, and deserving of the greater credit because she is not certificated, although she is aided by pupil teachers.' How can you imagine that was intended to harass the department?

.....
Answer 613 Taken with the rest, it appeared to me to be a certain case picked out at a rather critical time of the discussion to show this - here is the best teacher of a particular class in my district who is not certificated.

.....
Question 615 The sting of the passage lay in its being offered at a critical time, when the particular policy to which it referred was under the consideration of Parliament?

Answer ...Its referring to a single teacher seemed to me to lend it a certain character of unfairness, and that unfairness was aggravated by the particular time at which it appeared.

Question 616 It was a statement of fact?

Answer It purported to be a statement of fact, and that the fact was so, I have every reason to believe.

Question 617 Therefore, it was your opinion that the Inspector who stated that inconvenient fact at an inconvenient time, showed an inclination to harass the Department?

Answer Yes;....."²¹

This illustrates that acceptable reports were those which were appropriately expressed in relation to department policy. The knowledge which they provided about schooling in 19th. century Britain was that in terms of which money was paid. For it was held that, "You cannot,.....,in the practice of a department separate the Inspector's report, which is part of the official communication, from the general responsibility of the Committee of Council in making the grant."²²

This chapter has attempted to outline some of the intricacies of the knowledge/power nexus which are exemplified by the relationship between the Committee of Council on education, the staff who operated under its auspices and the rest of the social world. Its purpose has been to emphasise that the papers of the inspectors and the Committee of Council cannot be equated, in any unproblematic sense, with 'reality'. This is *not* to say that either the inspectorate or the education office were engaged in providing 'false' accounts of schooling; but rather to stress that the relationship between these accounts and the world to which they refer is complex and must be understood in terms of the purposes for which they were developed - that is, the structuring of elementary schooling aimed at producing social relations which would be congruent with industrial capitalism amongst working class people.

To paraphrase an argument used by Foucault in another context, but which is of relevance here: the categories used to present this 'knowledge' were not lying in a state of nature ready to be picked up by the perceptive observer, they were *produced* by the construction of a systematic form of state intervention.

CHAPTER 4

THE ORGANISATION OF SCHOOLING

Section 1

In the last chapter I argued that the mechanisms for regulating schooling need to be understood as having made possible the 'neutralisation' of strategies which had become institutionalised programmes of power and which were produced by the upper echelons of a hierarchical network. In the next four chapters I shall be exploring in detail what was involved in implementing these programmes.

This chapter therefore marks the beginning of the investigation of specific features on the social map of truancy. In it I shall examine the organisation of a 'correct' space for schooling. I shall argue that Foucault's concept of the 'relay of power' can illuminate the significance of the regulations concerning the way in which the space of schooling was to be organised. I shall demonstrate this firstly by examining the way in which schools were to be structured internally and showing how disciplinary relations of social order were constructed as an *educational* necessity. I shall then extend this discussion in order to explain the way in which state regulations envisaged schools being linked with the communities in which they were sited. In so doing, I shall be providing a preliminary to my discussion of social identity which is extended throughout the rest of the thesis.

Within discussions of schooling at this time little attention has been paid to the fine detail of the physical organisation of schools. This is because of the way in which schooling itself has been taken-for-granted among historians of Scottish education. However, it

is by paying attention to this fine detail that we can begin to understand the force, and appreciate the implications of Corrigan and Sayer's argument, referred to earlier, concerning how it is that a state can structure and regulate the minutae of social life.

Section 2

Integral to disciplinary relations has been what Foucault has described as the 'relay of power'.¹ The relay is a variant of the panoptic principle: the invisible observer who has the continuous possibility of seeing the detailed actions of those under surveillance, who themselves never know whether or not, at any particular moment, they are being watched; and hence who always behave as if being observed. Continuously operating, both vertically and horizontally in a network of relations, a sufficiently discreet relay can increase the effects of a disciplinary mechanism without hampering the activity to be disciplined.

The epitome of this was Bentham's panopticon, "...at the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other.....By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery."²

Disciplinary relations, therefore, were founded on an architectural form which facilitated the automatic functioning of power relations through the analytical arrangement of space. Visibility and segmentation were to make possible the internalised control of individual behaviour.

One aim of state regulation, was to develop disciplinary relations as integral to schooling. A mechanism external to schooling, its success was dependent on an ability to perpetrate internalised definitions of

action, such that what would generally be defined as a 'good' school would be synonymous with a school which conformed to Committee of Council Minutes.

The construction of a 'good' school was, first and foremost, the construction of a specialised space which would make possible the correct upbringing of the younger members of the poorer classes. Just as there was, at this time, no uniformity of space for schooling, so there was also no generally held view as to what ideal spatial arrangements might be. An arrangement of rows of desks with a space at the front for the teacher as opposed to, for example, the placing of desks round the walls with a space in the centre for the teacher, had to be explained and illustrated to those applying for state grants towards the building of schools.

Indeed, a major part of the initial work of the education office was the regulation of the state funds provided for the building of schools in order to ensure that the design would conform to the stipulated requirements. The scale of this administrative task necessitated the rationalisation of procedures which, enabled the incorporation of wording into the standardised deeds, making state inspection a necessity and restricting aid to schools "for the education of the poorer classes"³

Inspectors were to convey to the education office information concerning the detailed plans for schools and teachers' houses in particular applications. (See Appendix 4) For though buildings might not all immediately conform to the regulation plans, a certain amount of leeway was permitted provided that there was a possibility of necessary alterations being made in the future whenever teaching practices required them.⁴ The official plans and the explanatory documents were to provide a standard against which existing schools were measured and a model for the construction of new schools.

But what were existing schools like? "The earthen floor, in which there are numerous large holes, is all over so uneven that it was impossible to steady a chair on it. There are no desks, except the master's, which is broken. The children write on the forms, kneeling on the floor, which is often so puddled, through the imperfect roof, as to render this impossible. There is no black-board, and a few small maps are soiled by the damp of the wall and the smoke."⁵

Considering this example of the kind of school which regulation was aimed at eradicating, the focus on physical arrangements in the provision of grants could be seen as signifying an enlightened concern for the physical well-being of pupils and teachers by the encouragement of warm, well-ventilated schools. But this would be simply to apprehend the surface of a more profound view of the way in which spatial organisation would pre-dispose people to types of action. It is to describe this deeper view that the notion of the 'relay of power' has been introduced.

The key to the automatic functioning of power relations within the panoptic principle was the possibility of constant supervision: the invisible observer; the totally visible object of the gaze. The relay of power, its hierarchical mutation, operated through the classification of levels of participants and the mutual visibility of those on adjacent levels. Thus, "The main end to be attained is the concentration of the attention of the teacher upon his own separate class, and of the class upon its teacher,.....without obstruction to the head master's power of superintending the whole of the classes and their teachers."⁶

It was not necessary for the whole school to be completely visible to the master in charge at all times. It was only necessary to have, constantly available, the possibility of his viewing key segments of the school. What Foucault has described as the cellular dimension of

disciplinary relations meant that classes of pupils were the responsibility of their immediate teachers; total visibility of the pupils was therefore only a necessity for the person in charge of each particular group.

The delegation of authority and responsibility involved in such arrangements would provide an encouragement to the internalisation of the prescribed norms of behaviour. "The common schoolroom should, therefore, be fitted to realize,.....,the combined advantages of *isolation* and *superintendence*.....The best shape.....is an oblong. Groups of desks are arranged along one of the walls. Each group is divided from the adjacent groupby an alley, in which a light curtaincan be drawn forward or back.....but not so as, when drawn, to project into the room more than four inches in front of the foremost desk."⁷

The architecture of discipline: continually visible segments enabling the master to look down the room and see the assistants in charge of each group, while the finer detail of the interior planning meant that the width of a group was to be no greater than would allow the assistant to encompass the pupils with one glance. "...extra space,....., is not only superfluous, but injurious."⁸ An economy of space would be both cheap and efficient.

This control of communication by sight also meant the control of communication by sound: a structure of noise and silence. "The timetable of a school should be so arranged that classes *engaged in occupations comparatively silent* (.....) may always be interposed between the classes that *are reading or receiving oral instruction*."⁹

The dividing of scholars into classes, therefore meant the overall unity of the school through the internal rhythm imposed by the co-ordination of pedagogic action. The synchronisation of order which

E.P.Thompson¹⁰ has argued that the way in which industrial production was being organised at this time, was also incorporated into the organisation of schooling, its objectivation being the introduction of the school timetable.

Anarchic communication, such as copying and whispering, were forbidden in this tightly ordered environment of regulated action. An efficient school, which would be able to counter the influences of a child's class background, would be an organised setting with individuals appropriately classified and in their allotted place, so that it would be possible to keep them constantly occupied with the business of schooling.

A badly organised school, that is to say, one not adhering to the Committee of Council Minutes, would inevitably be a badly disciplined school¹¹ which would not be able to inculcate the required habits into the scholars. What was being advocated was a unified system of disciplinary relations which encapsulated all participants. The vertical and horizontal operation of the relay of power throughout the network of relations would enable the system to be self-sustaining.

For while the teacher had authority over pupils, to the extent that they did not conform to this authority the pupils revealed an inefficient teacher. Similarly, though the head master superintended the teachers, their conduct could indicate to an inspector, the low standard of efficiency of the master. This is why Foucault has described the relay as, "...both absolutely indiscreet, since it is every-where.....and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely 'discreet', for it functions permanently and largely in silence."¹²

The classification and particularisation of space embodied in the precision of its detailed counting and allocation ("...no group of benches...should be more than 12 feet wide...An allowance of 18 inches on each desk...will suffice...a space of three inches will suffice for drawing and withdrawing the curtains."¹³) facilitated the classification of people which, in contrast, made possible the generalisation of *individuals* in terms of particular formalised identities which were an implicit part of this process. This detailing of objects and the corresponding absence of concern with the detail of individual people with whom schools were to deal can be understood in the light of the moral topographical theories which, it has been maintained, underpinned discussions of education at this time.

For schooling was not primarily to be concerned with the helping of multi-faceted people to achieve their full individual potential. Individuals were of interest only as the constituents of a class of the population - the future carriers of the problematic moral topography of a social grouping. As such, though the relay of power facilitated the surveillance of individual pupils, they were objects to be fitted in to the regulated system of schooling, not subjects participating in their own development.

It should be stressed that what is being dealt with here is the model for schooling being expounded through the regulations and the intervention of the State. It does not, therefore, preclude the possibility of a particular teacher encouraging an able male pupil to work towards university, as the 'Lad o' Pairts' tradition implies happened in Scotland. This was not, though, the aim of state intervention, it therefore would not count as an indication of an efficient school.

Indeed, it could possibly have been considered as a contra-indication, in terms of the Minutes, since it would involve individual tuition; and

teaching methods which involved individuals working to their own pace, with the teacher offering random assistance, at his or her own discretion, were rejected. Such practices, it was argued, generated, "...an Air of extreme Languour and Listlessness, and produced among the other Classes a Degree of Restlessness which interfered with the general Order and Quiet of the School."¹⁴ On the other hand, a school where teaching methods were based on strict classification, according to attainment, would enable instruction to be paced at the level of the group, thus developing an internalised discipline¹⁵ which would encourage them to adhere to a class's modal level of activity.

It has been argued that the architecture of discipline was designed to structure social action and that it was the visible indicator of the relay of power relations. More than this, though, disciplinary relations were instigated in order to permeate through the structuring of thought. If sufficiently well enforced, the internalised discipline promoted by this structure would even allow sections of pupils to spend short periods without tuition, without resulting in the kind of disciplinary problems which occurred in badly organised schools when children were not directly being taught.¹⁶ It was the mutual reinforcement of the organisation of thought/action which would make possible the production and reproduction of disciplinary relations. This is further illustrated by the significance of classification.

Today it seems self-evident that schools would be divided into classes. Yet, inspection reports contain discussions of the difficulties which schools had in adhering to this method of organisation in terms of the, "...comparative novelty and strangeness of the organization recommended."¹⁷ In other words, the necessity of classes was not always self-evident. An argument had first of all to be made in its favour.

It was pointed out in Chapter 3 that classification and counting were central elements of a new genre of knowledge which was being propounded at this time. As Hacking¹⁹ has argued, though any new classification might have a clearly describable rationale, the fact of the classification and counting was internal to a new practice.

Jones and Williamson²⁰ have shown that discussions of education used one way of classifying the population: in terms of principles and habits. At the level of the school, classification was advocated as both a means of presenting knowledge and a way of engendering different mores among the pupils. It was interwoven through the network of school relations, at every level re-affirming the object-status of those to whom it referred.

It facilitated the surveillance of individuals as constituents of the group, and so made the inspection of a school easier. Inspection of a school consisted of the assessment of the *classes* within that school. Individuals were selected for examination by the inspector who considered them as *examples* of their class. The rigor of the classification within a particular school, together with the performance of the pupils examined, were taken to be indicative of the efficiency of a teacher, and therefore of the school.²⁰

At a deeper level, it was the basic unit of the pedagogical relation, since it was a core component of what was to be defined as good teaching practice. This was to consist of the teacher analysing and classifying the constituents of an object and then the pupil reconstructing that object. Analysis and synthesis of work, graded in terms of its difficulty, would encourage a child to systematise memory, classify facts and understand 'related laws'.²¹

Ways of teaching, such as imitation, which would not actively engage a child's attention, were rejected since it was only through an understanding of the interpretation of phenomena which the school was to present as correct, that children would be able to take what they had learnt beyond the confines of the schools in which they were taught.²²

The systematisation of thought, an apparently unexceptionable educational tactic for, after all, this is the basis for communication and understanding, had, as its shadowy corollary, a foreclosure on other ways of thinking and behaving, since only one mode of systematisation would be acceptable. Knowledge was to be what the school presented as knowledge, and, as parents who objected to the part of the curriculum which involved their daughters scrubbing school floors, were to discover, alternatives were taken to be indicative of ignorance.²³

The material to be taught and the way in which it was to be taught were to be congruent with the overall purposes of regulating schools: the encouragement of relations of authority which would reinforce the structure of a social world in which the interests of a few would be presented as the interests of many.²⁴

It was therefore precisely in terms of its disciplinary efficacy that the approach of the Swiss educationalist Pestalozzi was advocated. "...yearly Reports have always spoken in the highest terms of the advantages...., among which, besides the all - important one of a good handwriting acquired in a comparatively short time, the habits of order and cleanliness which it promotes have always been conspicuously mentioned."²⁵ Further, it was the moral value rather than the intellectual worth of instruction which was stressed by the inspectorate.²⁶

Classification in schools was, then, a means of utilitarian control. It was held to be both economic, in that it made possible the teaching of larger numbers with fewer intermediaries between pupils and head teachers²⁷ as well as being quicker than other methods; and it was efficient, incorporating both an overt and a hidden curriculum. As Foucault has indicated²⁸, relations of power were not adjuncts to pedagogical relations, operating alongside of them; they were incorporated into them, enhancing the efficiency of teaching.

This way of structuring pedagogic relations generated new problems for it required a particular pattern of attendance of class members. This pattern of daily attendance for a set number of hours during particular weeks of the year was to become considered as *regular*. Other patterns, in consequence, were marginalised as *irregular*.

This process of imposing one pattern was not considered to be a difficulty within the regulations, since it was argued that properly organised schools would be attractive places for parents to send their children, so such schools would be attended according to the state-imposed rhythm. Once at school, habits of 'regular' attendance by the pupils would be promoted by good teaching. A poorly attended school was therefore taken to be indicative of a need for better organisation.²⁹ This argument was used not only at the level of pedagogic practice, but also at the level of school management.

For example, the way in which the collection of school fees was organised was taken to influence attendance. Advance payments, rigidly and punctually enforced were seen as promoting 'regular' attendance.³⁰ Common practices, such as the weekly payment of fees, were strongly criticised on the grounds that they meant, "...weekly engagements for attendance at schools; this leads to much irregularity. If the first day of a week be lost from any cause, or if it is foreseen that it will be a broken one, the child is kept away by the parents....."³¹

In respect, then, of organisation and the use of anatomo-political techniques, the space created for state-regulated schooling was one form of the deployment of biopower. As such, it instigated the issue of the relationship between particular schools and the 'problem' of attendance, since the level and pattern of attendance in a school were taken as indices of the efficiency with which a teacher implemented the model procedures of the Committee of Council Minutes.

To this extent, attendance, considered as a problem of inadequate schools and teachers, was a temporary difficulty which would be resolved by strict adherence to state regulations. However, as the degree to which such practices as class teaching could be implemented was dependent on the uniformity of the pupil's attendance, a teacher's defence against a poor inspection report was frequently given as the type of community in which the school was sited.³²

There was, therefore, a constant tension, for the problems of habits and lifestyle with which schooling was designed to deal were also given as the explanation for its failure to operate successfully. This fundamental ambiguity which generated the contradictory themes of 'inadequate schools' and 'inadequate environment' as explanations for the problems of systematising schools, was inherent in the particular formation of a system of state-regulated schooling which was based on an incorporation and expansion of existing provision. The foundations of the 'problem' of attendance were being laid through the necessity of an inspector deciding on whether the difficulties of a particular school were caused by an 'inadequate teacher' or a 'problem community'. The basic assumption that certain environments would not be conducive to successful schooling permeated the language of inspection reports, where poverty, attendance patterns and attainment in school were frequently linked.³³ Thus, some schools were held to be good *though* their pupils belonged to the poorer classes³⁴ while others were held not to be good *because* their pupils belonged to the poor.

Section 3

The tight order of the state-regulated school was indicative of the belief of an elite grouping that the social world outside of the school was, for certain sectors of the population, characterised by disorder. As indicated in Chapter 3, the creation of new forms of industrial organisation were undermining traditional relations of authority, particularly those rooted in the family. Indeed, J.F.C. Harrison has noted that, "No period in British history has been richer in movements for radical and social reform than the decades 1830 - 1850."³⁵

It was also, in Scotland, a period in which there was a major re-distribution of the population.³⁶ Rapid urbanisation during the first three decades of the century had meant that by the early 1840's one third of the people lived in towns of over 5,000 inhabitants. Industrialisation was one factor contributing to population movement, but others were also involved - for example, the waves of emigration (early 1830's, late 1840's, 1850's) and heavy Irish immigration in the 1840's were related to failures in the potato crop; landlords in some areas shifted tenants to shore districts in order to work at lucrative kelping; and of course the Highland Clearances had a radical impact on the distribution in certain areas. Internal migration was also important, and though inter-regional movement was light, movement *within* regions was more extensive. Thus, though some parishes increased their population, only in the Lowlands did in-migration mean that the population grew faster than the natural increase.

On a superficial level, these changes led some critics of the provision of parochial schools to point out that in some areas with a large population there might be no parochial school, whereas in areas where the population had diminished drastically, a school might be only partially full.³⁷ At a deeper level, the belief that an ordered environment meant the eradication of problems was the counterpart of

the view that social problems were problems of a world which was not strictly enough organised. State organisation of schooling was the means of dealing with these. By creating a *certain* structure in a world where uncertain relations were held to threaten existing order, schools were to be constituted as places of safety - havens which would secure future generations from these external dangers.

Spatially, one way of securing a school's exemplary status as a purveyor of a healthy and morally correct way of life, as well as ensuring its accessibility to the population, was the stipulation by the Minutes that the school had to be in a central location which was free from the dangers of moral and physical pollution.³⁸ Drafts, dampness, overcrowding and poor ventilation were frequent complaints of working class housing generally at this time.³⁹ They were also endemic in many schools. Since problems of the environment were considered to be essentially problems of the habits and life-styles of the poor,⁴⁰ the improvement in school buildings would also be a means of revealing to the local population the kind of action which would make possible the eradication of these problems in their homes.⁴¹

The school playground was considered to be a buffer between the school and the community. "In the absence of a school playground, the street becomes the resort of the children after school hours;.....they meet with vicious men and women, and with children of their own age, who have been corrupted by vicious parents, or other bad example, or even children trained to desparate courses by thieves....."⁴² It was not simply to be a place of recreation.⁴³ It was to protect the children from undesirable influences while at the same time facilitating the extension of the teacher's influence beyond school hours so that by watching or participating in the children's activities a teacher could ascertain their characters and extend the moral influence of the schoolroom.⁴⁴

At the same time, the dangers of the external environment posed a threat to the security of schooling, therefore the creation of a safety zone to which children could be attracted was not enough. If schools were to provide an ordered setting, there has to be a means of ensuring that the order of the school would radiate outwards and become conterminous with that of the community. What had to be avoided was either contamination by the turmoil of the environment or the school remaining an island of appropriate relations within chaotic surroundings. There was, then, an inherent tension in the relations which schools were to have with their locality: the strategy of schooling as an intervention aimed at crystallising relations of authority was fraught with ambiguity.

Teachers were to encourage children to spend as much time as possible with them to 'increase the beneficial influence which his own more elevated mind'⁴⁵ would have on their thoughts and habits in order to counteract the 'effects of evil example at the child's home' and provide 'better than paternal care'.⁴⁶ Thus, constructed as a disciplinary mechanism, structured through new forms of power relations, schooling usurped older relations of authority - that is, those of the family - yet, at the same time, it was precisely in terms of familial relations that it was legitimated. This paradox will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, but, for the present it is important to note that the creation of this disciplinary regime, part of the re-structuring of socio-economic relations which was involved in the separation of 'work' from 'home', carried within it a particular view of an ideal *form* of family life: an ordered domestic sphere under maternal supervision, with the father providing for the household's overall security through participation in work outside the home. The further away which particular home environments were from this ideal-typical notion of family life, the more difficult but more important was the role of the school.

Regulation made possible state mediation between relations of the

family and education and was instrumental in structuring them in accordance with a particular view of the sexual and social division of labour.⁴⁷ Thus systematic state involvement in schooling made possible its development as a technique for rendering visible and therefore potentially accessible to change, the minutiae of habits and beliefs of large sections of the population.

The encouragement of children to spend extra-school time in the vicinity of the school was extended to the encouragement of communication with the parents to secure a continuity in methods of dealing with the children by co-opting parents to support the work of the school through their actions in the home.⁴⁸

Teachers who visited the homes of their pupils to find out more about them were held up as exemplary in inspection reports.⁴⁹ These visits were double-edged for they both facilitated the consideration of the particular circumstances of individual children and made it possible to attempt to influence relationships in the home in favour of the institutional and hierarchical demands of schooling.⁵⁰

This attempt to mould relations within the family and, at the same time, to structure their links with the school provided the bedrock for later discussions about the rights and duties of parents in respect of education. The incorporation of the family was a logical extension of the panoptic principle. Put another way, the problems of providing a correct upbringing for a class's juvenile members, as constructed in the moral topographical arguments, necessitated the structuring of what Althusser has referred to as the family-school couple.⁵¹

Together, the family and the school were constitutive of what was held to be the appropriate environment for children. The extent to which it was acceptable for children to work outside the home was dependent on

the financial circumstances of the family, that is, it was viewed as a necessary evil for poor families. 'Good' parents, it was held, would endeavour to have their children attend school whenever possible. Problem parents would not, though they were held to be a temporary problem, since it was argued that once children had experienced the benefits of state-regulated schooling they would come to recognise its value and, as the parents of the following generations, would encourage their off-spring to attend.⁵²

The stress on the importance of family-school harmony in ways of dealing with children was a fundamental aim of state schooling. There was no ambiguity about the nature of this link: the tune was not to be called by the family but by the school. This was illustrated by the problem of school fees. Fees were usually a teacher's only income. This gave the teacher a vulnerability to the community in their locality which contravened the State view of appropriate relations between the two. For while the official view was that the teacher ought to be regarded as an authoritative figure in a community, inspectors complained that in some areas parents regarded themselves as doing the teacher a favour if they sent their children to school and paid their fees. This was compounded by instances of parents trying to influence what went on in schools by threatening to withdraw their children or withhold payments of fees if their demands were not met.

Suggestions for securing the authoritative balance, such as the deduction of wages at source, from the wages of workers and their subsequent payment to the teacher by the employer were only feasible in some cases.⁵³ The suggestion from inspectors was that teachers were sometimes dealing with this by falsifying their returns, claiming to receive fees which they ought to have been paid rather than those which were actually realised, since without a minimum of fees they would not even be eligible for a grant.⁵⁴ Thus, there was a twist to the problem of encouraging uniformity of schooling organisation by providing a model to be copied: the impression of following the

regulations might be managed sufficiently to pass an inspection without the rules necessarily being followed when the inspector was no longer there.

The creation of a specialised space for schooling was, then, part of the compartmentalisation of living which was crystallising at this time. Based on the principle of panopticism, the focus on discipline made possible the structuring of problems of the social order as problems of education. Thus, when visiting a school, an inspector would have to decide whether difficulties were caused by the school - therefore possibly lowering or withholding the grant until matters were changed, or whether they were owing to circumstances beyond the school's control; in which case full money would be given and possibly sympathetic bending of the rules.

The discussion so far has been based on the claim that the setting up of a model of what a good school ought to be like made it possible for a state agency to structure the organisation of schools. What are the implications of the discretion mentioned above, and the exceptions which were recognised to the rule that no plans could be accepted which precluded the possibility of, at some stage, being brought into line with education office requirements?

These exceptions underline the significance of schooling as an area of life under control; for they were to be made in 'poor and populous places'.⁵⁵ For it was in such areas that it was seen as most vital that a foothold of disciplinary influence should be gained. The reason, it had earlier been argued that, "...there is a large class of children.....I mean pauper orphans, children deserted by their parents, and the offspring of criminals and their associates;..... (from whom) the thieves and housebreakers of society are continually recruited.....(and who have) filled the workhouses with ignorant and idle inmates."⁵⁶ Put another way, schools were to be substitutes for

home environments which were held to be inadequate either because of an absence of authority relations of the family or because existing relations would not provide for the correct upbringing of children since the parents were outside the law.

Unsupervised schools would do harm to children from adequate home backgrounds ('poor but virtuous parents'), for others any school would be better than no school as the children could not come to any more harm in school than out of it. Once accepted for some form of financial aid the school managers could be put under pressure to make changes.⁵⁷

The significance of the regulation of space is therefore reinforced rather than undermined. For this flexibility indicates that the implementation of regulation would be mediated through the exigencies of particular situations and that it would be increased in areas which were held to be particularly threatening for social order. The creation of a specialist space for schooling made possible the structuring of particular formalised identities through which the relations of a class of the population were to be structured. For the disciplinary organisation was designed to enable pupils to learn their place in the wider social order and to understand that it was ultimately beneficial as well as necessary for that order to take a particular form. In other words, structured as an *example* to the local community, the discipline of the school-room was to foster a disciplined way of life.

The hierarchical organisation of schools was thus presented as both a *means of engendering* appropriate social relations within the population, and a *reflection* of such relations. "The class supplies in its own way occasions of duty, discipline and struggle, which are the very type of those that shall turn up in the future progress of life."⁵⁸

A major facet of the implementation of the programmes of power which I discussed in Chapter 3 was the production and structuring of a specialised space for schooling. The outline which I have given of what was involved in doing this is basic to any attempt to understand the social map of truancy for it reveals the creation of an ordered setting where people and actions would be under authorised control, and the way in which this control was to be extended to the family.

I have suggested, during the course of the discussion that the creation of this space carried with it the structuring of particular social identities. For example, I have argued that new forms of authority relations, based on discipline, were to re-structure older relations of the family. In tandem with one particular form of the family, schooling was to structure the lives of the juvenile members of the working classes and consequently to sustain a particular social order. A child not at school was therefore out of place, not merely failing to learn appropriate relations of authority, but participating in a world of disorder, beyond control.

In order to sustain this argument, I shall need to look more closely at the social identities to which I have referred. I shall begin this in the next chapter where I shall be exploring the social identity of teacher before going on to explain the relationship of this to the social map of the child and consequently its relation to the social map of truancy.

CHAPTER 5

PROFESSIONALISM AND TEACHING: PROGRAMMES AND STRATEGIES

Section 1

It is a central premise of my argument that state intervention into the regulation of schooling needs to be understood as being concerned with the production of normality; and that an important consequence of this has been the marginalisation of alternatives to this normality and their construction as deviance in a particular form. It is for this reason that the display of the production of knowledge in these chapters refers firstly to the social map of normality set out in Chapter 2 and secondly to the social map of deviance which I described there.

In the social map of the formalised identity of child, the formalised identity of teacher refers to a key agent of the disciplinary regime. Since the organisation of a place for schooling was based on a theory of moral action, it involved setting an agenda for acceptable behaviour for those located in schools. Thus teachers are strategically sited between state officials and those sectors of the population whose social relations are to be re-structured by schooling.

In this chapter I shall show how state regulation made possible the delineation of the formalised identities of those who were to operate schools, that is, the teachers. In order to do this I shall need to explain, in Section 2, what the occupation of teaching was like prior to state intervention. To do this I shall draw directly on the historical research which has been carried out on Scottish teachers by J.D. Myers¹.

I shall then explore what was involved in the structuring of the formalised identity of teacher. In doing this I shall be exploring discipline as, "...the specific technique of power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise."² I shall argue that state action involved the mobilisation of 'professionalism' as a resource for the improvement of the status of teachers, who were considered to be agents of the state. There are parallels in this process with Weber's characterisation of the state as being able to exercise a legitimate monopoly over the organised use of force within a given territory. For such action involved the claiming, on behalf of the state, of the monopoly of the legitimate authorisation of the specialised knowledge and competence involved in 'professionalism'. Friedson³ has argued that this kind of claim, when made by members of an occupational group, is a distinctive feature of a profession. By means of this, entry to it can be controlled, and its market position secured. However, the autonomy of a profession is *relative* to relations of state power since it is *granted* to an occupational grouping. I shall argue that it was the failure of teachers to achieve this autonomy which has led to teaching remaining of uncertain professional status.

In her analysis of professionalism, Larson⁴ has argued that sociologists have often simply accepted the assumptions implicit in the ways in which professions present themselves, instead of critically examining them. She notes that, within the literature, there is broad general agreement that a profession involves specialised knowledge and skills which are learned by means of formal training; that it has a service orientation, as well as a self-regulated ethical code. Professional prestige and autonomy are assumed to flow from the specialised competence and the service orientation. As she points out, by unquestioningly importing the self-justification of professional privilege into the sociological ideal-type, such accounts end up by merely reproducing the preferred self-image of professionals. Approaches often derive this ideal-type from the medical and legal professions which, in America, to which most work refers, have

self-employed rather than employee status. There is, therefore, a neglect of occupational groups whose members are employees and whose programmes of professionalism involve them in competing claims to territorial competence (for example, midwives and doctors). In other words, there is a failure to identify 'profession' as involving areas of contested legitimacy. This is linked with the stress which is given to a functional relation with 'central social needs and values' and, because work focuses on the knowledge and service dimensions, there is a tendency to assume that professions have a neutrality in respect of the class structure in which they are placed. However, "The ideal-typical approach seldom takes account of the concrete historical conditions in which groups of specialists have attempted to establish a monopoly over specific areas of the division labour."⁶

In contrast, Larson maintains that, "As it rises, an occupation must form 'organic' ties with significant fractions of the ruling class (or of a rising class); persuasion and justification depend on ideological resources,.....special bodies of experts are entrusted with the task of defining a segment of social reality, but this trust is also to be understood within the broad confines of the dominant ideology."⁶ She draws attention to the importance of professionalisation as a process through which particular groups attempt to structure and control markets⁷ for their services and, thus, to translate the scarce resource of their expertise into the scarce resources of social and economic rewards. This process, which began in the 19th. century, and which involved *collective* social mobility, was thus implicated in the structuring of a new kind of social inequality, based on a system of credentialling and involving *individual* mobility within an occupational hierarchy.

For the purposes of my argument it is important to distinguish two aspects of the authority claim of 'professionalism': firstly, it involves a claim to a particular social status, that of the 'professional'; secondly, it involves a claim to a monopoly of the

legitimate employment of specialist resources of knowledge/power in social relations which have as a focal concern the particular knowledge/skills from which the given professionalism is derived, which is to say that it is also a claim to a political resource. By making this distinction, I shall be able to explain more clearly the contradiction which was embodied in professionalism as a programme of state power. This contradiction meant that, although the teachers' programme of professionalism followed the pattern of other occupations, the programme of state power to maintain teachers as employed functionaries pressurised the professional association of teachers in Scotland into a trade union identity.

I shall begin my discussion of this in Section 3 where my account is founded on state papers. I shall maintain that state intervention into teaching made possible its structuring as an occupation to be carried out by people trained to hold an authoritative position within the organisation of a system of schooling. As part of this a career structure was developed which specified the relationship which was to be encouraged between the school, as personified by the teacher, and the community of which it was to be a part. In arguing this, I shall show that through a concern with the siting and training of teachers and through the use of the examination as a mechanism for raising the status of teachers, as well as for certifying their specialist knowledge, state action embodied a programme of professionalism which was to be a means of underpinning the incorporation of teachers as state agents.

That this programme of professionalism embodied a contradiction will be displayed in Section 4 where, again drawing on the work of Myers, I shall examine the way in which professionalism was used as a strategy of struggle, by teachers, for resisting incorporation and challenging state claims to legitimate authority in issues of education. Unlike the state programme, which needs to be understood as focusing on the aspect concerned with social status, the strategy of teachers was

directed at the promotion of *both* aspects of professionalism. Further, by drawing attention to the way in which teachers rejected being identified as state agents and acted to resist incorporation, this section will illustrate a dissonance, generated by the success of the state programme of professionalism between the state-structured formalised identity of teacher and the in-formed identities of some of the people involved in teaching.

Section 2

As an example to the local community in terms of moral topography, the school was to provide for the correct upbringing of the juvenile members of the lower classes. It was, "a place not merely of instruction, but of general education - as appropriating in fact, somewhat of the office of parent. It followed that the general character and manners of the masters became to the promoters of schools a matter of still greater interest than before; and the same could be, at once, discovered and formed, or in some degree influenced, in the Normal school."⁸

I have already indicated that, prior to the intervention of the State, there was a fluidity about the social identity of the teacher, for 'teacher' was an umbrella term, referring to people of varying status with a wide range of backgrounds. In terms of income, Myers⁹ has argued that university professors, burgh and academy teachers, a few adventure school teachers and a very few parochial schoolmasters were solid middle class by income - that is, they were equivalent to clergy, doctors and lawyers; that most parochial, some subscription, sessional and non-parochial teachers would be lower middle class; "but the bulk of the Scottish teachers would have been struggling to survive at a lower class economic level, while striving to attain a socially middle class position."¹⁰

Generally speaking then, a teacher's income was better than that of a farm worker and an unskilled labourer, and on a par (or below that of) artisans, skilled factory workers and small businessmen.¹¹ Thus the level of income which was generally possible from teaching often meant that teachers also had other occupations. For example, in rural areas the person who taught at some times of the year might have a different occupation at others, such as during the harvest. Or in districts too poor to support a teacher, someone, such as a pupil from

another school, would sometimes go and teach. Parochial teachers were often also expected to be heritor's clerk/session clerk, and frequently trainee ministers would teach during the vacations of their divinity courses and also while waiting to take up a permanent church appointment.¹²

The diversity of this social grouping can be illustrated further by looking at their pre-teaching experience. Scotland had a reputation for having proportionately more teachers with university experience than other parts of Britain. However, though this may have been the case, its impact is difficult to ascertain. For example, though G.E.Davie¹³ claims that a third of parochial teachers had been through college, Myers¹⁴ points out that this high figure is related to the large number of candidates for the ministry who taught part time in parish schools while attending university, and full time while awaiting a parish appointment.¹⁵ Further, students would go young (for example, some went at 12) and spend time doing what would today be considered as secondary school level work: the emphasis was on having *attended* university as much as, if not more than, graduation.¹⁶

The teaching jobs with the highest status - those in burgh schools, Dick Bequest schools and parochial schools¹⁷ - tended to be held by those with higher qualifications, that is, graduates and those who had attended university.¹⁸ There was also some teacher training provided by the established church, though this was neither widespread nor systematic. Thus, a model infant school was established in Glasgow in 1826-27 to which was added, in 1831, a juvenile model school; both were set up to train teachers, and by 1838 they had trained about 200.¹⁹ The General Assembly's Education Committee also provided some teacher training in Edinburgh where, from 1826, they sent teachers who were appointed to their Highland schools. As with the situation in the universities, teacher training in this period differed from its later form, in that there was no training programme and teachers attended only for as long as they felt was either necessary or convenient.²⁰

It is not possible to give exact figures for the number of people teaching in Scotland at this time. However, it has been estimated that in 1815 there were about 2,000 and that by mid-century the figure was approximately 5,000.²¹ Although figures should be treated with caution, it would seem fair to say that the impact of what little training there was available, is likely to have been minimal. If contemporary commentators are taken into account then an impressionistic idea of the range of the standard of teachers would indicate that they were an amorphous group, in terms of pre-teaching experience ranging from graduates through 'stickit' ministers, local widows and spinsters running dame schools in their kitchens, disabled soldiers and failed business men, holding schools in lofts and sheds.²²

This variability of the extent to which teaching constituted a distinct occupation was to be the target of state policy in the regulation of teaching.²³ This was done partly by restricting the activities of a teacher so that it was only permissible to engage in a limited range of other occupations without affecting eligibility for financial aid,²⁴ but primarily it was done through the mobilisation of professionalism as a programme of power.

Section 3

In this section I shall argue that state action in the structuring of the formalised identity of teachers needs to be understood in terms of the mobilisation of professionalism as a programme of power. This was to underpin the incorporation of teachers as state agents. This official fostering of a power-form which is derived from claims to specialised knowledge and competence, should not, therefore, be seen as an indication that the programmes which I have already discussed in this thesis were being supplanted. Rather, as I shall show later in this chapter, the programme of professionalism needs to be understood as involving the mobilisation of professionalism as a resource for the improvement of the social status of teachers, and consequently was *supplementary* to the fundamental programmes which were embedded in the construction of the mechanisms for regulating schooling.

Reader has maintained that, "By 1860, or thereabouts, the elements of professional standing were tolerably clear. You needed a professional association to focus opinion, work up a body of knowledge, and insist upon a decent standard of conduct. If possible, and as soon as possible, it should have a Royal Charter, as a mark of recognition. The final step, if you could manage it - it was very difficult - was to persuade Parliament to pass an Act conferring something like monopoly powers on duly qualified practitioners who had followed a recognised course of training and passed recognised examinations."²⁵

Following this, and in the light of the discussion in Section 1, it is possible to delineate the central components of the programme of professionalism in the mid 19th. century. These consist of (1) an association specifically concerned with (2) the demarcation of specialised knowledge and competence (3) the regulation of a generally recognised means of acquiring these, that is, training (4) the provision of the means of publicly displaying this through examination and

certification (5) the setting of general standards of conduct, and (6) the claiming of monopoly powers of practice for qualified practitioners.

State action can be seen as demonstrating a concern with all except the first of these components. In respect of official action professionalism was fostered in the structuring of the formalised identity of teacher by a concern with the correct siting and provision of specialist training for teachers. Further, it was promoted by the introduction of the examination as a mechanism for raising the status of teachers, through certifying the specialist knowledge, the possession of which was to be a condition of the possibility of someone being able to teach.

Since types of conduct were held to be linked to features of an environment, state intervention into schooling was constructed in terms of a concern to create a particular space for schooling. The architectural features of the state-planned schools, based on the segmentation and visibility of the participants in schooling, would predispose to approved moral action. Within this space the correct upbringing for the juvenile members of the poorer classes was to be provided. This schooling was directly to structure the behaviour of the immediate participants, and indirectly to structure that of the community in which it was sited. For schools were to be both a model for and a reflection of appropriate social relations.

The wide biographical range and poor calibre of teachers and candidates for teaching posts²⁶ can be understood, in moral topographical terms, as a problem of sites which would make possible the correct training of teachers. There were two main sites considered, within official documents, to be appropriate for this: the elementary school itself; and the Normal school, which was what would today be referred to as teacher training college. Within the elementary school, "the employment

of pupil teachers is seen to have certain incidental advantages...The master, in supplying their instruction in its later stages, finds an opportunity of improving his own knowledge....And, from the increase of teaching power, the school-room has an appearance of improved order, industry and discipline, - though this might be as well mentioned among the designed and chief uses of the pupil-teacher system."²⁷

This is the self-sustaining hierarchy of a disciplinary regime: aimed at teaching pupils, the school was also to produce pupil teachers who, by their presence, would improve the teacher. A five year apprenticeship, the pupil teacher system would incorporate older pupils through an annual grant thereby encouraging those who might otherwise leave, to extend their schooling and to participate at a higher level in the hierarchical relay of power relations. At the end of this apprenticeship, it was argued, these pupil teachers would have been sufficiently prepared to enable them to be candidates for Normal schooling.²⁸ Throughout this period, though it was a condition of a pupil's acceptance into the apprenticeship that their home background was vetted to ensure that it was in accordance with school mores, the trainees remained in the community in which they usually resided.²⁹ They would not, therefore, have access to the 'cultural setting'³⁰ which was necessary for them if they were to be able to fulfil the exemplary role which it was officially maintained that teachers ought to fulfil.³¹ To have this access, they would have to train outside of their local environment within the Normal school.

The regime of the Normal school was to be an extended version of that which was to be created in elementary schools. Ideally, it was to constitute what Goffman³² has called a 'total institution', so that all aspects of a trainee's life could be visible, and therefore accessible to alteration, during their period at the establishment.³³

The central feature of total institutions is that the barriers which ordinarily separate sleep, work and play are broken down. The pressures for conformity in all spheres of existence are thereby increased. "First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution.....When persons are moved in blocks, they can be supervised.....one person's infraction is likely to stand out in relief against the visible, constantly examined compliance of others."³⁴ Along with the allocation of duties and economic rewards in such places, come the allocation of character and being.³⁵

In this respect, therefore, there was an important difference from the elementary school which was specifically involved in the *compartmentalisation* of areas of life. The elementary school was designed, not only to socialise pupils but also to attract others in the locality to its ambit. Although it was aimed internally at its pupils, externally, it was concerned, in a more general way, with the wider social world. This was why the notion of total institutions for providing elementary schooling was specifically rejected.³⁶ In contrast, the Normal school had one aim: the training of teachers, not simply to occupy the teaching role during school hours, but to epitomise appropriate mores and behaviour in their whole way of life. Normal schooling was, then, to structure the social identity of teachers by fostering a congruence between the formalised identity of teacher and the in-formed identities of people teaching.

As models for the communities in which they worked, teachers were to take the example for their own behaviour from outside these localities. Most teachers, especially after the extension of training and recruitment to pupil teachers, came from areas which were problematic in terms of moral topography. By definition, therefore, they were held to have had the upbringing, which schools were to attempt to alter. It was thus essential to remove them totally from such local influences,³⁷ the official argument being that, "the first, and very often the last point of their career at which they are brought into intimate and domestic contact with persons of superior cultivation, and are obliged to conform to a higher standard of manners and habits, is in the normal college."³⁸

The insistence on a specialist space for the correct upbringing of teachers was important both for the consolidation of the state view of what constituted good teaching and for the crystallisation of particular positions within the hierarchical relations of the disciplinary regime. The status of teachers outside schools would, it was held, be improved by these measures.³⁹ In order to assess the implications of this in terms of the social identity of teachers and the professionalisation of teaching it is necessary to consider the disciplinary strategy of the examination.

I pointed out in Chapter 4 that within a disciplinary regime, visibility and segmentation were aimed at facilitating the internalised control of individual behaviour. They are also techniques which make possible the codification of discipline by means of the normalising judgement. Officially appearing first not in individual schools, but in the *system* of schooling, the examination was a technique for reinforcing the power relations embodied in the architectural arrangements of schools, for extending their automatic functioning beyond the level of a particular institution, and for legitimating relations of authority in terms of the knowledge and competence claims of professionalism.

The normalising judgement of the examination, then, needs to be understood firstly in relation to segmentation. In the short interval between 1839 and 1855⁴⁰ there was a shift from the amorphous grouping of people referred to by the umbrella term 'teacher', to a clear career structure for the members of the teaching profession. No longer simply teachers, but certificated teachers, graded as 1st., 2nd. or 3rd. class, registered teachers, assistant teachers, Queen's Scholars, pupil teachers - 1st. to 5th. year, stipendiary monitors - 1st. to 4th. year: each title indicative of a position within the network of the schooling system, of duties to be carried out within a particular school and of knowledge and skill which an individual would be expected to have. Segmentation thus made possible the constant comparison of trainee teachers by locating them, both vertically and horizontally, within the network of relations which constituted the schooling system.

Secondly, it should be understood as facilitating visibility: the compulsory signifying of occupational profiles in a clear relation to the system of schooling. Although the inspector's visit to a school could be seen as a form of examination, it differed from this new mutation which was involved in the ordering of teachers. When inspectors visited schools they examined samples of classwork, not individual performances; there was no set syllabus to be covered and there were no carefully demarcated stages for working through it; written records were minimal. In contrast, the examination as a means of assessing trainee teachers, consisted of written questions related to a formal syllabus which was divided into stages. The written answers were marked by the inspectorate. A formalised knowledge displayed in a written record, answers provided proof of the transference between teacher and trainee of what was to be known.⁴¹

Initially, the setting of examinations for pupil teachers, who were apprenticed to teachers in elementary schools, was specifically aimed at assessing the efforts of the *teacher in charge* in giving them proper instruction.⁴² The results provided visible evidence of that which

would otherwise have to go on trust. Poor results were seen as a reason for curtailing a teacher's participation in the training of pupil teachers.⁴³

The content and structure of each stage of training was organised according to the regulations outlining the state's view of efficient and economic schooling. Necessary knowledge for working in grant-aided schools was to be transferred to the trainee teachers in order for them to display it in the examination, thus giving the inspectorate, teachers and future employers necessary knowledge of their future employees: for it was to become a condition of receiving a grant that a school should employ trained teachers. Thus the nexus of power relations constituting the system of schooling made possible the construction of a particular 'knowledge' appropriate to teaching within that system which, through the examination, gave rise to a new 'knowledge' in respect of participants within the system. In this way, candidates' knowledge and knowledge of candidates became visible beyond the immediacy of a given insitutional setting. The examination is a fundamental feature of professionalism. The examination certificate, laying claim for a candidate to a particular position within the system of schooling, and stating its holder to have a particular degree of competence, should be understood as the public display of the knowledge/power coalition of the examination. It is both legitimated by it and legitimator of it: a good teacher is trained; a trained teacher is good.⁴⁴

It was no accident that the training institution for teachers was referred to as the Normal school, for it is an essential feature of the techniques of discipline, of which examination is one, that they enable the construction of a norm; in this case, for teacher and taught. The written examination, a technique which acknowledges individual performance by means of classifying and counting it, offered a new precision in the statement of an individual's capacity to teach (that is, 1st.class, 2nd.class, 3rd.class) which, paradoxically, curtailed

individuality,⁴⁵ and encouraged uniformity in teaching.⁴⁶ The syllabus presented to trainees was approved knowledge for teachers which, through the medium of the examination, was to become knowledge against which teachers would be judged as competent or otherwise. Effective, because of its simplicity,⁴⁷ the examination combined the hierarchical observation and normalising judgement in a coalition of power relations and knowledge relations.⁴⁸ This self-perpetuating regime was instigated by the state and underpinned through financial rewards which increased according to the degree of participation in the system.⁴⁹ Training requirements might be temporarily relaxed, for example, in respect of those already teaching when state regulations came into operation, but the necessity of examination, the means of positioning in the system, rendering visible and immediately measurable in terms of a norm, remained constant. The category 'certificated' referred to those who were examined and trained; the category 'registered' was for those too old to take training,⁵⁰ their examination being simpler and the assessment being pass or fail only.⁵¹

In view of the problems about abilities and suitability of teachers which, as I noted earlier in this chapter, were indicated by inspectors, this formalisation of what was necessary to be a good teacher, the controlled apprenticeship, the rigorous measurement of individuals, in short, the professionalisation of the occupation of teaching, could be understood as a benign improvement. After all, how can one have effective schooling without effective teachers? Surely it is the examination, set by those who know, which reveals the truth of a candidate's knowledge? Yet, it must be remembered that it was *one particular* interpretation of 'necessary knowledge for good teaching' which was being disseminated in this way: it was knowledge sanctioned by those holding authoritative positions within an embryonic system of schooling. A system which was being structured to aid the ordering of social relations in a world viewed as problematic by a fraction of a class.

Foucault has argued that it is a characteristic of disciplinary power that the techniques involved in its exercise obscure its functioning while rendering visible those at whom they are aimed. This becomes clearer in the case of teachers if we contrast the insistence by the education office on the need for the training and examination of teachers with the refusal to operate these techniques within the upper echelons of officials, at the level of inspector and above.⁵² Further, the rigid classification of identities lower down the hierarchy was in direct contrast to the flexibility of those at the top, where senior education officials were not prevented from holding other posts as well.⁵³

Further, at the same time as the use of the examination was being extended to assess untrained teachers, a certain imperfection was being revealed in this elaborate scheme - there were complaints that those who passed Normal school examinations were not necessarily able to teach. The extent of these was such that a probationary period was introduced. Therefore it was ruled that no certificate of merit as a teacher would be given to anyone from a training school until they had been in charge of the same elementary school for two years and had been inspected twice during that period.⁵⁴ The written examination might guarantee the transference of a particular knowledge from teacher to taught, but it could not guarantee that those taught would themselves have the capacity to transfer that which they knew. What it could do, though, was to locate individuals in a nexus of power/knowledge, structure a professional, formalised identity of teachers and, through its financial links, attract those from outside the state-regulated sector of schooling into its ambit. By doing this, professionalism, as a programme of power, was aimed at the incorporation of teachers as state agents.

Section 4

In the last section I showed how issues of power were being structured as issues of knowledge by means of state intervention into teaching, and argued that official action needs to be understood in terms of the use of professionalism as a programme of power aimed at the incorporation of teachers as state agents. In this section I shall argue that this programme embodied a fundamental contradiction. That is to say that the programme of professionalism was based on the promotion of the status of teachers as deriving from their specialised knowledge and competence in the sphere of schooling, this having been gained through approved training and being evidenced by certification. However, as I have argued, professionalism also constitutes a political resource. When teachers themselves attempted to draw on this aspect in their strategy for self-determination, and when they disputed issues of knowledge with state officials, relations of class power in the form of state control quickly re-emerged.

Several other occupations had managed to gain professional status for themselves in the early 19th century - architects, civil engineers, accountants, actuaries, as well as the lower branches of the more traditional professions of physicians and barristers - that is, apothecaries, surgeons, vets, lawyers.⁵⁵ Each of these occupational groupings had their own associations. The status of these, in relation to both the state and their particular occupational group was crucial in determining the success or otherwise of the project of attaining recognition as a profession. This can be illustrated in the case of teaching which, in the 1980's, is still of uncertain professional standing.

At the same time as the state was attempting to structure the formalised identity of teacher, there were moves among teachers themselves to improve their social and economic status by means of

professionalism. They argued that low pay, poor prospects and insecurity meant that generally the standards of applicants for teaching posts were low. They felt that teachers were seen as inferior to the middle classes and drew, in their arguments, on the model of the rise of surgeons from barbers, in their expression of a desire to be treated as more than skilled tradesmen.

Some teachers therefore engaged in activities which were concerned with the generation of the components of a profession which I outlined in the last section. Thus, in the 1830's and 1840's several associations of teachers emerged and, on 18th. September 1847 a group of them amalgamated at a meeting of over 600 teachers in Edinburgh High School, to form the Educational Institute of Scotland⁵⁶ (E.I.S.). The E.I.S. aimed to improve the social and economic status of teachers, to raise the standard of entrance to the occupation and, by doing this, to foster their specialist knowledge and competence as a resource for the development of educational policy.⁵⁷ The E.I.S. was therefore concerned with professionalism both as a social status and as a political resource.

In so far as it was concerned with social status, the aims of the E.I.S. were, in some respects, compatible with those of the state. Both were involved in working up a body of knowledge, setting standards of conduct and conferring qualifications on teachers. However, whereas the E.I.S. wanted to become ranked as an independent profession⁵⁸ and thus to mobilise professionalism as a resource in this enterprise, state action was targeted at locating teachers within the system which was emerging from the implementation of state rules. Therefore Committee of Council regulations were aimed at raising the status of teachers but *also at placing a ceiling on the extent of this*. Indeed, part of the reason for stressing the importance of the strict regime of the Normal school was to reduce the risk, "...of the superior instruction of a normal school tempting to aspire beyond a schoolmaster's calling."⁵⁹

In aiming to remove the state-imposed limits on their professionalism, members of the E.I.S. were displaying a dissonance between the state-structured formalised identity of teacher and the in-formed identities of teachers engaged in the promotion of teaching as a profession. This dissonance was actually fostered by a basic contradiction in state policy: that of the promotion of a programme of structuring teaching in terms of officially legitimated knowledge/competence, that is a programme of professionalism; while, at the same time, promoting programmes of class power which were embedded in the mechanisms for intervention into schooling. These programmes pre-supposed the denial of the legitimate primacy of alternative power forms to the extent that they did not cohere with the fundamental programmes. Teachers' strategies for developing their occupation were based on attempts to employ professionalism as a political resource, and to assert its primacy over other power forms. Thus, at the heart of this dissonance lay a dispute between two different forms of power.

There was debate among some members of the E.I.S. over the issue of whether they should aim at taking over the role of the Committee of Council in Scotland.⁶⁰ However, other members felt that this would restrict the autonomy which they wanted from the state, and therefore would remove their ability to be an independent organisation representing teachers. Nevertheless, the E.I.S. did aim to take over some functions which the Committee of Council developed. An important example of this was the examination of teachers.

In Scotland, the Dick Bequest operated examinations in its area in the North East and the Committee of Council brought theirs into operation in 1847. Both these offered financial rewards and were highly regarded among the inspectorate.⁶¹ The E.I.S. introduced an entrance examination which, after 1847, new members were required to have passed before being admitted. The diplomas awarded as a result of this, were ranked. However, the E.I.S. certificates failed to achieve the

recognition to which the Institute had aspired. One reason for this was that those who had joined the organisation before the ruling about an entrance examination, did not have to sit an examination in order to receive a membership certificate. Myers suggests that by December 1847 there were already 1300 members, with another 200-300 applications still to be considered. By 1851, when it received its Royal Charter it had about 1800 members. So most E.I.S. certificates were indicative of membership rather than of a particular level of knowledge and competence displayed in an examination.

Further, the E.I.S. Royal Charter only recognised their *capacity* to examine and evaluate teachers. No inducement or regulation was provided to encourage teachers to sit its exams or school managers to require its certificates. Thus in their strategy of obtaining professional autonomy from the state the E.I.S. were trying to attain control of the formal mode of legitimating knowledge for teachers, having failed to secure either the monopoly of the means of doing this (examination linked with certification and funding) or the confidence of significant groups in the validity of their attempts in this enterprise. Indeed, Myers has argued that the E.I.S. was disliked by patrons, school managers and clergy because it lacked ties with the church and because its examination and certification system was an attempt to rival that of the state, and it was the state system which involved the possibility of financial aid. This, and the primacy given by the education officials to class-directed programmes over the use of professionalism as a political resource, explains the failure of the E.I.S. to gain acceptance for their examinations and certificates.

By 1855, when they approached the Committee of Council directly with a request for control over examination and certification, only about 25-30 candidates had actually sat E.I.S. examinations. A memo was sent to them in April of that year, refusing their request. From then until the 1870's, by which time the E.I.S. had lost all hope of obtaining a monopoly licensing power, Myers indicates that there were never more

than 2 candidates per annum for the E.I.S. examinations⁶²; the exception being 1858 when hopes of getting recognition were raised, there being 25 candidates that year, 10 of whom sat the examination. It is difficult to find figures with which to compare this but by 1865 the Argyll Commission found 1708 teachers who held Committee of Council certificates,⁶³ and throughout this period an increasing number of teaching posts required candidates to hold Committee of Council certificates, since these were a condition of financial aid from the state.

Although they could exploit a basic contradiction in state programmes, teachers were ultimately unsuccessful in their strategy of professionalism. The functions which professional associations fulfilled for other occupational groupings were, for teachers, fulfilled by the state. State policy was to give teachers knowledge and proof of this when they had attained it, but control of that knowledge was to remain firmly beyond the grasp of teachers themselves. Teachers were to be the agents for the transmission of state-approved schooling, but were not held by the state to be suitable people to consult on matters of educational policy. Ultimately, their professional association was relegated, by the state, to the status of a trade union and was thus denied representation on school boards which were set up after 1872.⁶⁴

In conclusion then, in the early stages of state intervention into schooling, problem teachers were often given as the explanation for problem schooling. State action was aimed at erasing this aspect of the issue by structuring normality in relation to the formalised identity of teacher. This involved the construction of state agents with professional status but with tight restrictions placed on the possibility of them employing professionalism as a political resource. However, the in-formed identities of some people who were involved in teaching led them to resist incorporation by the state, thus rejecting the role of state agent in favour of attempting to structure that of independent professional. The failure of this strategy does not

undermine the importance of recognising the distinction between that which official policy envisaged teachers as being and their own interpretation of this. Rather it underlines the strength of programmes of power which are institutionalised, in the production of particular forms of social relations and in the constraint of action which is aimed at negotiating alternatives to these. Their location between state officials and the population whose social relations state-structured schooling was aimed at regulating, meant that teachers were key figures. However, I have argued that the aim of schooling was to structure relations outside the school. As can be seen from the social map of the formalised identity of child and that of truant, social relations of the family are central to the discussion of relations external to the school. It is to the significance of these which I shall turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

SCHOOLING THE FAMILY

Section 1

I have maintained that, as a technique for intervening into areas of life of the population, schooling can be described as *biopolitical*, in that it involved, "new methods of power whose operation is not ensured by right, but by technique, not by law, but by normalisation, not by punishment but by control, methods that are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus." In this chapter I shall argue that state intervention into schooling made possible the construction of the 'normal' family and, consequently, the constituents of family relations which are featured on the social maps which are displayed in Chapter 2.

Aimed at creating separate spheres of moral training which would supersede that which was viewed as inherent in a class, state papers on schooling reveal the concerns which underlay the creation of schooling as a *normal* activity, at certain times of the day and year, for children. Social action was discussed in state papers in terms of its relationship to particular formalised identities. I have explored that of the teacher and shown how state regulation made possible the structuring of this in a form which was to come to be considered as normal. Forms which did not adhere to the state model were considered as problematic. Thus state regulation made possible the definition as abnormal, mistaken, etc., dimensions of non-conformity. As part of this process of normalisation, there emerged an ideal notion of the school, family, population and the relationships between these. This became the measure against which behaviour was judged. Implicit in this were the mores of a social order predicated on the dominance of industrial

capitalism: distinct spheres of responsibility, congruence of norms, activities regulated by the clock, rationalistic attitude to money, its accumulation and expenditure.

I have indicated that the process of industrialisation did not take place uniformly over the whole of Britain and, as Corrigan² has pointed out, that attempts to regulate the populace could often precede any direct impact of this process. Any attempt to develop a uniform system would therefore encounter variable situations. Their definition as problems and the official response to them provides a fuller indication of the constituents of the formalised identities. The significance of segmentation and visibility in the operation of the relay of power has been stressed, especially in relation to the attempt to generate the internalised control of individual behaviour. Though the structure was designed to encapsulate participants within the school, there was a further aim of their encapsulation *out* of school, in order to maintain the self-sustaining feature of the official system. For the maintenance of authority relations required mutual visibility: thus behaviour outside of school was taken to be indicative of both the *necessity for* and the *success of* the local school in perpetuating approved relations of authority. Wider social phenomena are not, then, simply the background setting for the systematisation of schooling; rather they deepen the significance of the themes within official papers, for they are embodied in and formed by this new type of organisation.

Discussions of attendance in inspection reports embody these issues since school attendance is at the interface of the school and the wider social environment. As I have been arguing, these reports were dealing with the application of one particular model of schooling in a world in which various forms co-existed. In contrast to Chapter 5, the dissonance with which I am concerned here is, therefore, that deriving from forms of social relations which were external to the state model,

and against which this was being imposed. Discussions of problems for it and the varying solutions outlined in the reports were, then, part of the construction of a paradigm of the 'normal' in educational knowledge and knowledge of deviance.

The impact of schooling on the sexual and social division of labour has already been discussed by Miriam David in her account of schooling in England in the late 19th. and the 20th. centuries.³ As I pointed out in Chapter 1, David has drawn attention to the neglect of work on relations *between* schooling, the family and the economy in her argument that the, "family, and the education system are used in concert to sustain and reproduce the social and economic STATUS QUO.....they maintain existing relations within the family and social relations within the economy....."⁴ However, although accepting the importance of David's stress on relations *between* these spheres, my argument within this thesis emphasises the significance of state activity in structuring schooling as a medium for *producing one particular form* of these relations as a norm and gradually marginalising the other forms which co-existed.

In Section 2 I shall show the way in which the official definition of schools as substitutes for, or supplements to, inadequate parenting, marginalised the in-formed identities of specific groups of parents, and family relations involving particular forms of the social division of labour. In doing this I shall be explaining the way in which state regulations, by embodying one version of the scheduling of social identities, were also propagating a version of the structuring of social time. In Section 3 I shall explain how the structuring of schooling to alter certain forms of social relations was supplemented by the content of the school curriculum. This was aimed at fostering 'correct' identity formation of future parents, that is, it was fostering what was to come to be officially considered as 'normal' parenting and concomitantly to promote a particular definition of appropriate family relations. That those whose ways of living were being rendered deviant

by state action did not passively acquiesce to this, is illustrated by the refusal of some parents to accept the legitimacy of state definitions of education. In conclusion, I shall return to a discussion of the significance of this argument for an understanding of the social maps displayed in Chapter 2.

Section 2

In this section I shall show that social relations which were officially defined as inappropriate were rendered problematic by state-regulated schooling, and that this needs to be understood as an issue of the problematic scheduling⁵ of social identities. I shall discuss this through the themes of parental poverty and occupational grouping. This will enable me to trace the role of the 'problem parent'.

Attendance at school according to the officially prescribed pattern and adherence to the synchronisation of order integral to this were constituent features of the formalised identity of pupil. These rhythms, I have maintained, were predicated on a form of the scheduling of social identities which was congruent with industrialisation. Yet, in the Britain of 1851, "half the population still lived in small rural communities and the largest single occupation was agricultural labourer."⁶ Older rhythms were therefore still very important and, even late in the 19th. century, in Scotland large sectors of the urban population moved to rural areas in periods of harvest, when agricultural work was plentiful. Thus, though numerically designated time was important in one setting, it co-existed with an older way of classifying the temporal, involving a different form of social scheduling - one circumscribed by seasons and tasks. In other words, the situation was characterised by what Gurvitch⁷ has referred to as a 'hierarchy of time'.

The variable pattern of life being discussed involved differing forms of the social division of labour. In its older form, the social division of labour had as its core, the family as a unit of production. Thus members of the household would constitute an income resource. To the extent that the new rhythms of the state-regulated school were

elevated as a norm, the older form of the social division of labour with its pattern of school attendance which varied in frequency and duration, was rendered problematic. These issues were discussed in official papers in terms of parental poverty and the habitat and occupational grouping of parents.

Poverty was an issue of importance for schooling because it was held that it was from the poor that the criminal classes were recruited.⁸ A distinction was made between poverty as a problem of inadequate income,⁹ a difficulty against which 'worthy' people struggled, and the 'problem of poverty'. This was a mismanagement of money explained in inspection reports as the result of faulty mores deriving from the lack of schooling of the parents in a household. Higher wages were not, therefore, considered to be a solution to this problem for, "the higher the wages they receive,..... the poorer they really are."¹⁰ The reason for this, it was argued, was that their lack of schooling in correct behaviour would lead parents to squander the money; and that it would further act as a lure to children to go to work early rather than attend school. It would consequently only exacerbate difficulties for, "the ill lesson is taught, by something like experience that education is little if at all wanted to secure all the comfort and prosperity which is desired."¹¹ The problem of poverty was thus an indication of an incongruence of mores between the home and the school.

Though it was recognised that there was no necessary harmony between the mores of the wealthy and those which schools were designed to propagate, this was not considered to be a problem. For elementary schools were not aimed at this sector of the population. They were aimed at those people who might have to spend long hours in their place of work and who therefore would be limited to the extent to which, even if they wished to do so, they could instil correct moral and religious principles into their children. Without this, these children would be at risk of being snared by the problem of poverty.¹² School, in this respect, was to make good deficiencies in parenting.

The main aim of the state-regulated school was to provide training in correct principles and habits, the teaching of skills such as reading and writing being a subordinate part of this,¹³ for it was habit which was held to constitute education.¹⁴ Since problematic groups were held to have passed through a series of stages on their way to becoming a problem and schooling was therefore a means of providing approved stages through which future citizens would pass, the state model presupposed that schooling was an activity which would take place prior to wage-earning activities, and would be full-time.¹⁵ This was particularly important since, "in the daily resort to the school, there is a lesson of constancy and regularity: obedience to the Master's rule disposes to the observance of other rules human and divine:.....the intercourse of the young at school is regulated by the same maxims which are applicable to conduct in society at large."¹⁶ Attendance which did not conform to the officially promoted pattern in terms of either rhythm or duration was taken to be indicative of poor or problem parents.¹⁷

Just as the problem of poverty was indicative of the need for schools, so parents' occupational grouping and habitat were held to be keys to understanding kinds of children, attitudes to schooling, and consequently, likely problems.¹⁸ In their analysis of educational discourse in the 19th. century, Jones and Williamson¹⁹ noted the persistence of topographical accounts of the social world. At this point, their argument will be extended for I shall maintain here that, in so far as an explanation was offered of the way in which characteristics of an area could predispose people to types of action, this was done through a discussion of occupational grouping. It was claimed that, "The children of an entirely rural parish are quiet, orderly and attentive, but intellectually not very quick....Those of the fishing villages are comparatively self-reliant²⁰.....The children of the mining population are naturally tinged with the insulated and peculiar ideas which their parents may happen to have acquired in their contracted field of observation, and they are so tenacious of their prejudices as to be scarcely manageable if they are crossed.....The

children of the manufacturing population exhibit the various character of towns' children generally....."²¹

To the extent that the allocation of tasks among members of a community (that is, the social division of labour) did not follow the pattern which was presupposed by the state-regulated school, there was a clash of the scheduling of social identities. This was sharpest in the case of occupational groupings where work was not restricted to parents, but where all members of the household participated, especially if it was task-oriented and governed by seasons and weather.²² For instance, the work of the fishing population was marked by these characteristics. The men fished, the children were expected to collect bait²³ and, at certain times of the year the population would migrate from their villages to the main ports where the women used the centralised facilities for curing the catch.²⁴ The division of labour among the agricultural population followed a similar pattern, with the people in the poorer sectors²⁵ changing location once a year. This was known as the 'moving term'. Geographical mobility was, in itself, a problem for a system which presupposed a fixed population, and for explanatory categories which dealt with people as *either* urban *or* rural. Indeed, mobile groups were held to be particularly difficult in respect of acceptance of the officially desired relations of authority.²⁶ But, more specifically, for these groups schooling was an activity which was traditionally interspersed with periods of wage-earning in such a way that at certain times of the year local schools would be closed altogether.

Thus, in rural districts, winter was held to be the season for schooling²⁷ particularly for older children, whereas spring and summer were the seasons for younger children who were too small to attend during the harsh winter weather.²⁸ This pattern was sufficiently extensive for inspectors to organise their visits in relation to this²⁹ and for early inspection reports to distinguish average attendance in schools in the summer from that in the winter.³⁰

A form of the social division of labour in which children were considered as contributors to the maintenance of the household was also in existence in mining and manufacturing districts, although the rhythms differed from those above in that they were not dependent on seasons and the weather, but on the expansion and contraction of the production of particular firms and industries.³¹ There were two ways in which this form was dealt with in state papers. On one level, it was an issue of the correct relationship between the labour market and the school.³² Adaptations such as half-time schooling and evening schools were negotiations between what were held to be the exigencies of the labour market and the necessities of having a schooled population. The rural equivalents to these concessions to patterns of working were made in the form of the linking of vacations to the timing of the harvest or the moving term.³³

The extent to which it was acceptable for schooling to accommodate to local conditions was limited though, for there was a danger that the local population might instigate their own variations, consequently reversing the relations of authority which the regulation of schooling was structured to foster. Thus, vacations might be extended spontaneously by local people so that children might not return to school promptly at the official close of the harvest vacation. This created a self-reinforcing problem: "In consequence of the thin attendance, classwork goes on very languidly for weeks, and the knowledge of this fact becomes an excuse for not attending sooner. I visited a parish school three weeks after it was nominally re-assembled, and found not one of the first class present. While the excuse for almost every alternate child's appearance was that he came only 'last Monday', 'yesterday', or 'this morning', making it pretty clear that a considerable proportion of the attendance even at that time was due to the intimation of the visit."³⁴

There was a danger that such faulty habits of attendance would, "spread, by the mere force of custom or the contagion of example...."³⁵

Further, such a threat to appropriate relations of authority between the home and the school might raise the possibility of this also happening *within* the family. For children could take the opportunity to choose to be absent from school, refusing to return unless their parents agreed to provide an explanation for their absence which would be acceptable to the school.³⁶ The problem of making concessions to local customs was, then, the problem of establishing the dominance of a form of authority relations which would re-structure local mores sufficiently for them to cohere with the uniformity of a national system.³⁷

I have argued that state papers assumed a congruence between parental relations of authority and those of schools. Good parents would either already have established such relations within the family or would follow the example set by the school. The issue of neglecting school was therefore an issue of a possible dissonance between relations in the school and those in the home. In other words, it was a sign of problem parenting. Problem parents were those whose pattern of living conformed to alternative rhythms to those fostered in the school. School rhythms were defined as 'regular' whereas alternatives came to be equated with 'irregularity'. Such parents were either inadequate or bad, depending on whether they were unable or unwilling to secure the adherence of their child to the norms of the state-regulated school. In short, by altering inappropriate parenting, then state-regulated schools would erase the mores which resulted in the problem of poverty and they would erase the faulty mores which were associated with particular occupational groupings and habitats. Consequently, faulty relations of authority, that is, those involving the failure of parents to acquiesce to the school and the failure of children to acquiesce to their parents, would disappear.

What was important, about the relationship between the labour market and the school, was that children should be in designated school space during designated school time. A schedule of identities such that a child could be a worker as well as a pupil was only indicative of

inappropriate family relations if that child was a worker *rather than* a pupil during designated school time. In other words, the wage-earning of children was discussed as both necessary and an evil, in so far as it interfered with the rhythm of the state-regulated school.³⁸ Along with illness, it was held to be a legitimate reason for absence. That is, absence from the regime of the school-room was legitimate if it implied presence in that of the workplace, or confinement at home because of the incapacitation of illness. Otherwise, neglecting school was considered to be a bad habit indicative of ignorance of good habits and therefore of problem mores.³⁹

In so far as the issue of child labour was considered to be an avoidable problem, it was an issue of appropriate parenting. Work somewhere children were sent by their parents who, if they were 'good' parents, would only do this if their own earnings were insufficient to maintain the family; otherwise they would want their children to attend school.⁴⁰ The age at which children could be employed was circumscribed by the extent to which legislation restricting the employment of children could be evaded.⁴¹ To the extent that these evasions were seen as a problem of, "our industrial condition",⁴² which necessitated the employment of young people as cheap labour, it was seen as unsolvable. But in so far as they were related to discussions of parenting, the solution was held to be quite clear. For the problem of child labour was dealt with here as a problem of *parental ignorance*. This was because absence from school was held to be, "aggravated by every fresh demand for juvenile labour, and seems likely to grow with the material prosperity of the country, until parents.....become sufficiently enlightened....."⁴³

Though it was often argued that good schools attracted pupils, it was also held that this was circumscribed by the labour market and the social division of labour generally. As I have argued, the rhythms of certain occupational groups were, *by definition*, problematic since they differed from that of the school. The target, though, was not simply

their difference: it was the habits of life which were implicit in these groupings that schooling was to aim at altering. This was because it was held that only the state-structured school which could provide for the correct upbringing of the population.

The provision of the possibility of schooling was held to be the solution both to the difficulties of people being unable to obtain schooling and to those who did not want schooling.⁴⁴ A lack of interest in schooling was seen as a direct consequence of a lack of experience of schooling.⁴⁵ For schooling, it was maintained, would enable people to recognise their best interests and to understand that these lay within the form of the social order which was to be propagated by the school. Poverty and occupational grouping were significant categories indicating an implicit sociology which permeated discussions.⁴⁶ It was not that to be within a particular category meant that automatically people would be treated as problems, but rather that membership of a category provided an automatic explanation for any failure to adhere to the prescribed relations of schooling. Thus it was seen as indicative of *potential problems* to such an extent that it was remarked on if no such problems seemed to exist.⁴⁷ A problem parent was therefore one whose children's work was a necessary contribution to the maintenance of a household and conflicted with the patterns of schooling which the state was fostering. That is to say, the children of problem parents were involved in a scheduling of social identities which meant that they were, for example workers, during the time which the state had designated for them to be pupils. Problem parents were those who failed to recognise the primacy of the order of schooling; or who failed to assert relations of authority which were in agreement with those of the school, over the behaviour of their children.

Given that I have argued that the activity of schooling was often patterned according to older forms of social relations, I shall need to explain how it was that the state-promoted pattern came to be accepted

as desirable, even at the lower levels of the institutional hierarchy. It was not simply that inspectors and officials had started to discuss these matters, which were previously unproblematic for schooling, as difficulties which a state-designed system would have to overcome. The regulations and the form of what was to count as efficient and economic schooling meant that different patterns of attendance became *institutional* problems. Which is to say that the moral topographical problems which, on one level, schools were to solve, on another, became hindrances to the smooth functioning of the system. This occurred in several ways.

Financially, the payment of state grants required a minimum of 176 days attendance throughout the year (with an allowance of 16 days for absences on top of this). If a school had an insufficient number of pupils to meet this requirement, it could call into question the necessity of assistance for the teacher (since this was calculated in relation to the average attendance), and therefore jeopardise the annual grant.

Pedagogically, it was a hindrance to class teaching, the education office's approved form of efficient and economic teaching. It was difficult to pace work at the level of a group whose membership did not remain constant for more than a short period of time, and teachers claimed that children forgot what they had learnt while they were absent.⁴⁹ If there was a lack of class teaching and if the school's performance was poor, then a teacher and school could be defined as inadequate.⁴⁹ Therefore, social relations which state-regulated schooling was to alter, and which were being rendered problematic *for* schooling, were used as an explanation by teachers, for the limited effectiveness of schooling, especially in respect of attendance. By drawing the attention of inspectors to the way in which problem parenting hampered their work teachers could defend themselves against charges of inadequacy.⁵⁰

Alternative patterns of attendance therefore also raised problems for inspection. Aside from the issue of whether the children would be present at inspection,⁵¹ it should be remembered that the inspector's visit was based on an examination⁵² of children as *examples* of their class. It therefore presupposed that there would be classes to be sampled. Further, an inspector had to decide whether a given performance was owing to the attendance pattern of the children⁵³ or the teacher's capacity to teach;⁵⁴ and to what extent the teacher's ability affected attendance.⁵⁴

Paradoxically then, the external social relations which schools were to help mould, were often given as limits to the effectiveness of the operation of the state model of schooling. The dissonance between the in-formed identities of children and the formalised identity of pupil which was embodied in state regulations was taken, by state officials, either to be indicative of a teacher not conforming to the state model of a 'good' teacher or of parents whose lack of experience of good schooling meant that they did not organise their way of life so as to provide the kind of environment for their children which would encourage them to participate in schooling according to the officially approved pattern. The ways of living which were seen as likely to be indicative of problem parenting were those which involved the organisation of work tasks along non-industrial lines, the working of long hours within industrial organisations and those circumscribed by poverty.

Section 3

Through a discussion of problem parenting the last section described how state regulation made possible the construction, as problems, of varying forms of social relations. In this section I shall describe how schools were to be used to produce the new forms of social relations which those involved in state regulation wished to promote. I shall explain the way in which relations in the home were to be structured by the fostering of a particular process of identity-formation for future parents. In doing this I shall be arguing that schools were involved in reinforcing the compartmentalisation of living in the structuring of social relations, by presupposing distinctions between activities considered as work and those activities not to be so considered. As part of this I shall argue that discussions of the curriculum indicate particular formalised identities of family members and workers. These were to become elevated to a norm to which people were expected to adhere and in terms of which social relations would be judged.

Officially it was argued that by providing a curriculum which was related to the main occupational groups in an area, certain advantages would follow. Firstly, that children would be trained to appropriate mores in relation to their likely future occupations. Secondly, that employers would come to recognise the value of a period of schooling. Thirdly, this would also lead to local people recognising this and therefore attendance would improve.⁵⁵ The ideal, in terms of the content of the curriculum, was the teaching of knowledge which would combine correct mores and habits with future usefulness.⁵⁶

The nature of the relationship between local forms of labour and possibilities for school subjects related to them could be problematic if the industry in a parish were so simple as to require no previous instruction or so diverse that it could not be encompassed in schooling

provision.⁵⁷ However, attempts to link the labour market and the curriculum were officially encouraged, with inspectors being instructed to inquire directly into this⁵⁸ and special grants being available to foster what were generically referred to as the industrial subjects.⁵⁹ These included agriculture, which was encouraged in some Highland schools;⁶⁰ and geology, minerology, book-keeping, navigation, technical drawing, agricultural chemistry and mechanics which were offered in schools in various districts,⁶¹ inspection reports remarking favourably on those which related to specific occupations in an area.⁶² In so far as schooling was seen as a preparation for the outside world, it was viewed as ideally taking place *prior* to taking on the identities of worker and parent. In consequence of this separation of schooling from 'work' and 'life', the school activities of children were defined, not as wage-earning work but as education.

Schooling was to be relevant to a person's future social identity. At the outset a distinction was made between schooling and training for a particular occupation.⁶³ This last was not the aim of schools, since it was argued that particular craft skills could only be acquired in the workplace.⁶⁴ The teaching of industrial subjects, "consists always of some general notions of the subject or the principles of that occupation, and is never,....., accompanied with any manual practice."⁶⁵ This was because, with a few exceptions,⁶⁶ it was recognised that the precise future role of boys could not be identified. The situation was, though, different for girls since there was an *assumed homogeneity* about their *primary* future identity which it was considered would be within the sphere of domesticity.⁶⁷

The significance of this aspect of the curriculum was that, "there is much in the industrial that ministers to general culture."⁶⁸ Its aims were distinguished according to the category of children at which it was directed, and this affected the form that it took. "The true test is.....whether the children are placed under industrial instruction as part of an ordinary education in school, or whether they are so placed

in the absence of all other means on their part of learning to gain an honest maintenance. In dealing with this latter class, manual work must stand before book work.....So far as industrial occupation is mixed up with other lessons of children IN ORDINARY SCHOOLS, it is of a general character, and is not intended to furnish the learners with special means of livelihood."⁶⁹ "The object of industrial (*as part of ordinary*) instruction should be.....to fit the learner for doing his best in life, not to prescribe definitively his sphere in it."⁷⁰ The greater the dissonance which was held to exist between the social identities of children categorised in terms of particular social backgrounds and the formalised identity held to be linked with backgrounds defined as appropriate, the greater was the intensity of industrial teaching. Thus, the poor and the criminal were distinguished from working class people generally, in that their schooling was to be occupationally oriented as well as morally appropriate. For working class people moral appropriateness was sufficient.

The poor and the criminal were distinguished from each other,⁷¹ but because both were indicative of problem habits they were conflated in institutional practices.⁷² This was what made possible statements linking the establishment of pauper schools to the reduction of juvenile delinquency in particular districts.⁷³ Children whose upbringing was not held to be encouraging of acceptance of the rule of state authority, that is, those from the criminal classes (outside the law) and those from the abandoned classes (without parental authority) had no appropriate model of authority relations and therefore needed special provision. This was designed, "not to give an instruction transcending the real needs of this class of people, but to give that which they do need more effectually;....."⁷⁴

The impact of the structure of schooling was to be reinforced by the content which was to be made relevant to what were understood to be the social identities of people at particular social levels. In so doing, it was argued that school would become more interesting to the

pupils who would consequently attend according to the officially promoted pattern.⁷⁵ It would therefore become more efficient at inculcating into children behaviour which was held to be appropriate to working people and would be able to, "supplement the deficiencies, to correct the errors, or to counteract the positive evils of their home education."⁷⁶

The extent to which a child was *primarily* prepared to become a worker or to become a parent was gender related. Though men, women and children participated in work activities and there was a qualified acceptance of child labour by the state, the definition of what would be relevant for a child's future life presupposed, not only a separation of work from home, but that men would be identified as workers and that women would be identified as servicing the needs of men and children within the domestic sphere. Indeed, schooling for girls was specifically to be aimed at the creation of home environments which would foster a compliant male workforce⁷⁷ its content was therefore seen as necessarily to be restricted in comparison with that for boys.⁷⁸ Thus though schooling was to structure relations in the home and therefore influence both boys and girls,⁷⁹ relevant schooling for girls was not dogged by the uncertainty as to their precise future occupation, as was the case for boys. The industrial curriculum was given a priority in discussions of schooling for girls since, "while the period of school attendance was the same for both sexes, it was not requisite for the female to proceed so far in the different literary branches....."⁸⁰

A good mistress, it was maintained, would not simply teach sewing and knitting but would also make her female pupils, "scour and sweep the school, dust the furniture, make and keep the fires, and clean the stoves or grates."⁸¹ The official construction of school as the place for education; of education as that which the state defined as such; of teacher as educator and pupil as receiver of knowledge; meant that action of pupils within school could not be defined as wage-earning

work, even though, as in some industrial schools, the children's activities could earn money which was used to reduce the costs of running an establishment. Thus, for example, an official report of one school stated, "The girls, besides assist in house cleaning, washing and cooking, according to their age and strength; are kept very much at knitting and needlework; and, as this is also made to PAY, the teachers have frequently stated to me that the amount of work required, and the number of hours necessary to obtain it from girls so young or so unpractised as many of them are when admitted, are so great, that with the other things to be done, and the time needful for recreation, *they have too little time for their education otherwise.*"⁸² This may well be an extreme example, yet it highlights that action was officially defined *in relation to its institutional setting* and that this reinforced a compartmentalisation of living.

Throughout this thesis I have stressed that state intervention into schooling was concerned with the structuring of diversity in order to produce uniformity. There is always a danger, when basing an argument on official discourse, of colluding with it. I have aimed to avoid this by drawing a distinction between formalised and in-formed identities, by stressing that the new model of social relations contained contradictions which generated conflict within it, and by emphasising that the very *necessity* of state intervention into the structuring of social relations implies the continued existence of alternative definitions of appropriate social relations external to the authorised forms. I shall now illustrate this by looking briefly at the way in which official definitions of appropriate knowledge were challenged.

Generally speaking, so far as the industrial curriculum was concerned, the greater the emphasis on the 'practical' as opposed to the 'theoretical' aspects of a topic, the less likely it was that local people would accept either the knowledge-claims of the teacher in this sphere, or that it was even the legitimate province of schooling at all.⁸³ In the case of industrial schooling for girls there were

instances of mothers who questioned the official definition of good education for girls. Such women were held to be exhibiting a "very foolish prejudice" in their objections to their daughters scrubbing school floors. Their claims that their children were sent to school to be taught and not to be servants of the school-mistress were taken as evidence of their ignorance.⁸⁴ Such parents considered the domestic curriculum to be a waste of time and their refusal to accept its definition as education led to cases where local mothers would approach the school to enquire about the payment which their daughters were to receive for undertaking this work.⁸⁵ This lack of agreement between parents and officials as to what was education and what was work could lead to parents rejecting school as the appropriate place for their children, and consequently to them withdrawing their children from school.⁸⁶ Such disputes indicate that definitions of social action were not based on any universal consensus. Further, it is clear from opposition to the industrial curriculum that schooling was not always viewed as rescuing children from having to participate in wage-earning work and offering them, instead, an enlightened preparation for their future. Choosing between sending a child to school and sending them to work was sometimes viewed as a choice between sending them to do the unpaid work which was officially authorised as education, and wage-earning work for employers.

I should state, at this point, that I have no intention here of romanticising working conditions of children in paid employment. The conditions of work and their implications for the quality of life of children have been sufficiently documented for there to be no question of this being the issue.⁸⁷ Rather, what I am drawing attention to is the way in which action was officially defined in relation to its structural setting and that this reinforced a compartmentalisation of home, school and work. As part of this reinforcement and its consequent structuring of what were considered to be appropriate family relations, alternative ways of living were not only constructed as problems, but were taken as signifying ignorance. Knowledge

presupposed social relations which were congruent with those of the school.

The constituents of the formalised identity of parents which appears on the social map of the formalised identity of child, outlined in Chapter 2 (that is, the 'normal' in educational knowledge), and the feature of 'problem families' which appears in the map of the formalised identity of truant (that is, knowledge of deviance), should be understood, then, as deriving from patterns of social relations which 19th. century state regulated schools were aimed at altering. They were produced by the official authorisation of one specific model of schooling as 'correct' and normal, and by incorporating one particular model of 'correct' family relations into the industrial curriculum. At the same time as promoting *the family* as fundamental to the production and maintenance of social order, state action was therefore marginalising alternative versions of family relations which involved temporal rhythms and a form of the social division of labour which did not accord with the officially authorised pattern of schooling. It should be remembered that this pattern formed the core of the state *system* of schooling which was formally introduced in 1872. By this time, alternative patterns of social relations, seen as indicative of inappropriate parenting, had become entrenched as institutionally problematic for a system which embodied correct/normal social relations. This was what made it possible for problems of the state system of schooling to be taken as indicative of problematic family relations.

CHAPTER 7

THE EMERGENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Section 1

So far, in arguing my thesis I have been discussing the institutional action outlined in the diagram in Chapter 2. This has enabled me to explore the pre-conditions for the features which constitute the two social maps which also appear in that chapter. In so doing, I have emphasised official concern to teach the mass of the population to know their place, within the order of social relations which those involved in setting up the mechanisms for state intervention into schooling wished to propagate. I have underlined the significance of relations of class and gender in these features. But the maps with which I am dealing are concerned with the coalescence of these themes, concerning relations of space/time, in the production of the *individual* social identities of 'child' and 'truant'.

Before exploring this it is important to emphasise that to argue that official discourse dealt with social order as the central purpose of schooling is not necessarily to claim that this provides a *total* understanding of the impact of schooling. Official reports' indicate that some parents regarded schooling as important because it provided tuition in skills to which children might otherwise have little or no access - for example, reading, writing and arithmetic. In other words, schooling could also be seen as offering children *opportunity*, albeit circumscribed by the basic tenets of a particular definition of social order. It was, then, Janus-faced; and both aspects must be examined in order to reach an adequate understanding of discourse on truancy. There are two distinctive features being introduced in this kind of view: the concern with individual children, and the instigation of the

notion that schooling can be understood in terms of opportunity.

In this chapter I shall argue that an administrative programme to increase the efficiency and economy of regulating schooling made possible a major epistemological and ontological shift in schooling. Knowledge of schooling was no longer to be knowledge of the performance of classes of a school, and schooling was no longer to be primarily concerned with locating classes of the population; rather, knowledge of schooling was to become based on the performances of individual pupils, and schooling was to become concerned with the provision of opportunity for individuals to achieve a better position within the hierarchy of school assessment and, implicitly, within the wider social world. The components of my argument here need to be distinguished from those of the 'lad o' pairts' tradition in Scotland which was discussed, in Chapter 3, as referring to the theoretical possibility for any bright male child to gain access to university. This myth referred to the possible success of talented individuals. The discursive shift with which I am concerned here, in contrast, dealt with schooling as offering the possibility of achievement for *all* pupils, not simply those defined as clever and male.

A concern with economy and efficiency had been basic to the construction of state regulation. By the 1850's and 1860's the rigour of the enforcement of the Committee of Council's Minutes was being called into question. This was partly a reflection of governmental concern over the rapid rise in state expenditure on education at a time when the government was trying to reduce expenditure generally.² The solution to these difficulties was held to be an increase in the precision of the collection and measurement of data about schooling. The main aims of the alterations were an increased standardisation of inspection, of the assessment of a school's relationship to the Minutes and, consequently, of the school's grant-earning capacity. The first means of doing this will be discussed in Section 2. It involved a stricter enforcement of the necessity of teachers collecting what the

education office defined as necessary school statistics. I shall argue that this was done by developing a further mutation of the panoptic principle in the form of the promotion of the use of one particular form of the school register. The way in which this register was kept was incorporated into the definition of an efficiently organised school. This was the way in which the 'avalanche of numbers' became manifest at the level of the school.

In Section 3 I shall discuss the second measure, the Revised Code of 1862. This code instituted the measurement of the results of elementary schooling by means of the individual written examination. The notorious system of payment by results was an integral part of this and was developed as a solution to the problem of ensuring the cost-effectiveness of regulating schools. Inspection was no longer to be carried out by selecting a few *examples* from each class, for examination. Instead, each pupil was to be examined in what were referred to as the 'Standards'. These were aptly-named since they instituted a *standardisation* of forms and levels of pupil performance. This produced a hierarchy of attainment which was to be linked with the duration of school attendance and the ages of pupils. By extending visibility and segmentation beyond individual schools and into the *system* of state-regulated schooling, the register and the Revised Code were aimed at eradicating 'problem schools' both from state aid and from the social world.

In my discussion here I shall be extending the work of Jones and Williamson³, whose argument is based on material for the period just prior to my own. They have noted that the mode of school inspection changed at the time of the Revised Code and indicated the need for research to assess the implications of this. By doing this in relation to Scotland I am also focusing on a substantive area about which historians of Scottish education have had very little to say and, to the extent to which they have said anything, it has been characterised by a lack of accuracy and coherence.⁴ The exception to this has been

Thomas Wilson's examination of reasons for the delay in the full implementation of the Revised Code in Scotland.⁵ My exposition of the significance of the code is therefore intended as a contribution to a neglected area.

Although the Revised Code was not fully operative in Scotland apart from during a brief period of about 6 weeks in 1864⁶ and therefore grants were paid under the Old Code, it still had an important impact. The reasons for this were that there was a constant possibility of it being extended to Scotland throughout the period until the 1872 Act; and, more significantly, because inspection was carried out under its terms rather than those of the Old Code. Therefore, it was epistemologically important, because it structured the knowledge which was gathered about schools.

The tightening of control on inspection and expenditure and its consequent tightening on schools, made possible the emergence of an institutional profile for individual children, which was silhouetted against a background of class-based understandings. Paradoxically, this shift in focus to the *individual* as an *object* to be schooled in the Standards created the possibility of the emergence of the pupil as a *subject* who could *achieve* in the new hierarchy of attainment. In this way, not only could the problems with which schooling was structured to deal (that is, class mores) be understood as preventing efficient schooling, they could also come to be viewed as preventing the achievement of individual pupils.

Section 2

Today the use of the school register is taken for granted and, as I indicated in Chapter 1, it is often the only source of figures about attendance which is kept as a matter of routine. Yet, in the 19th. century, its usefulness was by no means self-evident to those involved in schooling. An argument first had to be made for both the necessity and the particular form which the classification and counting of school attendance was to take. The use of the register was not unique to Committee of Council schools, neither was it their innovation.⁷ However, what I am arguing here is that it was through the *systematic* action of state education officials that the register was to become a necessary part of the definition of what it was to run an efficient school. This section will describe the prevailing situation prior to the enforcement of the state regulations concerning registers. It will then show how the regulations were implemented, before discussing the particular form of register which was enforced by the education officials.

I have stressed that the core components of the disciplinary mechanism of the state-regulated school were visibility and segmentation. In particular, I indicated that the key to the automatic functioning of power relations was the possibility of constant supervision which the segmentation of spatial/temporal relations facilitated. However, inspection visits occurred, at their most frequent, only once a year. Thus, it was only during these visits that a school would be *immediately* visible to government officials. Though it was possible to inspect the spatial organisation directly, the temporal patterning of school relations was less accessible.

The written record was to be a means of overcoming this by making significant features of a school's year *mediately* visible to inspectors. In particular, the register was to provide a constant record of

attendance throughout the year, therefore making it easier for an inspector to assess the relationship of a school's performance to the efficiency of a teacher. It did this by extending the organisation of space and time on to a level of administration which would make its patterns visible beyond the immediate spatial/temporal location of the school. Based on the classification and counting of attendance, the register was the visible manifestation of the 'avalanche of numbers'⁹ at the level of the school. As such, it was intrinsically linked to the belief that an initial step towards the solution of the problem was its quantification. The problem which was being pursued constituted a reversal of the initial concern with the way in which a school could affect a neighbourhood; for an inspector needed to be able to judge the way in which a particular neighbourhood affected attendance and schooling. Registers were held to be an indication of a well-managed school, a measurement of its problems and an encouragement of its pupils to attend.⁹

From the outset of regulation it had been ruled that the keeping of a school register was to be a condition attached to the awarding of financial aid from the state.¹⁰ However, there was no clear definition provided as to what was to count as important school statistics, even though particular figures were necessary for the calculation of state grants.¹¹ It was only when a capitation grant became available in England and Wales,¹² as a means of spreading the influence of the system of state regulation, that the inadequacies of existing forms of registers became an object of systematic concern. Though the grant was confined to England and Wales, the impact of the concern with registers was not so confined.¹³ The reason for this was that the counting of individuals which was involved in this was also advocated, by inspectors, for incorporation into the assessment of schools in Scotland, as a means of improving both registers and attendance.

What was the prevailing situation to be altered? Inspection reports reveal that there was no uniform interpretation of what it was to keep

a school register. For example, sometimes registers might simply consist of a catalogue of enrolments with occasional indications of the payment or non-payment of fees.¹⁴ Further, the interspersing of schooling with other activities meant that some schools reported having an entirely different set of pupils at different seasons, yet methods of recording this meant that its extent was difficult to gauge.¹⁵ This problem was increased by it being rare for a register to distinguish children who were leaving finally from those who were transferring to another school. Thus, information about the frequency with which children changed school was sparse, which made the overall duration of a child's schooling difficult to assess.¹⁶ This was exacerbated by the fact that it was seldom possible to identify individual pupils and trace their subsequent progress from records.¹⁷ Just as problematic as the mobility of pupils was that of teachers¹⁸ since they often took their registers with them so that no record was available in the school for consultation.

"Some teachers employ forms of their own contriving; and these are sometimes upon loose sheets, showing for how brief an existence the record has been meant, and some are intelligible only to the teacher who keeps them.....signifying that they are considered as his own, and not as the property of the school."¹⁹ This lack of uniformity made it difficult to develop a more detailed picture which would make it possible to compile more general statistics. Problems were further compounded by the variations in the methods of calculating entries.²⁰ Inspectors complained that averages were often merely guesswork, or calculated from the highest month or quarter of a year's attendance.²¹ Sometimes the figure would be higher than the highest weekly average, "In two cases last year, that had an unusually suspicious look, I took time to calculate *the average attendance for the year*, from the 'Daily Register', and found it (in one case a little under, and in the other a little over) ONE HALF of what had been entered....."²² It was impossible to assess the extent to which such mistakes were genuine or were purposeful manipulations on the part of teachers to increase the amount of aid they would receive.²³ But often registers were simply

not available for inspection because many schools didn't keep them at all, but filled out the government forms with estimates.²⁴ This was to become increasingly less acceptable for, "No one would believe, who had not made the experiment, how great is the difference of the result, in averages and other particulars, when taken from general impressions, and when calculated from actual entries."²⁵

The figures given in inspection reports were, then, frequently providing a veneer of precision, for there was no general agreement on either *what* should be counted or on *how* calculations should be made. Indeed there was a range of figures which were offered to inspectors, and which included a selection from:

- (1) Number actually on books
- (2) Greatest number on books in last 6 months
- (3) Number at day of inspection
- (4) Average daily attendance during last 6 months
- (5) Winter attendance (given in early reports only)
- (6) Summer attendance (given in early reports only)
- (7) Greatest number present during last 6 months

But the only figure which was given consistently for all schools was the number present at day of inspection, and even this would sometimes be an estimate. Such disorganisation in a structure aimed at the systematisation of schooling, in particular, and the ordering of social relations generally, had to be tackled in order for there to be a closer control over the allocation of financial aid.²⁶

From the information available, discussions of such issues as the duration of attendance could only take place in the most general terms,²⁷ often focusing on the turnover of pupils in a school.²⁸ Similarly, although there were frequent complaints in reports about short and irregular attendance, especially in the case of older pupils, the assessments of this were also impressionistic.²⁹ In short, though initially it was assumed that the keeping of accurate registers was an unproblematic requirement, inspectors found that, in their existing

form, registers were an inadequate aid to regulation, for the information which they contained was generally based on estimates, derived from memory, calculated in a variety of ways and often either distorted by a teacher's misunderstanding of the meaning of 'average', or deliberately manipulated by teachers in order to get a larger state grant. Given the belief that useful knowledge was based on the order created by classification and counting, accurate knowledge of a school's efficiency and relationship to its local community could only be based on the increased precision of the collection and measurement of data about attendance.

How did the shift occur from this situation of diversity to one of conformity where the necessity and form of registers was to become self-evident? The form of the register which was to be fostered by the education officials was set out in specimens which laid down a minimum requirement for the keeping of approved figures.³⁰ But this, in itself, was not enough. Specimen registers had been published in the 1840's and this had not brought about the standardisation of the keeping of school statistics. These earlier specimens³¹ had been suggested by an inspector but their use had not been systematically incorporated into the assessment of what was to count as an efficient school. This was done in the 1850's. There were two methods of incorporation: into the definition of an efficient school and into the definition of an efficient teacher.

Firstly, inspector reports were used to outline ways in which registration could become part of school routine. This was done through the direct confrontation of opposition of teachers who argued that the irregularity of pupils' attendance prevented registration from being worthwhile,³² and that, especially in large schools, daily registration of attendance was too time-consuming.³³ Official reports argued that where registration was properly integrated into a well-organised schooling routine, for example, by getting monitors and pupil teachers to simultaneously mark daily registers with the master

making a digest of these for the other forms to be completed,³⁴ then the problems which teachers complained of would not exist. In this way, the calculation of figures which would provide a profile of a school's temporal pattern was presented as part of a properly organised school. Thus problems in getting figures were to be taken as indicative of poor organisation.³⁵ Properly kept figures were to be both an indication of attendance patterns, and a means of fostering patterns which would be more congruent with the definition of regularity provided by the education office.³⁶ This was reinforced by the publication of letters from school managers and teachers, requesting clarification of the nature of attendance figures.³⁷ Replies set out methods of calculating figures and indicate that instructions would start to be published along with registers.

It is fundamental to my argument in this thesis that the regulation of schooling involved the structuring of space/time and knowledge/action in such a way as to produce a theory and practice of normality which conformed to the state model and which marginalised alternatives. Indeed, the minimum attendance requirements set out by the education office were purposely set, 'at a point beyond common practice', as a means of fostering change in social behaviour. Thus, although 'common practice' could not be known in terms of the official form of measurement,³⁸ it was *assumed* to be inadequate for the purposes of the education office. The policy was therefore deliberately aimed at designating existing patterns as problems.³⁹

The specification of a particular level of attendance to which individual children had to adhere in order for it to be possible for them to earn a grant, meant that attendance was no longer directly a pedagogical problem (in that what could be taught, and the possibility of classifying a pupil correctly was restricted by the extent to which a pupil attended school) and indirectly a financial problem (in that classification and performance were constituents of the definition of

an efficient school). Attendance was now *directly* a financial problem for a school.

The incorporation of the keeping of state-approved registers into the definition of an efficient teacher was carried out by including instruction in the keeping of registers in the curriculum of Normal schools and setting a question on this in the second year examinations on School Management.⁴⁰ Faulty exam answers were preserved and students who, though they may have passed examinations in all other areas, had not answered the questions on registers correctly, were to have this recorded and inspectors were instructed specifically to examine these people on all aspects of registration when they inspected the schools in which the students had taken up posts. The payment of their augmentation grant was dependent on the results of this.⁴¹ It was not, then, that one version of what was to count as a properly kept register was directly imposed. But rather, that teachers were trained in the provision of information which would be useful to the education office. This particular version was directly related to the payment of grants and was incorporated into the definition of necessary knowledge for efficient teachers.

These changes meant that estimates and approximations would not longer be acceptable.⁴² Instead, the tight organisation of the school was to be extended to the keeping of school records. Random figures on scraps of paper were to be replaced by a Register of Admission, Progress, and Withdrawal; a Class Register divided into half-days, days and weeks; a Class Register divided into weeks and quarters; and an annual table divided into quarters.⁴³ Schooling was not to be a seasonal activity of particular groups, rather it was to be an activity regulated and counted by clock and calendar time. The temporal counterpart of the strict classification of space, the register made it officially necessary to account for time: in other schools; in this school; in each successive class in this school; for the termination of time in this school; and for time spent out of school space on a school day. Thus,

just as there was an official categorisation of particular space as belonging to schooling, so there was an allocation of time, in the form of the 'school day', and the 'school year'.

This systematic accounting for time was designed to make it possible to develop a profile of patterns of schooling generally, as well as to develop a profile for individual schools. The focus on the precision with which data about schools was gathered made possible the emergence of the individual whose institutional profile could immediately be seen from the school record. For the basic unit of data was no longer to be the class, but the individual pupil. The Register of Admission, progress and Withdrawal made visible an individual school career (date and age of admission, previous instruction, duration of previous instruction, date of admission to each class in this school, age and date of withdrawal, duration of attendance, reason for withdrawal). This institutional profile located individuals not simply in the school, but in the wider social world, through the inclusion of the parental occupation and the child's proposed occupation. It thus would provide a record of the scheduling of social identities of those passing through the school, formalising the demarcation of 'work', 'life' and 'school'. Further, children had to be categorised as being in a particular spatial sphere during given segments of school time. Out of place meant out of sight of the authority relations of the school. The classification and counting of kinds of absence was a means of making officially visible, and therefore keeping within the network of authority relations, individuals who were not actually present/visible within the space of the school.

"...The presence of each child is indicated by a blank space;....."⁴⁴
The register was to constitute a reversal of the visibility of pupils within the school; absence from school was to be indicated by the presence of an explanation in the register. It was therefore to be a means of locating absences: "...if absent without leave the letter A is placed in the space.....; if attendance has been prevented by

circumstances at home, the letter H is written; if by sickness, the letter S; if by any other excuse received by the teacher, the letter X; or if leave of absence has been granted, the letter L is written;..... on every occasion the Cause of a child's absence is *immediately seen....*"⁴⁵ In this way, the classification and counting solved the problem of visibility. It transformed the invisible into the visible and, through the categorisation of absences, made it possible to distinguish acceptable from unacceptable by linking social action to particular social identities. The form of the register propagated by the education office thus made possible the emergence of attendance profiles for individual children.

Section 3

I shall now discuss the way in which the measuring and counting of attendance was both reinforced and extended to the measuring and counting of schooling. This took the form of the Revised Code of 1862 which, though it was only fully implemented in Scotland for a very short time,⁴⁶ had profound implications for schooling since, though payments continued to be made under the Old Code,⁴⁷ the new code formed the basis for inspectors' assessments of schooling throughout Britain.

The Revised Code was based on the findings of the Newcastle Commission on England and Wales⁴⁸ which had examined possible ways of extending 'sound and cheap' elementary instruction to all classes of the population. They had concluded that there was a need to tighten up on the payment of grants, to standardise inspection, to simplify the grants' system and to focus attention on slower rather than quicker pupils. The new code was therefore a means of reinforcing and extending the regulation of schools through the increased regulation of inspection.⁴⁹ The new mode of inspection under the terms of the Revised Code facilitated the consolidation of the authorised definition of a place and time for schooling as well as of what was to count as the effective transmission of appropriate knowledge. Put another way, it was the crystallisation of the core form of what has come to be understood as basic education.

An important aim of the code was to pressurise schools into enforcing a longer duration and more uniform patterns of attendance. Thus, with inspection being carried out in terms of the new code, alternative patterns of school attendance became problems of the inability to present pupils for examination;⁵⁰ or problems of examination failure;⁵¹ both of which would have implications for the level of grant which would be paid to the school. The linking of grants to the age of

pupils made possible the emergence of the problems of 'late enrolment' and 'early leaving'.⁵² How did the Revised Code generate these problems?

This was done by the deployment, throughout elementary schooling, of biopolitical techniques which were already in use in particular sectors of the organisation of schooling. This took two forms. Firstly, the reinforcement of the necessity of keeping a written record of individual pupils' attendance. I have already discussed the implications of the attendance register in Section 2. The consolidation of its use was provided for by directly linking the level of attendance to grant earned, in the case of England and Wales, and indirectly in the whole of Britain, by stipulating a minimum attendance necessary for a pupil to be eligible for inclusion in the second form of biopolitical technique: the individual written examination.⁵³

This second form involved the introduction of techniques which were discussed earlier in this thesis in relation to the ordering of teachers: the standardised individual examination, based on a set syllabus with demarcated stages which would provide a written record of individual performance. It is important to emphasise that the knowledge/power coalition of the examination makes possible a reinforcement of authority relations: what counts as knowledge is officially legitimated by the examination, a self-reinforcing technique which purports to define what it is to know. No longer was it to be sufficient for an individual to be subsumed within a class, located in a school. The examinations instigated by the Revised Code would facilitate the location of individual pupils within a *system* of schooling, thus making it possible to judge their performance beyond the level of the particular institution which they were attending.

Knowledge of a teacher's capacity for conveying officially sanctioned knowledge to individual pupils was to be revealed by their display of

what they knew to the inspector. The Standards, as these examinations were aptly named, were to provide the basis for a new knowledge - one formed by measuring and counting - which was to be taken to indicate the *effectiveness* of schooling. Thus reports came to measure the performance of a school by counting that of the pupils.⁵⁴ The individual examination was introduced as a more precise instrument of the measurement of schooling,⁵⁵ by allowing for the assessment of the performance of *all* pupils it was to be a means of avoiding the dangers of teachers concentrating on a few children who might then be presented as exemplary in relation to the school. It was not an innovation to schooling, although it was in so far as the pupils were concerned, for it was a technique used in the assessment of pupil teachers, and trainee teachers at Normal school. The associated pupil teacher's stipend and the Queen's scholarship were also based on payment by results. Inspection reports, since the inception of these particular examinations, had argued that there had been an improvement in standards of teaching. Thus, aside from their normalising implications, surely the individual examination, the fixed syllabus and payment by results could at least ensure an eradication of problem schools and, consequently, a raising of standards of schooling among pupils generally? Therefore, surely these measures would be welcomed by most people involved with schooling?

Interestingly, large numbers of petitions were sent to parliament to express the opposition of many people involved in schooling, to the Revised Code,⁵⁶ this opposition was also expressed by school inspectors in their reports.⁵⁷ Several themes can be traced in both sets of documents. Firstly, the level of minimum attendance which was stipulated was felt to be unnecessarily high.⁵⁸ Secondly, there were objections to the specification of a particular duration and rhythm of schooling, in terms of grant eligibility. This, it was argued, would make it more difficult to allow for patterns of the social division of labour which involved schooling and income-earning work being interspersed.⁵⁹ Thirdly, the introduction of age as a factor in the

classification of children was viewed as totally impractical, especially given the patterns of living of many people.⁶⁰

Such factors, it was maintained, were too far beyond a teacher's control for their efficiency and merit as a teacher to be judged on this. In short, a school might be penalised as a problem when the site of the problem might, either because of the patterning of local social relations or because of such contingencies as epidemics, lie beyond a school's control.⁶¹ The age/finance/attendance link was held to be too inflexible, narrowing the range of pupils which it would be financially beneficial to teach. Thus, it would discourage very young and older pupils since it had an implicit view that the norm for schooling should be continuous attendance above the age of 6 and under the age of 11. Whatever efforts a teacher might make with those who attended according to alternative patterns, they would not bring a financial reward to the school. These problems, it was argued, would be reinforced by the introduction of individual examination, which dealt with a narrow curriculum. This was held to be counter to the Scottish tradition of links between schools and universities.⁶²

At this point I would like, briefly, to digress in order to mention another theme which appears in these documents. That is, it was held that the requirement of distinguishing means and occupation of parents was totally unacceptable in Scotland.⁶³ This would seem to call into question a fundamental claim of this thesis, that class-based assumptions permeated knowledge about schooling which was produced in inspection reports. However, I should stress that grants for schooling were class-based and that elementary schools were to be so *from the outset of regulation*. Further, schools were often identified in reports according to the class of the population which attended them.⁶⁴ The innovation of the Revised Code which clashed directly with the 'lad o' pairts' myth which I discussed earlier as figuring so importantly in the national tradition of Scottish education, was simply the identification of *individual children* in relation to class.

To summarise, criticisms of the Revised Code highlight that it was rejected by many people since it would make it more difficult for teachers and school managers to negotiate between relations in the community and the state model of correct social relations. Official regulations were gradually making it less possible to adjust schooling to local communities; they aimed at adjusting relations in local communities to the implicit normality of state-structured schooling. This notion of normality was not based on a widespread pattern which already existed, but had its roots in the attempts to erase particular mores from groups of the population which were defined as social and moral problems, and was consolidated in an attempt to increase the efficiency of the regulation within the system.

Although this indicates that many people objected to the mechanisms integral to the code, it leaves unanswered the question as to the implications, in respect of the official aims of increasing the efficiency and economy of schooling, of the measures which were implemented in Scotland. Inspection reports indicate that, in these terms, there were problems with the measures, since they generated new forms of dissonance. For example, teachers would distort attendance figures if pupils might pass an examination but had insufficient attendance to be presented.⁶⁵ Teachers would pretend children were younger than they really were in order to present them for a Standard that they would definitely pass as opposed to one which they might fail.⁶⁶ Teachers would 'cram' children for exams.⁶⁷ As money was not paid for individuals in Scotland, but a school's efficiency was assessed on this basis, teachers would avoid presenting children who might not pass.⁶⁸ Inspectors started to demand explanations for non-presentation as selective presentation was so widespread and it could mean a good pass rate for a school with a poor presentation rate.⁶⁹ Thus reports argued that it was a mistake to assume that schools with the largest number of passes were providing the most education,⁷⁰ since examination passes were a good measurement for the system but a bad one for education.⁷¹ Although a circular to inspectors dated 10th. June 1871⁷² was aimed at curbing the practice of non-presentation, the

problems of 'cramming' and the difficulty of verifying attendance figures remained.

But the significance of these measures is not simply that they set tighter controls on schooling, increasing the degree to which non-conformity was a problem, for there was another dimension. The individual written examination was a means of tightening control of teachers and inspection by restricting the definition of what was to count as efficiency in schooling. It constituted a new set of constraints through which teachers had to negotiate the presentation of their school. In so doing, it also made possible the construction of a new knowledge of normality, based on individual attendance and the age at which a particular stage of schooling would be reached.⁷³ The register and the Revised Code, instruments for the measuring and counting of an individual's temporal experience, fostered the coalition of social relations of space and time in the emergence of the individual subject. This marked the possibility of a key ontological and epistemological shift in relations of schooling. Schooling was no longer to be a mechanism for locating a class of the population, for generating and transmitting knowledge *of* a class and knowledge *for* a class. For the hierarchy of assessment of individual pupils was also a hierarchy for their individual achievement. This made possible the emergence of a new problem: the problem of ability. This was a problem of pupils who were less able to pass the Standards than their peers.⁷⁴ This meant that, like problem attenders, they were a financial and a pedagogical problem. In contrast, for those pupils who could pass the examinations, they were to provide a means of personal progression within the hierarchy of attainment. In this way an apparent harmony between the formalised identity and the in-formed identity of a pupil was to shift from being a pre-requisite for class members knowing their place to becoming the basis for individuals being able to achieve a better position. Problem attendance, in this respect, was to come to be seen as a barrier to the educational progress of children,⁷⁵ progress, ability and achievement being defined in relation to the hierarchy of the Standards. This was the way in

which dissonance between the formalised identity of pupil promoted by the state-structured school, and the in-formed identities of children officially expected to participate in schooling, became an individualised problem.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

I have argued that statements about truancy are statements about the relationship of children to state-authorized institutions of education. Truancy is usually dealt with as a form of deviance, and to understand what is socially held to be deviant it is necessary to understand what is held to be normal. This is the reason for my having focused on the germination of an institution-based system of education; for it was state regulation of schooling which fostered the structuring of a particular version of normality. Its not that prior to state regulation schooling had no problems. Rather, I have argued that the particular issues which are today considered to be part of any discussion of truancy, have their thematic roots in the concerns which were embedded in the construction of the basis for the system of schooling.

In arguing my thesis I have aimed to demonstrate the analytical efficacy of a framework of social cartography. At the outset, I maintained that social cartography would involve me in tackling four questions, the answers to which would enable me to sustain my claim that social cartography is an illuminating sociological enterprise. These questions concerned the programmes of power the implementation of which has made possible the emergence of today's social maps. They were: Whose programmes? What were they about? How were they implemented? What have been the implications of this implementation?

In answering the first three questions I have maintained that state regulation of schooling was instituted in the 19th. century, as a programme for class control, by an elite grouping with a shared understanding of the fundamental issues concerning the organisation of social relations at that particular time. The development of

mechanisms for the institutionalisation of this programme, that is, the education office and the school inspectorate, also made possible its 'neutralisation' as a programme of the efficient and economic administration of regulations.

Schools were structured as mechanisms of discipline for the children of working class people. They were predicated on the necessity of producing and sustaining hierarchical relations of authority in an ordered social world. Diversity was construed as disorder, and consequently as threatening in so far as it could not be incorporated into the desired structure. Working class people were, by definition, a problem. This was why this form of schooling was aimed at them. The conditions which characterised their existence - long working hours and poverty - were dealt with as moral topographical problems which made them vulnerable to the possibility of slipping into the criminal class and, therefore, outside of social order. For long working hours were considered to indicate long hours in which appropriate familial relations of authority could not be enforced by parents. This raised the problem of an inappropriate upbringing for the future adult population. By providing a suitable location and a correct series of stages through which children would pass, state regulated schooling was to be the means of implementing these programmes. Fundamentally, this involved the structuring of social relations of space and time in a form which would promote a process of correct identity formation. This was done by creating an authorised place for schooling and structuring an authorised identity for those who were to operate schools, that is, teachers. The content of schooling was to reinforce these measures and, in so doing, was to facilitate the structuring of social relations, by means of regulating social relations in families.

As my argument has unfolded I have been able to use each chapter to demonstrate the way in which, by establishing specific institutional parameters, state action has facilitated the production of the particular elements of normality which are featured on the social map

of the formalised identity of child. I have been stressing that social relations which did not conform to the official parameters of acceptability did not simply disappear. Rather, I have shown the way in which they have been *reproduced* as deviance and have consequently made possible the production of the features which characterise the social map of the formalised identity of truant. In doing this I have also been able to indicate that 'problems' for state regulation of schooling were not only posed by the continuation of forms of social relations which 'good schools' were to alter, but were also generated by contradictions *internal to* the state model.

The social maps under discussion refer to *individual* identities. These identities constitute a major implication of the implementation of the programmes of power which I have discussed. For, as I have shown, these programmes facilitated the structuring of individuals as silhouettes against a background of class-based understandings, thus enabling the emergence of the problematic child. That is, a child whose relation to the authorised scheduling of social identities does not conform to the official model, and who therefore would not be able to progress through the official hierarchy of achievement. Put another way, official action made possible the structuring of particular forms of *social relations* as *institutionally* problematic, in such a way as to transform them into indicators of *personal problems of individuals*.

By employing the analytical framework of social cartography, I have been able to map the shift from varying patterns of attendance being a taken-for-granted aspect of varying ways of organising social life, to *the production of the problem of irregular attendance*. Thus, the legislative 'solution', in the form of universal compulsion, which was enacted in 1872 marked the beginning of the erection of an official apparatus which was to be aimed at problematic individuals and was to emerge from the institution of the initial mechanisms of: special meetings of the newly-formed school boards in order to deal with 'defaulting parents'; certificates issued by school boards in order to

instigate prosecution of parents; the compulsory officer, who would visit the homes of absent children and report to the school board.' I have characterised the mechanisms of this official apparatus in its contemporary form, that is in the late 1970's and 1980's, in the diagram of contemporary institutional action on truancy.

DIAGRAM OF CONTEMPORARY INSTITUTIONAL ACTION ON TRUANCY

UNAUTHORISED ABSENCE

Internal School Procedures

Referral to guidance teacher

Lines

Detention

Letter/phone call to home

Attendance card to be signed by the teacher in each of the child's classes.

Court

Can admonish, impose fine or imprisonment on responsible parent (legal father, if in the home)

Or can remit case to Children's Panel for advice

External School Procedures

Referral to attendance officer/ school welfare officer who makes home visit. Can resolve issue by re-defining absence as authorised, or accepting absence as unlikely to recur. Or can lead to

Referral to School Council Attendance (Sub) Committee. Child and parent to attend hearing of this committee which can

- a) dismiss case (if absence re-defined as authorised; or if believed to be unlikely to be unlikely to recur
- b) give warning; then bring case to subsequent hearing in order to assess interim attendance
- c) obtain medical report on child
- d) refer *parent* to sheriff
- e) refer *child/family* to Children's Panel

Children's Panel'

Must

- a) refer to Sheriff if grounds denied

Can

- b) place on *supervision* to social work department
- c) dismiss case with warning
- d) refer to child guidance service for psychological and psychiatric advice before making a decision
- e) send child to reside in list 'D' school

(1) System of juvenile justice whereby cases are heard by three adults - panel members - who have been appointed for this purpose by the state, as representatives of 'society'.

In examining the implications of the implementation of the programmes of power discussed in this thesis I have, then, argued that the relationship between 'knowledge' and institutional action is one of *reciprocal interaction*. That is to say, a particular knowledge of an elite underlay the erection of an institutional structure to deal with problematic social groupings. The actions involved in this made possible the generation of a new 'knowledge' in terms of problematic individuals. This 'knowledge' has become the basis for the construction of 'solutions' based on institutional mechanisms targeted at individual subjects. In other words, the construction of problems and the structuring of solutions are *dynamically* linked. This brings me to the final phase of my 'history of the present'. For having displayed the pre-conditions of contemporary 'knowledge' about 'normal children' and 'truants' my discussion would not be complete without some consideration of 'solutions' offered in official documents on the basis of this 'knowledge'.

The initial statement of the reason for setting up the Pack Committee² sets the report in the context of a concern about the links between truancy and delinquency. However, while, in the 19th. century, state action was aimed at producing tightly ordered schools which would attract pupils and thus keep them inside the law, in the 20th. century it is the strict order of the classroom and the rigidity of the timetable and the curriculum which are officially held to drive 'problem pupils' to absent themselves from school, and which are thus seen as raising the possibility of children slipping outside the law. The statement of the issues which are involved in this can be characterised in terms of what I call 'the problem of continuity'.

In the 19th. century the problem of continuity for schooling was the problem of effecting a series of *discontinuities* between existing forms of social relations and those which schools were to promote. This was to involve the compartmentalisation of living, that is, a separation of work, school and life; and the segmentation of schooling, both

spatially, in its internal design, and temporally by the use of the timetable and the division of pupils' experience of schooling into stages. However, the success with which these discontinuities have been instituted has generated the contemporary problem of continuity, which is officially discussed as the issue of *transitions and links*. This is concerned with the *minimising or erasing of discontinuities caused by compartmentalisation and segmentation*.

Thus, for example, there is the problem of the transfer of pupils from the primary stage of schooling to the secondary stage. This involves the question of the correct management of links between primary and secondary schools in order to minimise the difficulties which 'problem' children may have in adjusting to the discontinuities inherent in the frequent shifts of children between different teachers which is a result of the subject-based division of labour among secondary teachers. Then there is the problem of the transition between school and work. This involves the correct management of links between the curriculum and industry (the provision of 'relevant' schooling and 'work experience'); and between schools and the careers service.

The issue of transitions and links thus concerns the difficulties which the organisation and content of schooling poses for 'problem' pupils, and the importance of alleviating these in order to avoid precipitating truancy among these children. What makes these children 'problematic' and thus 'vulnerable'³ is their family background for officially it is maintained that, "There seems little doubt that family circumstances play the major role in cases of chronic truancy."⁴ The situation may be compounded among pupils who are adolescents, that is, in the transition stage to adulthood, a stage characterised in the Pack Report in terms of a disjuncture between physical and emotional maturity. Solutions to the problem of the effects of family backgrounds on children involve the establishment of correct links. Thus, the purpose of guidance teachers is to, "provide the ...link between the school and the other components of a child's life..."⁵

Difficulties in formulating the nature of 'correct' links are illustrated by the failure to clarify the role of attendance officers. For the function of these officials in some regions is instrumental 'truancy catching' whereas in others their function, as reflected in the designation educational or school welfare officer, has a social work orientation.

Official failure to recognise the historically specific nature of issues of transitions and links has meant that there has been no conception of solutions to problems beyond issues of their correct management. This has meant, for example, the paradox of the 'solution' of day units within schools. These are characterised by fewer teachers and flexibility of timetabling and curriculum in order to provide greater continuity within schooling for 'problem' pupils. But, since the aim of such units is ultimately the reintegration of pupils into the tighter structure of the school outside of the unit, this immediately raises a further problem of transition - the same problem which, it is officially argued, is likely to have precipitated the truancy in the first place.

This brief consideration of contemporary 'solutions' underlines the importance of a historical understanding of contemporary 'knowledge' about truancy. For it has been the lack of such an understanding which has made it possible for those who have considered the topic to have become trapped by the very preconceptions, concerning social relations, which were institutionalised into the system which made possible the production of the 'problem' in its present^e form.

At the beginning of the thesis I stated that the discursive field of truancy traverses medical, educational and social domains of theory and practice. I explained the reason for my explorations in social cartography being concerned with the educational domain. Investigation of the other domains would constitute two further research projects

which would promote our understanding of contemporary approaches to issues involved in truancy. In particular, an investigation of the social domain would make it possible to explore the questions which are raised by the official failure to clarify the role of attendance officer. These questions, concerning the relationship between theories and practices of law enforcement and social welfare, and the implications which these differing forms of intervention carry for the role of schooling in contemporary Scotland, can be formulated in the light of the research which I have presented here. The formulation of their answers must, though, await further inquiry.

NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

- (1) "The social refers to a particular sector in which quite diverse problems and special cases can be grouped together, a sector comprising specific institutions and an entire body of qualified personnel ('social' assistants, 'social' workers).....The social sector does not merge with the judicial sector, even if it does extend the field of judicial action.....(it) does not merge with the economic sector either, since.....it invents an entire social economy and lays new foundations for marking the distinction between the rich and the poor. Nor does it merge with the public sector or the private sector since.....it leads to a new hybrid form of the public and the private."
Gilles Deleuze, forward to J. Donzelot, The Policing of Families (London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1980) p.1X-X
- (2) P.P. Vol.XL 1840 *Instructions for the Inspectors of Schools*
- (3) Though inspectors reported on individual schools, an investigation of a random sample of school files, catalogued in the Scottish Records Office as containing reports dating back to the 1840's, failed to discover either a complete set of reports for an individual school for the period until 1872, or a sufficient number to enable a meaningful analysis of particular schools. (Most files contained one or, at most, two reports from this period.) Discussion with Records Office staff confirmed that this sample were typical in terms of their incompleteness, and that this situation had arisen because the School Inspectorate's Office had not recognised the potential historical value of these documents until the intervention, in recent years, of the Records Office staff, which terminated the destruction of these reports.
- (4) Initially, in 1833 a grant of £20,000 was made to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society to aid the establishment of school buildings. In 1834 a grant of £10,000 was allocated to Scotland for the same purpose. This was repeated in 1836, 1837 and 1838 to aid the establishment of teacher training college. J. Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, Vol.1 (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1969)
In August 1839 the Committee of Council resolved that regulations of Council should apply to Scotland except where obviously confined to England & Wales. N. Ball, Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-1849 (Edinburgh, Birmingham University Institute of Education Monographs No.6, Oliver & Boyd, 1963)
- (5) There were problems actually getting an inspector. David Stow refused, then John Gordon (Secretary of the General Assembly Education Committee and Secretary of Edinburgh University) also refused. Both Stow and Gordon were held to be sympathisers with the Free Church position. (See note 6) Ball, op.cit., argues that this was a possible reason for refusal though Bone - T.R. Bone, School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966 (London, Scottish Council for Research in Education Publication 57, 1968) - argues that it

was pressure of work. In July 1840 John Gibson was appointed first inspector of schools in Scotland.

- (6) This occurred in 1843 after a protracted battle over the nature of the relationship between church and state. The Free Church broke away from the established church. For a fuller account see L. Woodward, The Age of Reform (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1962) p.526-528
- (7) D.C. Pack, Truancy and Indiscipline in Schools in Scotland (H.M.S.O., 1977)

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

- (1) E. Durkheim, Rules of Sociological Method (New York, The Free Press, 1964) p.64
- (2) *ibid.*, p.67
- (3) *ibid.*, p.69
- (4) Golin Gordon, Other Inquisitions, Ideology & Consciousness 6, Autumn 1979, p.34
- (5) *ibid.*
- (6) Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge (London, Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1972) p.48-49
- (7) C.L. Burt, The Young Delinquent (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1944, [4th. edition])
- (8) M. Tyerman Who Are The Truants? in Barry Turner (ed.), Truancy (London, Ward Lock Educational, 1974)
- (9) Foucault, *op.cit.*, 1972, p.45-48
- (10) David Rubinstein, School Attendance in London 1870-1904 (Hull University Occasional Papers in Economic & Social History, No.1, 1969)
- (11) B. Bailyn, The Challenge of Modern Historiography, American Historical Review 87 (1) 1982, p.1-24
- (12) P. Abrams Historical Sociology (Somerset, Open Books Publishing Ltd., 1982) p.2
- (13) For example, see Phillip Corrigan's work on State Intervention and Moral Regulation in 19th. Century Britain: Sociological Investigations (unpublished Ph.D., Durham, 1977)
- (14) M. Foucault, Questions of Method, Ideology & Consciousness 8, Spring 1981, p.9
- (15) M. David, The State, The Family and Education (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1980) p.25
- (16) G. Sutherland, Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895 (London, Oxford University Press, 1973) p.117-118
- (17) For a fuller discussion of this see, for example, David, *op.cit.*, Sutherland, *op.cit.*, Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870 (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1970)
- (18) *ibid.*

- (19) Whereas 'domain' refers to a substantive area demarcated in terms of claims to knowledge/competence, 'paradigm' refers to a theoretical perspective, and is used here in Merton's sense of referring to "...the hard core of concept, procedure and inference...", R.K. Merton, *A Paradigm for Functional Analysis in Sociology*, in L.A. Coser & B. Rosenberg, *Sociological Theory* (New York, Macmillan, 1969) p.649
- (20) D. Hargreaves et al., *Deviance in Classrooms* (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1975) p.2. In this, and certain subsequent quotes, the implication is that the referents are male. This should be understood partly in terms of the gender-specific assumptions inherent in much of the literature, and partly in terms of a gender-bias apparent in much use of language. In other words, the empirical referents in most of the work are, I suspect, not simply male, but are usually female as well. However, while distancing myself from such gender-bias, I reproduce the quotes in their original form to reflect their authors' views more accurately.
- (21) W. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* (London, Heinemann, 1915), quoted in M.J. Tyerman, *Truancy* (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1968) p.49
- (22) Burt, op.cit., p.455
- (23) Tyerman, op.cit., 1968, p.49
- (24) Tyerman, op.cit., 1974, p.10
- (25) M. Clarke, *Social Problem Ideologies*, *British Journal of Sociology* 26, 1975, p.406-416
- (26) The system of juvenile justice in Scotland, the Children's Hearing System, is an example of this. For a discussion of England & Wales see, G. Burchell, *A Note on Juvenile Justice*, in *Ideology & Consciousness* 5, Spring 1979, p.125-135
- (27) Burchell, ibid.
- (28) J. Hodges & A. Hussain, *La Police des Familles*, in *Ideology & Consciousness* 5, Spring 1979, p.105
- (29) J.H. Kahn & J.P. Nursten, *School Refusal: A Comprehensive View of School Phobia and Other Failures of School Attendance*, in *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 32, 1962, p.710
- (30) A. Model & E. Shephard, *The Child Who Refuses to Go to School*, in *Medical Officer* 99-100
- (31) L. Hersov, *School Refusal*, in M. Rutter & L. Hersov (eds.) *Child Psychiatry: Modern Approaches* (Oxford, Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1979) p.466
- (32) ibid.

- (33) The first Child Guidance Clinic was established in 1927 in London's East End
- (34) The first clinic was specifically concerned with the problems of cultural clash of East European Jewish immigrant children which were leading to problems of adjustment for these children in the home and in the school.
- (35) Introduction to C. Jencks (ed.), The Sociology of Childhood (London, Batsford Academic & Educational Ltd., 1982) p.10
- (36) I.T. Broadwin, *A Contribution to the Study of Truancy*, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 2, 1932
- (37) Waldfogel et al., *A Program for Early Intervention in School Phobia*, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 29, 1959
- (38) See Turner, op.cit., 1974
- (39) ibid.
- (40) Pack, op.cit., p.14
- (41) C. St. John-Brooks, *Loose in the City: the Underworld of Roaming Children*, New Society 61, 1036, 23/9/82
- (42) Paul Williams, *Collecting the Figures*, p.25, in Turner, op.cit.
- (43) F. Coombes, *Truancy on Trial*, p.94, in Turner, op.cit.
- (44) ibid., p.93
- (45) For example, Pack, op.cit., and the New Society article cited in note 41
- (46) Tyerman, op.cit., 1974, p.10
- (47) Pack, op.cit., p.18
- (48) Jencks, op.cit., p.11
- (49) M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish (London, Peregrine, 1979) p.220-221
- (50) ibid., 1979, p.222
- (51) M. Foucault, History of Sexuality Vol.1, (Harmondsworth, Pelican Books, 1981a) p.139. Emphasis in original.
- (52) ibid.
- (53) ibid., 1981a, p.144
- (54) Jencks, op.cit., p.13

- (55) Kahn & Nursten, op.cit., 1962
- (56) Tyerman, op.cit., 1974, p.14
- (57) Clarke, op.cit., p.409
- (58) E. Rubington & M.S. Weinberg, The Study of Social Problems (New York, Oxford University Press, 1971)
- (59) J. Kitsuse, *Societal Reaction to Deviant Behaviour: Problems in Theory & Method*, (1962), quoted on p.4 of Hargreaves et al., op.cit.
- (60) Hargreaves et al., op.cit., p.16
- (61) K. Fogelman & K. Richardson, *School Attendance: Some Results From the National Child Development Study*, in Turner, op.cit.
- (62) Hargreaves et al., op.cit.
- (63) *ibid.*, p.105
- (64) A. Schutz, The Phenomenology of The Social World (London, Heinemann, 1976)
- (65) Clarke, op.cit.
- (66) M.F.D. Young, Knowledge and Control (London, Collier Macmillan, 1971)
- (67) See G. Bernbaum's questioning of this in, Knowledge & Ideology in the Sociology of Education (London, Studies in Sociology, 1977)
- (68) J. Karabel & A.H. Halsey, Power & Ideology in Education (London, Oxford University Press, 1977)
- (69) M. Young, *Curriculum Change: Limits & Possibilities*, in M. Young & G. Whitty (eds.), Society, State & Schooling (Sussex, Falmer Press, 1978) p.237
- (70) G. Whitty, *Sociology and the Problem of Radical Educational Change*, in Young & Whitty, op.cit.
- (71) J. Demaine, Contemporary Theories in the Sociology of Education (London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981)
- (72) Though, in his later work, Young has attempted to do this by importing a Marxist humanism into his work, thereby to substantiate his claims to radicalism, he has never adequately incorporated this into his theoretical arguments. In so far as he makes any attempt to look beyond the education system itself, his claims remain at the level of speculation. See Young & Whitty, op.cit.

- (73) For example, Nell Keddie, *Classroom Knowledge*, p.133-160, in Young, op.cit., 1971
- (74) Gordon, op.cit., 1979, p.34-35
- (75) Foucault, op.cit., 1981, p.10
- (76) *ibid.*, p.9
- (77) E. Durkheim, Education and Sociology (Illinois, The Free Press, 1956) p.71
- (78) M.W. Apple, *The Production of Knowledge and the Production of Deviance*, p.113-131, in L. Barton & R. Meighan (eds.), Schools, Pupils and Deviance (Driffield, Nafferton Books, 1979)
- (79) For example, E.F. Denison & J.P. Poullier, *Education of the Labour Force*, p. 80-86; and M.J. Bowman, *The Human Investment Revolution in Economic Thought*, p.43-70; both in B.R. Cosin (ed.), Education: Structure and Society (Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd., 1972)
- (80) Apple, op.cit., 1979, p.117
- (81) See, for example, Karabel & Halsey op.cit.
- (82) L. Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, p.242, in Cosin, op.cit.
- (83) My discussion is by no means exhaustive. Althusser's work has been very influential in the sociology of education and there is a considerable literature which makes use of aspects of it. For further discussion see Demaine, op.cit.; M. Erben & D. Gleeson, *Education as Reproduction*, p.73-92, in Young & Whitty, op.cit.; and M.W. Apple (ed.), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1982)
- (84) Althusser, op.cit., p.245
- (85) *ibid.*, p.278
- (86) *ibid.*, p.252. Under Repressive State Apparatuses, he lists: government, administration, army, police, courts, prisons, etc. Under Ideological State Apparatuses, he includes: religious, educational, family, legal, political system, trade union, communications, cultural. The difference between R.S.A. and I.S.A. is the way in which they function. (p.253)
- (87) *ibid.*, p.258
- (88) *ibid.*, p.244
- (89) Erben & Gleeson, op.cit.

- (90) P. Bourdieu & J. Passeron, Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (London, Sage Studies in Social & Educational Change, Vol.5, 1977) p.177-178. Emphasis in original.
- (91) R. Dale, *Education and the Capitalist State*, p.127-161, in Apple, op.cit., 1982
- (92) *ibid.*, p.127
- (93) *ibid.*, p.139
- (94) *ibid.*, p.133
- (95) *ibid.*, p.139
- (96) *ibid.*, p.135
- (97) Introduction to Apple, op.cit., 1982
- (98) P. Corrigan & D. Sayer, The Great Arch (Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985)
- (99) *ibid.*, p.4
- (100) *ibid.*
- (101) P. Corrigan, *In/Forming Schooling*, in D. Livingstone (ed.), Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Power (Forthcoming)
- (102) *ibid.*, p.5
- (103) *ibid.*
- (104) *ibid.*, p.6
- (105) *ibid.*, p.5
- (106) M.E. David, The State The Family and Education (London, Routledge Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980) p.1
- (107) Introduction to Apple, op.cit., 1982

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

- (1) Corrigan, op.cit., forthcoming
- (2) C. Gordon, op. cit., 1979, p.28
- (3) M. Foucault, *The Subject and Power*, p.219, in H.L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow, Michel Foucault (Sussex, The Harvester Press Ltd., 1982)
- (4) Foucault's discussion of the relationship between power and violence is unclear. He argued that violence, though not a defining characteristic, can be an instrument/result of power (p.220, op.cit., 1982). Yet, *at the same time*, he argues that: (a) the defining characteristic of a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which acts upon actions (either present or future) rather than directly on others. It involves the recognition of the 'other', over whom power is exercised, as one who acts, and opens up a field of possible responses/results etc. (*ibid.*) and, by contrast, (b) a relationship of violence acts upon a body, or upon things, closing off all other possibilities. (*ibid.*) This definition of violence precludes it from being an instrument of power, since that which *closes off* possibilities cannot be an instrument/result of that which *opens up* possibilities. By the same token, that which is distinguished by action on objects, rather than action upon action, cannot be an instrument of action upon action.
- (5) *ibid.*, p.221
- (6) A. Sheridan, Michel Foucault The Will to Truth (London, Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1980) p.183
- (7) Interview with Foucault, *Questions on Geography*, p.68, in C. Gordon (ed.), Michel Foucault Power/Knowledge (Sussex, The Harvester Press Ltd., 1980)
- (8) *ibid.*, p.69
- (9) Foucault, op.cit., 1979
- (10) A.M. Macdonald (ed.), Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary (Edinburgh, Chambers, 1973)
- (11) *Questions on Geography*, p.73-74
- (12) Corrigan, op.cit., forthcoming
- (13) *ibid.*, p.5
- (14) *ibid.*, p.14

- (15) K. Marx, *Results of the Immediate Process of Production*, p.948-1084, Appendix to Capital Vol.1, edited by Ernest Mandel (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976)
- (16) G. Gurvitch, The Spectrum of Social Time (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic, 1964)
- (17) Note the linking in the Pack Report of *truancy and indiscipline*.
- (18) *Questions on Geography*, p.77
- (19) Foucault, op.cit., 1981
- (20) Sheridan, op.cit., p.185
- (21) Macdonald, op.cit.
- (22) K. Jones & K. Williamson, *Birth of the Schoolroom*, Ideology & Consciousness 6, Autumn 1979, p.58-110
- (23) *ibid.*, p.86, emphasis in original
- (24) *ibid.*, p.83
- (25) *ibid.*, p.85
- (26) *ibid.*, p.60
- (27) *ibid.*, p.101
- (28) *ibid.*, p.102
- (29) *P.P. Vol.XL 1840 Remarks from Education Statistics of Parishes connected with Parliamentary Churches in the Highlands & Islands*
- (30) An Act of Scottish Parliament established the parochial system in 1696. This was supported by fees and assessment of local landowners. It made provision for a school in every parish, supervised by the church, though by the 19th. century local supervision was a formality. J.D. Myers, Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy 1803-1872: Attitudes and Influence (unpublished Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1970)
- (31) See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of this.
- (32) I.J. Simpson, Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872, quoted in Myers, op.cit., 1970
- (33) This was also true for England. For discussion, see, B. Madoc-Jones, *Patterns of Attendance and Their Social Significance*, in P. McCann (ed.), Popular Education and Socialisation in the 19th. Century (London, Methuen & Co., 1977)
- (34) E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976) p.9

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

- (1) For example, Nancy Ball, Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-49 (University of Birmingham, Institute of Education, Educational Monographs No.6, Oliver & Boyd, 1963)
- (2) For example, J. Scotland, The History of Scottish Education Vols.1 and 2 (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1969)
- (3) A.S. Bishop, The Rise of A Central Authority for English Education (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971) p.82
- (4) Corrigan, op.cit., 1977, p.62
- (5) Introduction to Walter M. Humes & Hamish M. Paterson (eds.), Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980 (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1983) provides strong criticism of contributions to the history of Scottish education for failing even to do this.
- (6) Alexander Morgan, Rise and Progress of Scottish Education (Edinburgh & London, Oliver & Boyd, 1927) is an example of this.
- (7) E.P. Thompson, Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism, in M.W. Flinn & T.C. Smout (eds.), Essays in Social History (London, Oxford University Press, 1974)
- (8) N.J. Smelser, Sociological History: The Industrial Revolution and The British Working Class Family, in Flinn & Smout, op.cit.
- (9) For fuller discussion of this see M. Anderson, Family and Industrialisation in Western Europe (Forum Essay Series, St. Louis Missouri, 1978) and H. Hartmann, Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex in Z.R. Eisenstein (ed.), Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1979)
- (10) Thompson, op.cit., p.66
- (11) Richard Johnson, Educating The Educators: 'Experts' and The State 1833-9 in A.P. Donajgrodzki (ed.), Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, Croom Helm Ltd., 1977)
- (12) *ibid.*, p.81
- (13) S.E. Finer, Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick p.150-1, quoted in Henry Parris, Constitutional Bureaucracy (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1969) p.279
- (14) Johnson, op.cit., 1977, p.83
- (15) *ibid.*
- (16) *ibid.*, p.86-87

- (17) Examples were Sir John Sinclair of the Board of Agriculture - a precursor to the new mode of government - who supervised the compilation of the Statistical Survey of Scotland 1791-9; Henry Brougham, leader of the Whigs 1815, instigated Select Committee on Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis in 1816, attempted to introduce a Bill, in 1820, based on its findings; James P. Kay; Lord John Russell; Palmerston; Francis & Leonard Horner. J.D. Myers, Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy 1803-1872: Attitudes and Influence (unpublished Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1970) notes that Kay, Russell and Landsdowne drew up the recommendations for government action from the Select Committee Report of 1837-8
- (18) This contrasts with the ahistorical and abstract adaption of 18th. century thought involved in Bentham's utilitarianism. Although Benthamism was important in establishing the notion of legislation as a primary means of reform and of central control and inspection as the means of directing administration. Johnson, op.cit., p.83, argues that there was a decline in its direct influence by the late 1830's, but that by that time it had made a profound contribution to middle class 'common sense'.
- (19) Dugald Stewart 1753-1828. Succeeded Adam Ferguson in Chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University in 1785, holding it till 1809.
- (20) A.C. Chitnis, The Edinburgh Professorate 1790-1826 and the University's Contribution to 19th. Century British Society (unpublished Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1968) argues that, along with Ricardo and Mill, he was a major disseminator of Adam Smith's views.
- (21) Tremenheere, an early inspector, was influenced through the Edinburgh Review. See John Hurt, Education in Evolution (London, Granada Publishing Ltd., 1971)
- (22) Corrigan, op.cit., 1977, p.18 maintains that by 1832 Kay was also influenced by Nassau Senior and Benthamite circles.
- (23) Johnson, op.cit., 1977, p.87
- (24) ibid.
- (25) ibid., p.88
- (26) See Chapter 2
- (27) Johnson, op.cit., 1977, p.88
- (28) ibid., p.89
- (29) ibid., p.91
- (30) ibid., p.92

- (31) *ibid.*, p.93
- (32) *ibid.*, p.94
- (33) I. Hacking, *How Should We Do A History of Statistics?* in *Ideology and Consciousness*, 8, Spring 1981
- (34) Sir John Sinclair, educated Glasgow, Edinburgh and Oxford, supervised its compilation.
- (35) Quoted in Hacking, *op.cit.*, p.25
- (36) *ibid.*, p.24
- (37) *ibid.*, p.25
- (38) Johnson, *op.cit.*, 1977 argues that an important aspect of an Edinburgh education was that it contributed to the cultivation of a distance from English religious entanglements and an avoidance of polarising for either Church or Dissent.
- (39) It is not necessary, for the purposes of my argument, to enter into the debate about the precise nature of the relationship between protestantism and capitalism, which surrounds Weber's work. For a full account of this see G. Marshall, *In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1982); G. Marshall, *The Weber Thesis & the Development of Capitalism in Scotland*, *Scottish Journal of Sociology* 3, 1979, p.173-211; G. Marshall, *The Dark Side of the Weber Thesis: the Case of Scotland*, *British Journal of Sociology* 21, 1980, p.419-440
- (40) M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, Unwin University Books, 1971) p.108-109
- (41) *ibid.*, p.117
- (42) How and why a class bias permeated arguments at another level will be discussed later in this chapter.
- (43) For example, an important part of the hostile reaction in Scotland to the Revised Code of 1862, lay in the fact that the fourth article of the code necessitated an inquiry into the occupation and income of the children's parents in order to ensure that aid would only be given to those children whose parents 'support themselves by manual labour'. This was in conflict with a tradition which stressed the importance of schooling for all. See Bone, *op.cit.*, p.55-57
- (44) D. Mc.Crone et al., *Egalitarianism and Social Inequality in Scotland*, unpublished paper, given to British Sociological Association Conference, 1981, p.1
- (45) For a more detailed account of its contemporary significance, see *ibid.*

- (46) Allan MacLaren, Social Class in Scotland (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1976) p.2
- (47) *ibid.*
- (48) Mc.Crone et al., *op.cit.*, p.28
- (49) MacLaren, *op.cit.*
- (50) Lay members could control kirk sessions. Their composition in rural and Highland parishes tended to be different. *ibid.*, p.3-4
- (51) J. Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland Vol.1 (Glasgow & London, Collins, 1876)
- (52) Myers, *op.cit.*, 1970, p.141, states, ".two groups of Scots may be said not to have attended the parish schools, the aristocracy and wealthy classes and the lower echelons of rural and urban proletariat."
- (53) Mc.Crone et al., *op.cit.*, p.12
- (54) *ibid.*, p.15
- (55) *ibid.*, p.16
- (56) *ibid.*, p.32
- (57) See Corrigan, *op.cit.*, 1977, p.82
- (58) *ibid.*
- (59) *ibid.*, p.59
- (60) N. Morris, State Paternalism & Laissez-Faire in the 1860's, History of Education Society, Studies in the Government & Control of Education Since 1860 (London, Methuen, 1970) p.15
- (61) H. Parris, Constitutional Bureaucracy (London, Allen & Unwin, 1969)
- (62) *ibid.* Also, see Corrigan, *op.cit.*, 1977, for a summary of the literature.
- (63) Parris, *op.cit.*, p.184
- (64) *ibid.*
- (65) Encyclopaedia Britannica 13th. Edition, Vol.19-20, p.187
- (66) Although Minutes and inspector reports were laid before parliament, apart from rare occasions, this was a formality. The initial by-passing of parliament was a politically expedient move of the government of the day - Lord Melbourne's - as it was on

the point of collapse and sectarian arguments about the role of the established church in relation to schooling would, it was believed, prevent a Bill being passed in the Lords. For a full account of this, see Bishop, op.cit., 1971; and J.H. Campbell, The Central Administration of Education, 1839-1900 (unpublished Ph.D., Manchester University, 1972)

- (67) Bishop, op.cit.
- (68) As Appendix 1 shows, in reality the Lord President tended to be from the House of Lords, therefore the Vice-President sat in the House of Commons.
- (69) The issue was highlighted by the resignation, in 1864, of Robert Lowe, who had been Vice-President since 1859. Accusations had been made in parliament that the education office was censoring school inspector reports which were critical of the Revised Code. Lowe argued that if the Vice-President was responsible for reports then he should have the right of censorship. If not, then inspectors, who were permanent members of the civil service, were responsible and there was a risk of the office expressing views contradictory to its own policies. His resignation was the earliest arising out of a minister's responsibility for those under him and the case was the last in which M.P.'s seriously asserted that civil servants were directly responsible to parliament. (Parris, op.cit.) The *Committee of Inquiry into Her Majesty's Inspector Reports* in 1864 was the result of Lowe's resignation. Its findings exonerated him from any blame, and its evidence provided valuable discussions of education office procedures. See Section 4 of this chapter.
- (70) P.P. Vol.V1 1865 *Select Committee to inquire into the Constitution of the Committee of Council on Education and the System under which the Business of the Office is Conducted.....*, (hereafter, 1865 Committee) Questions 223-226 (Lingen's evidence)
- (71) Campbell, op.cit.
- (72) *1865 Committee*, Questions 63-64 (Adderley's evidence)
- (73) Bishop, op.cit., p.60
- (74) *ibid.*, Lingen (Secretary 1850-1870) said that it *advised* the Lord President and Vice-President but had little control over them (Question 118). Later he said that it simply *ratified decisions previously made* by the Lord President and Vice-President (Questions 129-133). Granville, (Lord President 1852-4; 1855-8) maintained that the Lord President was not bound by the majority if he differed on a matter of principle. Russell, (Lord President 1854-5) held a contrary view: that the *majority could over-rule* the Lord President.
- (75) Campbell, op.cit., p.198, argues that most ministerial responsibility was devolved to the education department since the Committee of Council hardly met.

- (76) Initially, clerical staff were from the Privy Council office, and the senior post, that of secretary, was temporary and part time. The first secretary, Kay-Shuttleworth, was encouraged to retain his superintendence of the pauper school at Norwood and consequently his formal connection with the Poor Law Commission, on the grounds that the continued existence of the Committee of Council was uncertain. The architect for the Committee of Council was also the architect to the Poor Law Commission. This uncertainty was contributory to the failure to define the precise role of the Committee of Council in educational affairs.
- (77) This casualness contrasts with the precision which was demanded of those lower down the institutional hierarchy, in schools.
- (78) Parris, op.cit., p.159
- (79) Bishop, op.cit., p.73
- (80) *ibid.*, p.41
- (81) Myers, op.cit., 1970, p.124, cites an analysis of family backgrounds of 140 inspectors throughout this period. Most came from the "upper ranks of the middle class", "none came from the proletariat". Though Scottish inspectors tended to be from lower social class backgrounds than their English counterparts (see Appendix 2), their outlook, despite being significantly coloured by what I have termed the 'Scottish dimension', was not radically different.
- (82) Parris, op.cit., p.159. The work of civil servants should not, therefore, be interpreted as dealing with neutral administrative concerns. Such a view would provide only a partial understanding as it would pre-suppose, without explaining, institutional constraints. These constraints will be discussed more fully in the next section, but for the present, I simply want to note that shared social and educational backgrounds do not *of themselves* necessarily indicate an alliance of outlook on all matters. Thus recruitment and patronage offer only *part* of the explanation of how particular aims were sustained.
- (83) Initially, the nominal secretary was the Clerk of the Council who was *ex officio* secretary to all Privy Council Committees. At this stage it was the assistant secretary who did most of the work. Later, Kay-Shuttleworth, who was the assistant secretary, was made secretary.
- (84) *1865 Committee*, (Lingen's evidence)
- (85) They were, Fred Temple, a future Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ralph Lingen, a future Permanent Secretary to the Treasury.
- (86) Parris, op.cit., p.194
- (87) *ibid.*, p.195

- (88) Bishop, op.cit., p.69
- (89) Foucault, op.cit., 1981a, p.86
- (90) P.P. Vol.1X 1864 *Select Committee on Education (Inspectors' Reports)*, [hereafter, *1864 Committee*]
- (91) For instructions to inspectors, including these headings, see Appendix 3
- (92) P.P. Vol.1X 1864 *Appendix to 1864 Committee*, Letter sent by J.P. Kay to John Gordon, 4/1/1840
- (93) *1864 Committee*, quoted on p.iii of report
- (94) P.P. Vol.XL 1840 *Letter of appointment to inspectors*, 4/1/1840 Hurt, op.cit., 1971, p.32-38, argues that this wording was an expedient because of conflict between the established church and the Committee of Council over control of provision of schooling.
- (95) For example, Ball, op.cit.
- (96) *1864 Committee*, Answer 9 (Lingen's evidence)
- (97) Ball, op.cit., p.27
- (98) *1864 Committee*, p.iii, Report indicated that an increase in the number of schools inspected had led to an increase in the volume of individual reports, therefore printing of these was discontinued in 1858. It was resumed in 1859 for sale only, and finally stopped in 1861.
- (99) *ibid.*
- (100) Myers, op.cit., 1970, p.125
- (101) *1864 Committee*, Answer 133 (Lingen's evidence)
- (102) *1864 Committee*
- (103) *1864 Committee, Report*, p.v
- (104) *1864 Committee, Report*, p.vi
- (105) *1864 Committee*, Answer 17, (Lingen's evidence), "From the earliest times of my connexion with the office.....the secretary has discharged,....., a sort of editor's duty; previously to 1858 this came to very little; a private note or personal communication might pass, most frequently with a view to condensation."
- (106) *1864 Committee*, Answer 19 (Lingen's evidence), The report had contained remarks about the comparative morality of Catholic and Protestant countries.

- (107) Unlike other Committee of Council Minutes, a Minute which was defined as *explanatory* or *declaratory* did not have to be laid before parliament.
- (108) *1864 Committee, Report*, quoted on p.iv
- (109) *1864 Committee, Report, Appendix F, Circular 31/8/1863*, p.53
- (110) *1864 Committee*, Question 320 and following (Lingen's evidence)
- (111) *1864 Committee*, (Watkins' evidence)
- (112) However, the practice continued till 14th. February 1862 when Lowe, having by chance discovered that reports were still being marked, sent a formal minute ordering its cessation.
- (113) *1864 Committee*, Answer 90 (Lingen's evidence)
- (114) *1864 Committee*, Answer 111 (Lingen's evidence)
- (115) *1864 Committee*, Questions 93-102 (Lingen's evidence)
- (116) *1864 Committee*, Answer 699 (Lingen's evidence). Previously reports were printed omitting passages struck out by the Vice-President. *ibid.* p.56
- (117) *1864 Committee*, Answer 744 (Lingen's evidence)
- (118) *1864 Committee*, Questions 41-42 (Lingen's evidence)
- (119) *1864 Committee*, (Lingen's evidence)
- (120) *1864 Committee*. This is illustrated by the discussion in Questions 124-131, of Lingen's evidence.
- (121) *1864 Committee*, (Lingen's evidence)
- (122) *1864 Committee*, Answer 144 (Lingen's evidence)

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

- (1) Foucault, op.cit., 1979, p.174
- (2) *ibid.*, p.200
- (3) P.P. Vol.XL 1840 *Letter of Appointment to Inspectors 4/1/1840*
- (4) P.P. Vol.XX 1841 *Supplementary Minute* p.12
- (5) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Woodford Report 1859* p.232
- (6) P.P. Vol.XL1 1854-5 *Memorandum respecting the Organisation of Schools in Parallel Groups of Benches and Desks* p.83. For some examples of state authorised school plans, see Appendix 4
- (7) *ibid.* p.83-4 My emphasis.
- (8) P.P. Vol.XX1 Part 1 1859 *Instructions to Inspectors 5/5/1859* p.xv1
- (9) P.P. Vol.XL1 1854-5 *Memorandum respecting etc.* p.84 Emphasis in original.
- (10) Thompson, op.cit.
- (11) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gibson Report 1848-9*
- (12) Foucault, op.cit., 1979, p.177
- (13) P.P. Vol.XL1 1854-5 *Memorandum respecting etc.* p.84
- (14) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842* p.219
- (15) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gibson Report 1848-9*
- (16) P.P. Vol.XLV 1857-58 *Gordon Report 1857* p.677
- (17) P.P. Vol.XL11 1854-5 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1854* p.719
- (18) Hacking, op.cit.
- (19) op.cit.
- (20) P.P. Vol.XX 1841 *Instructions to Inspectors 1840.* These instructions are reproduced in Appendix
- (21) P.P. Vol.XX 1841 *Minute on Constructive Methods of Teaching Reading, Writing, and Vocal Music*

- (22) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gordon Report 1849*
 Jones & Williamson also note reports of philanthropic visitors to schools in England being shocked that when they visited schools children would be prepared to recite the ten commandments for a penny, yet they could see no evidence of the children either using them in their daily lives, or even having understood them.
- (23) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Woodford Report 1859* p.235
 P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Woodford Report 1860* p.217
- (24) The material taught in schools was to be linked with the 'condition of workmen and servants'. P.P. Vol.XL1 *Minute 11/4/1839* p.2 See Chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of the curriculum.
- (25) P.P. Vol.XX 1841 Quoted from *1831 Report of the Genevese Commission on Primary Schools in Minute on Constructive Methods etc.* p.21
- (26) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Gordon Report 1855*
- (27) *ibid.*
- (28) Foucault, *op.cit.*, 1979, p.176
- (29) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report (Appendix on Dunbar & Haddington) 1841*
 P.P. Vol.XL1V 1851 *Woodford Report 1850*
- (30) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report (Appendix on Dunbar & Haddington) 1841*
- (31) P.P. Vol.XL1V *Woodford Report 1850* p.741
- (32) P.P. Vol.L11 1854 *Woodford & Middleton Report 1853*
- (33) *ibid.*
- (34) P.P. Vol.L11 1854 *Middleton Reports 1852*
- (35) J.F.C. Harrison, *The Early Victorians 1832-51* (St. Albans, Panther, 1973) p.179 He lists: political reform, Owenite socialism, Chartism, trade unionism, factory reform, co-operation, anti-Poor Law agitation, secularism, the struggle for an unstamped press, friendly benefit societies, workers' and adult education, temperance, phrenology, vegetarianism, universal peace, the Anti-Corn Law League, anti-state church campaign, millenarianism, machine-breaking and agricultural riots.
- (36) M.W. Flinn (ed.), *Scottish Population History*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977) For figures see Appendix 5
- (37) See, for example, Myers, *op.cit.*, 1970, p.40, who quotes one source estimating that a result of the 1843 Disruption was a doubling of the number of schools.

- (38) P.P. Vol.XL 1840 *Plans of School-Houses 1840*
- (39) Enid Gauldie, *The Middle Class and Working Class Housing in the 19th. Century* in MacLaren, op.cit.
- (40) Jones & Williamson op.cit.
- (41) Schooling was seen as, "part of a compact and comprehensive for the amelioration of a particular district....." P.P. Vol.XXXV 1845 *Gibson Report 1845* p.157
- (42) P.P. Vol.XL 1840 *Minute 20/2/1840* p.32
- (43) Inspectors complained about those who failed to understand the 'educational' function of the playground and who thought that any vacant adjacent ground could substitute for this. P.P. Vol. XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842 (Aberdeen & Fordyce)* p.215
- (44) P.P. Vol.XL 1840 *Minutes 20/2/1840*
- (45) *ibid.*
- (46) *ibid.*
- (47) David, op.cit., argues that this *sustains* the sexual and social division of labour. However, as I argued earlier, state regulation had a dynamic anticipatory dimension. Therefore what is being dealt with here is *production* as well as reproduction.
- (48) P.P. Vol.XX 1841 *Instructions to Inspectors 1840*
- (49) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gordon Report 1848-9*
- (50) *ibid.*
- (51) Althusser, op.cit.
- (52) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842*
- (53) Favourable mention was given to Carron Iron Works and the mining stations at Sauchie and Barrowstowness for having this type of arrangement.
P.P. Vol.XXX11 1846 *Gordon Report 1846*
P.P. Vol.L 1847-8 *Gordon Report 1847*
- (54) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Woodford Report 1859*
- (55) P.P. Vol.XXXV111 1844 *Grants in Poor and Populous Places 22/11/1843*

- (56) P.P. Vol.XL1 1839 *Letter from Russell*
- (57) A series of minutes was passed which made the initial process of accepting grant applications more flexible - 2/4/1853 (England & Wales only); 20/8/1853; 14/7/1855 extended grants to deal with improvements to old premises. Also P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Circular to Inspectors 7/8/1855* p.34
- (58) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Gordon Report 1856* p.644

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 5

- (1) Myers, *op.cit.*, 1970
- (2) Foucault, *op.cit.*, 1979, p.170
- (3) Friedson, E. Profession of Medicine (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1975)
- (4) Larson, M.S. The Rise of Professionalism (London, University of California Press Ltd., 1979)
- (5) *ibid.*, p.xiii
- (6) *ibid.*, p.xv
- (7) This underlines the significance of capitalist social relations in the process. For those in occupations which, under these conditions, have become professionalised, are functionaries of the state in state socialist societies, since in these there is no formal separation between the state and civil society. [within the literature, the distinction between the waged labour of bureaucratic officials and the autonomy of professions precludes those who are employees from being considered as professionals.]
- (8) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon, Report on Edinburgh and Glasgow Normal Schools, p.526*
- (9) *Myers, op.cit., 1970*
- (10) *ibid., p.86, suggests that the top income group would earn about £100 and over per annum; the second group, about £50-£100; and the third group, under £50 per annum. People in this last group could be well below the £50 level. For example, Myers cites a speech made in the House of Commons in 1834 as arguing that adventure teachers in the Highlands sometimes had an average annual income of about £13 and that the income of adventure teachers in cities was lower. Set against this, the income of a minister in 1834 had the range of £150-£500 per annum, with an average of about £200. The average wages in 1850 for a farm labourer were £23-£30 per annum; those for skilled workers were about £52 per annum.*
- (11) *ibid., p.47. He further notes that, according to contemporary observers, female pupil teachers tended to come from higher social classes than males.*
- (12) The extent of this was such that it was suggested at one point that the divinity session should be altered as it fell when schools were best attended, and when older scholars and adequate substitute teachers were hardest to obtain. P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Middleton Report 1860*

- (13) G.E. Davie, The Democratic Intellect (Edinburgh University Press, 1961), discussed in Myers, op.cit., 1970
- (14) *ibid.*
- (15) They were known as 'stickit' ministers
- (16) See *ibid.*, for a more detailed account; also, Mc.Crone et.al., op.cit. It is outside the competence of this thesis to enter into the debate about levels of education in Scotland during this period. The purpose of introducing the information into the discussion is to prevent the assumption that the significance of attending university in 19th. century Scotland was the same as it is in the 20th. century.
- (17) These had security of tenure and were therefore less insecure than most teaching jobs which were on a short term contract basis.
- (18) In 1847 an inspector reported on 104 teachers, 47 of whom had attended university and 16 of whom were in non-parochial schools. It has also been estimated by Myers (op.cit., 1970) that in the 1860's a third to a half of parochial teacher had some university experience.
- (19) P.P. Vol.XL11 1854-5 Woodford Report 1854
- (20) *ibid.*
- (21) Myers, op.cit., 1970. He bases his estimate on the *Digest of Parochial Returns 1819; Church of Scotland Educational Committee Educational Statistics 1833 and Report of 1850; Kay-Shuttleworth, Public Education* (1853); P.P. Vol.L1X 1854 *Abstract of Returns Relating to the Population and Number of Schools in each of the Counties, Cities and Burghs, Scotland (according to the Census of 1851)*; Saunders, Scottish Democracy. Part of the dramatic increase in numbers can be attributed to the Disruption of 1843 when a section of the established church broke away to form the Free Church of Scotland. This was because of the necessity that parochial teachers be affiliated to the established church. This led immediately to the setting up of schools in which those teachers who were in sympathy with the Free church, could work. One writer (Saunders) has estimated that this doubled the number of schools.
- (22) Myers, op.cit., 1970
- (23) The instructions to inspectors had questions relating to other occupations of teachers both prior to their current appointment, and contemporary with it. See questions 114-116 in Appendix 3
- (24) Four occupations were specifically mentioned: secretary to the Benefit Society of the village or parish (Minute 20/2/1840). This was to encourage meetings to be held in schools rather than in taverns. Office of session clerk (Circular to Inspectors,

relating to Minutes of August & December 1846 and July 1847); heritor's clerk, in parishes of under 400 inhabitants (not applicable to those training pupil teachers or receiving augmentation to their salary); day teachers who also taught at night had to be relieved of some of their schoolwork by pupil teachers on the day of a night school being taught (Minute 1/3/1855).

- (25) W.J. Reader, Professional Men (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966), quoted on p.174 of Myers, op.cit., 1970
- (26) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon, Report on Edinburgh and Glasgow Normal Schools*
- (27) P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Gordon Report 1860* p.23-4
- (28) Although those who successfully completed apprenticeships could be employed as assistant teachers (Minute 23/7/1852) with an annual stipend of £25 for males and £20 for females, and could take a certificate of merit after a subsequent 3 years, the system of pupil teachers was primarily aimed at recruitment for Normal school. The intention was that at the end of their apprenticeship they would sit a public examination, conducted by an inspector, in order to get a Queen's Scholarship - a grant for attending Normal school. (Usually £20-£25)
- (29) If their home background was not held to be suitable then they could be required to board in an approved household. P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Regulations Respecting the Education of Pupil Teachers and Stipendiary Monitors*, 21/12/1846
- (30) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon, Report on Edinburgh and Glasgow Normal Schools*
- (31) *ibid.*
- (32) E. Goffman, Asylums (Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1968)
- (33) Although Edinburgh and Glasgow Normal schools were not residential their timetables reveal that students' time was almost totally regulated, leaving little free time. See Appendix 6
- (34) Goffman, op.cit., p.6-7
- (35) *ibid.*, p.111
- (36) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Correspondence of Committee of Council*, 8/12/1855, p.30
- (37) There is a remarkable parallel here with those sent to Reformatories and Industrial Schools for, with the candidates for Normal schools, they shared the characteristic of having home environments held to be unsuitable for appropriate identity formation. Given the influence which environment was held to

have, children from areas where there was little possibility of mixing with those whose mores would be acceptable to the authorities, would, it was believed, be involved in the least acceptable behaviour. The behaviour itself was held to be a sign of such an environment. For these children, residential schooling provided a solution, by isolating them from the problematic surroundings, and therefore enabling the teacher to act 'in loco parentis'. Because of the amount of surveillance possible, it was suggested that children from these establishments would be ideal to become future teachers. P.P. Vol. XL 1840, p.22

- (38) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Circular letter to Inspectors*, 26/11/1853, p.28
- (39) *ibid.*
- (40) By this date, the Committee of Council insisted that all teachers in state-aided schools were to be part of this hierarchy.
- (41) Foucault, *op.cit.*, 1979, p.187
- (42) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Circular to Inspectors*, 4/3/1857, p.34
- (43) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 In fact the category of 'stipendiary monitor' was to enable teachers not considered competent to train pupil teachers, to have some assistance.
- (44) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Gordon Report 1855* p.574; P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Middleton Report* p.245
- (45) P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Cumming Report 1860*
- (46) P.P. Vol.XL11 1862 *Woodford Report 1861*
- (47) Foucault, *op.cit.*, 1979, p.170
- (48) *ibid.*, p.184
- (49) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Regulations respecting the Education of Pupil Teachers and Stipendiary Monitors*, p.5

	Pupil Teacher	Stipendiary Monitor
At the end of 1st.year	£10.00s	£ 5.00s
2nd.year	£12.10s	£ 7.10s
3rd.year	£15.00s	£10.00s
4th.year	£17.10s	£12.10s
5th.year	£20.00s	-

At the end of each year a teacher was to be paid for pupil teachers, at the rate of £5 for one; £9 for two; £12 for three; and £3 additional for every further monitor.

Teachers would get a grant towards their salary if they completed

1 year of Normal school & gained certificate of merit	£15-£20
2 years	£20-£25
3 years	£25-£30

- (50) That is, those aged 35 and over
- (51) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Minute* of 20/8/1853
- (52) See Chapter 3
- (53) Bishop, op.cit., p.73
- (54) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Minutes* 20/8/1853, p.23-27; P.P. Vol.LXXIX 1852-3 *Minutes* 10/12/1851, p.9; P.P. Vol.XLIV 1851 *Letter* of 20/11/1849, p.xxxiv-xxxv
- (55) Reader, op.cit.
- (56) In 1807 the Burgh and Parochial Schoolmasters' Widows' Fund, from which came the Scottish School Book Association, was set up. However, it was not as systematic or as widespread a movement as the E.I.S. An Aberdeen group had existed since 1838, and the Glasgow Teachers' Association established in 1846 had about 50 members and tried to broaden its contacts. See Myers, op.cit., 1970, p168, for a more detailed account of this.
- (57) There was anger among teachers that their views were treated with indifference by the state, and that teachers were not prime candidates for the inspectorate. *ibid.*
- (58) *ibid.*, p.113
- (59) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon, Report on Edinburgh and Glasgow Normal Schools*
- (60) Myers, op.cit., p.231
- (61) *ibid.*, p.227
- (62) *ibid.*, p.238
- (63) *ibid.*, p.230
- (64) *ibid.*, p.433

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6

- (1) Foucault, op.cit., 1981a, p.89
- (2) Corrigan, op.cit., 1977
- (3) David, op.cit.
- (4) ibid., p.1
- (5) Gurvitch, op.cit.
- (6) M. Anderson, Family and Industrialisation in Western Europe
(St.Louis Missouri, Forum essay Series, 1978) p.16
- (7) Gurvitch, op.cit.
- (8) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1856*
- (9) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842*
- (10) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Wilkinson Report 1859* p.275
- (11) P.P. Vol.XXX11 1846 *Gordon Report on Airdrie 1846* p.438
- (12) P.P. Vol.XXXV 1845 *Gordon Report 1845*
- (13) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gordon Report 1849*; Vol.XLV11 1856, *Gordon Report 1855*
- (14) P.P. Vol.XLV 1857-8 *Gordon Report 1857*
- (15) P.P. Vol.XXX11 1846 *Gordon Report 1846*
- (16) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon Report 1846* p.395
- (17) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon Report Edinburgh & Glasgow Normal Schools*
- (18) P.P. Vol.XXXV 1845 *Gordon Report on the Deficiencies of Elementary Education in Scotland 1845*
- (19) Jones & Williamson, op.cit.
- (20) This was taken to be indicative of a problem, since it was argued that they could manipulate their parents.
- (21) P.P. Vol.XL11 1862 *Woodford Report 1861* p.200-201; see also P.P. Vol.XXV11 1866 *Scougal Report 1865* p.329-330
- (22) P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Woodford Report 1860* p.214-5
- (23) P.P. Vol.XL11 1862 *Woodford Report 1861* p.200

- (24) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Middleton Report 1859* p.258-9
- (25) That is, cotters. For a description of this way of life see D.K. Cameron, The Ballad and the Plough (London, Futura Publications Ltd., 1979)
- (26) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon Report 1846*
- (27) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Middleton Report 1859* p.258; Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842*
- (28) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1841*
- (29) P.P. Vol.XL11 1865 *Cumming Report 1864*; Vol.XXV11 1866 *Black Report 1865, Kerr Report 1865*
- (30) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842*
- (31) P.P. Vol.XXX11 1846 *Gordon Report 1846*; Vol.XL11 1865 *Gordon Report 1864*; Vol.L11 1854 *Woodford Report 1853, Wilkinson Report 1853*
- (32) The necessity of schooling was a matter of dispute at this time, with the idea of schooling for all children being held by some to be wildly impractical. See Myers, op.cit., 1970, and David, op.cit., for a fuller discussion. Although during this period the employment of children was subject to certain restrictions in some industries, they were an important source of cheap labour. See G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875 (St.Albans, Panther Books Ltd., 1973) Myers points out that factory inspector reports in 1857-62 in Scotland show a fall in male adult labour by 18% while male child labour increased by 53% and female child labour by 78%. op.cit., p.6
- (33) P.P. Vol.LXXX 1852-3 *Woodford Report 1853*
- (34) P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Woodford Report 1860* p.214-5
- (35) P.P. Vol.XXX11 1846 *Gordon Report on Airdrie 1846* p.438
- (36) P.P. Vol.XL11 1862 *Woodford Report 1861* p.200-201
- (37) The weight given to the importance of conformity with a national system is illustrated by the way in which the speaking of gaelic was viewed as a problem which schools could eradicate. For example, P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Gordon Report 1856*
- (38) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *General Report* p.XX-XX1
- (39) P.P. Vol.XL11 1865 *Gordon Report 1864*
- (40) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Wilkinson Report 1856*; Vol.XLV11 1856 *Gordon Report 1855*

- (41) The Mines Regulation Act 1860, for example, restricted the employment of boys under 12 to only those aged 10 and over who could produce a teacher's certificate to the effect that he could read and write, or else had to attend school for a minimum of 3 hours daily, for 2 days weekly. Though P.P. Vol.XLV 1864, *Gordon Report 1863*, claimed it increased attendance, *Woodford Report 1863*, and Vol.XL11 1865 *Jack Report 1864* discuss the extent of evasions.
- (42) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1863 *Middleton Report 1862* p.160
- (43) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Wilkinson Report 1856* p.676
- (44) P.P. Vol.L11 1854 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1853*; Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report*
- (45) P.P. Vol.XXXV 1845 *Gordon Report on Deficiencies etc.*
- (46) Corrigan, op.cit., 1977
- (47) P.P. Vol.L11 1854 *Wilkinson Report 1853* p.1054-1055. "...the population is agricultural in part, and in part engaged in fishing occupations; money is scarce, and wages are low; notwithstanding these drawbacks good schools exist."
- (48) P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Wilkinson Report 1860*
- (49) P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Woodford Report 1860*
- (50) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gordon Report 1848-9 (Tabulated)*
- (51) P.P. Vol.XL 1852 *Woodford Report 1851 (Tabulated)*; Vol.LXXX 1852-3 *Middleton Report 1852 (Tabulated)*; *Woodford Report 1852 (Tabulated)*; Vol.L11 1854 *Middleton Report 1853*
- (52) P.P. Vol.L 1847-8 *Gordon Report 1847*; Vol.XLV 1864 *Gordon Report 1863*
- (53) P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Middleton Report 1860*; Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842 (Appendix)*
- (54) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Gordon Report 1856*
- (55) *ibid.*
- (56) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gordon Report 1848*
- (57) P.P. Vol.L 1847-8 *Gordon Report*; Vol.XLV11 1856 *Gordon Report 1855*. It was assumed that children would follow the parental occupation, Vol.XL1X 1861 *Gordon Report 1860*, p.228-9
- (58) See Appendix 3

- (59) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Circular to Inspectors*, p.55-8. These covered school field-gardens, workshops for trades, school kitchens and wash-houses.
- (60) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Gordon Report 1855*.
- (61) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Gordon Report 1859*
- (62) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon 1846*
- (63) *ibid.*
- (64) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Annual Grants Day Schools of Industry, Circular to Inspectors*, p.55-8
- (65) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon Report 1846*, p.397
- (66) Exceptions were districts where one kind of employment predominated. For example, Vol.XLV11 1856 *Gordon Report 1855*, discusses 'class schools' which were connected with factories and mines.
- (67) For discussion, see later in this section.
- (68) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Gordon report 1846*, p.397
- (69) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Letter from Lingen to Bellairs*, 12/11/1853, p.58; but also Vol.XXX111 1857 *Grants for Promotion of Schools Wherein Children of the Criminal & Abandoned Classes may be Reformed by Industrial Training*, 2/6/1856
- (70) P.P. Vol.XL 1852 *Minutes 1850*, p.55-8
- (71) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1856*
- (72) See, for example, the wording on the certificates enforcing compulsory schooling for these categories of children. Vol.XLV 1857-8, p.19-22
- (73) P.P. Vol.L1V 1860 *Gordon Report 1859*
- (74) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Gordon, Report on Sessional Schools 1848-9*, p.551, quote from General Assembly's Education Committee Memo of 1842 to the Committee of Council
- (75) P.P. Vol.XL1V 1850 *Report Gordon 1849*, (*Appendix A, Female Orphan Asylum, Aberdeen*); Vol.XXX111 1857 *Gordon Report 1856*
- (76) P.P. Vol.XXXV 1845 *Gibson Report 1845*, p.154
- (77) P.P. Vol.XX1 Part 1 1859 *Special Report on Female School of Industry at Eglinton Iron Works*, 17/6/1858, p.235
- (78) P.P. Vol.XL1X 1861 *Gordon Report 1860* p.226

- (79) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Circular to Inspectors*, August 1850, p.57
- (80) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847 *Report on Edinburgh & Glasgow Normal Schools*, p.536
- (81) P.P. Vol.L1 1854 *Circular to Inspectors*, August 1850, p.57
- (82) P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Woodford Report 1860*, p.219 (Capitals, emphasis in original; italics, my emphasis)
- (83) P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Gordon Report 1860*, this problem was also noted with the introduction of such subjects as agriculture into schools.
- (84) P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Woodford Report 1860* p.217
- (85) P.P. Vol.XLV 1864 *Gordon Report 1863*; Vol.LIV 1860 *Woodford Report 1859*
- (86) P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Woodford Report 1860*
- (87) See Best, op.cit.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7

- (1) For example, P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Woodford Report 1860*. This was a reason for opposition to the introduction of subjects which dealt with skills which were obtainable from other sources.
- (2) In 1833 expenditure had been £20,000; in 1846 it was £100,000; in 1859 it was £668,000. T. Wilson, *A reinterpretation of 'Payment by Results' in Scotland, 1861-72*, in Humes & Paterson, op.cit.
- (3) See discussion in Chapter 2
- (4) Wilson, op.cit.
- (5) op.cit.
- (6) Ibid. contains a full discussion of the reasons and timing of this in relation to Scotland
- (7) The Dick Bequest Schools, in the North-East of Scotland, had them. Though it was extremely rare, some parochial teachers also kept daily attendance registers, and some kept books with name, age, stage of progress at time of entry, degree of progress made, character displayed by pupil in school. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report on Aberdeen & Fordyce 1842* p.217. The episcopal church provided its schools with registers. Vol.L11 1854 *Wilkinson Report 1853* p.1048
- (8) See Chapter 3
- (9) P.P. Vol.XL11 1854-5 *Woodford Report 1854* p.708; Vol.XL11 1862 *Gordon Report 1861* p.206
- (10) P.P. Vol.LXXIX 1852-3 *Correspondence on School Registers* p.50
- (11) *ibid.*
- (12) P.P. Vol.XL1 1854-5 *Minute 2nd. April 1853* was to encourage 'regular attendance' among the 'poor and populous'. It required 176 days' attendance per year, plus an allowance of 16 days for absences (ie. 192 days in total). See also, Wilson, op.cit., p.98-9
- (13) P.P. Vol.LXXX 1852-3 *Cumming Report 1852*; Vol.XXX111 1857 *Woodford & Middleton 1856*; Vol.L1V 1860 *Middleton Report 1859*
- (14) P.P. Vol.XL11 1862 *Kerr Report 1861*, p.227; P.P. Vol.XL1 1854-5 *Woodford Report 1854*, p.707
- (15) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Woodford & Middleton Report 1856*
- (16) P.P. Vol.L11 1854 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1853*
- (17) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1857 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1856*

- (18) P.P. Vol.XLIV 1850 *Gordon Report 1849*
- (19) P.P. Vol.XLII 1862 *Gordon Report 1861*, p.206
- (20) P.P. Vol.XLV 1857-8 *Wilkinson Report 1857*, p.705
- (21) P.P. Vol.XXI 1859 Part 1 *Middleton Report 1858*
- (22) P.P. Vol.XXI 1859 Part 1 *Middleton Report 1858*, p.239 (emphasis in original)
- (23) P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Woodford Report 1860*
- (24) P.P. Vol.LXXX 1852-3 *Woodford Report 1853*
- (25) P.P. Vol.XLVII 1856 *Circular to Principals of Training Schools*, 5/2/1855, p.13
- (26) State forms for grants presupposed a regularly kept register as a basis for the figures. Managers of schools had to certify that the figures were accurate. These figures were the basis for paying grants and also for general educational statistics concerning schools.
- (27) P.P. Vol.XXXIII 1842 *Gibson Report 1842*; Vol.LII 1854 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1853*
- (28) P.P. Vol.XXXIII 1857 *Gordon Report 1856*; Vol.XLVII 1856 *Gordon Report 1855*; Vol.LII 1854 *Cumming & Wilson 1853*
- (29) P.P. Vol.LIV 1860 *Middleton Report 1859*; Vol.XXXIII 1857 *Gordon 1856*; *Woodford & Middleton 1856*; Vol.XLV 1857-8 *Cumming & Wilson 1857*
- (30) See Appendix 7. Although the education office maintained that this particular form did not have to be adhered to if a school wished to keep other kinds of figures too, these particular figures were *required*. Thus others would be variations on this *core form*, and would be seen in relation to this.
- (31) P.P. Vol.XLV 1847, p.100-101
- (32) P.P. Vol.XLI 1854-5 *Woodford Report 1854*
- (33) *ibid.*, p.708-9
- (34) *ibid.*
- (35) P.P. Vol.XLIX 1861 *Woodford Report 1860*
- (36) P.P. Vol.XXXIII 1857 *Woodford & Middleton 1856*, *Gordon 1856*
- (37) P.P. Vol.XLV 1857-8 p.37

- (38) P.P. Vol.XXX111 1842 *Gibson Report 1842*; Vol.L11 1854 *Cumming & Wilson 1853*
- (39) P.P. Vol.XLV 1857-8 *Letter from Lingen, 21/9/1857*
- (40) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Circular to Principals of Training Schools, 5/2/1855*
- (41) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Circular to Principals of Female Training Schools, as to Answers Made by Students to Questions proposed in the Examination of December 1855, upon School Registers & Returns, 21/1/1856*; also *Circular to Principals of Male Training Schools etc., 22/2/1856*
- (42) The Minute outlining the capitation grant specifically rejected approximations. Vol.XL1 1854-5
- (43) See Appendix 7
- (44) P.P. Vol.XLV11 1856 *Circular to Principals of Male Training Schools, p.16*
- (45) *ibid.* Emphasis in original.
- (46) It was introduced in Scotland in May 1864. It was suspended on 10th.June 1864, and annually until the 1872 legislation. For a full discussion of the reasons for this see, Wilson, *op.cit.*
- (47) The 'Old' Code had been drawn up in 1860, because of the volume of Minutes which had built up since the Committee of council's inception. It was a summary and clarification of Committee of Council rules to date.
- (48) The Newcastle Commission was set up in 1858 and reported in 1861
- (49) By rationalising the system of grants being paid for buildings, teaching pupil teachers, augmenting teacher's salaries, books and apparatus, it shifted the financial focus from the *means* of schooling to the *results*. It did this by making payments direct to managers and conditional on the number & proficiency of the scholars, the number and qualifications of the teachers, and the state of the schools.
- (50) P.P. Vol.XX 1868-9 *Gordon Report 1868*; Vol.XX11 1870 *General Report 1869*; Vol.XX11 1871 *Jolly Report 1870*; Vol.XX11 1872 *Gordon Report 1871*
- (51) P.P. Vol.XX11 1872 *Gordon Report 1871*; Vol.XX11 1867 *Gordon Report 1866*; Vol.XXV 1867-8 *General Report 1867*
- (52) P.P. Vol.XX11 1872 *Scougal Report 1871*
- (53) See Appendix 8 for relevant articles from the Revised Code

- (54) P.P. Vol.XX 1868-9 *General Report*, p.25, "It has nowhere been officially stated, or implied, that the number of passes is the sole measure of a school's excellence; but it is one of the measures; and the school which obtains fewer passes is, *pro tanto*, the worse school." (Emphasis in original)
- (55) P.P. Vol.XX11 1867 *Middleton Report 1866*
- (56) P.P. Vol.XL1 1862
- (57) Inspectors were permitted to express opposition to it because it was not official policy in respect of Scotland, therefore, this does not belie the argument in Chapter 3
- (58) P.P. Vol.XXV11 1866 *Scougal Report 1865; Kerr Report 1865; Woodford 1865*
- (59) P.P. Vol.XL1 1862 *Petitions: Glasgow Free Church Normal Training College, p.91-2; Sub-Committee of the Education Committee of the Free Church, p.101-2; Memo of Presbytery of Elgin, p.127; Memo of Presbytery of Strathbogie, p.77*
- (60) P.P. Vol.XL1 1862 *Petitions: Members of the Kirk Session & Deacon's court of the Free Church, Kirkmichael, p.34; Report of Sub-Committee appointed by Education Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, p.101; Memo of Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, p.107-9; Memo of Presbytery of Strathbogie, p.77; Memo of the Directors of the Glasgow Free Church Training College, p.92; Memo of the Free Presbytery of Paisley, p.93; Memo of the Free Presbytery of Irvine, p.113; Memo of Presbytery of Elgin, p.127; Letter from Bishop of Edinburgh, p.20; Memo of the Rev. Presbytery of Glasgow, p.123*
- (61) P.P. Vol.XL1 1862 *Petitions: Memo of the Presbytery of Elgin, p.127; Free Church Presbytery Turriff, p.139; Memo Aberdeen Synod of the Free Church, p.23; Memo of the Directors of the Glasgow Free Church Normal Training College, p.92; Report of Sub-Committee appointed by the Education Committee of the Free Church, p.101-2; Memo of the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, p.107; Memo of Rev. the Presbytery of Glasgow, p.123; Presbytery of Dundee, p.34; Presbytery of Strathbogie, p.77*
- (62) P.P. Vol.XL11 1865 *Middleton Report 1864; Vol.XL1 1862 Petitions: Glasgow Free Church Normal Training College, p.91-2; Sub-Committee of the Education Committee of the Free Church, p.101; Free Church Presbytery Turriff, p.139; Memo of Free Presbytery of Irvine, p.113; Aberdeen Free Church, p.24*
- (63) P.P. Vol.XL11 1865 *Middleton Report 1864; Vol.XLV 1864 Woodford Report 1863*
- (64) For example, Vol.XXX111 1857 *Cumming & Wilson Report 1856; Vol.XL1X 1861 Gordon report 1860*

- (65) P.P. Vol.XXV 1867-8 *General Report 1867*, p.xxlv
- (66) P.P. Vol.XX11 1872 *Scougal Report 1871*
- (67) P.P. Vol.XX11 1872 *Kerr Report 1871*
- (68) P.P. Vol.XXV11 1866 *Black Report 1865*; Vol.XXV 1867-8 *Woodford Report 1865-7*; Vol.XL11 1865 *Jack Report 1864*; Vol.XX11 1871 *Hall Report 1870*; *Middleton Report 1870*
- (69) P.P. Vol.XX11 1871 *Jolly Report 1870*; Vol.XX11 1872 *Kerr Report 1871*; *Scougal Report 1871*
- (70) P.P. Vol.XX11 1870 *Kerr Report 1869*; Vol.XXV11 1866 *Kerr Report 1865*; Vol.XXV 1867-8 *Black Report 1867*; Vol.XX11 1871 *Hall Report 1870*; *Wilson Report 1870*
- (71) P.P. VOL.XXV 1867-8 *Woodford Report 1867*
- (72) P.P. Vol.XX11 1872 *Circular to Inspectors, 10/6/1871*, p.cxlv-cxv
- (73) There were 6 Standards. Pupils had to be over 6 to be presented on the lowest. See also P.P. Vol.XX11 1871 *Wilson Report 1870*; Vol.XX11 1872 *Scougal Report 1871*
- (74) P.P. Vol.XX11 1867 *Gordon Report 1866*
- (75) P.P. Vol.XX11 1867 *Gordon Report 1866*; Vol.XX11 1872 *Gordon Report 1871*

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 8

- (1) Grant, op.cit.
- (2) Pack, op.cit., p.1
- (3) ibid., p.26
- (4) ibid., p.27
- (5) ibid., p.8
- (6) Although Pack, op.cit., was published in the 1970's, the features of official discourse which I have highlighted are still characteristic in the 1980's. This was confirmed for me by school welfare officers who attended the course on 'Truancy: The Mapping of a Problem', which I taught in the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Edinburgh University, in the winter of 1985.

APPENDIX 1

LORD PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL

Marquess of Lansdowne	18/04/1835
Lord Wharncliffe	3/09/1841
Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry	21/01/1846
Marquess of Lansdowne	6/07/1846
Earl of Lonsdale	27/02/1852
Earl Granville	28/12/1852
Lord John Russell	12/06/1854
Earl Granville	8/02/1855
Marquess of Salisbury	26/02/1858
Earl Granville	18/06/1859
Duke of Buckingham and Chandos	6/07/1866
Duke of Marlborough	8/03/1867
Earl de Gray and Rippon	9/12/1868

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

William F. Cowper	2/02/1857
C.B. Adderley	6/04/1858
Robert Lowe	6/07/1859
Henry A. Bruce	26/04/1864
Thomas L. Corry	26/07/1866
Lord Robert Montagu	19/03/1867
William E. Forster	9/12/1868

SECRETARIES OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

James Phillips Kay (Kay-Shuttleworth)	26/08/1839
Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen	8/01/1850
Francis Richard Sandford	1/02/1870

Source: A.S.Bishop The Rise of A Central Authority for English Education; Cambridge University Press, 1971; p.281-282

APPENDIX 2

SCOTTISH INSPECTORS 1840-1872

Name	Year Appointed	Previous Career	Inspectorial Career	Reason For Leaving
J.Gibson	1840	English Master Madras Academy St. Andrews	Inspector 1840-1845 Re-appointed 1848-1851	Became organiser of schools for Free Church Became headmaster & proprietor of Merchiston Castle School
J.Gordon	1844	Secretary of Church of Scotland Education Committee since 1825	Inspector 1844-1850 Re-appointed 1854-1872	1850-1854 Secretary of Church of Scotland Education Committee
E.Woodford	1850	Classics Master Madras Academy	Inspector 1850-1869	Died
J.Cumming	1851	Rector Glasgow Academy	Inspector 1851-1872	
D.Middleton	1852	Rector Falkirk Grammar	Assistant Inspector 1852-1857 Inspector 1857-1872	
C.Wilson	1852	Classics Master Glasgow Academy	Assistant Inspector 1852-1858 Inspector 1858-1872	
T.Wilkinson	1852	Episcopal Minister	Part-time Inspector 1852-1872	

Name	Year Appointed	Previous Career	Inspectorial Career	Reason For Leaving
D.Munn	1857	Maths Teacher Dumfries Academy	Assistant Inspector 1857-1858	Resigned
J.Black	1858	Parochial Schoolmaster Banchory	Assistant Inspector 1858-1864 Inspector 1864-1868	Appointed to Chair of Humanity at Aberdeen University
D.Scrymgeour	1858	Assistant Master Merchiston Castle School	Assistant Inspector 1858-1859	Died
J.Scougal	1859	Not Known	Assistant Inspector 1859-1864 Inspector 1864-1869	Retired
J.Kerr	1860	Classics Master Bury St.Edmunds	Inspector 1860-1872	
W.Jack	1860	Cambridge University	Inspector 1860-1866	Went to Owen's College, Manchester. Later, Professor of Mathematics, Glasgow University
R.Calder	1864	Certificated Teacher	Assistant Inspector 1864-1872	
J.Binnie	1866	Certificated Teacher	Assistant Inspector 1866-1872	
J.Hall	1866	Cambridge University	Inspector 1866-1872	

Name	Year Appointed	Previous Career	Inspectorial Career	Reason For Leaving
R.Small	1868	La Mancha School Peebleshire	Assistant Inspector 1868-1872	
R.Ogilvie	1869	Headmaster of Milne's Institute Fochabers	Inspector 1869-1872	
W.Jolly	1869	English Master George Watson's	Inspector 1869-1872	
A.Scougal	1869	Son of Inspector had helped father	Inspector 1869-1872	
R.Reid	1869	Balliol College Oxford	Inspector 1869-1870	Barrister, eventually Lord Chancellor
A.Walker	1870	Tutor in Edinburgh	Inspector 1870-1872	
A.Barrie	1871	Aberdeen University	Inspector 1871-1872	

Based on T.R.Bone School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966; Ph.D. Thesis No.2829, Glasgow University. p.30; p.50; p.76.

APPENDIX 3

EXTRACT FROM INSTRUCTIONS TO INSPECTORS

Source: P.P. Vol.XX 1841

Instructions to
Inspectors of
Schools.

Aug. 1840.

minds of the children. The Inspectors will ascertain whether church accommodation of sufficient extent, and in a proper situation, is provided for them; whether their attendance is regular, and proper means taken to ensure their suitable behaviour during the service; whether inquiry is made afterwards by their teachers how far they have profited by the public ordinances of religion which they have been attending. The Inspectors will report also upon the daily practice of the school with reference to Divine worship: whether the duties of the day are begun and ended with prayer and psalmody; whether daily instruction is given in the Bible; whether the Catechism and the Liturgy are explained, with the terms most commonly in use throughout the authorised version of the Scriptures.

They will inquire likewise whether the children are taught private prayers to repeat at home; and whether the teachers keep up any intercourse with the parents, so that the authority of the latter may be combined with that of the former, in the moral training of the pupils. As an important part of moral discipline, the Inspectors will inform themselves as to the regularity of the children in attending school—in what way registered—and how enforced; as to manners and behaviour, whether orderly and decorous; as to obedience, whether prompt and cheerful, or reluctant, and limited to the time while they are under the master's eye; and as to rewards and punishments, on what principles administered, and with what results. The Inspectors will satisfy themselves whether the progress of the children in religious knowledge is in proportion to the time they have been at school; whether their attainments are showy or substantial; and whether their replies are made intelligently or mechanically and by rote. The Inspectors will be careful to estimate the advancement of the junior as well as of the senior class, and the progress in each class of the lower as well as of the higher pupils. And in every particular case the Inspector will draw up a report, and transmit a duplicate of it through the Committee of Council on Education to the Archbishop of the Province.

THIRDLY.

With regard to the third branch of the duties of the Inspectors, the Committee, whenever they determine such inquiries shall be made, will issue special instructions for the guidance of the Inspectors.

By order of the Committee of Council on Education,
JAMES PHILLIPS KAY.

*Report to the Committee of Council on Education, respecting the School in the County
of*

District, No.

Date of instruction from Committee of Council to inspect school.

Date of visit to school.

Date of report.

1. Name of chairman or secretary of school committee, as correspondent on behalf of the school.
2. Address—Post town.
3. By what name is the school to be known?
4. In what parish is it?
5. What is the name of nearest post town?
Distance?
Direction?
6. When was the school established?
7. Who were the original promoters of it?
8. Is it, or has it been, in connexion with, or has it derived, or received a promise of, aid from any society?
What society?
What is the amount of such aid?

Tenure and Site of Building.

9. What is the tenure on which the site is held?
10. Is the school-house erected on ground which is the property of the Incumbent as a spiritual corporation sole, or otherwise belonging to or connected with the Church of England?
11. Are the school-rooms applied to any other purpose than those of the school? to what purpose? under what regulations?
12. Is this appropriation recognised in the trust deed?
13. Is the trust deed duly executed?
14. Has it been enrolled?
15. When was it enrolled?
16. By whom were the trustees named and appointed?
17. The names and professions of the trustees?
18. What means are there for the renewal of the trust on the death or avoidance of the trustees?
19. What is the extent of the site?
Describe it generally.
How is bounded?
How is it enclosed?
How is it drained?

Aug. 1840.

20. State generally your opinion whether it is a healthy situation or otherwise?
21. In all respects well chosen, or otherwise?
22. Of what materials is the school-house built?
23. Is it thatched, or slated, or tiled?
24. In what state is it as to repair?
25. When was it erected?
26. From what funds was it erected?
27. If it was erected with aid from the Parliamentary Grant, furnish, in Appendix, a Special Report, arising from the audit of the building account, and the comparison of the reports or statements, presented to the Lords of the Treasury, or of the answers to the questions, Form A. with the receipt and expenditure; the description of the building in those replies, and in the plans transmitted to the Committee of Council, with the structure erected, and the examination of the deed of trust.

Mechanical Arrangements.

28. Furnish a rough sketch of the plan of the building if possible.
29. What are the dimensions of the chief school-room in length, breadth, and height to the centre of the ceiling?
30. Does the school-room contain a gallery for 80 or more children?
31. When one or more class-rooms are provided for the separate instruction of a part of the children, state also the dimensions in length, breadth, and height, of each class-room.
32. Are the school-rooms sufficiently ventilated and warmed?
33. Is there a lobby, or closet, for bonnets, cloaks, hats, &c.?
34. Is an exercise-ground provided? and if so, at what distance from the school?
35. Of what extent is it?
36. Is the playground furnished with gymnastic apparatus, flying-course or circular swing, parallel-bars, and gymnastic-frame?
37. What is the nature and height of the fence with which the playground is enclosed?
38. Does the building include a residence for the schoolmaster and mistress? If not, how far is their residence from the school?

Religious and Moral Discipline.

39. Are the children assembled and dismissed every day with a psalm or hymn, and with prayer?
40. Is the Holy Bible read every day? In classes, or in the gallery?
41. Are the children taught private prayers to repeat at home?
42. Are they instructed in the Church Catechism?
43. Are they instructed in the Liturgy and Services of the Church?
44. Do all the children belonging to the Daily School attend school on Sunday and go to church?
45. Are they provided with proper church accommodation?
46. Are means taken to ensure their suitable behaviour during the Service?
47. Are inquiries made afterwards by their teacher how far they have profited by the public ordinances of religion?
48. Do the teachers keep up any intercourse with the parents or confine their attention to the children during the hours they are in school?
49. Is the progress of the children in religious knowledge in proportion to the time they have been at school?
50. Are their replies made intelligently, or mechanically and by rote?
51. Is due attention paid to the junior as well as to the senior class, and in each class to the lower as well as the higher pupils?

Means of Instruction.

52. Enumerate the books used in the school opposite the following heads:—

Reading.
Arithmetic.
Geography.
History of England.
Grammar.
Etymology.
Vocal Music.
Linear Drawing.
Land Surveying.

53. What apparatus does the school contain?
54. Are the children systematically trained in gymnastic exercises?

Organization and Discipline.

55. Are the children classed according to their proficiency?
56. Is each child always under the instruction of the same teacher?
57. Are the children taught by a succession of teachers, each conveying instruction in some particular branch?
58. What is the number of teachers?

Instructions to
Inspectors of
Schools.

Aug. 1840.

59. What is the number of monitors?
60. What is the number of pupil teachers?
61. What is the remuneration of each pupil teacher?

As respects Rewards and Punishments.

62. Is any system of rewards and punishments adopted?
63. State whether distinction depends on intellectual proficiency.
On a mixed estimate of intellectual proficiency and moral conduct.
On moral conduct only.
64. Are corporal punishments employed?
If so, what is their nature, and what are the offences to correct which they are used?
65. If they are employed, are they publicly inflicted?
66. What other punishments are used?
67. What rewards, if any?

As respects Method.

68. Is the method of mutual instruction strictly adhered to?
69. Is the simultaneous method more or less mingled with individual teaching?

Simultaneous, or Mixed Method.

70. How far is the interrogative method only used?
71. Is the suggestive method employed?
72. Is Ellipsis resorted to?
73. Are the lessons tested
By individual oral interrogation?
By requiring written answers to written questions?
By requiring an abstract of the lesson to be written from memory?

Mutual Instruction and Mixed Method of Instruction.

74. What is the number of masters?
Of assistant-masters (if any)?
Of monitors?
Of pupil-teachers?

Monitors and Pupil-Teachers.

75. State the name and age of each monitor and pupil-teacher, distinguishing pupil-teachers from monitors.
76. State the period during which he has received instruction.
77. State the attainments of each pupil-teacher or monitor, separately, in the following table, marking the pupil-teachers *P. T.*, the monitors *M.*
78. To whom are the pupil-teachers apprenticed?
For what period?
What remuneration do they receive?
79. How many classes are there in the school?
80. How many children in each class?
81. State the proficiency of each class in the several subjects of instruction?
82. In what works of industry are the boys employed?
83. In what works of industry are the girls employed?
84. Obtain a written account, signed by the master, of the routine of employment of each class in the school, for every hour in the day and every day in the week.
85. Is any mutual assurance society or clothing-club connected with the school?
86. Is any library connected with the school; if so, of what books and of what number of volumes does it consist?
87. Is the use of the library confined to the school children, or otherwise?
88. Are the children allowed to take the books to their parents' houses?
89. What number of books was taken out in the last six months?

Attendance, Registers, &c.

90. Obtain a copy of the school-registers of admission, attendance, proficiency, and moral conduct, respectively.
91. How many children were present at the time of inspection?
Boys.
Girls.
92. How many have been on the books for the last six months?
Boys.
Girls.
93. What was the average daily attendance during the last six months?
Boys.
Girls.

Instructions to
Inspectors of
Schools,
Aug. 1840

94. Is the number of children in attendance on the increase or decrease?
95. At what rate?
96. Is punctual and regular attendance enforced?
97. By what means?
98. Do the children pay for admittance to the school?
99. Do they all pay?
 At the same rate?
100. What is the rate of payment?
101. Do the children take any meals in the school-house?
102. In what part of the premises?
103. Do the children appear to be clean?
 Neat?
104. Do they wear any distinguishing dress?
 Or badge?
105. Enumerate the holidays which occur during the year.
106. At what age are the children usually admitted?
107. To what age do they generally remain?
108. Are there any systematic means of keeping up a connexion with the school-children after their leaving school?

Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress.

109. What are the names of the schoolmaster?
 And schoolmistress?
110. Are they respectively married?
 Or single?
111. Are they man and wife?
112. Are they respectively provided with fuel, candles, and other perquisites?
113. Do they live rent-free in the school-house?
114. Do they devote their whole time to the duties of their office?
 If not, state what other occupation they have, the time it occupies, and its emoluments.
115. Have they received instruction in the art of teaching, in any and what training-school?
116. At what age did he (or she) become a schoolmaster (or schoolmistress)?
117. What was his (or her) former occupation?
118. State your opinion of the teachers as respects their attainments;
 character;
 and method of conducting the school.
119. By whom is the master (or mistress) appointed?
120. Upon what conditions, and for what period, is the appointment held?
121. Is there a written agreement?
122. Is there a sufficient facility for dismissing the master (or mistress) in case of need?
123. By whom is the master (or mistress) to be dismissed?

Government of the School.

124. In whom is the general management and control of the school vested?
125. Name the visitor (if any).
 Patron.
 President.
 Treasurer.
 Secretary.
 The committee.
 The trustees.
126. Do the trustees [or committee] meet periodically?
127. Are there general meetings of the subscribers and promoters of the school?
128. Is there any, and, if so, what system of constant superintendence by the committee or otherwise?
129. Is the committee active, or merely nominal?
130. Who are the active members of the committee?
131. Transmit a copy of the printed rules of the schools.
132. Is there any periodical public examination of the school?
 What is its effect upon
 The teachers,
 The children;
 especially as respects character and manners?

Annual Income.

133. State the amount of annual subscriptions and donations.
134. Of annual collections.
135. Of annual produce of endowment.
136. Of school fees.
137. Of any other source of income separately enumerated.

Annual Expenditure.

138. What is the annual stipend of the master?

- The mistress?
Each assistant master and mistress?
Each pupil teacher?
139. What amount was expended last year in repairs?
For furniture and apparatus?
For books and stationery?
For candles and fuel?
140. What other expenses are incurred?

SPECIAL QUESTIONS ON INFANT SCHOOLS.

Mechanical Arrangements.

THE questions respecting mechanical arrangements in the former paper having been replied to, the following additional questions may be put:—

1. Are the walls lined with a broad belt of black board, or prepared with mastic, painted black, for lessons in chalk-drawing and writing?
2. Is a small gallery prepared with desks and boards for the instruction of forty children in drawing and in the signs of sounds?

Recreation and Physical Exercises.

3. What amusements have the children?
4. What games are encouraged?
5. Have they any and what gymnastic apparatus?
6. Are the children trained in walking, marching, and physical exercises, methodically?
7. With what result?
8. How often do the intervals of recreation occur daily, and what time is spent in recreation at each interval?

Industry.

9. How many children learn to sew?
To knit?
To plait straw?
To keep the garden-border free from weeds?
To sweep the school-floors, &c.?

Imitative Arts.

10. Do the children learn to draw, on the wall or on a board, right-lined figures from objects or from copies?
11. Do they learn to draw the Roman capital letters and numerals?
12. Are these steps the preliminaries to learning to write?
13. Do they in this way learn to write the letters with chalk on the wall, or on a board?

Learning Signs of Sounds.

I. READING.

14. Does the school-room contain one of Mr. Prinsen's letter-boxes?
15. Has the master or mistress been instructed in the method of making the children familiar with letters—
 1. By showing them the figure of a natural object having a monosyllabic name?
 2. By analysing this word into its constituent sounds?
 3. By showing the children the sign of each sound beginning with the vowel sound, and then combining them into the word by the phonic method?
16. Are the children expert in the various modes of using the letter-boxes, to spell and read words?

II. SINGING.

17. On what method are the children taught to sing?
18. Do they learn the signs of musical sounds to any extent?
19. Can they copy the notes of music with chalk on the wall?
20. Can they sing many marching or other school songs?
21. Can they sing any hymns?

Knowledge of Natural Objects, &c.

22. Are the children exercised in examining and describing, in very simple and familiar terms, the properties of those natural objects by which they are surrounded?
23. Is there a cabinet in the school stored with natural objects which the children are likely soon to meet with in their rambles, or visits to friends?
24. Is there a cabinet of domestic utensils or implements of industry, of a small size, the uses of which may be explained to the children?

Instruction in the Gallery.

25. Are they instructed in any other subjects in the gallery?
26. If so, enumerate the gallery lessons.
27. How long is the usual lesson in the gallery?
28. Are the replies of the children made intelligently, or mechanically and by rote?

Instructions to
Inspectors of
Schools.

Aug. 1840.

Discipline.

29. Are the children clean in their persons and dress ?
30. Are they orderly and decorous in their behaviour ?
31. Do they appear to have confidence in their master and mistress, and to regard them with affection ?
32. Are any, and, if so, what rewards and punishments employed ?
On what principles, and with what results ?
33. Is their attendance at school punctual and regular ?
34. Examine register, and state whether it is kept on a good plan, neatly, and with care.

I.—SUPPLEMENTARY MINUTE respecting the mode of conducting applications for Aid from the PARLIAMENTARY GRANT.

Supplementary
minute on conduct-
ing applications for
aid from Parlia-
mentary Grant.

The Committee of Council, in conducting the distribution of the Parliamentary Grant for the promotion of Education in Great Britain, during the past year, have requested the applicants for aid towards the erection of school-houses to submit to the Committee their plans, drawn according to scale, and exhibiting the arrangements of the desks, benches, and school apparatus.

The Committee have also framed their questions, Form (A), so that the answers to them may afford information respecting the structure of the school-building, its drainage, and the mode of warming and ventilating it.

This information has been sought not merely to guide the Committee in apportioning the grant in some degree according to the intelligence and skill displayed in the arrangements, but also to enable them to advise the applicants respecting the structure of the buildings described in the plans, working drawings, and specifications, in order that any defective construction of the school-houses might be avoided, and that the method of warming and ventilating these buildings might be improved.

Their Lordships have also been desirous that the arrangement of the desks, benches, and school apparatus should be consistent with the progress made in methods of teaching in the most approved schools; and they therefore determined to avail themselves of opportunities of advising the promoters of the erection of school-houses concerning such of the defective arrangements which they observed as were capable of alteration without much cost, and as might otherwise prove an obstacle to the improvement of the school.

The Committee, in the minute of the 20th of February, 1840, stated that they had, at an early period of their proceedings in superintending the appropriation of the Parliamentary grant for promoting public education in Great Britain, observed that considerable expenses were incurred by the promoters of schools in the preparation of plans, specifications, and forms of contract for the erection of school-houses, which might in many cases be avoided by the publication of a series of plans, specifications, &c., which would be available to all who were disposed to adopt them. The plans submitted to the Committee were frequently defective, both in the general character of the structure, in the means adopted for warming and ventilating the apartment, and particularly in the form and internal arrangements of the school-room. It appeared, therefore, desirable that the series of plans, &c., should be prepared, to enable the promoters of schools to avoid considerable expenses in the erection of school-houses, and to diffuse an acquaintance with the arrangements which have been sanctioned by extensive experience as best adapted to different systems of instruction.

The plans of school-houses, specifications, and estimates which the Committee at that period laid before both Houses of Parliament, and the explanatory minute with which they were accompanied, were reprinted in the 8vo. edition of the Minutes of the Committee for 1839-40, and extensively circulated throughout the country. The correspondence of the Committee contains many proofs of the advantage which has been derived by the promoters of the erection of school-houses from the information thus diffused, and many acknowledgments of its value. The Committee were, however, by no means prepared to expect the immediate adoption of their plans throughout Great Britain. On the contrary, they knew the information thus diffused to be so intimately connected with the adoption of improvements in the method of instruction, that they did not expect the general adoption of these plans to precede the general improvement of method, which will result from the foundation of schools for the training of teachers, and the publication of improved lesson-books and of Manuals of method.

Their Lordships were, however, desirous to lay before the public at the earliest period, information enabling them to avoid the creation of material obstacles to the future improvement of elementary schools, arising from the defective arrangement of the buildings and of the desks, benches, and apparatus.

A great number of schools, the promoters of which have solicited aid from the Parliamentary grant during the current year, were commenced before their Lordships' minutes were published, and the transmission and consideration of their applications were postponed until the settlement of the question of inspection by the Order in Council of the 10th of August, 1840. In a considerable number of cases, the promoters of the schools had been encouraged to avail themselves of the summer season to commence the erection of their schools, before they could submit their plans to the Committee, trusting, that under the peculiar circumstances, the Committee would admit applications made after the building had been commenced.

On this account their Lordships have not this year strictly confined their grants to cases the whole terms of which had been submitted for their approval before the building was com-

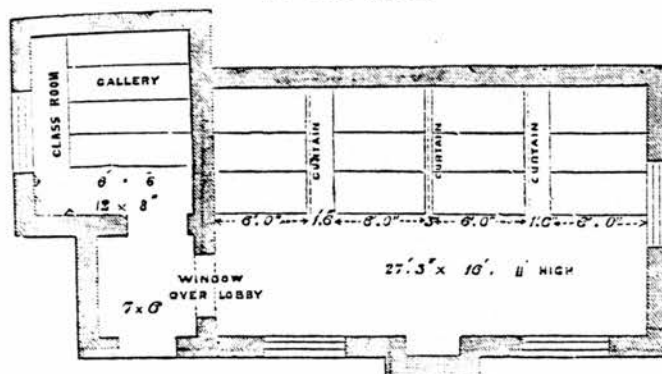
APPENDIX 4

EXTRACT FROM AUTHORISED SCHOOL PLANS

Source: P.P. Vol.XL1 1854-5

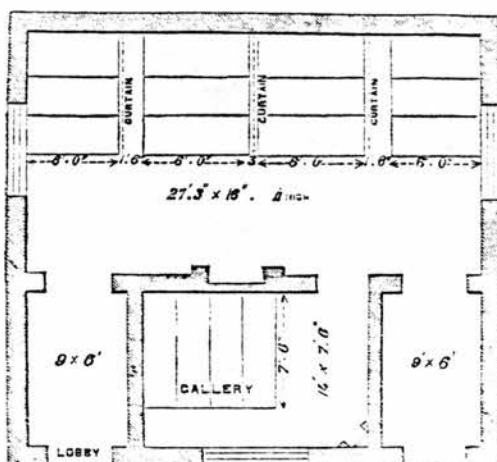
* No. 1.

A School for 48 Children of one sex, in 4 Classes; with a Class-room having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes.



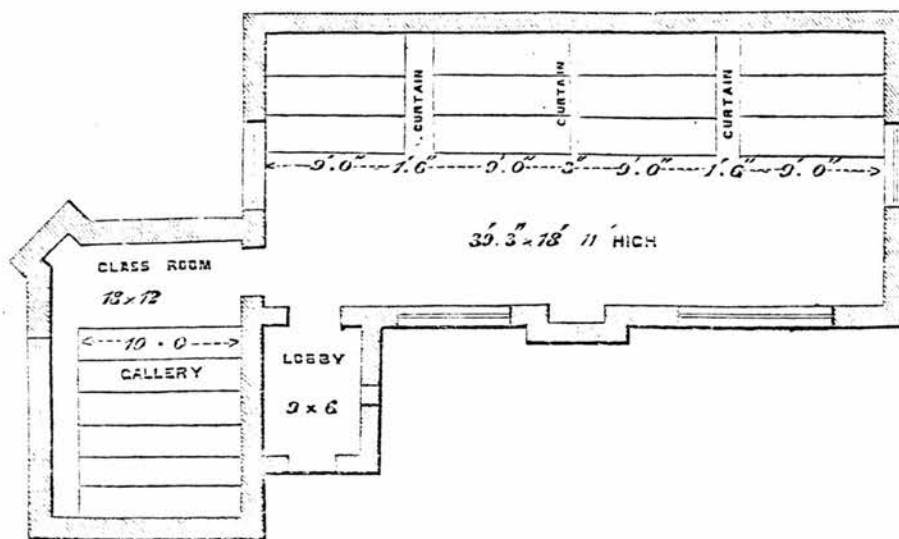
No. 2.

A School for 48 Boys and Girls, in 4 Classes; with a Class-room having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes.



No. 3.

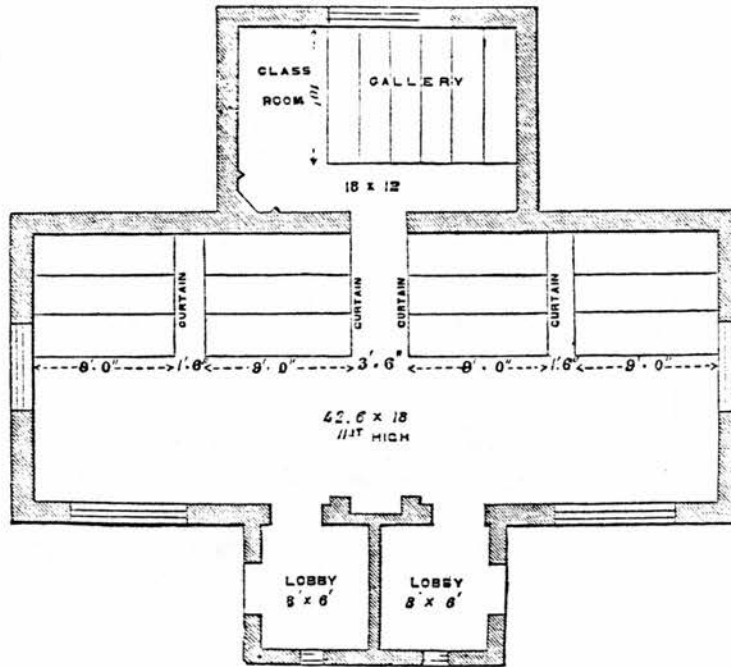
A School for 72 Children of one sex, in 4 Classes; with a Class-room having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes.



* The capacity is stated in each case *exclusively* of the class-rooms, because on certain occasions (such as school festivals, public examinations, solemn admonitions, and the like, it is desirable to have the means of seating *all* the children *together*. At the same time, as the class-room with its gallery is always equal to the accommodation at least of two classes, it may be reckoned as so much *additional* space available for most purposes of ordinary instruction. The Building Grants of the Committee of Council on Education are calculated at so much *per square foot* of area in the school-room and class-room, and *not* at so much *per child accommodated*. The amount of such grants is not affected, therefore, by any assumed standard of capacity.

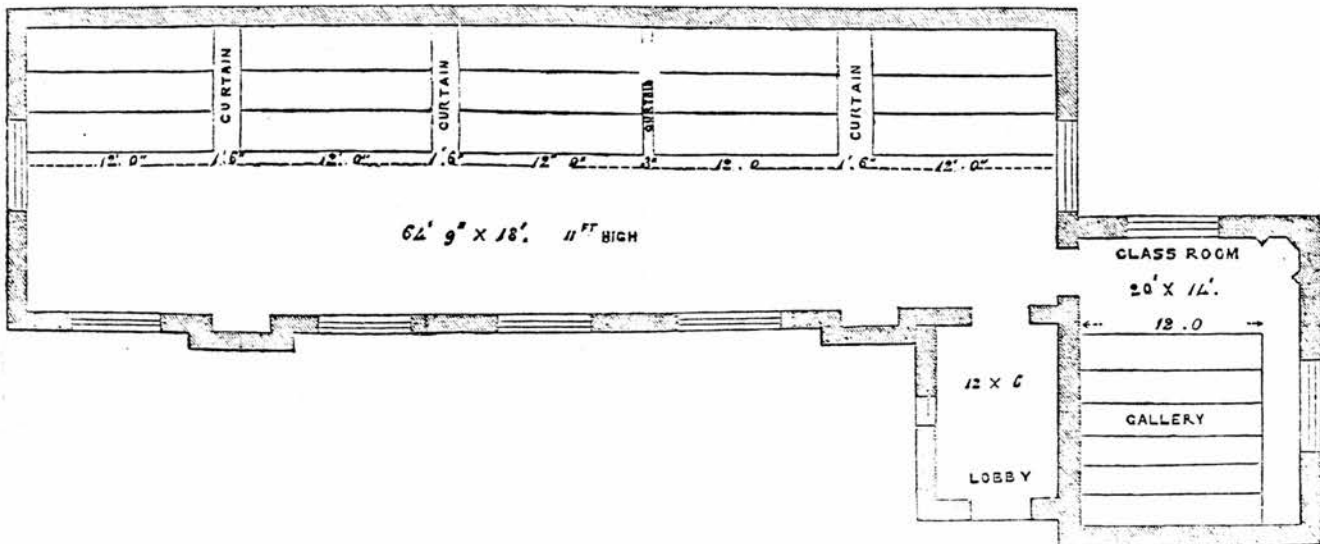
No. 4.

A School for 72 Boys and Girls, in 4 Classes; with a Class-room having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes.



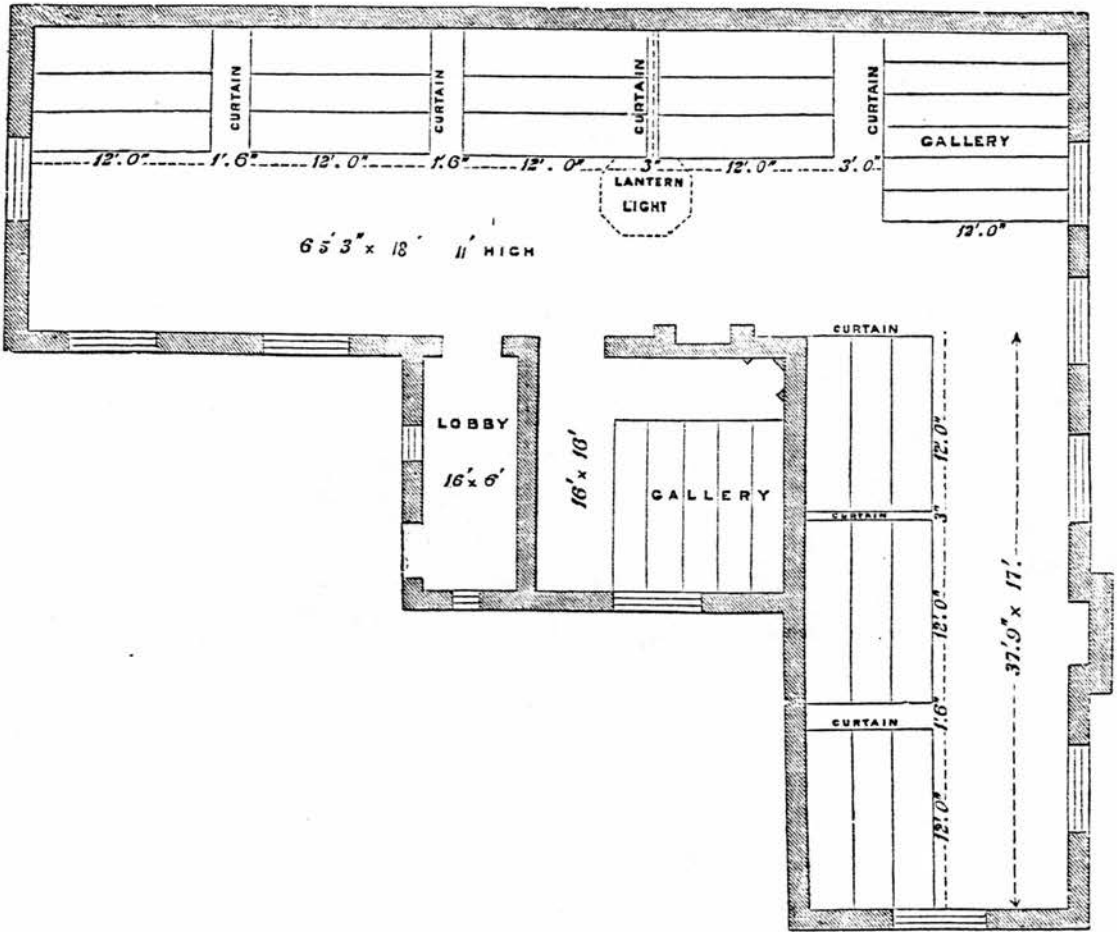
No. 5.

A School for 120 Children of one sex, in 5 Classes; with a Class-room having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes.



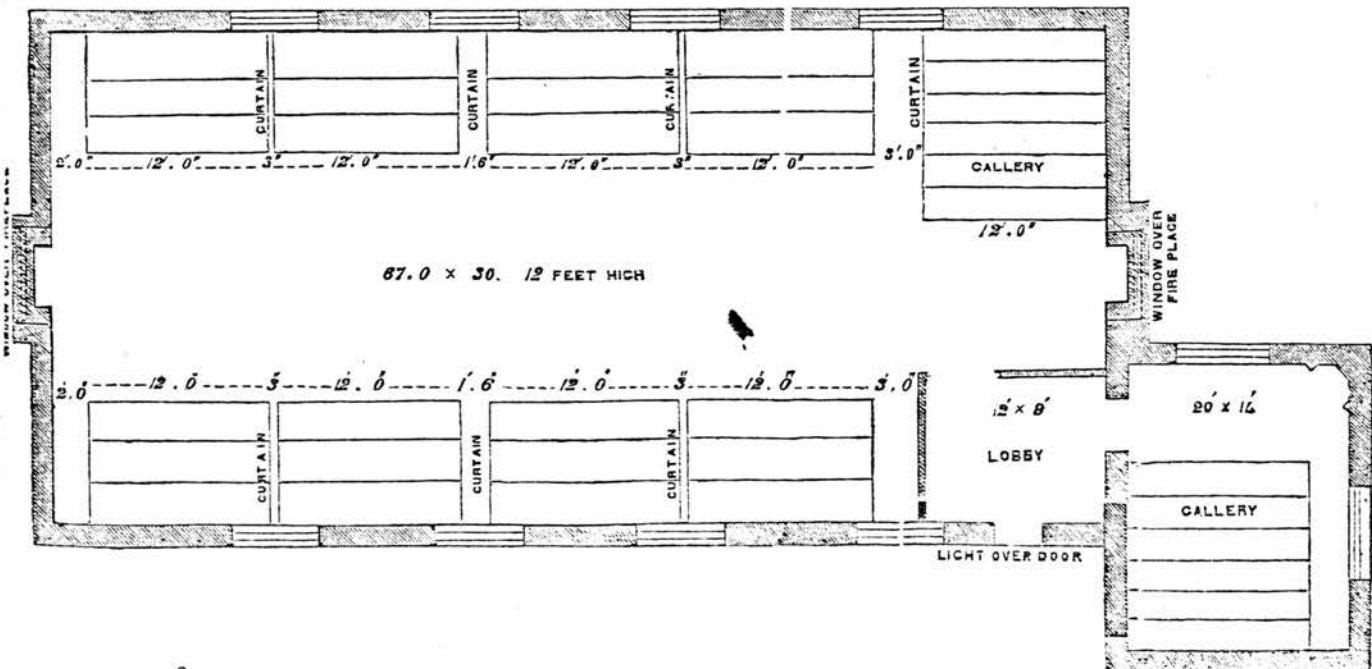
No. 6.

A School for 216 Children of one sex, in 7 Classes, with a Gallery; and a Class-room having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes.



No. 7.

A School for 240 Children of one sex, in 8 Classes, and a Gallery; with a Class-room having also a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes.



APPENDIX 5

Population of Scotland by Regions 1801-1901

Percentage of Total Population

Year	Far North	Highland Counties	North- East	Western Lowlands	Eastern Lowlands	Borders
1801	4.3	15.2	13.7	20.6	34.6	11.5
1811	3.8	14.4	13.1	22.8	34.3	11.5
1821	3.9	14.0	12.8	24.4	33.6	11.2
1831	3.9	13.1	12.7	26.6	33.2	10.4
1841	3.7	12.0	12.2	30.2	32.3	9.6
1851	3.5	10.8	12.1	32.1	32.1	9.4
1861	3.4	9.5	12.0	34.6	31.5	8.9
1871	3.1	8.5	11.8	37.0	31.6	8.1
1881	2.7	7.7	11.2	39.1	31.7	7.6
1891	2.4	7.0	10.8	41.2	31.7	6.9
1901	2.0	6.3	10.3	44.2	31.3	5.9

Derived from M.W.Flinn (ed.) Scottish Population History; Cambridge University Press, 1977. p.306 Table 5.1.3. based on census data.

Urbanised Proportion of the Total Population

Census	Percentage of Total Population in Centres of 5,000 or Over	Percentage Increase Over Previous Decade	Percentage of Total Population in Centres of 1,000 or Over
1801	21.0	-	
1811	24.2	29.4	
1821	27.5	31.7	
1831	31.2	28.2	
1841	32.7	16.2	
1851	35.9	17.3	
1861	39.4	16.2	57.7
1871	44.4	23.6	
1881	48.9	12.8	
1891	53.5	17.6	
1901	57.6	19.7	74.3

Source: Flinn op. cit. p.313 Table 5.1.7.

APPENDIX 6

TIMETABLES FOR EDINBURGH NORMAL SCHOOL

Source: P.P. Vol.XLV 1847

Report on Edinburgh and Glasgow Normal Schools, by John Gordon, Esq.

No. 7.—ESSAYS.

Subject—*Habit.*

Number of students examined	Edinburgh.	Glasgow.
		18
N. S. B.	8	0
V. S. B.	5	2
S. B.	5	3
B.	0	2
	18	7

Appendix II.

APPENDIX III.

No. 1.—TIME TABLE for the NORMAL STUDENTS, Edinburgh, February 1847.

Hours.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.	Sunday.
A.M. 6—7	Dress and put rooms in order.						
7—8	Private study and preparation in Library.						
8—8½	¹ Prayers—Psalmody; Scripture reading and exposition; Prayer.						
8½—9	Breakfast.						
9—10	² English Reading and advanced Geography.	¹ M'Culloch's Course; special attention to the subject of Reading; Bible Lesson of the day given by Rector, or one of the Students.	² English Reading and Etymology.	¹ M'Culloch's Course; special attention to the analysis of sentences; Bible Lesson of the day given by Rector, or one of the Students.	¹ Lecture on Pedagogics; Themes prescribed, and Exercises returned, with Comments; Physical Geography, with use of Globes.	³ Sacred Music.	¹ Bible History and Doctrine, 9—10½
A.M. P.M. 10—3	See Elementary School Time Table.						
3—4	¹ Latin Rudiments, Delectus, and Cæsar.	¹ Senior Students: Virgil, and Adams' Antiquities. ² Junior Students: Elementary Grammar and Geography.	¹ Latin Rudiments, Delectus, and Cæsar.	Same as on Tuesday.	Same as Tuesday.		
4—6	Dinner and Recreation.						
6—7	⁴ Gaelic Students with Master; the others at private study.					Private study.	
7—8½	³ Euclid { Senior Section, Book IV.—Algebra, Trigonometry. Junior " " I.—Arithmetic, Algebra.					Private study.	
8½—9	Supper.						
9—9½	¹ Prayers.						
9½—10½	Private Reading; ¹ occasional revisal of Latin Rudiments by Junior Students.						¹ Abstract of Discourses given in and revised.
10½	Retire for the night. Gas extinguished at 11.						

¹ Denotes that the Lesson or Exercise is conducted by the Rector. ² Head Master. ³ Mathematical Tutor. ⁴ Gaelic Tutor. ⁵ Singing Master.

No. 2.—TIME TABLE for the FEMALE NORMAL PUPILS, Edinburgh, February 1847.

Hours.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
A.M. 9—10	¹ Reading in M'Culloch's Course; Analysis of Sentences; Geography.	² English Reading, Elementary Grammar, and Etymology.	¹ Same as Monday.	² Same as Tuesday.	¹ Attend nearly all the Lectures on Teaching; Themes prescribed, and Exercises returned.	⁴ Sacred Music.
10—12	Present in the Model School.					
12—12½	Leisure.					
P.M. 12½—1	³ Arithmetic.	³ Writing.	³ Arithmetic.	³ Writing.	³ Arithmetic.	
1—2	Present in the Model School.					
2—3	{ One party conducting the Sewing of the Junior Girls under the Matron, the other assisting at the Arithmetical Classes of the Senior Girls in the School.					
3—4	The latter party, under the Matron, conducting the Sewing and Knitting of Senior Girls; the former engaged in their own Sewing and Knitting.					

¹ Denotes that the Lesson or Exercise is conducted by the Rector. ² Head Master. ³ Second Master. ⁴ Music Master.

APPENDIX 7

AUTHORISED REGISTERS

Source: P.P. Vol.L1 1854

Another page similar to the last, should follow here for the third and fourth quarters of the year. After every fourth quarter, the register should contain four quarterly tables, and one annual table for the general results of the school.

Each of the quarterly tables should be filled up at the end of each quarter. Nothing has to be done except to write in, and add up, the "weekly results" from the preceding pages of the quarter in question.

Table for Quarter ending _____.

Result of each Week.	Average Number present.	Number present at all.	Average Number of Days attended by each Child present at all.	Number of Children on Register.	Received by School Fees.		
					£	s.	d.
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
From Monday the _____ Day of _____ to Saturday the _____ Day of _____.							
Result for Quarter - - -							

Annual Table.

QUARTER.	Average Number present.	Number present at all.	Average Number of Days attended by each Child present at all.	Number on Register.	Received by School Fees.		
					£	s.	d.
1							
2							
3							
4							
Result for Year - - -							

APPENDIX 8

Extract From Revised Code

P.P. Vol.XL1 1862 Chapter 11 Grants to Maintain Schools, Part 1, Elementary Schools

"38. Schools may meet 3 times daily; viz., in the morning, afternoon, and evening.
.....

40. The managers of schools may claim at the end of each year.....
a) The sum of 4/- per scholar according to the average number in attendance throughout the year at the morning and afternoon meetings of their school, and 2/6d. per scholar according to the average number in attendance throughout the year at the EVENING MEETINGS of their school.

b) For every scholar who has attended more than 200 morning or afternoon meetings of their school -
1) if more than 6 years of age 8/-, subject to examination (Article 48)
2) if under 6 years of age 6/6d., subject to report by the inspector that such children are instructed suitably to their age, and in a manner not to interfere with the instruction of the older children.

c) For every scholar who has attended more than 24 evening meetings of their school 5/-, subject to examination. (Article 48)
.....

43. Evening attendances may not be reckoned for any scholar under 12 years of age.

44. Every scholar attending more than 200 times in the morning or afternoon, for whom 8/- is claimed, forfeits 2/8d. for failure to satisfy the inspector in reading, 2/8d/ in writing, and 2/8d. in arithmetic (Article 48)
.....

46. Every scholar for whom grants dependent upon examination are claimed must be examined according to one of the following Standards, and must not be presented for examination a second time according to the same or a lower Standard.
....."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Parliamentary Papers

1839 XL1
1840 XL
1841 XX
1842 XXX111
1844 XXXV111
1845 XXXV
1846 XXX11
1847 XLV
1847-8 L
1848 XL1V
1850 XL11; XL1V
1851 XL1V
1852 XL
1852-3 LXX1X; LXXX
1854 L1; L11
1854-5 XL1; XL11
1856 XLV11
1857 XXX111
1857-8 XLV
1859 XX1 Part 1
1860 L1V
1861 XL1X
1862 XL1; XL11
1863 XLV11
1864 1X; XLV
1865 V1; XL11
1866 XXV11
1867 XX11
1867-8 L111; XXV
1868-9 XX
1870 XX11
1871 XX11
1872 XX11

Internal Documents on School Attendance & Responses to Pack Report
from:

Borders Region
Central Region
Dumfries & Galloway
Fife Region
Highland Region
Lothian Region
Orkney
Strathclyde Region
Tayside Region
Western Isles

Secondary Sources:

Abrams, P. Historical Sociology (Somerset, Open Books Publishing
Ltd., 1982)

Ahier, J. *Philosophers, Sociologists & Knowledge in Education*, in Young
& Whitty, op.cit. (1977)
& Flude, M. Contemporary Education Policy (Kent, Croom Helm
Ltd., 1983)

Althusser, L. *Ideology & Ideological State Apparatuses*, in Cosin, op.cit.
(1972)

Anderson, M. Family & Industrialisation in Western Europe (St. Louis
Missouri, Forum Essay Series, 1978)

Anderson, R.D. Education & Opportunity in Victorian Scotland (Oxford,
Oxford University Press, 1983)

Andriola, J. *Truancy Syndrome*, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,
16, 1946

- Apley, J. *Paediatrics & Child Psychiatry in Great Britain*, in Miller,
op.cit. (1968)
- Apple, M.W. Ideology & Curriculum (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul,
1979)
*The Production of Knowledge & The Production of Deviance
in Schools*, in Barton & Meighan, op.cit. (1979)
Education & Power (Boston, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1982)
(ed.) Cultural & Economic Reproduction in Education
(London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1982)
- Aries, P. Centuries of Childhood (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1974)
- Bailyn, B. *The Challenge of Modern Historiography*, American Historical
Review 87 (1) 1982
- Ball, N. Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-1849 (Edinburgh, Birmingham
University Institute of Education Monographs No.6, Oliver &
Boyd, 1963)
- Barker, P. *The In-Patient Treatment of School Refusal*, British Journal
of Medical Psychology 41, 1968
- Barton, L. & Meighan, R. Schools, Pupils & Deviance (Driffield,
Nafferton Books, 1979)
- Beaumont, G.R. A Comparison of the Effect of Behavioural Counselling &
Teacher Support on the Attendance of Truants
(unpublished Dip. School Counselling dissertation,
University College Swansea, 1976)
- Bernbaum, G. Knowledge & Ideology in the Sociology of Education
(London & Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1977)

- Bernstein, B. Class, Codes & Control Vol.1 (St.Albans, Paladin, 1973)
 et al. *Ritual in Education*, in Cosin et al., op.cit.
 (1971)
- Best, G. Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875 (St.Albans., Panther Books
 Ltd., 1973)
- Bishop, A.S. The Rise of a Central Authority for English Education
 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971)
- Bone, T.R. School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966 (Ph.D. thesis
 No.2829, Glasgow University)
School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966 (London, Scottish
 Council for Research in Education Publication 57, 1968)
- Bourdieu, P. *The School as a Conservative Force*, in Dale et al., op.cit.
 (1976)
Systems of Education & Systems of Thought, ibid.
 & Passeron, J.C. Reproduction in Education, Society &
 Culture (London, Sage Studies in Social
 & Educational Change, Vol.5, 1977)
- Bowles, S. *Unequal Education & the Reproduction of the Social Division
 of Labour*, in Dale et al., op.cit. (1976)
 & Gintis, H. Schooling in Capitalist America (London,
 Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976)
- Bowman, M.J. *The Human Investment Revolution in Economic Thought*, in
 Cosin (ed.), op.cit. (1972)
- Broadwin, I.T. *A Contribution to the Study of Truancy*, American Journal
 of Orthopsychiatry 2, 1932
- Burchell, C. *A Note on Juvenile Justice, Ideology & Consciousness* 5,
 Spring 1979

- Burt, C.L. The Young Delinquent (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1944, [4th. edition])
- Cain, J. A Study of the Effect of Counselling on Pupils Displaying an Irregular Pattern of School Attendance (unpublished Dip. School Counselling dissertation, University College of Swansea, 1974)
- Cameron, D.K. The Ballad & the Plough (London, Futura Publications Ltd., 1979)
- Campbell, J.H. The Central Administration of Education, 1839-1900 (unpublished Ph.D., Manchester University, 1972)
- Carroll, H.C.M. Poor Attendance at School: A Study of 1st. Year Children in a Comprehensive School (unpublished Dip. Educational Psychology dissertation, University College Swansea, 1968)
- Chazan, M. School Phobia, British Journal of Educational Psychology 32, 1962
- Chitnis, A.C. The Edinburgh Professorate 1790-1826 & the University's Contribution to 19th. Century British Society (unpublished Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1968)
- Clark, E.A.G. The Superiority of the 'Scotch System': Scottish Ragged Schools & Their Influence, Scottish Educational Studies 9, 1977
- Clark, K.R. Non-Attendance at School - Towards a Coefficient of Absence (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Hull, 1972)
- Clarke, M. Social Problem Ideologies, British Journal of Sociology 26, 1975

- Clyne, M.B. Absent: School Refusal as an Expression of Disturbed Family Relationships (London, Tavistock, 1966)
- Collins, R. The Credential Society (London, Academic Press Inc., 1979)
- Coombes, F. *Truancy on Trial*, in Turner, op.cit. (1974)
- Corrigan, P. *Dichotomy is Contradiction*, Sociological Review 23, 1975
State Intervention & Moral Regulation in 19th. Century Britain: Sociological Investigations (unpublished Ph.D., University of Durham, 1977)
On Moral Regulation, Sociological Review 29, 1981
In/Forming Schooling in Livingstone, D. (ed.) Critical Pedagogy & Cultural Power (Forthcoming)
 & Sayer, D. The Great Arch (Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985)
- Coser, L.A. & Rosenberg, B. Sociological Theory (New York, Macmillan, 1969)
- Cosin, B.R. (ed.) Education: Structure & Society (Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd., 1972)
 et al. School & Society (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971)
- Cullen, M.J. The Statistical Movement in Early Victorian Britain (Hassocks, Harvester Press, 1975)
- Dale, R. *Education & the Capitalist State*, in Apple, op.cit.(1982)
From Expectations to Outcomes in Education Systems, Interchange 12, 2-3, 1981
The Politicisation of School Deviance: Reactions to William Tyndale, in Barton & Meighan (eds.), op.cit. (1979)
Implications of the Rediscovery of the Hidden Curriculum for the Sociology of Teaching, in Gleeson (ed.), op.cit. (1977)

- et al. Schooling & Capitalism (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976)
- David, M.E. The State, the Family & Education (London, Routledge Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980)
- Davidson, S. *School Phobia as a Manifestation of Family Disturbance: Its Structure & Treatment*, Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry 1, 4, 1960-61
- Demaine, J. Contemporary Theories in the Sociology of Education (London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981)
- Denison, E.F. & Poullier, J.P. *Education of the Labour Force*, in Cosin (ed.), *op.cit.* (1972)
- Docking, J.W. Control & Discipline in Schools (London, Harper & Row Ltd., 1980)
- Donajgrodzki, A.P. (ed.) Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, Croom Helm Ltd., 1977)
- Donzelot, J. The Policing of Families (London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1980)
- Dreyfus, H.L. & Rabinow, P. Michel Foucault (Sussex, The Harvester Press Ltd., 1982)
- Durkheim, E. Education & Sociology (Illinois, The Free Press, 1956)
Moral Education (New York, The Free Press, 1961)
Rules of Sociological Method (New York, The Free Press, 1964)
The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976)

Eggleston, J. & Gleeson, D. *Curriculum Innovation & the Context of the School*, in Gleeson (ed.), op.cit.
(1977)

Eisenstein, Z.R. (ed.) Capitalist Patriarchy & The Case for Socialist Feminism (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1979)

Encyclopaedia Britannica 13th. Edition, Vol.19-20

Erben, M. & Gleeson, D. *Education as Reproduction*, in Young & Whitty, op.cit. (1978)

Evans, E.G.S. *Truancy & School Avoidance: A Review of the Literature*, Educational Review 4, 1, 1975

Fenwick, K. & McBride, P. The Government of Education (Oxford, Martin Robertson, 1981)

Flinn, M.W. (ed.) Readings in Economic & Social History (London, McMillan & Co., 1964)
Scottish Population History (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977)
& Smout, T.C. (eds.) Essays in Social History (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974)

Flude, M. & Ahier, J. (eds.) Educability, Schools & Ideology (London, Croom Helm Ltd., 1974)

Fogelman, K. & Richardson, K. *School Attendance: Some Results from the National Child Development Study*, in Turner, op.cit. (1974)

Foucault, M. The Archaeology of Knowledge (London, Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1972)
Politics & the Study of Discourse, Ideology &

- Consciousness 3, Spring 1978
- Discipline & Punish (London, Peregrine, 1979)
- On Governmentality, Ideology & Consciousness 6, Autumn
1979
- History of Sexuality Vol.1 (Harmondsworth, Pelican Books,
1981a)
- Questions of Method, Ideology & Consciousness 8, Spring
1981
- The Subject & Power*, in Dreyfus & Rabinow, op.cit.
(1982)
- Questions on Geography*, in Gordon, op.cit. (1980)
- Friedson, E. Profession of Medicine (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1975)
- Gauldie, E. *The Middle Class & Housing in the 19th. Century*, in
MacLaren, op.cit. (1976)
- Gibson, W.J. Education in Scotland: A Sketch of the Past & the Present
(London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1912)
- Gillie, O. *Sir Cyril Burt & the Great I.Q. Fraud*, New Statesman 96, 1978
- Gleeson, D. (ed.) Identity & Structure: Issues in the Sociology of
Education (Drifffield, Nafferton Books, 1977)
- Goffman, E. Asylums (Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1968)
- Gordon, C. *Other Inquisitions*, in Ideology & Consciousness 6, Autumn
1979
(ed.) Michel Foucault Power/Knowledge (Sussex, The
Harvester Press Ltd., 1980)
- Grant, J. History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland Vol.1 (Glasgow, &
London, Collins, 1876)

- Gray, J., et al. Reconstructions of Secondary Education (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1983)
- Grunsell, R. Beyond Control? (London, Chameleon Books, 1980)
Absent from School (London, Chameleon Books, 1980)
- Gurvitch, G. The Spectrum of Social Time (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic, 1964)
- Hacking, I. *How Should We Do a History of Statistics?*, in Ideology & Consciousness 8, Spring 1981
- Hargreaves, D. et al. Deviance in Classrooms (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1975)
Durkheim, Deviance & Education, in Barton & Meighan (eds.), *op.cit.* (1979)
- Harrison, J.F.C. The Early Victorians 1832-51 (St.Albans, Panther, 1973)
- Hartmann, H. *Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex*, in Eisenstein, *op.cit.* (1979)
- Herbert, M. Emotional Problems of Development in Children (London, Academic Press Inc. 1974)
- Hersov, L. *Persistent Non-Attendance at School*, Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry 1, 2, 1960-61
 School Refusal, in Rutter & Hersov, *op.cit.*, (1979)
 & Berg, I. (eds.) Out of School: Modern Perspectives in Truancy & School Refusal (Chichester, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1980)
- History of Education Society Studies in the Government & Control of Education Since 1860 (London, Methuen, 1970)

- Hodges, J. & Hussain, A. *La Police Des Familles, Ideology & Consciousness* 5, Spring 1979
- Hoskin, K. *The Examination, Disciplinary Power & Rational Schooling, History of Education* 8, 1979
- Humes, W.M. & Paterson, H.M. (eds.) *Scottish Culture & Scottish Education 1800-1980*
(Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1983)
- Hurt, J. *Education in Evolution* (London, Granada Publishing Ltd., 1971)
Elementary Schooling & the Working Classes 1860-1918
(London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979)
- Hutchinson, H. *Church, State & School in Clackmannanshire: 1803-72, Scottish Educational Studies* 3, 1971
- Jencks, C. (ed.) *The Sociology of Childhood* (London, Batsford Academic & Educational Ltd., 1982)
- Johnson, A.M., et al. *School Phobia, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 11, 1941
- Johnson, R. *Educational Policy & Social Control in Early Victorian England, Past & Present* 78, 1970
Educating the Educators: 'Experts' and the State 1833-9,
in Donajgrodzki, op.cit. (1977)
Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class, 1780-1850 in Dale et al., op.cit. (1976)
- Johnson, T. *Professions & Power* (London, Macmillan, 1972)
- Jones, D.K. *The Making of the Education System 1851-81* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977)

- Jones, K. & Williamson, K. Birth of the Schoolroom, in Ideology & Consciousness 6, Autumn 1979
- Kahn, J.H. & Nursten, J.P. School Refusal: A Comprehensive View of School Phobia & Other Failures of School Attendance, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 32, 1962
Unwillingly to School (Oxford, Pergamon, 1968 [2nd. edition])
 & Carroll, H.C.M. Unwillingly to School (Oxford, Pergamon, 1981 [3rd. edition])
Tribute to Emmanuel Miller, Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry 19, 4, 1978
- Karabel, J. & Halsey, A.H. Power & Ideology in Education (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977)
- Kay-Shuttleworth, J. Memorandum on Popular Education (London, Woburn Books Ltd., 1969 [first edition, 1868])
- Keddie, N. Classroom Knowledge, in Young, op.cit. (1971)
- Kerr, J. Scottish Education School & University from Early Times to 1908 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1910)
Leaves from an Inspector's Log Book (London, Thos. Nelson & Sons., 1913)
- Knox, H.M. 250 Years of Scottish Education 1696-1946 (Edinburgh, & London, Oliver & Boyd, 1953)
- Larson, M.S. The Rise of Professionalism (London, University of California Press Ltd., 1979)
- Lemert, E.M. The Problem of Social Problems Theory, in Rubington & Weinberg, op.cit. (1971)

- Levine, D.M. & Bane, M.J. The 'Inequality' Controversy (New York, Basic Books Inc., 1975)
- Longmate, N. The Workhouse (London, Temple Smith, 1974)
- Lukes, S. Power (London & Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1974)
- MacDonagh, O. Early Victorian Government 1830-1870 (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977)
- Macdonald, A.M. (ed.) Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary
(Edinburgh, Chambers, 1973)
- Macintosh, M. Education in Scotland: Yesterday & Today (Glasgow, Robert Gibson & Sons Ltd., 1962)
- MacLaren, A. Social Class in Scotland (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1976)
- Madoc-Jones, B. *Patterns of Attendance & Their Social Significance*, in McCann, op.cit. (1977)
- Marshall, G. In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism (London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1982)
The Weber Thesis & the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, in Scottish Journal of Sociology 3, 1979
The Dark side of the Weber Thesis: the Case of Scotland, in British Journal of Sociology 21, 1980
- Marx, K. Capital Vol.1 [edited by Ernest Mandel] (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976)
- Mason, J. A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education from the 18th Century to the Present Day (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1935)

- May, D. *Truancy, School Absenteeism & Delinquency*, Scottish Educational Studies 5-8, 1973-6
- McCann, P. (ed.) Popular Education & Socialisation in the 19th. Century (London, Methuen & Co., 1977)
- Mc.Crone, D., et al. *Egalitarianism & Social Inequality in Scotland*,
(unpublished paper, given to British Sociological Association Conference, 1981)
- Mc.Michael, P. *Delinquency, Failure & the Schools*, Scottish Educational Studies 5-8, 1973-6
- Merton, R.K. *A Paradigm for Functional Analysis in Sociology*, in Coser & Rosenberg, op.cit. (1969)
- Miller, E. (ed.) Foundations of Child Psychiatry (Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1968)
The Problem of Classification in Child Psychiatry, ibid.
- Model, A. & Shephard, E. *The Child Who Refuses to Go to School*, Medical Officer 99-100
- Morgan, A. Rise & Progress of Scottish Education (Edinburgh & London, Oliver & Boyd, 1927)
- Morris, N. *State Paternalism & Laissez-Faire in the 1860's*, in History of Education Society, op.cit. (1970)
- Musgrave, P.W. (ed.) Sociology, History & Education (London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1970)
- Myers, J.D. Scottish Teachers & Educational Policy 1803-1872: Attitudes & Influence (unpublished Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1970)

*Scottish Schoolmasters in the Nineteenth Century:
Professionalism & Politics*, in Humes & Paterson, op.cit.
(1983)

Nursten, J.P. *The Background of Children with School Phobia*, Medical
Officer 100, 1958

Pack, D.C. Truancy & Indiscipline in Schools in Scotland (H.M.S.O.,
1977)

Parris, H. Constitutional Bureaucracy (London, George Allen & Unwin
Ltd., 1969)

Parsons, T. Essays in Sociological Theory (New York, The Free Press,
1964)
The Professions and Social Structure, ibid.

Paz, D.G. The Politics of Working-Class Education in Britain, 1830-50
(Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1980)

Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) Durkheim: Essays on Morals & Education
(London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1979)

Prince, G.S. *School Phobia*, in Miller, op.cit. (1968)

Raffe, D. *Unemployment & School Motivation: the Case of Truancy*,
Educational Review 38, 1, 1986

Reader, W.J. Professional Men (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966)

Reeder, D.A. (ed.) Urban Education in the 19th. Century (London,
Taylor & Francis, 1977)

Renton, G. *The East London Child Guidance Clinic*, Journal of Child
Psychology & Psychiatry 19, 4, 1978

- Rubington, E. & Weinberg, M.S. The Study of Social Problems (New York, Oxford University Press, 1971)
- Rubinstein, D. School Attendance in London 1870-1904 (Hull University Occasional Papers in Economic & Social History, No.1, 1969)
- Rutter, M., et al. A Guide to a Multi-Axial Classification Scheme for Psychiatric Disorders in Childhood & Adolescence (Submission to World Health Assembly, 1976)
& Hersov, L. (eds.) Child Psychiatry: Modern Approaches (Oxford, Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1979)
- Schneider, L. (ed.) The Scottish Moralists (Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press, 1967)
- Schutz, A. The Phenomenology of the Social World (London, Heinemann, 1976)
- Scotland, J. The History of Scottish Education Vol.1 (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1969)
- Scottish Council on Crime Crime & the Prevention of Crime. A Memo (H.M.S.O., 1975)
- Seaborne, M.V.J. The English School its Architecture & Organisation Vol.1 (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971)
- Senn, M.J.E. *Relation of Paediatrics to Child Psychiatry*, in Miller, op.cit. (1968)
- Sheridan, A. Michel Foucault The Will to Truth (London, Tavistock Publications ltd., 1980)

- Sime, J.T. Some Aspects of Truancy (unpublished Ed.B. thesis,
University of Glasgow, 1957)
- Simon, B. Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870 (London,
Lawrence & Wishart, 1970)
- Smart, B. Foucault, Marxism & Critique (London, Routledge Kegan Paul,
1983)
- Smith, F. The Life & Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (London, John
Murray, 1923)
- Smelser, N.J. *Sociological History: The Industrial Revolution & the
British Working Class Family*, in Flinn & Smout, op.cit.,
(1974)
- St. John-Brooks, C. *Loose in the City: the Underworld of Roaming
Children*, New Society 61, 1036, 1982
- Strong, J.A. A History of Secondary Education in Scotland (Oxford,
Clarendon Press, 1909)
- Sutherland, G. Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895
(London, Oxford University Press, 1973)
- Sylvester, D.W. Robert Lowe & Education (London, Cambridge University
Press, 1974)
- Taylor, A.J. Laissez-Faire & State Intervention in Nineteenth Century
Britain (London & Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd.,
1972)
- Thompson, E.P. *Time & Work-Discipline in Industrial Capitalism*, in Flinn
& Smout, op.cit.(1974)
- Turner, B. (ed.) Truancy (London, Ward Lock Educational, 1974)

- Tyack, D.B. *Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling*, Harvard Educational Review 46, 1976
- Tyerman, M.J. *Truancy* (London, University of London Press Ltd., 1968)
- Waldfogel, L., et al. *A Program for Early Intervention in School Phobia*, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 29, 1959
- Weber, M. The Protestant Ethic & the Spirit of Capitalism (London, Unwin University Books, 1971)
- Wedge, P. & Prosser, H. Born to Fail? (London, Arrow Books, 1973)
- Whitty, G. *Sociology & The Problem of Radical Educational Change*, in Young & Whitty, op.cit. (1977)
& Young, M. Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge (Driffield, Nafferton Books, 1976)
- Wildman, R. *Workhouse Architecture*, in Longmate, op.cit. (1974)
- Wilkinson, W.L. The Development of a State System of Education in Scotland (1872-1908) (unpublished B.Ed., University of St. Andrews, 1954)
- Williams, P. *Collecting the Figures*, in Turner, op.cit. (1974)
- Willis, P. *Cultural Production is Different from Cultural Reproduction, is Different from Social Reproduction is Different from Reproduction*, Interchange 12, 2-3, 1981
- Wilson, T. *A Re-interpretation of 'Payment by Results' in Scotland, 1861-72*, in Humes & Paterson, op.cit. (1983)
- Woodward, L. The Age of Reform (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1962)

Young, M.F.D. Knowledge & Control (London, Collier Macmillan, 1971)
*An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially
Organised Knowledge, ibid.*
*On the Politics of Educational Knowledge, Economy &
Society 1, 1972*
*Curriculum Change: Limits & Possibilities, in Young &
Whitty, op.cit. (1977)*