

CO-ORDINATION, CO-OPERATION AND CONTROL
IN PRE-SCHOOL SERVICES

GREGORY CONDRY

A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
of the University of Surrey for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology
University of Surrey
Guildford
Surrey

December 1985

5924300

ProQuest Number: 10798347

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10798347

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

The central issue addressed in this study is that of control over the pre-school field, which is seen as an "arena" between family and state within which competing claims are resolved. An analysis of documents and literature relating to the emergence of a separately defined pre-school period, demonstrates that in Britain pre-school policy has developed in four clearly defined phases. Each shift of the boundary between family and state has been influenced by changes in theories and commonly-held views of the young child in the family. A "biologistic" phase gave way to a period which was influenced by psychoanalytic theory, which in turn was superseded by a developmental phase. In recent years a "new maternalism" has emerged which has influenced policy, stressing co-ordination and co-operation.

These two key policies are then examined in a detailed study of the network of 215 workers, in Battersea, involving interviews, questionnaires, observations and the analysis of policy documents. The network acts to co-ordinate services only at a formal level in terms of links between professional pre-school workers. Links with more informal, community-based provision are limited. An analysis of attitudes and practices in relation to co-operation gives support to these observations. Attitudes, in particular "voluntarism" and "professionalism" relate to location within the network.

In the light of the nature of the network observed, it is useful to analyse the range of provision in Battersea in terms of a typology, ranging from "closed" forms of provision to more "open" ones. Movements from the former to the latter have been supported by the "new maternalism" but because of the failure to address the issue of control, these moves are seen as an attempt more effectively to police the pre-school.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my family for their support, my colleagues for allowing me study leave to carry out the fieldwork, and many students at the Froebel Institute for discussing my ideas as they developed.

Maureen Stone provided sensitive, supportive but demanding supervision, and Prof. Asher Tropp made many useful comments on the drafts, while Jane Fielding gave calm guidance in computing.

The 215 Battersea workers who agreed to be interviewed, the many people who were prepared to discuss policies, and the key individuals who helped me in contacting members of their 'network' all gave me time and assistance beyond measure.

Elizabeth Cove's tireless typing has enabled the relatively painless production of a final manuscript.

My thanks are due to all these and many others whose assistance and support have enabled me to complete this work.

C O N T E N T S

PAGE

| | | |
|-------------------|---|------------|
| <u>CHAPTER 1:</u> | <u>INTRODUCTION: DEFINING THE PROBLEM.....</u> | <u>1</u> |
| (1) | Defining the problem..... | 1 |
| (2) | Dissatisfaction with existing accounts..... | 5 |
| (3) | Towards a new account..... | 7 |
| (4) | The contribution of Foucault..... | 10 |
| (5) | The contribution of Donzelot..... | 15 |
| (6) | Key concepts in a new account..... | 19 |
| | | |
| <u>CHAPTER 2:</u> | <u>THE EMERGENCE OF A PRE-SCHOOL PERIOD.....</u> | <u>22</u> |
| (1) | Concepts of childhood..... | 22 |
| (2) | Defining the pre-school..... | 29 |
| (3) | State of intervention..... | 46 |
| (4) | The emergence of pre-school services..... | 56 |
| | | |
| <u>CHAPTER 3:</u> | <u>THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PRE-SCHOOL COMPLEX.....</u> | <u>63</u> |
| A | BIOLOGISTIC PHASE..... | 64 |
| (1) | Theories of child development..... | 66 |
| | a) The study of the child..... | 66 |
| | b) The educational tradition..... | 71 |
| | c) Advice to parents..... | 74 |
| (2) | The establishment of professions..... | 79 |
| | | |
| <u>CHAPTER 4:</u> | <u>PSYCHOANALYTIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY.....</u> | <u>111</u> |
| 1. | A PSYCHOANALYTIC PHASE..... | 111 |
| | (a) World War II..... | 118 |
| | (b) Bowlby..... | 128 |
| | (c) The impact of Bowlby's theories..... | 131 |
| | (d) Post War limitations..... | 132 |
| 2. | A DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE..... | 137 |
| | (a) The impact of deprivation theory..... | 144 |
| | (b) Expansion policies..... | 149 |

| | | |
|-------------------|--|-----|
| <u>CHAPTER 5:</u> | A NEW MATERNALISM, CO-ORDINATION AND CO-OPERATION... | 156 |
| (1) | A "New Maternalism"..... | 158 |
| (2) | The "needs" debate..... | 169 |
| (3) | Towards a co-ordinated service?..... | 180 |
| (4) | Co-ordination policies..... | 189 |
| (5) | Co-operation policy and practice..... | 204 |
| (6) | The playgroup movement..... | 221 |
| | | |
| <u>CHAPTER 6:</u> | THE METHODS OF THIS STUDY..... | 232 |
| | | |
| <u>CHAPTER 7:</u> | CO-ORDINATION, NETWORKS AND CONTROL..... | 258 |
| 1. | PRE-SCHOOL POLICING IN BATTERSEA..... | 262 |
| (1) | Moves towards co-ordination of policy..... | 262 |
| (2) | Developments of traditional services..... | 271 |
| (3) | Links with the voluntary sector..... | 274 |
| 2. | THE NETWORK IN BATTERSEA..... | 280 |
| (1) | Provision..... | 281 |
| (2) | Contacts with other pre-school workers..... | 282 |
| (3) | Background factors affecting contact..... | 291 |
| 3a | Previous experience..... | 291 |
| 3b | Qualifications..... | 295 |
| 3c | Personal Details of Respondents..... | 296 |
| 3d | Time in post..... | 297 |
| (4) | Types of Contact..... | 300 |
| 4a | Complexity of contact..... | 301 |
| 4b | Fieldworkers' contacts..... | 302 |
| 4c | Provision-based workers' contacts..... | 304 |
| 4d | The Network..... | 305 |
| (5) | Boundaries of the network..... | 307 |
| 5a | Geographical..... | 307 |
| 5b | The parent boundary..... | 308 |
| 5c | The political boundary..... | 309 |

CHAPTER 7: continued...

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 3. | THE NETWORK AND CONTROL..... | 311 |
| | (1) Control of provision..... | 312 |
| | (2) Control within provision..... | 317 |
| | (3) Control between institutions..... | 320 |
| | (4) Fieldworkers and control..... | 321 |
| 4. | CO-ORDINATION AND CONTROL..... | 324 |

| | | |
|-------------------|---|-----|
| <u>CHAPTER 8:</u> | CO-OPERATION, ATTITUDES AND CONTROL..... | 328 |
| | (1) Views of local need and the definitions of services..... | 331 |
| | (2) The issue of parent involvement..... | 347 |
| | (3) Workers' attitudes to co-operation with parents.... | 360 |
| | (4) Workers' attitudes to co-operation between voluntary and professional sectors..... | 371 |
| | (5) Workers' attitudes to professionalism..... | 375 |
| | (6) The Factor Analysis of Attitudes..... | 383 |
| | (7) Co-operation and Control..... | 389 |

| | | |
|-------------------|---|-----|
| <u>CHAPTER 9:</u> | POLICING THE PRE-SCHOOL..... | 392 |
| | (1) The typology of pre-school provision..... | 394 |
| | (2) An historical shift..... | 401 |
| | (3) Co-ordination - a broader view..... | 403 |
| | (4) Wider implications..... | 406 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| <u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> | 412 |
|---------------------------|-----|

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|-----|
| <u>APPENDICES</u> | 452 | |
| | (1) Questionnaire..... | 452 |
| | (2) Data - pre-school workers in Battersea..... | 460 |
| | (3) Factor Analysis..... | 479 |

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. Defining the problem

Traditionally the central problem in any examination of pre-school provision has been its absence. The mismatch between the ideals of policy makers and the reality of grass roots provision has long been noted - a continuing ambition to make substantial facilities available, matched by a failure to deliver. Two quotations, separated by over sixty years, serve to illustrate the ideal:

"The Consultative Committee are of the opinion that the best training for children between three and five years of age is that which they get from their mothers in their own homes, provided always that there exist in such homes adequate opportunities for the necessary material care and training....The question arises, therefore, whether any public provision should be made for children from imperfect homes. The Committee think that it should...."

Board of Education (1908)

Report of the Consultative Committee upon the School

Attendance of Children below the age of five. HMSO Cd

4259 pp 16-17

"The Government have decided to launch a new policy for the education of children under five. This will be the first

systematic step since 1870, when education was made compulsory at the age of five, to offer an earlier start in education.....All children can gain from nursery education but it is particularly valuable for children whose home and life are restricted, for whatever reason."

DES (1972)

Education: a framework for expansion

HMSO Cd. 5174 p 4-7

This failure to make adequate provision derives from a fundamental ambivalence about the appropriate roles of state and family in relation to the early development of children. Whose responsibility is the "pre-school" age group? Recent critiques of pre-school policy in Britain have tended to stress the unco-ordinated nature of this debate-Hughes et al-describe current (1980) provision as "chaotic, a mish-mash of anomalies, gaps, overlaps, inequalities and feuds..." (p 113)

Whatever the inadequacies of present day policy, the two quotations above demonstrate a general acceptance of the need for some level of public facilities. In the 1908 report this was for "Younger infants whose home conditions are imperfect", in particular for the children of mothers who were "compelled to leave home during the day and go to work". More recently, pre-school provision for the "deprived" has been strongly advocated (Halsey 1972).

Once the notion of some form of preventive intervention is accepted, it could be argued that the debates shift to become concerned with the appropriate boundary between public and private provision, between the state and the family. It is at this point that questions of control become important. If we conceive of the "pre-school period" as an arena within which the competing claims of state and family interplay some coherence can be given to British pre-school policy. The somewhat arbitrary shifts in provision, historically, politically and professionally revolve around an ambivalence about intervention. Without this perspective such issues as co-operation between workers, or the levels of need within varying communities become simplified as questions of social engineering.

By introducing the concept of control we may begin to explain why recent British policy has tended to stress two major themes: co-ordination and co-operation. At first sight an increasing co-ordination of services appears to imply increasing control over the pre-school arena, increasing state and professional power. Similarly it could be argued that greater co-operation between pre-school workers and parents implies giving more power to parents. Neither need in fact be the case. Existing accounts, however, in neglecting the dimension of control, have tended to view such issues as purely pragmatic questions.

The problem is therefore to apply the concept of control to British pre-school policy. Does this help us to explain rather than simply to describe the continuing ambivalence about making provision? Does it explain why co-ordination and co-operation have become central issues of current pre-school policy? Does it help us to understand the practice of pre-school workers at grass roots level? Does the introduction of the dimension of control reduce dissatisfaction with existing accounts?

2. Dissatisfaction with existing accounts

A feeling of dissatisfaction initially developed from my own work in in-service training connected with the co-ordination of pre-school work (Condry 1981). Research which has sought to investigate the process of co-ordination has focussed largely on the influence of professional attitudes (Watt 1977) or on the operation of administrative structures (Bradley 1982). With the development of training which seeks to promote co-ordination (van de Eyken 1982) it has become clear that there are much more fundamental factors at work. Different pre-school workers appear to possess very different conceptions of pre-school children, their families and the role of state and community services. A more adequate account would need to look at some of these underlying ideas.

Similarly, historical accounts of the development of pre-school services in Britain tend to be descriptive rather than explanatory. Concepts of "progress" and "change" are useful to describe the variations in state involvement in pre-school provision, but they do not help us to comprehend the apparent ambivalence about such involvement, or to explain the present "muddle" of facilities (c.f. Whitbread 1972). Blackstone's (1971) account, set in a conventional functionalist perspective, using Smelser's model of structural differentiation, views the emergence of pre-school education in terms of the state's

acquisition of functions from the family. A broader account, which looked across a range of pre-school services and which treated this relationship more subtly might have more explanatory force.

Equally, if one examines accounts of policy, one is struck by the prevailing "social engineering" model (e.g. Hughes et al 1980, Bruner 1980). If only one could measure "need" sufficiently accurately, produce sufficiently eloquent accounts of the problems of childminding, demonstrate "scientifically" the benefits to be gained from a home-visiting programme, this would be sufficient to convince the general public and the government of the day of the need for policy changes. However, this demonstration has never been sufficient. This has led to pleas for more adequate research, or for greater political will (e.g. Halsey 1972), but only rarely to any attempt to investigate the underlying ideologies of pre-school intervention. The ambivalence is recognised, but its source is not.

Martin Bradley's study of co-ordination policy in Liverpool does note that:

"few commentators have noted that the conflict (in debates about co-ordination) is essentially between different views of the nature of society and social welfare which polarise along individual and collectivist lines, within an overarching theme of social support". (Bradley 1979) p 652)

Although most of Bradley's study is based in a corporate management framework, and does not raise such fundamental issues, it is precisely this examination of assumptions which is necessary for a clearer understanding of current debates about pre-school policy. We need to move towards a more adequate account which considers the underlying ideology of intervention in the pre-school arena. On what basis is control claimed, and for whom?

3. Towards a new account

Clearly, any consideration of the relationship between family and state in the pre-school sphere will need to move beyond the simplistic reciprocal view frequently preserved in functionalist accounts (e.g. Moroney 1976) and will need to examine the emergence of a distinct "pre-school" category of intervention. Miriam David's (1980) analysis of state and family relationships in education takes us onto this broader level with Althusser's notion of a "family-education couple", but while pre-school education is mentioned in this account, it is not given the key place which I believe it occupies. The reason for pre-school education being a footnote in so many educational histories (e.g. Lowndes 1969) is precisely the reason why it is sociologically ,

so important - it is marginal, it is on the boundary between state and family.

The analysis made by David needs to be broadened in two directions. We need to consider issues of pre-school and family policy beyond education (e.g. Land 1977), and we need to look at the assumptions underlying policies which relate to the family. Although as Land demonstrates at a macro level such assumptions are broadly consistent over time, there have also been more subtle shifts in the ideology which justifies pre-school provision, and we need to examine such changes to explain the emergence of a pre-school "arena".

This approach is similar to that of Ryan and Thomas (1980) in considering mental handicap - how has the category emerged, how has it been viewed in history, and which key theoretical ideas have influenced the development of provision for this dependent group? This analysis of changing definitions of a category is much more subtle and evolutionary than the revolutionary shifts in perspective implied in Kuhn's work (1962). Hewes (1982) makes use of the latter's concept of changing paradigms in describing employer sponsored day care as "an idea whose time had come". The problem is that we need a more than descriptive account: why have fundamental changes occurred in the way in which pre-school provision has been viewed in Britain? Answers to this question become accessible with a combination of the concept

of control and a consideration of the underlying ideas upon which such control might be based.

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the sociology of childhood. The emergence of a separate category of "child" and of divisions within that category such as "teenager" has been analysed. Ideas about childhood are seen to be socially constructed, reflecting much wider social views and processes (Jenks 1982). In particular this enables us to move away from the representation of changes in theory relating to the pre-school age group as simply "advances in knowledge" and changes in provision as "moves towards greater perfection". If we combine this emergence of a view of childhood (and in particular the category of "pre-school") as a social construct, with some of the views of French sociologists influenced by Michel Foucault, we can begin to move towards a more adequate account.

-10-

4. The contribution of Foucault

An analysis which looks at the interplay of state and family power within a category of pre-school must inevitably draw upon some key concepts in Foucault's work. Foucault's dissatisfaction with criminology echoes some points already made about pre-school research:

"I fail to comprehend how the discourse of criminology has been able to go on at this level. One has the impression that it is of such utility, is needed so urgently, and rendered so vital for the working of the system that it does not even need to seek a theoretical justification for itself, or even simply a coherent framework".

Foucault M (1980) Prison Talk in Gordon C (ed) (1980)

Not only would such an account go beyond pragmatism, it would add new historical dimension to our understanding. In Foucault's classic statement of the rationale for his approach:

"I would like to write the history of this prison, with all the political investments of the body that it gathers together in its closed architecture. Why? Simply because I am interested in the past? No, if one means by that writing a history of the past in terms of the present. Yes, if one means writing the history of the present". (Foucault 1975 p 30)

It is precisely this dimension which is needed in account of British pre-school policy. As Dreyfus and Rainbow (1982) note "this position does not imply that any arbitrary construction will do....He has chosen them because these topics later....become enmeshed with forms of power". Thus, such a "history of the present" would enable us to understand more clearly the apparently arbitrary construction of pre-school services in Britain today. It should be possible to examine phases in the development of pre-school services in this "archaeological" sense, and construct a "genealogy" of the pre-school.

For Foucault, power is central to such an analysis. Changing forms of power, not as a central apparatus, or as the possession of a class, but in terms of divers "micro-powers" exercised by, and upon, individuals. As Sheridan (1980) notes "it is the task of political anatomy to analyse the operation of these micro-powers, the relations that are made between them, and their relations with the strategic aims of the state apparatus" (p 219), and this political anatomy examines the relationship between knowledge and power, seen as two sides of the same process.

This is not to look at the evolution of pre-school services as a gradual extension and intrusion of state power into a family

sphere, but to see the gradual structuring of pre-school services as part of a process which Foucault terms "dividing practices":

"The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivises him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy..." (Foucault 1982)and, one might add the pre-school child and the school child, or the child in day care and the child in nursery school. Within this process power is exerted in different ways:

"Sometimes this power was exerted by state apparatus, or in any case by a public institution such as the police (we should not forget that in the eighteenth century the police force was not invented only for maintaining law and order, not for assisting governments in their struggles against their enemies, but for assuring urban supplies, hygiene, health and standards considered necessary for handicrafts and commerce). Sometimes the power was exercised by private ventures, welfare societies, benefactors and generally by philanthropists. But ancient institutions, for example the family, were also mobilised at this time to take on pastoral functions. It was also exercised by complex structures such as medicine which included private initiatives..also..public institutions such as hospitals".
(Foucault M 1982. The Subject and Power)

Although, as Denise Riley (1983) argues, for Foucault power is everywhere, it is the way in which Foucault analyses the

structuring of power and knowledge which suggests interesting parallels in the development of British pre-school provision.

In Madness and Civilisation (1961) the emergence of madness in the fifteenth century, its "taming" by the late seventeenth century, the emergence of the "madhouse" or "hospital of madmen" and the associated gradual redefinition of madness could be seen to have their parallels in the emergence of childhood, and the emergence of a pre-school period. However, more specific relevance can be found the The Birth of the Clinic (1963).

In focussing on the change from classificatory medicine to the "anatomy-clinical" method, Foucault examines changes in views of the location of disease, and hence its treatment. A new medicine of epidemics moved the locus of treatment from the family to the society and hence the state - it required policing. An open, rather than closed, system of knowledge presented the possibility of a controlled and rational medical profession and a society ultimately free from disease in a well-ordered state.

Similarly in Britain the community-held view of the child has changed, albeit not as radically, the locus of the major influence in development has changed (most recently from the individual child to the family or mother). The new "science" of pre-schooling has acquired a political status, and has developed a "policing" of the pre-school stage, and an emergence of

professions in this area. While the changes may not appear as dramatic as those at the end of the eighteenth century in The Birth of the Clinic, that analysis helps us to see the fundamental processes that have led to the current structuring of services, and in particular it enables us to focus on the key element of changes in knowledge and power.

Discipline and Punish (1975) considers the emergence of prisons, and the way in which control is exerted over the body through architecture. There is a direct parallel in the emergence of a pre-school architecture which has undoubtedly reflected views of the child (McMillan M. 1930), and the emergence of a pre-school curriculum (van der Eyken 1977). Foucault enables us to see the underlying dimension of control in these developments. While we may not yet have moved to "complete institutions" we can detect a "panopticism" in the desire to combine all forces of pre-school provision under one roof in the nursery centre (Ferri et al 1981).

In this way, Foucault helps us to examine control within a historical and structural perspective. It is Donzelot (1977,1979) who has applied these elements to the family, and whose analysis provides the starting point for the present study.

5. The contribution of Donzelot

As Hodges and Hussain (1979) summarise:

"If one had to encapsulate the argument of the book (The Policing of Families) in the form of a general thesis it would be that it was the social concern with children which made family life and intra-familial relations a target of social intervention, and it was these interventions which ended up transforming the family". (p. 89)

In his book Donzelot uses the broad concept of policing (q.v.) in writing a history of the family which links the social and the psychological through Foucault's notion of "bio-politics", in examining policies related to the health, education and upbringing of children from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

Central to Donzelot's analysis, and to mine, is the concept of "policing". At this stage it is useful to reproduce in full Donzelot's quotation from Johann van Justi's "Elements generaux de police" (1768):

"The purpose of policing is to ensure the good fortune of the state through the wisdom of its regulations, and to augment its forces and its power to the limits of its capacity. The science of policing consists therefore, in

regulating everything that relates to the present condition of society, in strengthening and improving it, in seeing that all things contribute to the welfare of the members that compose it. The aim of policing is to make everything that composes the state serve to strengthen and increase its power, and likewise serve the public welfare". (Donzelot 1980 p.7)

Donzelot's analysis is somewhat more subtle than a simple aggregation of state power. For him, intervention in the family has proceeded in a number of stages - from an initial concern with the conservation of children, through "government by the family" to "the regulation of images" particularly by means of psychoanalytic intervention. Central to this intervention is the emergence of a "wardship complex" - a combination of social work, judicial and social investigation, of which the junction point is the juvenile court. This notion of "complex" can be applied directly to the recent emergence of co-ordination policies in the British pre-school.

The emergence of psychoanalytic intervention in a "psy complex" marks an important change for Donzelot - whereas previous interventions in the family "work by imposing social norms upon the family, psychoanalytic interventions in contrast circumvent this opposition between the social and the familial, and transform the problem of social normalisation into one of

discrepancy between personal images and personal reality". (ibid p.12)

While Hodges and Hussain are critical of this notion of the "psy complex" as such a unified phenomenon - particularly in Britain, this account may also be too simple in application to the pre-school. Donzelot's stage of "the regulation of images" is too broad and encompasses several interesting changes. The development of deprivation theories which located failure in the family, and the later emergence of maternally based theories which extend this shift to the family and particularly place responsibility on the mother, undoubtedly fit within Donzelot's broad framework. However, there is a danger in overestimating the role of the family and in underestimating political and professional intervention in this later stage.

Thus from Donzelot we may particularly draw the notion of stages in the development of a policing process to explain the debate about control over the pre-school arena. Echoes of such ideas about stages can be found in the work of the Newsoms (1974) in commenting about changing attitudes to child rearing - a replacement of medical morality by moralities of natural development and natural needs which owed much to psychoanalysts and nursery educationalists. Chamboredon and Prevot (1975) lend some support to the notion of stages in examining the emergence of a developmental view of early childhood ("Infancy as an

occupation"). Their two main stages compact biologicistic and psychoanalytic notions into one, while later phases are combined into one "developmental" stage. Whatever the details of their categorisation what is important is that they firmly locate the changing conditions for this development in the transformation of knowledge - the development and diffusion of psychological knowledge, changing views of disciplines such as Science and Art, and the development of a "cultural market" providing for children's activities.

Thus the ideas of stages and complexes have already been developed in relation to other aspects of childhood and the family, and with specific reference to education. If we are to understand the operation of pre-school policies in Britain (and particularly co-ordination and co-operation), we must refine these concepts and apply them to the interaction of political, professional and theoretical views of early childhood in this century. This account will need to be combined with a detailed analysis of the operation of policies at grass roots level, to provide an overview of the operation of co-ordination, co-operation and control in pre-school policy.

6. Key concepts in a new account

This study is centred on changing conceptions of young children.

As ideas about the nature of early development have changed so have policies. We may understand many of the most recent developments in policing - towards co-operation and co-ordination - by reference to current thinking about the "pre-school" phase. Fundamentally debates about pre-school policy can be seen to have an underlying dimension of control - who should control the "arena" of the pre-school, what should the balance be between state and family, what is the nature of that control?

There are a number of key concepts in this study:

1. That the pre-school "arena" exists on the boundary between the state and the family, which emerged and was socially defined as a separate area of intervention. (see Chapter Two)
2. That a pre-school "complex" has developed which seeks to define the boundary between the state and family, through various modes of control. (see Chapters Two and Three)
3. That a series of phases can be defined, based on different conceptions of young children, and that different modes of control, variations in the family-state boundary have been

demonstrated in each phase:

- a. A phase based on biological theories of development
(see Chapter Three)
- b. A phase based on psychoanalytic theories of
development (see Chapter Four)
- c. A phase based on upon developmental theories (see
Chapter Four)
- d. A phase based upon a "new maternalism" (see Chapter
Five)

Such theories are much more than psychological conceptions of development, they are fundamental views of young children which influence all aspects of the "pre-school arena", from child care literature to the provision of voluntary and statutory services.

4. Recent policy towards greater co-ordination and co-operation in pre-school services is a result of a new maternalist view of development. This can be seen to be a new extension of state power into a field which had previously been regarded as a private, family concern. This is an effective redefinition of the boundary within the pre-school arena.
(see Chapter Five)
5. The extent to which policies of co-ordination and co-operation represent an extension of control is considered in relation to recent policy developments in Battersea. (see Chapter seven)

6. Such policies imply some form of "networking" between pre-school workers. A survey of all pre-school workers in Battersea is used to demonstrate the extent to which such a network exists. The level at which co-ordination operates within such a network is central to the type of control which is being exerted. (see Chapter Seven)

7. An analysis of co-operation in Battersea, the less formal aspects of interprofessional working, and the boundaries of the network particularly in relation to parents is used to demonstrate the extent to which in many informal ways the network acts to control the pre-school "arena". (see Chapter Eight)

8. Finally, it is possible to draw together the historical analysis and the Battersea study to suggest that recent developments in policy and provision, within a "new maternalism" have moved along a dimension from "closed" to "open" provision. It is this move which has led to a more subtle "policing" of the pre-school "arena". (see Chapter Nine)

CHAPTER TWO: THE EMERGENCE OF A PRE-SCHOOL PERIOD

i) CONCEPTS OF CHILDHOOD

A pre-condition for the development of a separate "pre-school" arena, within which the boundary between state and family is negotiated, is the public definition of childhood itself, prior to some sub-division of that concept. A variety of descriptions of the development of a public concept of childhood have been offered and are currently debated.

Lloyd de Mause (1973) has contributed a sweeping analysis of the "periodisation of modes of parent-child relations" in his "History of Childhood". He describes a broad change from an "Abandonment mode" to an "Ambivalent mode" around 1300 A.D., and to an "Intrusive mode" during the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we have seen the emergence of a "Socialisation mode" (particularly allied to the development of pre-school services), and in the mid-twentieth century a new "Helping mode" is defined. In two very general senses these concepts are a helpful starting point in our analysis of pre-school services - they imply a move towards greater "intrusion", and they are based on a succession of stages or modes. It will be essential to analyse the development of the pre-school sphere in those terms. In addition one may note in de Mause's historical account an increasing concern with the

socialisation of the child, and a fundamental shift in our view of child rearing which has developed relatively recently this century. These changes can also be demonstrated in the more specific field of early childhood provision.

De Mause can be criticised. As Dally (1982) points out the value of such an approach is limited by its naivete in the simple belief of constant amelioration of mother child relationships - one of the fundamental dangers of a solely historical account. The "psychogenic" view of such developments taken by de Mause in suggesting that:

"The origin of this evolution lies in the ability of successive generations of parents to regress to the psychic age of their children and work through the anxieties of that age in a better manner the second time they encounter them than they did in the own childhood", (ibid p 3)

creates a simplistic tendency to view all evidence from a single interpretation, a psychoanalytic model. In spite of such oversimplification, in combination with Aries (1973) analysis of "Centuries of Childhood" de Mause provides a useful starting point for this analysis.

Aries provides a second major text on the emergence of childhood

as a separate category in Western society. While similarly making a general subscription to the general tendency to improvement, due to the intervention of professionals, Aries' study is based on a wealth of descriptive detail in the field of art history. Thus:

"Mediaeval art until about the twelfth century did not know childhood or did not attempt to portray it. It is hard to believe that this neglect was due to incompetence or incapacity: it seems more probable that there was no place for childhood in the mediaeval world". (ibid p 31).

Many of the critiques of Aries' work have accepted his underlying notion that at some point a conception of childhood emerged, and have instead focussed on the nature of Aries' explanation, or its absence. Thus de Mause argues with Aries' lack of psychoanalytic insight, Hoyles (1979) with the absence of "any account of the significant groups in society and their needs - the rising bourgeoisie, the artisans, the merchants and scientists who were challenging the old world, the Puritans who made the English revolution". (p 27). Equally Fuller (1979) argues that Aries may tell us much about art history, but much less about childhood.

The key problem, as Hoyles states, is that "it is one thing to

show that our concept of childhood has changed historically; it is another, more difficult, to say why it has changed". We undoubtedly need a more complex account of the social factors which produced and, or, changed our conception of childhood.

There are a number of influential factors which one can demonstrate. Undoubtedly demographic change played its part: the increasing "confidence in survival" described by Ann Dally (1982) must have been influential. Infant mortality has fallen substantially in the last century. In 1865 the mortality rate for children under five was 158 per 1000 births, in 1965 it was 21.8. (Wood 1971). Such changes must have affected both the nature and content of motherhood and childhood, and coincided with a period of increasing intervention in childhood. This interaction between intervention and mortality must have influenced the emergence and view of childhood during this time.

Thane (1978) argues that the definition of childhood has also been closely geared to economic circumstances. From the sixteenth century the period of childhood grew steadily longer, and with this expectations of children changed. The upwardly mobile seventeenth century merchant or nineteenth century businessman felt the need and had the means to allow their children longer periods of preparation for new roles in life which were largely male preserves. Changes came last to females and the poor. This social stratification of childhood will also

be noticeable when we examine the development of specific pre-school provision. At this stage it will be sufficient to note the broad economic influence upon the formation of a period of childhood, far broader than the changing role of child labour during the nineteenth century.

In addition to demographic and economic factors, any explanation for the emergence of childhood would need to take account of changes in ideas, interrelated, yet with "no clear relationship to demographic and economic change". (Thane 1978). During the eighteenth century we see the emergence of toyshops, of a separate children's literature, and an increasing production of books on childcare. (Beekman 1977). In particular, historians of nursery education point to the vital importance of philosophical developments in the work of Locke, Rousseau and others in considering the nature of man, in focussing attention on childhood. (Blackstone 1971). The influence of this approach, in the emergence of a study of childhood, leading into the work of Pestalozzi, Froebel and others, will be discussed later.

Without wishing to question that since the emergence of childhood there have been substantial changes in the conditions of childhood, clearly documented by social historians such as Walvin (1982), there is some debate about whether the underlying attitudes have changed as fundamentally as those who adopt Aries

or de Mause's approaches would suggest (e.g. Morel 1979). Plumb (1971) in describing "the great change in children" accepts that "pictorial representation is but a reflection of social attitude", and describes the gradual creation of a separate world of childhood and early youth in Britain - even to the extent of differentiation of food and clothing. With this process there was an enormous reduction in the extent of cruelty to children "no longer regarded as sprigs of old Adam whose wills had to be broken". (Plumb 1975). Pinchbeck and Hewitt (1969) equally describe a childhood in which in the eighteenth century "the harshness of the parent was paralleled to the harshness of the state". However, a certain caution is necessary here, as Thane (1978) states, while "the lives of poor children are difficult to reconstruct, but there is no reason to share Lawrence Stone's assumption that they were conventionally treated with callous brutality". Although childhood was harsh, there is no reason to assume that concern and love for children is a modern invention, even among the poor. This idea is developed by Linda Pollack (1982) in attacking the notion that up to the eighteenth century there was no conception of childhood, that children were regarded as inferior beings, and often brutalised. Pollack questions the evidence for this - mainly secondary sources, particularly child advice manuals, which may not reflect true relations. Her examination of diaries and autobiographies leads her to the view that "the basics of parental care have changed little through the centuries....it seems more probable that most parents have always

loved and wanted their children and tried to do their best for them". A parallel criticism is provided by Fuller (1979) who argues that the image of the child as miniature adult has not, in fact, been destroyed as Arie would imply, but persists in much popular art.

The above critiques of histories of childhood provide important caveats to any attempt at global interpretations of "the emergence of childhood". However, what seems to be significant in this literature is not that it is a history of actual childhood, but that it is an analysis of publicly accepted views of childhood, in legislation, provision, representation, advice etc. In these terms, it provides an important foundation for the analysis of the development of publicly stated views. Along with the emergence of a public conception of childhood, we may trace the intervention of early childhood as a separate area of study, the emergence of intervention in that area of study, particularly in relation to advice and provision, and ultimately the development of "policing" in the pre-school stage. It is to these developments that we must now turn.

ii) DEFINING THE PRE-SCHOOL

The emergence of some concept of childhood as a separate category in Western society, or at the very least an increasingly public statement of that category's existence was an essential precondition for the emergence of a pre-school phase. During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there appear to have been three major processes at work which led to an increasingly separate definition of "early childhood" and thus ultimately to the establishment of a pre-school phase. The first of these is the development of early childhood as a field of study, the second an increasingly public statement of the separate needs of young children in their upbringing, and the third process is the development of private provision for young children in some sectors of society.

Not only did the eighteenth century see the emergence of a concept of "childhood", it also witnessed the development of early childhood as a field of study. Cleverley and Phillips (1976) view this in terms of Kuhn's notion of changing paradigms. New models of childhood were paralleled with an increasing concern for the investigation of the nature of man, and his relationship with nature - the origins of which might be found by an examination of early childhood.

One of the key early figures in moving the notion of education as "brain stuffing" following an adult model

(Axtell 1968) towards the notion of education as a process of character formation and habits was John Locke. In his 1690 "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" he attacked the view that "there are in the understanding certain innate principles" and argued that the mind should be seen as a "white paper, empty cabinet or blank tablet or tabula rasa" (Locke 1690, p 12). This strong environmentalist position ("nine parts of ten are what they are....by their education" Locke 1693), emphasised a model of education based firmly in sensation and reflection. The importance of this approach for the present analysis is twofold. First by his insistence on this new conception of education he provided the basis for a new study of early childhood - special provision should be made, children's learning differed from adult learning. Secondly he provided the basis for an emphasis on education through the senses which dominated much early theorising of provision for young children, and can be traced to Montessori in this century.

Perhaps even more important in establishing the notion of specialist treatment for early childhood was Rousseau, and the Romantic movement in England, Germany and France in the late eighteenth century. Skilbeck (1976) notes the

fundamental challenge of this movement to the "rationality, objectivity and universalism" of the Enlightenment - and with its emphasis on deriving knowledge from direct experience, intuition, reverie and communication "in full encounter with persons and things....a child's experience is authentic, direct, vivid, penetrating, rich and fleeting; childhood is a state working in itself and not merely as a prelude to adulthood". Rousseau's "Emile" (1762) is often quoted as the most influential educational statement of this romantic, progressivist position. Children needed special treatment - "nature wants children to be children before they are men" and "treat your pupil according to his age". (Boyd 1975, pp38,39). In particular Rousseau's notion of freedom and an education based in nature contrasted substantially with the then current disciplinary, puritanical view. These ideas were later to influence Pestalozzi and Froebel in establishing separate provision for young children outside the home, but although Rousseau emphasised physical training, sense training and moral training in "Emile", he was not concerned to build new categories of provision.

In many ways Pestalozzi elaborated and developed this

approach, attempting to find a way of teaching "which shall be in agreement with discoverable laws of human nature". According to Silber (1960) "the most important and essentially new principle for his time is that of spontaneous and self-activity" since "it demands that all knowledge should have its origin in the child himself". In pursuit of such broad aims a three part system of education, intellectual, moral and practical was devised. It was important to "let the child not only be acted upon, but let him be an agent in intellectual education" (Cohen A. and Garner N.(1967). The child was accorded a new place in the education process.

The importance of these founding fathers for the present account lies much less in the specifics of their methods than in the fact that they established a distinctive concept of early childhood, both as a field of investigation, and as an area within which special provision was needed. With Pestalozzi, the beginnings of provision outside the home can be found, although for early writers such as Rousseau special provision external to the home was not necessary. Of course, such ideas did not gain immediate general acceptance, but an area of discourse was founded. This

area was developed by experimenters and theorists in a number of ways. For Blackstone (1971) this resulted in the emergence of a middle-class strand of development represented by Froebel and the kindergarten, and a working-class strand, represented by Wilderspin, Oberlin and Owen. Whitbread (1972) makes a similar distinction, particularly between moves later in the century towards public provision, and the privately based kindergarten movement. Such a distinction is only possible if one amalgamates the whole "early education" field, and one views provision for the young child as being made for children below seven years old. While the kindergarten movement was clearly following Froebelian notions and asking for a separate education, distinctive in form and content, for the very young child, pioneer philanthropists in Britain only rarely made such a distinction. Robert Owen clearly argued for different methods to be used with very young children (Blackstone p 17), but charity schools, and those run by organisations such as the Home and Colonial Infant School society did not see this as important (Whitbread 1972). As Blackstone states in Wilderspin's schools "The young children (3 to 5 years old) were treated the same as the older ones".

A similar social class division in the history of educational provision in the nineteenth century was argued for by Musgrave (1968) - that a working-class elementary system emerged, while a middle-class private system increasingly offering secondary education developed which reflected the growth in numbers and power of the middle-class in that century. In this view the 1870 and 1902 Acts constitute the beginnings of convergence between the two strands. In this sense it may be helpful to use the concept of social class to analyse the developing system.

Blackstone argues that the difference between the two social class-based strands is fundamental: that while both share the conviction that the home is inadequate and that therefore an alternative must be found, in every other respect they differ. She argues that they differ in the sequence of events which brings about a recognition of need - while for the "working-class strand" the remedy followed upon this recognition, the middle-class remedy preceded the need - and was due to a new theory. However, for both there is some dissatisfaction with the role of the family on its own in providing for development. A second major

difference defined by Blackstone is in terms of the "relationships between those playing vital roles in initiating this change - for the middle-class provision was parent initiated, for the working-class outside agencies were central" (although often based in middle-class philanthropy). A third major difference was in terms of aims, a middle-class "education" as opposed to an working-class "care" model (a distinction to be found frequently in the twentieth century). However, I would argue from a slightly broader perspective that both strands are expressions of the same process - with the previous caveat that the "working-class strand" tends to be aimed at a broader age group - the process whereby early childhood is defined as a separate category - and the increasing acceptance of this as an area of public intervention. Such intervention at this time was limited to those in the middle-classes who were beginning to accept the concept and who either made provision for their own children or argued for philanthropic provision.

That these phenomena are part of a broader process of recognition of early childhood is given further substance if we examine the increasingly public statement of the separate

needs of young children. Margaret Wood (1971) in discussing the development of literature on childcare notes that as the infant mortality rate dropped in the nineteenth century, "strong religious feelings prompted a strict rearing", it was regarded as important to mould the young child into a socially acceptable adult -

"At this time, the kind of oversight that children got became generally less paternal than maternal. After the mid-nineteenth century, the management of children... became the province of the women. The previously harshly administered discipline which often meant quite severe corporal punishment, began to give way to discipline founded on what has been termed 'conditional love'".

(Wood p 605).

Dally (1982) notes similarly changing fashions in childcare.

A similar process can be noted in relation to the genesis of toys. As Brewer notes:

"The 'no toy' culture, which scarcely seems to have recognised the special state of childhood, was gradually transformed between the late seventeenth and

early nineteenth centuries." (Brewer J. 1980 p 35).

Brewer gives a particular significance to Locke's views (q.v.) in the early development of educational toys, and comments that toys were very much a middle-class concept, and that "the escape of the toy out of the household and, via the kindergarten, into the school", stemmed largely from the influence of Froebel's ideas. Brewer divides toy production into three phases: the emergence in the eighteenth century, marketing of toys from 1760 to 1840 which were characterised by a rather narrow definition of both play and learning, and coincidental with Wood's phases noted above, a final phase of "liberalisation of play and enormous diversification of playthings"(ibid p 36). As Wollen (1979) notes "it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that toy manufacture in a broad sense got under way".

Thus in terms of increasingly specialised advice and provision one can see the emergence during the nineteenth century of a more separate conception of early childhood, and it is to this conception that we must relate both the private, kindergarten strand of provision and the broader philanthropic, infant school strand.

The development of private provision for young children in some sectors of society is a further important aspect of the emergence of a separate "pre-school" category during the nineteenth century. As Pinchbeck and Hewitt (1969) argue, the emergence of childhood was initially very much a middle-class phenomenon. Plumb (1971) develops this point, while initially "this new vision of childhood became the accepted social attitude of the affluent classes....among the poor the old attitudes lingered on", during the nineteenth century "reform went relentlessly on creating a separate world of childhood and early youth.." (p 10).

While more recent researches have expressed some caution about such global generalisations (e.g. Pollock 1982), the broad notion of increasing differentiation of early childhood remains intact.

In parallel with this development of interest in early childhood in certain sections of society, there was an increasing awareness of the ideas of Froebel in the mid-nineteenth century. Partly as a result of the kindergarten-verbot in Prussia in 1851, after the revolutionary period of 1848, when kindergartens appeared to be associated with radical ideas, and an associated great increase in the number of liberal minded German residents in Britain, a number of key individuals spread the kindergarten concept to Britain. (Woodham-Smith in Lawrence 1952). Thus in

1851 the Ronges came to Britain and established a kindergarten. Probably the most important publicist for Froebel's ideas was Baroness Marenholtz-Bulow. In 1854 she visited England, there were articles about the kindergarten in the "Times", and practical guides to kindergarten methods were published. In particular Charles Dickens published a very favourable account in "Household Words".

In 1855 "Women's Educational Mission" was published - a popular account of Froebel's ideas. The title in itself is interesting, reflecting the ambivalent position of those advocating kindergartens as an additional provision for the young child which was not, at the same time, intended to reduce the role of the mother. Thus:

"we perceive certain grounds for anticipating that the law of necessity will produce a favourable change in female education, and that the inherent powers and faculties of woman will be brought to conduce to the same end; namely the progressive development of the human species. It is only when the maternal principle has attained its full development that woman can be invested with the full measure of grace and dignity

that her nature is capable of receiving. We have, however, as little right to expect that the duties of the mother can be fulfilled without preparatory training and instruction, as we have to demand from the innate feminine propensity for housekeeping a knowledge of cooking, baking and the like without instruction or example. If the rearing and training of childhood be an art (and who can deny that it is so?), it must be learnt, practised and perfected like any other art, by the collective experience of successive generations... a theoretical knowledge of human nature as it unfolds itself in physical, moral and intellectual life in the child must be followed up by a judicious practical training of the same....".

(von Marenholtz-Bulow 1855).

Thus Froebelian ideas were seen to provide a more adequate approach to motherhood - instinct was insufficient - the young child demanded more. But while "infant gardens" were to be provided these were not to replace "the tender influence and training hand of the mother " (ibid p 77). This regeneration of education was the "mission" of woman "not only as mother in the domestic circle, but also as mother to the poor and helpless .

orphans of the lower classes". (p 78). Although the latter concept - which led to some free kindergartens (e.g. Mather 1871, Wragge 1900, see Blackstone p 27), the predominant emphasis was on provision for the middle-classes - "throughout the 1860's several more kindergartens were opened, and from then on the movement developed rapidly, particularly in Manchester". (Whitbread 1972 p 35).

By this time Froebel was dead, and his work was not only important in giving birth to a largely upper and middle-class kindergarten movement in Britain (Lawrence 1952). His work is central to the present argument in laying the foundation for a clear definition of the pre-school period in describing the kindergarten and the appropriate and separate methods to be used with very young children. Others such as Pestalozzi or Owen had defined methods for this age group, but their later influence was lessened either by their association with radical ideas (see Silver 1981 on Owen), or by a lack of a clear unity of theory and practice - Froebel's major criticism of Pestalozzi. At the same time as defining childhood very clearly, Froebel produced a unified philosophy that underlay his specific methods, and in consequence this has been influential up to the present day (Morgan M 1982).

In discussing "Man in earliest childhood" (Froebel 1826 The Education of Man), Froebel emphasised the crucial importance of childhood, the recognition of this stage and of the mother's work:

"By sketching her work therefore I hope to show it to her in its true nature, significance and connection. It is true, the plainest thoughtful mother could do this more fully, more perfectly and more deeply...(through) thoughtful and rational parental love".

Froebel 1826 trans. 1887 p 65).

In childhood "the school must link itself to the family. The union of the school and of life, of domestic and scholastic life is the first and indispensable requisite of a perfect human education of this period". (ibid p 230). Shirreff, in describing the kindergarten considered this to be "essentially mother's work, because, however good the mere teachers may be, home co-operation is essential". (Shirreff 1880).

It was for this reason that the broad range of Froebel's methods,

not only provided suitable activities for the young child (in the Gifts and Occupations, see for example Harris 1895 "Froebel's Pedagogics of the Kindergarten"), and ideas about their extension into schooling for older children ("How Lina learned to write and read" *ibid* p 286), but also provided activities for babies through the mother song book - songs and games for young children. Until now mothers have been left without the assistance of science in their nurseries (Ronge 1855 quoted in Blackstone 1971 p 26).

Thus the development of a kindergarten movement in Britain, originating in Froebel's educational philosophy, began during the second half of the nineteenth century to influence the education system in providing for young children. This influence was indirect, both in the presence of kindergartens which provided an example of what was possible (including the few free kindergartens), and in the emergence of training for women to work in these institutions. Thus the Code of 1892 "gave recognition to the Froebel Certificate as a qualification for appointment as assistant mistress in an infant school", and by the 1905 and 1908 Board of Education reports a strong emphasis was placed on the necessity of such specialist training. However, at this early stage the Froebelian movement was largely a private concern,

providing kindergartens for the affluent middle-classes, and with a continuing link to the home, the family and to supporting "woman's educational mission". Lazerson (1970) notes an exactly parallel process in the USA where kindergartens were "begun as an emancipatory institution for the cultured and affluent, designed to supplement the family, the home and motherhood, by recognising the uniqueness of childhood, kindergartens were a major institutional adaptation to the needs of the young ". (p 87). However he notes that attempts to extend this notion to the poor were riddled with an inappropriate denigration of other ways of life:

"Parents who worked, were poor, spoke a foreign language, or seemed otherwise maladjusted to urban life should send their children to such classes because - as the editor of Century Magazine wrote - the kindergarten provides 'our earliest opportunity to catch the little Russian, the little Italian, the German, Pole Syrian and the rest and begin to make good American citizens of them'. And when the kindergarten attained general acceptance, and was transferred from the settlement houses to the public schools it was still thought of as having special uniqueness for children of the poor". Lazerson (1970) p 89.

Perhaps we should be wary of Lazerson's generalisations as he is particularly writing from a "deprivation" perspective appropriate to 1970, and also the development of such kindergartens was limited in the USA, and almost non-existent in Britain.

How was it then, in the emergence of a pre-school period that the final stage occurred, moving beyond recognition of a separate period, to the clear assignment of state involvement?

iii) STATE INTERVENTION

How was it that by the early part of this century the "pre-school" period had become segregated from others - such that, as Farrant (1979) notes, "Nowhere is the segregation of childhood from adulthood which characterises western industrial society more institutionalised than in the nursery school" (p 124). Plumb (1971) says that "by World War I, speaking broadly, there were three ages - infancy, which had been shortened to the age of four or five; childhood, which ran from the end of infancy to late puberty for the lower classes and to manhood for the rest; and adulthood". The concept of early childhood had developed but it was developments in governmental policy which led to the definition of pre-school in Britain as under five.

In fact five years old was not the most likely age to choose, many of the pioneers had emphasised provision segregated at six.

Owen in 1816 had advocated half time attendance for two to six year olds; Wilderspin and Stow in arguing for public provision had grouped two to six year olds together. Froebel himself set his division between kindergarten and later schooling at six, and dance schools had been provided for the under sixes. In Europe today the most common age for the commencement of formal schooling, and the end of the pre-school period is still six years old.

Szreter (1964) analyses some of the reasons for an earlier start to schooling. The Newcastle Report in 1861 may, he feels, have been partly responsible - thus it states that "under the present

circumstances of society a satisfactory point will have been reached when children to go the infant school at the age of three, and from the infant school to the day school at the age of six or seven". While the Newcastle Report set the climate for an early start for schooling, the Revised Code of 1862 led in practice to more normal education for five year olds as a grounding in the three Rs before examination at six. But Szreter notes that "One must conclude that Forster in drafting the 1870 Education Act....saw five as a way of extending the length of schooling rather than having any other merits", and he argues that "Had the point been considered important enough to merit a more detailed discussion, it is very likely that the age of six would have been adopted". (p 21). The political pressure was to have an early leaving age, and consequently there was little consideration of early starting.

Forster's Act of 1870 stated that:

"Every School Board may....make bye-laws...requiring parents of children....not less than five years nor more than thirteen years....as may be fixed by the bye-laws, to cause such children....to attend school".

In practice the upper age limit of 13 was not kept to, but virtually all Boards enforced the lower limit, requiring children to attend school at five.

The public elementary schools established under the 1870 Act were increasingly used during the next thirty years as at the very least an agency of custodial day care for under fives, and may have been regarded as providing a useful early start for young children in education. At this stage the boundary between pre-school and school was still somewhat blurred. The most commonly quoted statistics are found on page 29 of the Hadow Report (1933) Board of Education:

Number of children between the ages of three and five
in school,
England and Wales 1870 -1900.

| | No. of children | % of age group |
|--------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1870-1 | 275,608 | 24.2 |
| 1880-1 | 393,056 | 29.3 |
| 1890-1 | 458,267 | 33.2 |
| 1900-1 | 615,607 | 43.1 |

(Hadow p 29)

As Hadow notes, there were attempts to provide appropriate teaching for such young children, influenced particularly by the Froebelian movement. Thus in 1871 the first London School Board included in its regulations for infant schools a provision that instruction should be givenas in the "Kindergarten system". (p 25), and there were attempts to employ appropriately trained teachers. But very often these were not used in an

appropriately informal manner; and there was some concern expressed about the adequacy of provision for three to five year olds. (1893 Departmental Circular to H.M. Inspectors on Training and Teaching of Infants, and the Report of the Cross Commission inquiring into the Elementary Education Act, 1888).

In the Code of 1905 it was provided that "children who are under five may be refused admission to school" - in explanation of this it was stated that:

"there was reason to believe that the attendance of children under five was often dangerous to health, and that there was also a mass of evidence pointing to the conclusion that a child who did not attend school before the age of six compared favourably with the child whose attendance had begun at an early age".

In the same year, the Women Inspectors of the Board of Education produced an extremely influential report on the education of children under five years of age in public elementary schools.

In this report they note that:

"there is complete unanimity that the children between the ages of three and five get practically no intellectual advantage from school instruction". (p 1).

The inspectors are strong in their condemnation of formal teaching for such young children:

"if they had lived their natural life these little mites would not be sitting for an hour on end and for the greater part of the day". (p ii).

However, they note that:

"if no intellectual result is obtained, should children under five be excluded from school altogether? This question is answered in the affirmative, if the children have good homes and careful mothers, but if the homes are poor and the mothers have to work the answer must be doubtful..... in the shires....to attend school is better for the babies than to stay away". (p ii).

"It would seem that a new form of school is necessary for poor children. The better parents should be discouraged from sending the children before five, while the poorer who must do so should send them to nursery schools rather than schools of instruction....(the aim of the school) should be to produce children well-developed physically, full of interest and alertness mentally, and ready to grapple

with difficulties intelligently".(p.iii)

While some of the more radical criticisms of individual inspector's reports seem to have been treated with caution (especially Miss Bathurst's report) the major concern to provide some appropriate form of education for young children led to the appointment in 1907 of a Consultative Committee which, in its 1908 Report stated that "the practical issue was whether any children under the age of five should attend school, and, if so, what kind of school". (Board of Education 1908).

Having reviewed British and European provision the Consultative Committee argued for "the need for making some Public Provision for Younger Infants whose home conditions are imperfect".

In the light of previously noted ambivalence about provision for this age group it is interesting to note that the Committee considered that:

"the best training for children between three and five years of age is that which they get from mothers in their own homes...the home affords advantages... which cannot be reproduced by any school.... educational policy should be careful not to impair the relationship between mother and child". (p 16).

However:

"many mothers, however anxious to discharge their duty towards their children are nevertheless unable to train them properly at home owing to various circumstances. They may lack the necessary means or accommodation, or they may be compelled to leave home during the day and go to work". (p 17).

"The question arises, therefore, whether any public provision should be made for children from imperfect homes. The Committee think that it should, and they arrive at this conclusion by considering what would happen to these children if no such provision were made". (p 17).

There follows an account of the problems of children left unattended and cared for by "professional minders" which would not have been out of place much later this century. In the light of such problems the Committee recommend that distinctive provision should be made for under fives - "where the special needs of small children are met by the provision of special rooms, special curriculum, and special teaching. As a general name for such places the committee would adopt the term "Nursery School". The Committee stress the differences in staffing, accommodation, equipment and curriculum for this age group.

Not only did the committee consider the need for specialist provision, they also considered further the age of attendance. While under three year olds were now excluded from elementary schools (in 1901 2,484 and in 1902 1,460 children under three had attended school, from 1903 there were none). The 1908 Report was in favour of retaining five as the age of entry into full-time education (rather than six) as it maintained the length of the average school career. A proviso that where local authorities were satisfied that the provision of nursery schools was adequate they could make bye-laws excluding 5-6 year olds from school, was incorporated into the 1918 Education Act but only one authority did so. More importantly the 1908 Report resulted in a change in the Board's regulations which allowed authorities to refuse entry to children under five. It was intended that nursery schooling should be provided for those children excluded. In particular in "towns and urban areas the majority of children who will eventually attend an elementary school should be regarded as eligible for admission to nursery schools when they are three years old". (Recommendation 8 p 58).

This was not acted upon, and in consequence the number and proportion of children between three and in school declined rapidly:

| | <u>No. of children</u> | <u>% of 3-5 yr. olds</u> |
|---------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1900-1 | 615,607 | 43.1 |
| 1910-11 | 350,591 | 22.7 |
| 1920-21 | 175,467 | 15.3 |
| 1930-31 | 159,335 | 13.1 |

(Source: Hadow Report 1933 p 29)

Most of the children recorded in these later figures will have been early entrants, before their fifth birthday.

Thus it was in 1908 that the idea of a separate category of early childhood came together with the exclusion of under fives from school to create a "pre-school" period which formed a distinctive arena for early intervention. During this century the development of this category has been a history of ambivalence about the role of professionals and the state in an area which can be seen as a family concern. It has also been a history of changing ideologies, which have provided the basis for the development of social control over this age group.

Blackstone (1971) argues that at this stage we see in the 1908 Report the emergence of a "developmental tradition" which marked the first stage in convergence between her earlier noted middle-class and working-class strands - this convergence forms the basis of the development of pre-school movements, which later become structurally differentiated. It is not clear that anything quite as broad occurred at this time. It seems more

appropriate to view this stage as a coming together of ideas about young children with a redefinition of state provision to formulate a "pre-school period".

THE EMERGENCE OF PRE-SCHOOL SERVICES

To explain the emergence and development of pre-school services we need to look beyond the accounts of Morton and Goldman (1969) or of Blackstone (1971). These accounts, essentially based in the then current functionalist view of the development of industrial society are partial and limited. A fuller explanation of the developing nature of pre-school services and of their emergence would need to look to the sociology of childhood, and to the views of those who are seeking to understand the developing structure of the relationship between state and family (e.g. Jenks 1982, Donzelot 1977).

Morton and Goldman (1969) argue that with increasing industrialisation, urbanisation and social differentiation, formal institutions have developed in response to "needs" which are not being met by the family. These institutions seek to perpetuate the values of the dominant elite; and while they note the wide variety of types of pre-school provision, Morton and Goldman argue that even where manifest educational functions are absent, the pre-school system has a latent educational function. Such a mechanistic account is inadequate in a number of respects - in particular, social changes such as the proportion of married women in employment ought, in such an argument, to be directly related to the quantity of provision made outside the family. One of the problems in pre-school policy making is that such a link has never been clearly established (except, to an extent, in wartime, Tizard, Moss and Perry 1976). There has been a continuing ambivalence about the necessity and advisability of making such provision - values and attitudes intervene, it is perceived needs

that appear to influence the level of provision and the type of provision.

Blackstone (1971) offers a much more extensive account from the same perspective, based on Smelser's (1959) model of structural differentiation, which he developed in analysing technical changes in the Lancashire cotton industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This seeks to explain the development of a diverse series of institutions by the use of an adaptive model. Thus:

"When the social role or organisation becomes archaic under changing historical circumstances, it differentiates by a definite and specific sequence of events into two or more roles or organisations which function more effectively in the new historical circumstances... the family may become under specific pressures, inadequate for performing its defined functions. Dissatisfaction occurs....symptoms of disturbance... at first handled by mechanisms of social control... gradually (harnessed to) social experiment. If successful these social experiments produce one or more new social units".(Smelser, in Blackstone 1971, p 206)

Thus a model of change, based in the adaptation and evolution of the system in response to pressures, mismatches and dissatisfactions, is applied to the evolution of pre-school education. In practice the links between this model and the historical account are not entirely clear, except at a very general level. In particular, one of the main features of Blackstone's historical account is to describe the emergence of two distinct approaches to nursery education, based in social class, with fundamental differences between them. The middle-class strand "developed from a concern with education and became identified with a small sector of the middle-class, who set up privately run institutions out of the conviction that their children needed something which the home itself could not give". In that broad sense, as a supplement to the inadequate home, both strands are seen as similar. However these two strands differ fundamentally in their aims, in their initiators, and in the sequence of events which brought about their development. Accounts such as this coincide very neatly with the type of debate about pre-school education which dominated the nineteen-sixties - the extent to which it should be used as an instrument of policy to compensate for inadequacies in certain

types of family background. I would argue that such a view of the emergence of pre-school provision is very limited. Starting from the common notion, noted above, that the home is in some way inadequate, I would argue that we need to look at changing views of childhood and the family as essential pre-conditions of the emergence of pre-school provision, and that we then need to consider why a "pre-school" period was invented as a separate category. Thirdly, we need to examine the development of this category. The failure to maintain or expand pre-school services in the period after the Second World War is explained by Blackstone by reference to structural factors, such as the shortage of teachers in infant and primary schools, the dramatic rise in the birth rate, and the way in which national economic difficulties led to cuts in services. This type of explanation is inadequate, it is much more useful to understand why "expansion was not allowed to proceed" in terms of the "social definition" of the pre-school category. The above factors are important influences, but pre-schooling is much more a matter of priorities, and hence of values.

Blackstone argues that "the chief reason why provision has developed so slowly is that nursery education is seen as a potential threat to the family, whose fundamental role is the

socialisation of the young" and that there is a "lack of normative consensus on its value". This type of explanation is useful if one is looking at a very broad, whole system level. However it needs to be developed much further if one is to explain the development of different types of pre-school provision beyond education, and the changes within the pre-school category. The notions of inadequacy used by reformers have not been as consistent over time as Blackstone suggests.

Chamboredon and Prevot (1975) in their analysis of changing views of infancy, towards the idea of "Infancy as an Occupation", help us to clarify the type of explanation that is needed. They are concerned to examine the emergence of a child centred view of early development, and hence of provision. This is based on the idea of transformations of knowledge - changes in "the social definition of early childhood". Through reconstructing these social definitions, which are incorporated in "institutions, pedagogical practices, and systems of relationships between different actors" they will be able to "classify the various changes that have occurred in the educational institutions, and to organise the network of institutions and actors concerned with infancy". This type of account, which looks at the changing use of categories, could help us to understand the current complex

pattern of pre-school services, and the policy debates which are allied to that pattern. This would go beyond the approach of Hizard, Moss and Perry (1976) who argue that "The roots of changes in attitudes to young children and mothers, and in services for them, lie in the industrialisation of Britain". (p 9). Similarly the C.E.R.I report (1982) "Caring for Young Children" centres its account in structural changes in the social and family environments of children - demographic changes, changes in educational levels, in the health of the population, and in the organisation of work are evidently important as both preconditions of such interventions in childhood, and in determining the nature of the type of childhood in which intervention will take place.

This is not to devalue the impact of such structural changes. Population changes such as the decline in family size (c.f. Glass, 1940) have meant that early childhood is spent in a changed domestic situation, which must inevitably affect patterns of child care (c.f. Newson J and Newson E, 1965). This is, however, not a precondition of state intervention, neither is it a determinant of the form which that intervention takes.

Equally an analysis based on the structure of social class differences (e.g. Blackstone, 1971), can demonstrate differential strands of provision but only provides a limited understanding of the prevailing ambivalence about state intervention and private provision. It is argued that such ambivalence is explained, and the form of intervention is best understood if we go beyond such structural factors, to examine the ideology of intervention.

Thus the structural changes described by Banks in Prosperity and Parenthood (1954) - a decline in family size from 5.5 or 6 in mid-Victorian times to 2.2 in the late 1920s, a major rise of the domestic servant (especially the employment 110% more nursemaids between 1851 and 1871) - are important in providing the setting for the debate about intervention and control.

Similarly, debates about the decline of the extended family, and the rise of the single parent family, and broader issues of changing patterns of family life (see Rapaport et al. 1982), provide a background to the debates considered in the present research.

Similarly, in such a consideration of the state-family relationship, it must be recognised that not only has the nature of the family changed, so has that of the state. There has been a fundamental redefinition of the role of the state in relation to welfare and family policy (c.f. Kamerman and Kahn 1978). The present analysis regards such changes as background elements to the key debate about the relationship of state and family within the pre-school arena. What is important within this debate is the way in which such intervention is defined. It is to changes in this definition that we must now turn.

CHAPTER THREE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PRE-SCHOOL COMPLEX

A pre-school phase had been invented, an arena in which neither the state nor the family had total control over the child, in which there would be constant debate about the relative balance between public and private involvement. Such debates were based in and bolstered by a series of theoretical justifications for intervention or non-intervention, which provided the legitimation of the degree of control exercised over the pre-school child, within the pre-school "complex" - a range of facilities, professionals, and regulations which operate in immediate conjunction with the family.

It is possible to define a series of phases of intervention based, not in the extent of legislation, or the supposed degree of public acceptance of agencies external to the home, but based in the underlying theoretical basis of the intervention. These successive stages, although slightly overlapping, mark a set of differing periods of intervention, and clarify the extent to which the arguments about pre-school policy are essentially those of control.

The first of these phases is based in the then prevalent influence of biological explanations for children's development.

A BIOLOGICAL PHASE

It has been a commonly-held notion that the earliest developments of state provision for the very young child were based in a concern for children's health. It is undoubtedly true that a "health" model underlay much of early nursery education, e.g. Taylor et al (1971); A Study of Nursery Education, or Tizard et al. (1981). The reason for this is conventionally argued to have been the result of the poor physical condition of many children in the early part of the century. This is, however, too narrow a view.

There is clear evidence that children were suffering from poor home conditions, housing, nutrition etc. and that much early intervention can be seen as compensatory. The argument is clearly stated by Whitbread (1972): "The damage done by poverty and slums to the health of the nation's manpower was brought to the government's notice when army medical officers examined recruits for service in the Boer War...probably sixty per-cent of men were unfit, and Parliament was informed of the rejection of thousands of potential army recruits". (p 64). The resultant Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration reported in 1904 (Board of Education 1904 Cd 2175). This report called attention to unhygienic conditions in public elementary schools, and recommended that systematised medical inspection of all school children should be imposed as a public duty on every local

education authority (see also Hadow Report 1933). It is important to recognise the broader implication of this campaign for physical efficiency - there was a clear implication, not simply of public munificence to the poor and needy, but of the national interest in safeguarding the next generation "and thereby improving the quality of the race". (Lewis 1980). At this time (1905) the Infant Mortality Rate was over 130 per 1,000, and a major component of this was the extent of infectious disease among 1-12 month old children. It was recognition of this problem which led to a tremendous development of infant welfare work. (see later).

Similar evidence of the poor health of many children can be found in the report of the Women Inspectors (Board of Education 1905), but this pervasive concern can distract attention from the fact that all interventions at this time were based not simply on the health of the young child, but upon biologicistic theories of childhood. Descriptions of children, analyses of development, advice to parents, education models, all adopted the same basic model of the child as a biological phenomenon. While many interventions were focussed on health, they were not alone in their assumptions.

(1) Theories of child development

The early theoreticians, writing about the involvement of those outside the family in the socialisation of the child accept the concept of the child needing to be trained, "guiding it into proper parts, teaching it to conform, socializing it (de Mause 1971), but placed a biological interpretation upon that notion.

Thus the child had to be provided with an appropriate environment to enable growth to take place.

As the Newsons noted in 1979 (Newson J and E 1979), "It is only in the last eighty years or so that the activities of children have been considered to be of any interest at all by more than a handful of eccentric individuals". The early part of this century saw the convergence of two strands of the study of children and their activities, both of which were based on biological notions. The emerging ideas of psychologists, based on a physiological psychology, in the field of child study were one strand. The second was provided by educationists, whose similar ideas about children can be traced to somewhat different sources. These two strands, combined with an examination of the then current advice to parents about their children, will clarify the biological basis of intervention.

a) The study of the child

Wardle (1974) argues that "by the beginning of this

century...childhood had been definitely established as an autonomous stage in human development, with its own mode of thinking, its own interests... spent in special child-orientated institutions." (p 37). This was the culmination of a developing study of the child which originated in the work of Rousseau and the Romantic movement, but which only gained momentum in the mid-nineteenth century (interestingly at the same point that there was an emergence of interest in kindergartens q.v.), with the rejection of the notions of associationism, previously dominant since Locke, in explaining mental development. Herbert Spencer (1855) in "Principles of Psychology" emphasised the concept of stages of development, which were linked to the development of the central nervous system. In particular Spencer working from an evolutionary standpoint, enunciated "recapitulation theory" - the idea that the development of the individual reproduces the development of the species - ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. This idea was highly influential in the late nineteenth century, many others including G. Stanley Hall were to take up and develop. (Maccoby 1980). Similar concepts can be found in J.M. Baldwin's much later (1895) "Mental Development in the Child and the Race". In the early part of the twentieth century Dewey was also strongly influenced by recapitulation.

Darwin had also picked up the already common concept of recapitulation in "The Origin of Species", (1859):

"it is highly probable that with many animals the embryonic or larval stages show us, more or less completely, the condition of the progenitor of the whole group in its adult state". (p 416)

The notion was further explored in Darwin's (1877) "A Biological sketch of an Infant", thus:

"The vague but very real fears of children, which are quite independent of experience, are the inherited effects of real dangers and abject superstitions during ancient savage times."

(see Riley 1983 p 45).

As Riley (1983) notes, psychology at this stage in its own development was particularly concerned to clarify philosophical debates:

"Towards the end of the century both philosophy and a psychology unsure of where to differentiate itself from philosophy seized on questions of child development as offering the chance of clarifying speculation and surmise about the nature of mind by means of direct observation".

Knowledge about children's development was not structured in the

conventional boundaries of today (Maccoby 1980), (there was a great overlap between natural history, anthropology, physiology and medicine (Riley 1983 p 53)), but a knowledge base was emerging which would provide a foundation of later intervention.

Recapitulation theory was undoubtedly influential in promoting thought about the need for specialist provision for young children - McMillan M. (1901) provides a clear account of this. However it is important to emphasize that this was not a specialised theory, developed for a single purpose. Rein (1893) in his "Outlines of Pedagogics" states that:

"We find that this theory of the analogy between the individual and the general development of humanity is a common possession of the best and most noted intellects. It appears for example in the work of the literary heroes Lessing, Herder, Goethe and Schiller; with the philosophers Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Comte; with the theologians Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, Schleiermacher; with the Darwinists Huxley and Spencer; ...with the pedagogues Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Diesterweg, Herbart, Ziller and others". (pp 97-8).

(see also Cleverley and Phillips 1976)

Riley (1983) emphasises the contribution of Wilhelm Preyer in establishing the study of child development - and in particular a

"physiological psychology" attempting to establish a chronology of development through scientific observation. In so doing Preyer drew on embryology, and studies of animals:

"The observation of untrained animals, especially young ones, and the comparison of the observations made upon them with those upon little children, have often been found by one very helpful toward an understanding of children".

(Riley 1983 p 52)

Wardle (1974) views Preyer's contribution as particularly important; in his study "The Mind of the Child" he assists in the process already noted, of establishing the recognition that the child's mind is different from, and not just a smaller version of, that of adults.

By the end of the nineteenth century Child Study was well established as an area of legitimate scientific enquiry, particularly under the influence of G. Stanley Hall - particularly in the U.S.A., programmes for students were established. The ultimate development of the concept of observation, measurement and establishment of norms of development can be seen in the work of Gesell much later in the twentieth century e.g. Gesell 1941, although in that work there is a much more artificial laboratory based approach, and one can detect the later influences of psychoanalytic theory and early

Piagetian developmental research.

b) The educational tradition

A second strand in the view of children and childhood which underpinned intervention in the pre-school period in the early part of the century is the educational tradition. This, too, was essentially biological in the concepts used - there was a strong influence of recapitulation theory, and also of the concept of sense training. If children's development was seen in biological terms, then educational provision must take the form of an appropriate environment for that development. It is no coincidence that the two most commonly used terms for such provision were kindergarten, and nursery both of which are firmly based in a biological perspective.

One educational tradition can be traced back to the work of Jean-Marc Itard in the early nineteenth century, whose programme of experimentation in the education of Victor, the "Wild Boy of Aveyron" was to give birth to a method of education particularly geared to the teaching of deaf-mute children (Harlan Lane 1977).

These very specific sense-training methods were developed by Seguin in his physiological method of education. As Holman (1914) states:

"Seguin was primarily concerned with the education of defectives, and based his system of training upon muscular

and nervous activities and his principles upon an anatomical, physiological, biological and anthropological knowledge of the human organism, together with a special knowledge of each pupil obtained by scientific observation, investigation and experiment". (p 12)

Herbart's later, highly systematised approach to education through the senses is related to Seguin's method. Fennell (1902) makes clear the detailed and rigid lesson plans of the Herbartian method - in many ways a forerunner of the highly structured approach of infant schools in England which was later to conflict with the kindergarten approach. The notion of carefully presented sensory impressions was also to influence Margaret McMillan, who specifically relates her methods to those of both Seguin and Herbart. However, McMillan's influence on the British scene was much more in terms of provision, organisation and policy rather than teaching method. It is interesting that the most enduring influence of this sensory training approach is in the work of Maria Montessori. Many Montessori principles derive directly from Seguin's work (Holman 1914 p 21), and Montessori acknowledged her debt to Seguin and Itard. (Lane 1977).

This, essentially medico-biological approach to working with the young child was not directly influential upon education in the British school system, where such an approach has always been

rejected in favour of a more "Froebelian" view of activities for children. Montessori training has never been recognised as appropriate for pre-school work in the state system.

Nevertheless, the educational models of appropriate intervention were similarly based in biological concepts. Clear evidence of this can be found in the 1908 Board of Education report. In discussing the appropriate premises:

"Younger infants are even more dependent upon light, air and sunshine than older children and their premises must be above reproach in these respects". (p 20).

and in considering the curriculum:

"The children's natural instinct for movement should not be unduly checked. They should have plenty of games and free play in the open air whenever possible...Nothing that requires prolonged complex operations of the nervous or muscular systems should be allowed...Infants should be allowed to sleep when they are sleepy...". (p 21/22).

This is clearly a biologically based model curriculum; in other parts of the report a stress is placed upon a "Froebelian" approach. Such stress owes much to the lack of clear alternative systems of education specifically geared to the

pre-school age group, and also to the influential nature of the middle and upper-class supporters of the kindergarten system - rather than any wholesale adoption of the details of Froebel's methods. In fact the apparatus, Froebel's "gifts" issued to London schools appears to have been somewhat neglected and inappropriately used. (Morgan 1982).

c) Advice to parents

Not only was the child increasingly studied in medico-biological terms, and not only was the education of the young child frequently prescribed in terms of physiological-biological needs, a similar model of the child also informed advice to parents.

In her classic analysis of American child-rearing literature Martha Wolfenstein traces the emergence of a "fun morality" in the view of the child between 1914 and 1945, particularly in the Infant Care bulletin of the Children's Bureau. In so doing she clarifies many of the commonly-held notions of child rearing in the early part of this century in Western society. (Wolfenstein 1955).

For Wolfenstein, the parent of the 1914 advice literature was seen to need strong moral devotion, to deny her impulses as much as she would her child's - through the mother's self control, patience, efficiency the child would be trained to overcome harmful impulses (towards thumb-sucking or masturbation), not to

respond to crying (unless it expresses a biological need such as illness, pain, hunger or thirst), and strictly to regulate the child's intake of food.

Evidently one needs to be cautious in using child rearing literature as a guide to everyday life as Pollack (1982) demonstrates. However, what is important about this literature is that it clarifies publicly stated notions of childhood which provided the basis for intervention in the pre-school years. As Sommerville shows in "The Rise and Fall of Childhood" these ideas derived substantially from the development of the child study movement (q.v.) and its combination with behaviourism. (Sommerville 1982).

Such ideas had supplanted those of Schreber who had, according to Dally (1982) a "profound" influence on child rearing. For Schreber harsh discipline was essential for the sake of moral, mental and physical health - it was necessary to accustom the child to absolute obedience. With cold baths for babies, shoulder bands for deportment, and children tied to their beds to ensure that they lay flat when asleep it is easy to caricature such approach which was later linked to Nazism, and against which Freudian views could be seen as a reaction, had not Freud himself seen no flaws in the Schreber system (Dally 1982). However influenced such a view was, it is of interest as a popular biologically based theory of child rearing, "widely renowned" in

the second half of the nineteenth century. Schreber's "Medical Gymnastics" ran to twenty six editions in Britain.

If notions of repressing the child's instinctual behaviour were being liberalised by child study, they were not being totally overturned. Hall, whose methods are strongly attacked as pseudo-scientific by Ehrenreich and English (1979) was one of the greatest popularisers of the notion of "scientific motherhood" urging mothers to study their children and acting as data gatherers for the true scientists - the psychologists.

Arising out of this approach was the advice of popular figures such as Dr Holt (The Care and Feeding of Infants 1896):

"If a man wishes to raise the best grain or vegetables, or the finest cattle or horses, all admit that he must study the conditions under which alone such things are possible....But instinct and maternal love are too often assumed to be a sufficient guide for a mother".

Holt advised simple diets, strict cleanliness, the avoidance of transmitted disease and masturbation. (Dally 1982).

In England the most influential adviser was Truby King. His very strict biologically based regime was inflicted on many children in the first half of this century (see Feeding and Care

of Baby 1913). Scrupulous hygiene, regular feeding, regular weighing, fresh air formed the basis of his approach, which did not allow for "giving in" to the child's instincts. Thus children were only to be fed at four hourly intervals and not to receive excessive physical contact which could "spoil" the child.

As Comer (1979) points out in discussing the ideology of child care, this military-style upbringing marked a watershed - his was the first theory to be applied to all babies regardless of social class. Truby King was, therefore, the ultimate biologicistic theoretician of child rearing, and as the Newsons (Newson J. & E. 1974) recognise his "medical morality", was firmly based in notions of "medical hygienism".

For many writers, including Ehrenreich and English this partnership of "scientific motherhood" with the experts was an intermediate stage in the removal from mothers of expertise in the process of child rearing, which was ultimately to be colonised by male experts. Whatever the ultimate end of this process, it is clear that the early part of this century marks a phase of increasing involvement in and intervention by outside experts in the pre-school arena. It is also clear that although there are differences of approach all theories of child rearing were at this time based around a similar model. The prevalent medico-hygienist view, providing a consistent environment within which the child can grow according to clearly set rules, and overcome natural instincts is central to all these theories.

This is the same type of biological view which was similarly justifying other interventions in the pre-school arena.

(ii) The establishment of professions

An arena had been defined, a pre-school period which was neither wholly the concern of the private, family sphere, nor the exclusive domain of the state. Within this arena a debate developed about the appropriate form and extent of state involvement. In the first stage this debate was based on assumptions about the essentially biological nature of early childhood, far broader than the specific health-based issues which were the starting point for intervention. The consequence of these early developments, was the establishment of a structure within the arena which would form the basis of future moves towards greater control in this sphere. Thus in this early stage not only were the first maternal and child welfare provisions made, nursery nursing, teaching and health visiting began. Infant professions were being formed and were beginning to take on responsibilities traditionally seen as those of motherhood. This was accompanied by a constant debate about the responsibility of women in this sphere and the appropriate role of the state.

The origins of intervention lie clearly in concern over the conditions of early childhood and in particular the way in which those conditions were reflected in the infant mortality rate. While the general death rate had declined in the last fifty years of the nineteenth century (in 1851-55 the death rate was 22.6 per thousand population, in 1901 it was 16.9), the infant mortality rate had not shown a similar trend. Thus in 1851-55 it was 156 per 1,000 births, and by 1881 it had dropped to 138, by 1900 it

had returned to 156. Study of these rates revealed a grouping of causes:

- " (1) Developmental and wasting conditions; including..congenital defects.
- (2) Diarrhoeral diseases....
- (3) Bronchitis..."(McCleary 1933)

While particular concern attached to epidemic diarrhoea and the prevention of this via improved sanitation, improved public health was only one aspect of the problem, this was not seen to be sufficient. Increasingly the problem was focussed on what Newsholme (Chief Medical Officer to the Local Government Board) called "the ignorance and fickleness of mothers" (Lewis 1980 p 66). As Lewis says "the questionable jump in the argument of medical officers concerned with the problem of infant mortality was from the existence of dirt to women's responsibility for it".

In 1913, Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health, argued that the problem of infant mortality was "mainly a question of motherhood and ignorance of infant care and management". Lewis (1980) quotes reports from the Board of Education in 1916 which considered it a "truism" that infant mortality was due more to people themselves than their surroundings. As the former Medical Officer of Health for Battersea, and Deputy Senior Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health G.F. McCleary wrote in 1933:

"Further study showed, however that other measures were necessary for a really successful attack upon epidemic diarrhoea. It appeared more and more clearly that the key to the position was to be found in the home. Infant mortality from the diarrhoeal diseases was chiefly a matter of defective infant feeding. It could be prevented, it seemed, by scrupulous domestic cleanliness and by the right kind of food given in proper quantities and in the proper way...in the attempt to secure these conditions the infant welfare movement began". (p 29)

At the same time calls were being made to improve maternal efficiency as a preventive approach to the problem of infant mortality. At the 1906 First National Conference on Infant Mortality resolutions were adopted arguing for the teaching of elementary hygiene and infant rearing in schools. Other resolutions called for improved ante-natal care, more medical supervision in pregnancy:

"with a view to detecting any errors (in diet, in exercise, in clothing, in surroundings, in bathing, in sleeping etc) and of correcting them". (Ballantyne 1906)

The watchful eye of authority moved into the home. Similar arguments can be found in the evidence to the Inter-departmental

Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904 - parents accidentally smothering children by overlaying, and neglecting their children because of mothers' work outside the home. The latter was consistently viewed as a major cause of infant mortality. (Burns 1906).

During the first thirty years of this century there were tremendous improvements in infant mortality. The 1900 figure of 154 deaths per 1,000 live births was reduced to 105 in 1914, and to 60 by 1930. As McCleary argues, from the viewpoint of a health administrator,

"This decline can be explained on the hypothesis that about the beginning of the century new conditions tending to reduce infant mortality came into operation; no other explanation fits the facts". (p 147)

Jane Lewis argues that while such broad conditions as sanitation may have been important,

"It is by no means clear that child and maternal welfare policies were primarily responsible for the fall in infant and maternal mortality". (p 219)

However justified, however conceived, the early part of this century had seen the construction of a framework of intervention

in the family based on a biological notion of woman's role.

Assumptions underlying such early interventions were not just about the physical nature of the spread of dirt and disease, but rested very firmly on "an ideology of motherhood rooted in the nineteenth century doctrine of spheres, which made women's proper place in the home". (Lewis p 68). Intervention thus had as its major task to work through influence on the mother. Pearson, Professor of Eugenics at University College, argued that good maternal habits were vastly more important than any other factor (housing, wages etc). "Eugenics and the infant hygiene movement combined to move the focus of preventive medicine away from the purely environmental concerns of older public health officials towards the individual..." (Lewis p 66). Infant mortality became a failure of motherhood.

The corollary of these assumptions about the role of mothers was a set of equivalent assumptions about the appropriate role of the state. It was assumed that the state should play a minimal role in intervening in family life, and be limited mainly to providing the conditions within which motherhood could flourish. In so doing, the state established a framework within which a range of professions could develop, and upon which further intervention could be built.

The chronology of that development demonstrates a rapidly

increasing range of services made available and responsibilities assumed by the state. From the 1904 Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration onwards there was an underlying assumption that the state should intervene in the infant welfare field in the interests of the preservation of and improvement in quality of the race. Such eugenic arguments dominated the field until much later in the century, (although some argued that the increased chance of survival meant that the race was ultimately weaker) and it was on this basis that improved infant welfare measures were justified.

Thus in 1906 the Education (Provision of Meals) Act allowed meals to be given to school children who needed them, and the 1907 Education (Administrative Provisions) Act provided medical inspection in schools. The school was a useful agency for intervention in an already established intermediate ground, although its precise place within the pre-school arena was not clearly established (see later - the changing conception of the nursery school). In addition, inspection and monitoring was greatly facilitated by the bringing into full operation of the Midwives Act 1902 on April 1, 1910. From that date certified midwives only could attend births "habitually and for gain" (except under the direction of a doctor). This, combined with the Notification of Births Act of 1907 greatly facilitated the attack on infant mortality. According to the 1910 report "Infant and Child Mortality" by the Local Government Board,

followed by further reports in 1913 and 1914 there was a much greater public awareness of the problem. In 1911 the introduction of mortality benefit in the National Insurance Act was also seen as a public health measure.

In 1914 the Local Government Board developed these initiatives in reducing infant mortality even further, developing a system of inspection much more comprehensive in its oversight. Grants were to be made available to help both local authorities and voluntary agencies:

"in aid of expenditure in respect of clinics, dispensaries or other institutions primarily concerned with the provision of medical and surgical advice and treatment...." (Board Circular 30.7.14),

to extend work into ante-natal and post-natal care.

This circular was accompanied by a memorandum from the Medical Officer, Dr. Newsholme, which laid out the basis of a complete scheme of maternity and child welfare:

1. Arrangements for the local supervising of midwives.
2. Arrangements for:
 - (1) An Ante-Natal Clinic for expectant mothers
 - (2) The home visiting of expectant mothers

(3) A Maternity hospital

3. Arrangements for...attendance during
confinement...confinement of sick women in hospital",

but most importantly, also to extend supervision over the
post-natal period:

"4. Arrangements for:

(1) The treatment in hospital of (post-natal)
complication...

(2) The provision of systematic advice and treatment
for infants at a Baby Clinic or Infant Dispensary

(3) The continuance of these Clinics and Dispensaries,
so as to be available for children up to the age when they
are entered on a school register - i.e. the register of a
Public Elementary School, Nursery School, Creche, Day
Nursery, School for Mothers or other School.

(4) The systematic home visitation of infants and of
children not on a school register".

(Local Govt. Board Circular 30.7.14)

Thus a comprehensive framework was gradually being established by
the state. In 1915 county councils were given statutory powers
to make arrangements for the care of expectant mothers, nursing
mothers and young children and the parents or medical attendants
were compelled to notify births.

A patchwork of local provisions, based on the above approaches had developed by 1918, when the Maternal and Child Welfare Act was passed. This Act enabled local authorities to do anything that might be sanctioned by the Local Government Board "for attending to the health of expectant mothers and nursing mothers and of children who have not attained the age of five years and are not being educated in schools (my emphasis) recognised by the Board of Education". Health intervention in the pre-school arena was sanctioned, also the Act required every authority to set up a maternity and child welfare committee (containing not less than two women) and it enabled local authorities to provide a full maternal and child welfare service. This would include "salaried midwives, health visitors, infant welfare centres, day nurseries, and milk and food for necessitous mothers and infants". By the 1930s these powers were exercised with the sanction of the Ministry of Health, by all the county councils and 249 county district councils. A national child welfare service, locally administered and controlled was in existence.

The establishment of this framework of legislation and recommendation by national government provided the basis of the development of professions operating in the pre-school arena. A second main influence was the increasing role of voluntary associations.

This involvement of voluntary organisations in the child welfare field in the early part of the century was a reflection of both the pioneering and thus experimental work which was needed in the field, and of an ambivalence about the extent to which it was appropriate for governments to become involved. Thus Maternity and Child Welfare Centres had their origins in Milk Depots - originally a French idea, introduced into this country in St Helens in 1899, and within a few years followed by about half a dozen depots in other towns. Interestingly, there was a milk depot established by Battersea Borough Council at this time, and although the council had no statutory powers to provide this the expenditure was regularly disallowed by Local Government Board Auditors, and then allowed on appeal. These depots did not always provide medical consultation, but encouraged baby-weighing, good feeding and supervision by health visitors. After 1906 there was an increase in the number of infant consultations - practical advice sessions for mothers. Similarly Schools of Mothers were established in some areas after 1907 - with practical instruction in feeding, clothing and general management of infants. These various centres provided meals, and often included a programme of home visiting. At the same time (1906-7) there was an expansion of the number of local health societies who took responsibility for local schemes of maternal and child welfare e.g. the City of Westminster Health Society, the St Pancras School for Mothers. Increasingly such work was taken on by local authorities either separately or in

consultation with voluntary groups. (McCleary 1933,1935).

By 1911 there were approximately 100 infant welfare centres in Britain. Lewis (1980) reports that by 1916 there were 160 branches of voluntary organisations and 35 local authorities running infant welfare centres. McCleary (1935) states that 650 centres existed in 1915, and by 1918 this had increased to 1,278, (700 local authority, 578 voluntary). A framework for health intervention had been established.

As a footnote to this section it is worth mentioning the ultimate extension of the notion of supervision of the family to a Benthamite total institutional form, the Peckham Experiment - a complete family health centre. This was the ultimate application of science (in a hygienist/biological model) to the prevention of ill-health. Health was defined as the ability to function fully to ones biological potential "a full functional existence in which his development is proceeding according to his potentiality". (Pearse & Crocker 1943 p 21). Man was seen as an organism in an environment. Built on such notions such basic biological principles were laid out, upon which the health centre experiment would be based:

- "1. The 'unit' of living material for study must be 'the family' in its biological setting.

2.the unit under observation is free to act

voluntarily.

3. The environment must contain maximum diversity ..for its (the family's) biological potentialities to become explicit in the ordinary circumstance of living..." (Pearse & Crocker p 41).

Thus the family was to be studied, and worked with, as a biological entity.

This experiment by a voluntary group led in 1935-39 and 1946-50 to a major pioneering centre, which catered for the whole family, socially, physically, mentally and medically. Ultimately this approach was to be rejected by the N.H.S. because it was concerned with "the study and cultivation of health, not the treatment of disease; because it was based on the family not on the individual; because it was contributory, not free; and it was based on autonomous administration" (Pearse 1981). Such an approach had taken much further and into a later era the concepts of control and supervision implicit in the earlier infant and maternal welfare centres.

At the same time and as part of the increasing infant welfare provision day nurseries were developing. Early voluntary attempts in the nineteenth century began in London in 1850 (Clarke-Stewart 1982), and free day nurseries in the Manchester area, including part of Mother's Free Kindergarten in Salford in

1883. By 1906 the National Society of Day Nurseries was formed (Garland & White 1980), representing thirty day nurseries, with the intention of co-ordinating, propagating and inspecting day nurseries. At this time there was still very little local authority support, and much later the National Society was to start its own training programmes (1920) based in day nurseries and residential nurseries. In the early years day nurseries were seen as a supplement for those in need - not specifically for working mothers (this argument was not used until the First World War).

There was no governmental assistance for day nurseries at first. The first major expansion came after the start of World War I (Tizard, Moss and Perry 1976). In July 1914 the Local Government Board announced that the Government were prepared to make grants towards day nurseries, at first these were paid by the Board of Education, and were often used to support nurseries to look after the children of female munitions workers. In 1919, with the advent of the Ministry of Health the payment of these grants and the supervision of day nurseries was transferred

to that Ministry. By this date 174 such nurseries existed. At the same time the Board of Education was empowered to fund nursery education - setting up a split which has continued - in similar form to the present day. Lack of money handicapped the development of day nurseries until the Second World War. By 1933 there were 100 day nurseries (18 local authority, 82 voluntary). (McLeary 1935) By 1938 there were 104 day nurseries.

Alongside these developments, the first nursery training courses, which would ultimately become nursery nurse training, were being established. In 1892 the Norland Institute was formed to provide a short training for girls to work with young children. In 1901 the Princess Christian College opened in Manchester, in 1906 St Christophers College in Tunbridge Wells. All of these provided college-trained nannies for the middle and upper classes. Gaythorne-Hardy (1972) and Batten (1981). Very few of the products of those colleges went into day nurseries whose staff were provided with some training by the National Society of Day Nurseries, especially after 1920 (Brierley 1980).

Another specialist profession which was developing within the pre-school arena at this time (although not exclusively so) was the health visitor. Health visiting as an organised activity began in 1862 in Manchester and Salford, when the Ladies Sanitary Reform Association began this work. At first this was purely a voluntary activity, but gradually it developed as a paid activity

- very often with health visitors supervising voluntary workers. The work was essentially similar in scope to today's preventive and practical supervisory health work. At first the visitors had not been specifically trained, but most of those employed by local authorities were women sanitary inspectors without specialist knowledge of infant care while others were trained nurses or certified midwives. There was no single qualification recognised in the field.

From the early part of this century there was a gradual regulation of health visiting. Notification of births was required in the 1907 Act, which local authorities could choose to adopt, and became compulsory in 1915. The invention of this was to facilitate improved care, particularly through health visiting. From 1908 the London County Council specified nursing or midwifery qualifications for health visitors working under the Local Government Board regulations, but this was not extended to the whole country until after the 1918 Maternity and Child Welfare Act. With the formation of the Ministry of Health, regulations for a two year course were published, and only those who had achieved certification would be appointable as health visitors. Thus a primarily voluntary activity had once more been established and regulated as part of an arsenal of mechanisms of intervention. The health visitor was particularly important because in the first thirty years of this century the notion of working actively in the home to improve infant care was

increasingly accepted at official level. Whereas most of the the other provisions took place in a more passive mode outside the home. (McCleary 1935).

A similar process to those establishing nursery nursing and health visiting was occurring within the education system. Increasingly the need for a specialist training for those staffing this sector was emphasised. Thus the 1908 Report:

"The Committee deprecate very strongly the idea which appears to be prevalent that any teacher is good enough for infants", (meaning the under-fives). "They hold, on the contrary, that the care of these young children presents difficulties at least equal to those which arise in teaching the older ones...more importance should be attached to fitness for this particular work than to mere academical qualifications. Probably the best person to have the management of the Nursery School will be a well-educated teacher who has been trained on Froebelian principles...including a careful study of physical and mental development...not..necessarily a special training for the teacher in the Nursery School..."

(Board of Education 1908).

But increasingly the Committee add to this that the Certificate Examination for teachers should "make it obligatory for all teachers to show some knowledge of the physical conditions of

young children in health and disease, and also of the differences in the educational methods of dealing with older and younger children respectively". (Board of Education 1908 p 23).

In addition specialist School Attendants or School Help should be employed - "a woman who would be a nurse or attendant rather than a teacher...(to) induce the children to learn a cleanly habit..where baths were provided she would wash the children who required it.." and to be generally responsible for the health care of young children.

By 1933, the Hadow Report was recommending that in nursery classes teachers should have had specialist training (especially to deal with two year olds) to be assisted by "helpers" - girls aged between 15 and 18 who "have been educated in infant care and may later become children's nurses, welfare workers, or hospital nurse-probationers" - clearly a health-based role.

Thus a series of professions were developing, which were avowedly in the health/nursing/infant welfare field, and which were recognised as such in legislation and governmental policy. The predominant form of intervention was in the health field and rested on biological theories of children's development as a healthy organism. However, if this were the sole extent of intervention in the early part of the century it would hardly justify the notion of a "biologistic" stage. Ideas about, and

early experiments in intervention went much further, and reflected such broader ideas. This is particularly clear if we look at the way in which education was envisaged at this time for the pre-school child. Margaret McMillan is a key figure in the field at this time, and the developing conception of the nursery school will also clarify the biological basis of intervention.

Margaret McMillan's involvement in the early childhood field began in Bradford in the 1890s, associated with the I.L.P. At this time she advocated a whole range of measures which were broadly medical in focus: the introduction of school baths, both medical inspection and the feeding of school children well in advance of legislation on this (q.v.), (Mansbridge 1932). By 1901 she was advocating the notion that the primary teacher must be: "more than a pedagogue, more than a literary man, more than an instructor. He must be a physiologist par excellence". (McMillan 1901 p 7). In 1904 she conceived of a new type of Health Centre - she "wanted to make the whole scheme preventive. Bathrooms which should be classrooms; treatment for adenoids; new methods of speech training and singing..." (Mansbridge 1932). While this did not get off the ground she is credited with some influence in securing the early infant welfare legislation.

In 1906 she wrote an I.L.P. pamphlet on "Infant Mortality" demonstrating the association between poverty, overcrowding, mothers' employment and the infant death rate. In another

I.L.P. pamphlet ("Citizens of Tomorrow" 1906) she reported on doctors' accounts of typical London school children, and their poor physical condition (87% were in an unsatisfactory state, only 12% "clear above a low average"). From this medical campaigning background Margaret McMillan moved on to argue for nursery schooling as the most appropriate vehicle to achieve reform in the condition of childhood. As the founder of much of the nursery education movement in Britain in the first half of this century she began from a strongly biologicistic view of intervention.

Such ideas were transferred directly to the educational context.

Schools were needed, with their medical services "because the children are ill". (McMillan 1907). - "The phrase 'a defective person' was once commonly believed to mean an idiot or person with no brain power at all. But it is now known that every human brain is defective more or less". (ibid p 1). The great cause of this was poverty. From such notions, in combination with many of the then current psychological concept of development a theory of instruction is developed.

Seguin is extensively quoted in both "Early Childhood" and "Labour and Childhood"; education in the pre-school stage must be based in sense impressions. Notions of recapitulation also feature extensively - art is seen as a preparation for work and tool making, sense organs such as the ear and eye are projected

in the musical instruments and pictures. In "Labour and Childhood"(1907) this is even developed into a "hygiene of instruction": "Children have been injured physically by learning in the wrong way, and strengthened physically and morally by learning in the right one". A three level metaphorical physical model of the brain is used to justify a three level approach to teaching. Thus "education is openly, almost grossly physical in its early stages", and "Young vigorous races...appear to be subject to great shocks and upheavals of every organ.. in less primitive people the response of the organism is much less violent and general". Consequently formal education is inappropriate at this early stage:

"not only a waste of time but an unhygienic exercise". (p 141).

In addition to a biological view of learning, Margaret McMillan advocated strong involvement of medicine in education as this was the way to establish the distinctiveness of early education. "It revolutionised in many ways the whole idea and method of teaching - in the small areas where doctor and teacher were working together". (p 88)

Lowndes (1960) notes how the original ideas of McMillan in providing clinics were gradually added to with the idea of "night camps" for children at the health centres and with munitions

nurseries in the First World War, and the culmination of this evolutionary process was the idea of an "open air nursery school" (again extending the biological metaphor). The idea of such an open air school as it was advocated in the 1920s was to give a broad nurture to all children whose parents wanted them to have it "to her physical hygiene, mental and moral hygiene were closely linked" in the nursery school. (Bradburn 1976). This is clear in the opening statement of "The Nursery School" (McMillan 1930):

"The open-air Nursery School is a new departure and is distinct, if not in aim, yet necessarily in method from infant welfare work. The swiftly changing characteristics of growing young children demand new treatment. As soon as he can toddle we introduce the child to a new environment, which is nevertheless his long lost natural home.. he is to live in the open-air from the first, having shelter... the slum child is to feel the warm and healing light of the sun on his limbs.. The garden is the essential matter..."

(McMillan 1930 p 1/2).

The school was seen as an agency which would dispense good food, encourage mothers to make suitable clothing, and train children in hygienic habits. The young child's timetable is seen as dominated by physical needs - bath, meals, rest, toilet, etc. The records which were kept of children were also dominated by

physical and sensory developments. (Bradburn 1976).

It is also interesting that in all this Margaret McMillan was advocating strengthening rather than replacing the mother, family and home influences. This does not mean that in reality some form of policing or supervision or control is not taking place. In a correspondence in the Times (20.2.19 and 6.3.19) she argued that the nursery school should be seen as the working-class mother's nursery, just as middle-class mothers might employ a nurse. A very interesting justification for intervention is given:

"As parents their duties are large and growing. The nursery school is here, indeed, because they cannot do all of it without help...When, if she wants to see and understand what her little child is, how he changes, grows, develops, how new habits are formed...she can have some helpa dentist, oculist, aurist, trained principal and teachers of various orders..."

(Bradburn 1976 pp 66-72).

It is clear from the literature of the inter-war period that the nursery school was seen predominantly as an instrument of social policy. Thus Cusden (1938) in her definitive "The English Nursery School" starts from biological notions:

"The development of any living organism is influenced to a very great extent by the conditions to which it is subject in the early stages of its growth". (p 31).

and that

"It is only rarely that the needs of the whole child - physical, mental, spiritual - can adequately be met through the unaided effort of the mother in the home and in every state of society there is need for something more scientific than maternal instinct and the limited experience of mother or nurse".

But Cusden clearly sees the nursery as providing a more effective means of policing the home: in discussing health provisions, including health visitors she argues:

"they do not provide the constant supervision, the regular training, the facilities for exercise, rest and sleep, and the well-ordered tranquil routine that are so essential, neither do they ensure that the child receives regular meals. The home visits of health visitors although they may be fairly regular, are too widely spaced to ensure the direction of ailments in their early stages..attendance at the clinics.. is irregular and infrequent; and experience shows that the mothers who most need advice and help are the

least able or willing to take advantage of the facilities offered". (p 45).

Nursery schools could therefore more adequately provide for and supervise the upbringing of young children. Day nurseries were insufficient in that they solely provided for physical care. But the broader concern of the nursery school, with the "whole child" was based in a biological model of development - simply extending "healthy development" notions:

"conditions (which)...contribute to the natural and progressive growth of all the child's faculties, the development of robust physique, the formation of desirable habits, the stimulation of healthy mental and spiritual reactions to social environment". (p 51).

and that the nursery school provides:

"an environment in which the young child has room to move and grow; fresh air to breath, food...."

"one of its important advantages is that it brings the child of pre-school age continuous medical supervision". (p 54)

Grace Owen (president of the Nursery School Association) in her book "Nursery School Education" (1928) argued similarly that:

"the new Nursery School movement is largely a health

movement" (p 24).

although she added that

"our concern for hygiene must not be allowed to overshadow the children".

It was still clear that the ideas of development underlying such provision were biologically based: thus Olive Wheeler in the second half of Owen (1928) in discussing the mind of the child considers innate bases of character - an instinctive basis to development, and the acquired bases of character interestingly cognition (still based in sensory training, conation (motor development) and feeling (as a link between cognition and conation). The educational and hygienic programme Owen devises is again firmly based in the biological view of the child.

An examination of Nursery School Association pamphlets issued at this time reveals a similar orientation. In the Association's policy statements (N.S.A. 1927 and 1935) the "essential features of nursery school education are clearly stated as "free activity, daily routine, health" and only fourth, the curriculum which is viewed in terms of a suitable material environment. In pamphlet 14, Grace Owen states the first objects of the nursery school as: "to provide healthy external conditions....to organise a healthy happy regular life for children as well as continuous medical

supervision...to assist each child to form...wholesome personal habits....", and only after that are there brief statements on exercising the imagination. In pamphlet no. 33 by Lillian de Lissa, the "Essentials in Nursery School Education" are prefaced with a statement that the health of young children is a risk, nursery schools can ameliorate the situation, and remedy the "degeneracy that occurs in the minds and characters of our children in these pre-school years" particularly by constant and consistent supervision and inspection. In pamphlet 52, Chester argues, "our responsibility to children" lies in understanding their development and needs and in providing for them - and provides an account based in the physical needs of children, while their intellectual development is mainly viewed as physically based in their environment.

In 1929 the Education Enquiry Committee in arguing the case for nursery schools (EEC 1929) stated that the tendency has been to emphasise physical and health side of the work undertaken and thus to regard the nursery school as a proper object for control by the Medical branch of the Board of Education. Equally, notions of "natural development" (provided that this is not forced by excessive or early formulation) abound in this report, and there is much repetition of Truby-King type ideas of not allowing the very young child to become the centre of his universe, and of inducing regularity of habits. While all these conceptions contribute to the constant demand for increasing

control over the pre-school arena, perhaps the most interesting
aspects in the extension of inspection over this age group (cf
Cault's "the gaze" in The Birth of the Clinic and Discipline
and Punish).

this Education Enquiry Committee report inspection is
described as being carried out

"(a) by the Doctor

(b) by the officials of the Board of Education as a
condition of grant

(c) by the Local Authorities' Inspectors in the same way as
in the ordinary schools.

"Medical inspection takes place at settled intervals usually
once a term, although in some schools it is much more
frequent. Inspection by the nurse takes place daily.
Careful records are kept, and as a rule the children are
weighed monthly". (p 75).

In 1936 the Board of Education was still emphasising
dominantly physical concerns in their pamphlet on nursery
schools and classes (Board of Ed. 106 1936), and Lillian de Lissa
in her textbook on "Life in the Nursery School" (de Lissa 1939)
with a file including chapters on social and emotional development
based firmly on growth and physical health.

The predominant form of nursery provision argued for still followed McMillan's Open Air Nursery School format (McMillan 1930). Stevinson in (1932) in discussing the development of McMillan's work in Deptford, argues for open air provision in slum areas. "Would that the unconvinced could then suggest some way to solve our mothers' problems!" (p 7). Chapter XII, on "The Need for the Nursery School" is only three pages long, all of which are devoted to health using the terms "nurture and education". Similar accounts of Open Air schools are found throughout this period (e.g. Lord n.d., NSA 19), and the architecture of pioneering schools reflected the open air notions.

Similar ideas about the need for nursery schooling as a social policy in "slum areas" can be found in the NSA document 27 - "Nursery Schools in relation to slum clearance and re-housing" (NSA nd.) - providing "mental health" allied with hygiene. This approach is particularly strongly expressed in the efforts of the Save the Children Fund in the 1930s in opening "Emergency Nursery Schools" for children in "Distressed Areas" - where children were in "special danger of suffering by reason of the economic situation" (SCF 1936). The Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer, Board of Education 1934 said:

"Mention must be made of the good work of the Emergency Open

Air Nurseries Committee which has continued to assist in the establishment of nursery schools in distressed areas. Eight emergency open-air nurseries have been opened ... the committee have agreed to take responsibility for two more in Wales". (Board of Education 1934).

The SCF document mentioned above states that a further nine nurseries were given "substantial assistance". Although this was a drop in the ocean, the nurseries received substantial publicity, and clarify the then current concept of pre-schooling.

There is no mention of cognitive benefits in the SCF report, which describes:

"results visible in the physique of the children themselves and often in the influence which extends through them from the nursery school to their homes...the mothers also, in many cases, are stimulated to try to adopt nursery school standards in their own homes..." (p 5)

Extending control?

But, there is no doubt that during this period the "Silent Social Revolution" Lowndes described had not occurred in the pre-school arena. Provision was still sparse, and while ideas were gaining publicity, and medical supervision was increasing, institutional form of provision (day nurseries, nursery schools and classes)

were very few and far between. As Whitbread (1972) notes, after the 1908 Report (Board of Education 1908 q.v.), "the discretionary restrictions of the 1905 Code continued to be effective - children under three ceased being admitted and (by 1911) number between three and five were nearly halved". (p 66).

In the 1918 Education Act, local education authorities were given discretionary powers to supply "or aid the supply of nursery schools... for children over two and under five years of age...whose attendance at such school is necessary or desirable for their healthy physical and mental development" and "attending to the health, nourishment and physical welfare of children attending nursery schools". This advocacy of separate nursery schools must to an extent be attributed to Margaret McMillan's influence. However, whatever the degree to which local authorities subscribed to the notion of nursery schooling, by 1922, the Geddes Axe had heavily restricted any expansion of pre-school provision (Blackstone 1971). Although these restrictions were withdrawn in 1924, there was still little positive encouragement, and in the Hadow Report (Board of Education 1933) it was stated that whereas in 1900 43.1% of three year olds had been in elementary schools, in 1930 this was 13.1%.

This 13% was almost exclusively constituted of children in Elementary schools rather than those receiving specifically "nursery" provision. The Educational Enquiry Committee Report (1929) shows that this specialist group was only about 0.3% of the age group.

Similarly, the Hadow Report (Board of Education 1933) bolstered the notion of nursery school or class "to reproduce the healthy conditions of a good nursery in a well managed home, and thus to provide an environment in which the health of the young child - physical, mental and moral - can be safeguarded".

In the Hadow Report we also find the classic biological metaphor:

"The nursery school must accordingly endeavour so far as is possible to plant the child in his natural biological environment, to keep him out of doors with plenty of air, sunlight and space, surrounded with trees and plants and animals...."

As Blackstone (1971) argues this report was heavily influenced by the ideas of Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. (see NSA 23, 1931 and NSA 32, 1935), who was strongly in favour of nursery schooling as a preventive health measure. (q.v.)

Thus, while at this stage nursery education was a minority provision, its advocacy and its place within a complex of

pre-school services functioning to control, promote and develop
the health of the pre-school child based upon a consistent set of
underlying biological ideas about children's development, is
clear.

CHAPTER 4:

PSYCHOANALYTIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

1) A PSYCHOANALYTIC PHASE

During the 1930s there was a gradual shift in perspective from the dominance of biologicistic models of pre-school intervention towards a psychoanalytic view. Thus the Hadow Report (1933) was dominated by a physiological view of child development - after the historical account of policy, the second chapter is devoted entirely to the physical development of young children, and within the account of mental development one discovers:

"It has now for many years been recognised that a large number of tendencies to action which are not obvious at birth may nevertheless be inherited - their emergence is merely deferred. They ripen spontaneously..."(para 52, p.76)

The chapter is dominated by growth and its training. Emotional development received relatively little attention, only two sections out of twenty eight, and this account continues the biological base:

"One of the most obvious and significant facts about children during the first two or three years of life is the relative strength of the emotions and impulses which they

show little power of modifying or restraining according to the wishes of others or the requirements of reality. The reason for this is that man, like other higher animals, inherits a number of powerful instincts, the majority of which ripen within the first few weeks of life.

Intelligence, on the other hand, though an innate capacity, matures far more slowly...." (para 50, p. 73)

This reflects the influence of Cyril Burt in preparing the material, since although Susan Isaacs was asked to contribute she was not entirely happy with the organisation of her material into sections (Gardner 1969).

In contrast by 1936 the Board of Education's pamphlet "Nursery Schools and Nursery Classes" devoted a chapter to the effects of nursery class training on children which, while still emphasising the value of healthy routines, begins to give a broader interpretation:

"For the slum child, physically neglected but accustomed to fend for himself, the gain is seen to be chiefly on the physical side....For the child of more prosperous parents, and particularly perhaps for "only" children, the greatest advantages are probably those of social contact and that scope for the development both of muscle and initiative which he may miss in a too carefully guarded home". (p 49/50)

But, the pamphlet argues that "everyone appears to find" that children become more self-reliant, better able to concentrate, "difficult" children who are timid, obstreperous or aggressive are helped to cope with this, and there is greater mental alertness in children who have been to a nursery class.

Similarly de Lissa (1935) as Chairman of the Nursery School Association argues that while the very young child's needs are dominated by the physical,

"at two or thereabouts the situation becomes very different. The two-year-old child is ever on the move, busily exploring his world, building up his vocabulary, becoming socially adjusted...he needs space...he needs companions...he needs above all people who will understand his difficulties and be patient, loving and helpful...The handling of this phase in a manner that will bring about the harmonising of the strong urges and emotions and lay the foundations of a poised personality requires knowledge, skill and patience..." (p 11)

While still discussing the Chief Medical Officer's reports to the Board of Education (e.g. Board of Education 1930, Nursery School Association 1935), the Nursery School Association was thus developing a somewhat different emphasis on the benefit of

pre-school education. Lillian de Lissa's (1939) Life in the Nursery School makes this clear with far more material devoted to emotional and social development than previous texts.

The culmination of this shift can be found in much later documents such as the UNESCO publication (1951), which despite its title "Mental Hygiene in the Nursery School" is not dominated by a biological model. While there are references to the importance of physical development, the predominant model is now a psychoanalytic one, with emphasis on material, social and emotional relationships. Thus:

"(the nursery stage) comes at the moment of the discovery of individuality, of partial weaning of emotional ties, of the appearance of new interests and attachments." (p 11)

Just as biological theories of child development underpinned the "Biologistic" phase of pre-school provision, with the major impact of Freudian themes on child development, a new phase in pre-school intervention emerged from a major shift of perspective. This shift has been traced by the Newsons (1974) in describing the way in which "moralities of natural development and natural needs" had an immediate and persisting impact on commonly-held views of young children. A basic interest in the child's natural social development, and gradual emergence into society, together with a less inhibited approach to sexuality,

they argued, "opened the door to greater permissiveness generally". Martha Wolfenstein (1955) argued similarly that there had been a move to "fun morality". Ehrenreich and English (1979) note a "180-degree turn" away from early twentieth-century theories, in advice to parents about children's development.

However, as Somerville (1982) states the major impact of Freud's theory was in re-emphasising the child's emotional development - offering explanations rather than simple descriptions (which, Somerville implies, led to the ready acceptance of such ideas). Central to the process of acceptance in the British pre-school world was Susan Isaacs. As D.E.M. Gardner (1969) notes:

"By 1921 she had published her Introduction to Psychology with its very marked biological approach, and had for some time been turning her attention more and more to Freudian theories..." (p 49).

Through her advice to parents in magazines, and through publications such as The Nursery Years (1929) in which a move from instinctual, biological advice to a Freudian viewpoint can be traced, Susan Isaacs had a broad influence. As Gardner (1969) notes:

"The swiftness of pioneer nursery and infant school teachers to appreciate the relevance of this material (especially The

Social Development of Young Children 1930) to their work was due to their own growing conviction that educational "apparatus" however carefully planned and graded, was not enough to meet the child's quest for knowledge and that "habit training" could not really solve the emotional problems...(it) came just at the right time". (p 73)

This notion of an idea whose time has come is a recurrent one in explaining major shifts of perspective (c.f. parent involvement later), but is really inadequate as a explanatory concept. What is needed is some explanation of why that particular perspective became dominant. (see later)

Denise Riley (1933) argues that the impact of Freudian theory was indirect - that those with the major effect on the nursery were the re-interpreters of Freud, following in the steps of Melanie Klein - especially Isaacs, Winnicott and Bowlby. Winnicott argued that in reinterpreting Klein psychoanalysts "ran the risk of being considered traitors to the cause of the internal processes", but that with the work of psychoanalytically orientated practitioners such as Burlingham and Freud in war nurseries (1942) the study of child care techniques and policies was essential to an adequate understanding that "the infant and maternal care together form a unit" (Winnicott 1960 quoted in Riley 1983). Winnicott's influence on parents can be seen to parallel and extend that of Susan Isaacs, encapsulated in the

compilation "The Child, the Family and the Outside World" (1964).

The major figure in reinterpreting psychological theory for public consumption, in this period, was John Bowlby, and it is the public acceptance of this theory of maternal deprivation which tends to dominate all statements about the history of pre-school provision in the 1940s and 1950s. Juliet Mitchell (1974) in "Psychoanalysis and Feminism" argues that at this time the political reconstruction of the family was buttressed by psychoanalytic theories:

"Within psychology the stress was all on mother-care; from the child psychologist Bowlby whose work was popularised on radio and in women's magazines we learnt that a person sucked his emotional stability literally with his mother's milk". (ibid p 84)

Bowlby's theories did not gain wide acceptance until after the publication of "Child Care and the Growth of Love" (1953) based on his World Health Organisation report "Maternal Care and Mental Health" (1952). It will be important to re-examine these theories after a discussion of the impact of the Second World War on pre-school policy.

a) World War II

In the late 1930s professional debates about the content of pre-school provision, rather than the context, had shifted to a far greater social and emotional emphasis, which can be traced particularly to the impact of Susan Isaacs' work (see especially Isaacs 1931, 1933). The observation of children had gone beyond biological notions (Gardner 1969), particularly in nursery education, and was to re-establish the developmental tradition with a new emphasis on social and intellectual development (Whitbread 1971).

Nevertheless, with the outbreak of war many of the initial responses and policies for the provision of pre-school facilities can be traced directly to the earlier biological tradition. New services were set up under the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education - Nursery Centres were established in evacuee reception areas for children between two and five years old - a scheme of relatively small, simple and flexible facilities for 10 to 20 children, providing a homely atmosphere. The appendix to the joint circular (Board of Education, Ministry of Health 1940) discusses play provision in terms of natural growth and development, but also lays emphasis on the emotional needs of evacuees.

As Israel, in Padley and Cole (1940), notes comparatively little attention was paid to the needs of under-fives in the planning of

evacuation - "it is clear that the Government from the beginning foresaw great difficulties in the evacuation of the Under Fives, and saw practically the only solution in their being accompanied by their mothers". Nursery centres would only be a partial solution, the logistics of providing sufficient helpers alone would have prevented provision on a substantial scale. The response was also somewhat limited - clearly, beyond nursery schools and day nurseries evacuated en bloc relatively few under-fives were involved in the scheme. By February 1940, it was announced that under-fives would no longer be included, and nor would evacuation with mothers be possible. At this time Israel notes "All reports show that the children now in the country have improved enormously in health" and "It is greatly to be hoped that the Government has not yet said its last word on the evacuation of the Under Fives". (p 141)

In the somewhat more psychoanalytically orientated Cambridge Evacuation Survey, Susan Isaacs (1941) re-emphasised the importance of awareness of emotional ties and family unity, underestimated by the devisers of the scheme:

"This, then, is our broadest and most general conclusion, namely that the first great scheme for evacuation might have been far less of a failure, far more of a success, if it had been planned with more understanding of human nature...." (p 9)

This point was continually noted in surveys of the children, fosterparents, and teachers, and it was this reaction to the emergence of war-time schemes that was to provide a fertile ground for the later acceptance of Bowlby's theories.

Similar reactions can be found in commentaries on residential provision for young children at this time by Burlingham and Freud (1942 and 1944). These reports place great stress not only on the physical but also the mental health of young children.

Thus: "War conditions...deprive children of the natural background for their emotional and mental development". (1942 p11). Based firmly on Anna Freud's psychoanalytic framework, children's reactions to destruction, air raids and evacuation are discussed in terms of effects on mother-child relationships, and the outlets available to children to express their feelings (speech, play, fantasy, regression, withdrawal). This report is close to Susan Isaacs (1941) in stressing the preservation of the mother-child relationship even in evacuation. "Infants without Families" (1944) further explores this theme with particular reference to the institutional effects on the emotional development of young children - emphasising the negative effects and later anti-social behaviour to be discussed by Bowlby. As Riley (1983) emphasises these ideas did not appear suddenly but emerged from a number of writers at this time. It is important to note that in many ways this was a reaction to earlier

health-based schemes, emphasising as they did the improvements in physical health to be gained by improved care of under-fives (Padley and Cole 1940).

By 1941 the nursery centres scheme was absorbed into the war-time nurseries scheme, under which local welfare authorities under the Ministry of Health became responsible for setting up nurseries, with advice from voluntary agencies, the Board of Education and the Ministry of Labour (Tizard, Moss and Perry 1976). Again the motive power behind the provision came from health (and biologicistic conceptions of the child) and the resultant criticisms fuelled the newer psychoanalytic perspective:

"The war-time nurseries scheme was a compromise that exposed divergent views on the aims of nursery provision. The scheme was regarded as a victory for the day nursery approach in which health was the prime consideration and pre-school education was only incidental...A clash of interests was often evident between matrons and nursery teachers in full-time nurseries". Whitbread (1972) p 102.

Similar clashes were to be noted thirty years later in the development of other, more unified forms of provision.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the external pressures of war-time had produced a fragile unity which although temporary was successful in expanding provision. Thus 118

nurseries in 1941 had expanded to 1559 in 1944 (Blackstone 1971, quoting Ministry of Health Annual Reports). At the same time separate day nurseries and nursery classes were maintained - in 1944 106,000 children were being catered for in nearly 1000 day nurseries, 102,940 children were in nursery classes (Whitbread 1972). Lowndes (1969) notes that at this time there were 400 residential nurseries with 14,000 under-fives beds, and that all this provision was drastically reduced immediately after the war.

Such administrative unity was clearly of a very different nature from that being sought in the 1970s with co-ordination policies, both in its motivation, and in the role played by underlying ideas about the child and family. Thus while war-time produced a unity based in the health of the child, this did not develop any further as there was no sharing of perspective, divisions were maintained. Similar problems were to emerge in co-ordination policies in the 1970s when imposed from above, but were much less evident in the growth of co-operation and new forms of provision at that time. The latter, co-operative developments rest on shared exploration of new perspectives on the child and the family. Since such perspectives were not shared in war-time such unity could only be temporary, and ended after the war.

Equally important in terms of the present analysis of ideas underlying pre-school provision is the theme of reconstruction

which emerged towards the end of the war. Blueprints for the future were produced which led ultimately to the 1944 Education Act, and helped to create the post-war climate.

In 1942 the T.U.C. were advocating that "all measures for the social training and education of children between the ages of 2 and 5 (should be) brought within the sphere of the Board of Education", with the provision of more nursery schools. Before two, children would be the responsibility of the Maternal and Child Welfare Authority.

In 1943 Political and Economic Planning were putting forward a "Charter of Child Welfare" which incorporated nursery education within a comprehensive scheme. Much of the evidence presented was based in a biological perspective - thus surveys of the health of LCC children in 1937 were quoted, with good feeding and hygiene classes, children in open air nurseries demonstrated significant weight gains. At the same time, "a child's first need is security", social development and play. (P.E.P. 1943).

Similarly the W.E.A. were arguing that "L.E.As should have the duty of making adequate provision for the education of children from two to five in Nursery Schools and Classes" in consultation with local bodies and parents over local needs. (W.E.A. 1943).

In 1943 a British Council booklet "First - The Infant, Britain Advances" was optimistically arguing that "In the world of

after-the-war... the work started in Britain before the war, and brought into practical effect during war-time stress, will unquestionably be continued and developed".

It was this optimistic atmosphere which produced the Government's White Paper "Educational Reconstruction" (Board of Education 1943). In this, paragraph 25, echoes strongly the Board of Education report 35 years previously in advocating the provision of nursery schools for educational and physical reasons, particularly "in the poorer parts of the large cities". In recognising a "Nursery School Stage" the White Paper was welcomed by the Nursery School Association (N.S.A. 1943) although it was felt that a 2-7 stage with co-ordination under one Ministry would be even more appropriate.

As Blackstone (1971) notes that White Paper marked the first occasion when official recognition was given to the notion of pre-school education for all rather than a special class of needy children. Nevertheless the National Society of Children's Nurseries were concerned to emphasise there was still a major need for nurseries as part of the broad range of social services, with separate educational provision for the over threes. (N.S.C.N. 1943)

The permissive powers of the 1944 Education Act "a local authority shall, in particular, have regard ...to the need for

securing that provision is made for pupils who have not attained the age of five years by the provision of nursery schools or, where the authority consider the provision of such schools to be inexpedient by the provision of nursery classes in other schools (Section 8(2)G).

This optional local power, reaffirmed in the 1981 Education Act is the statutory position today. It reflects a continuing ambivalence about the role of the state in intervention in this phase of children's development. In the post-war period arguments for provision were not seen as sufficiently strong to overcome such ambivalence, and were not supported by prevalent theories of the child based as they were on a psychoanalytic perspective. In consequence not only was provision not made, it was substantially reduced.

The predominant ethos of this period is demonstrated in the Ministry of Health Circular 221/45 "in the interest of the health and development of the child no less than for the benefit of the mother the proper place for a child under two is at home with his mother", it was only an optional extra for the three to five year old to have some provision made outside the home. As Denise Riley (1982) notes, the immediate post-war period provided an opportunity to reassert the values of "the family" which had been a preoccupation throughout the war. Post-war welfare only advocated the retention of nurseries as centres for the education

of mothers, in support of other policies, notably the strong pronatalism of this time.

At this same time war-time nurseries were being closed down. Local authorities were empowered to assess local need for such places, but the major impact on numbers was from the decision to end the 100% grant aiding of nurseries by the Ministry of Health (1946). Also, over 200 day nurseries were taken over by LEAs and became nursery schools. Thus, as a result of these changes, while in 1945 there were 1,300 day nurseries with over 62,000 places (Tizard J. et al 1976), by 1948 there were 899 nurseries with 42,000 places. This sharp decline continued throughout the post-war period, for while in 1948 there were 11.6 places per 1,000 children under five, by 1963 this had fallen to 5.6, and in real terms this was almost a 50% drop in the number of places (42,460 to 21,670) (Ryan 1964).

Blackstone (1971) argues that any plans for expansion of pre-school provision, and in particular education, that local authorities had were not allowed to proceed for three interrelated reasons: "the shortage of teachers in infant and primary schools; the dramatic rise in the birth-rate in 1946; and national economic difficulties which led to cuts being made in expenditure on the social services".

As a result the 1950s have been seen as a period of "quiet

stagnation" in the field of pre-school provision (Tizard J. et al 1976). At the same time it is important not to ignore the role of commonly held ideas about young children and families in supporting such stagnation. In particular the 1950s saw the full flowering of the psychoanalytically dominated perspective on pre-school provision, advocated by John Bowlby and others. How did these ideas impact upon the pre-school field?

b) Bowlby

In his study of "Forty Four Juvenile Thieves" (1946) Bowlby argued that separation could be seen in psychoanalytic as inherently traumatic, the high incidence of separation in his subjects' life histories led him to state that

"prolonged separation in the early years is sometimes the principal cause of the development of delinquent character"
(Bowlby 1946).

Such separations were liable to lead to the development of an "Affectionless Character" in a process equivalent to physical deprivation.

These ideas were pursued with the World Health Organisation report (1952) "Maternal Care and Mental Health", rewritten as "Child care and the Growth of Love" (1953), and can be linked to Bowlby's later writings on Attachment and Loss (1969, 1973, 1980). A re-examination of the original texts reveals a slightly less dogmatic approach than the public image of Bowlby's theories suggests, thus in considering three phases of development he states that the child below six months is establishing relationships, the child between six months and three years "needs her (mother) as an ever present companion.." but the child in his fourth and fifth year is able to maintain a

relationship with her in her absence..such a relationship can only be maintained in favourable circumstances and for a few days or weeks at a time". (1953 p58). Thus, while the general principle that "the quality of maternal care which a child receives in his earliest years is of vital importance for his future mental health" (1953 p 11), is explored, much of the book is concerned with extreme situations, provoking criticisms of residential care in institutions:

"group residential care is always to be avoided for those under six years" (p 160).

These ideas are often extended by Bowlby's followers to include all care outside the home. This is a mixing of Bowlby's "partial deprivation" which "brings in its train anxiety, excessive need for love, powerful feelings of revenge...guilt and depression" (p 12) which "complete deprivation" with which the book is principally concerned, and which has much more extreme consequences.

Indeed, Bowlby suggests that the "absolute need of infants and toddlers for the continuous care of their mothers" before three years, can still allow for a separation of "a week to ten days" if the child is with granny; and that after three years "rather longer holidays from children can be taken safely". (p 17).

The early work of Bowlby is evidently vulnerable to criticisms of the psychoanalytically based case-study approach, and perhaps over-simplistic correlation between early experience and later behaviour. In recent years much more subtle approaches have been adopted, revealing a far more complex pattern of causation:

"deprivation involves a most heterogenous group of adversities which operates through several quite different psychological mechanisms". Rutter (1981)

p 217.

As Schaffer (1977) states "Bowlby's contention that a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with the mother is essential in the early years" is as controversial today as it ever was; and few studies have unequivocally supported this view. Much more subtle studies of separation have been made, which look more deeply at home background (Hall and Stacey 1979). The main issue, though, is not the technical accuracy of Bowlby's ideas, it is that these ideas were taken up by many involved in child care, and by the general population (Riley 1983) and as "Bowlbyism" became generalised into an assertion that all care outside the home was potentially harmful. This general assertion was to be taken up and used in the 1950s to deny arguments for pre-school provision by the state.

c) The impact of Bowlby's Theories

The key problem in interpreting the impact of psychoanalytic theory in the post-war period is stated succinctly by Riley:

"in brief, such a belief was not instrumental in the demise of the war nurseries. Nor was it invoked in immediately postwar governmental plans for postwar nursery education - beyond an occasional mention in respect of the under-tuos. How, then, did it become so dominant later on, so that for years it has held sway in debates about nursery provision"? (Riley 1983 p 110).

Riley attributes the speedy closure of war nurseries much more to administrative muddle and alternative (pro-maternal, pro-childminding) perspectives in the Ministry of Health, than to the impact of psychoanalytic theory. Ultimately she argues, changing expectations of motherhood, post-war pronatalism and consequent changing employment patterns had far more impact on war nurseries.

However, it is important to stress the strong parallel between publicly accepted theories and publicly accepted policies. It is important to recognise that by the 1950s "Bowlbyism" was being adduced to bolster arguments for home-based childcare, so that the debate about care beyond the home had been effectively

neutralised. The central issue here is one of timing: in the late 1940s one must recognise that Bowlby himself was yet to have an impact. However, the increasing public acceptance of Freudian notions of the importance of the early years for stable later development, derived from other popularisers and bolstered by a reaction to wartime experiences, facilitated the ready acceptance of the major argument that there was no real demand for the continuation of wartime nurseries.

If we look beyond the issues of the closure of wartime nurseries, to the failure to expand nursery education under the 1944 Act we can see the broader influence of "Bowlbyism" at work in the 1950s. A gradual shift of perspective in the 1930s had received a major boost in critiques of wartime biologically based provision, and was thus to dominate the post-war period.

d) Post-War Limitations

Policies for nursery education during the post-war period reflected the prevailing ethos of minimum support for mothers in their role.

Thus while the N.U.T. recognised a broad demand for nursery education which would serve "as a bridge between home and school", "working in close co-operation with the home" to enable children "to enter the infant department "robust, well-grown,

alert, confident and capable of sharing with enjoyment and skill in the regime which awaits them there". (NUT 1949). But in spite of strong arguments for this development, particularly in terms of the child's social competence "there is, in administrative circles, a lack of the sense of urgency for nursery education which exists among thinking people generally". (NUT 1949 p 26).

Beyond such generalisations there is little evidence of a militant public opinion demanding any form of pre-school provision at this time. Indeed if public policy in any way reflects public opinion, Tizard's comment that this period is marked by "quiet stagnation" may be more appropriate. At the same time, arguments produced by those involved in nursery education closely reflect the predominant "social development" model, heavily influenced by psychoanalytic theory.

Thus Susan Isaacs (1954) in discussing the educational value of the nursery school states:

"We shall focus our attention mainly upon the child's mental life and his needs as a human being, with wishes and purposes in relation to other people, and shall say very little about the service which the nursery school renders to his bodily health and growth". (p 5).

Scientific study was at last providing an understanding of the normal development of children's needs, and ways of meeting these. Thus the child's needs are listed as including warm, human relationships, real and active experience, security, opportunity for self-assertion and independence, play with other children, and imaginative play. While the child's intellectual needs were not to be neglected these were often seen in terms of self expression.

Similar arguments were advanced by Dorothy Gardner, following in the footsteps of Susan Isaacs at the University of London Institute of Education. In "The Education of Young Children" (1956) she gives more emphasis to intellectual needs, but the dominant paradigm is provided by the chapters on young children and their feelings, interest in other children, and play and mental health. Gardner clearly maintains that nursery education should be valued for far more than relief for overworked mothers. In "Education under Eight" (Gardner 1949), an earlier statement of the same argument - the nursery school "is not a substitute for, but an extension of the home" can be found. (p 14).

The same perspective can be found in many publications of the Nursery School Association in this period - e.g. de Lissa Education up to Seven Plus (n.d.), Grove I. (n.d.) The Nursery School in Action.

Such limitations on provision did lead to some experimentation in forms of nursery education, particularly in the evolution of part-time nursery schools (NSA pamphlet 66 n.d.), not simply to increase numbers although this must have been a major motivation, but also justified in terms of the child's socio-emotional development:

"There is no risk that a child is deprived for too long a period of his mother's love and companionship and the intimacy of his own home surroundings". Goldsworthy G.M. (1964).

In addition nursery classes in primary schools were receiving more attention (N.S.A. pamphlet 69 1957). and the possibility of adapting existing accommodation to the needs of under-fives was discussed. However financial restraint, and the need to provide for older children severely limited any such opportunity. Under-fives were not a priority.

This policy was encapsulated in the Ministry of Education circular 8/60, which stated that no expansion would be permitted in nursery education:

"No resources can at present be spared for the expansion of nursery education and in particular no teachers can be

spared who might otherwise work with children of compulsory school age". (Ministry of Education 1960).

Similarly restrictive attitudes were taken by the Ministry of Health in relation to day nurseries, with even more restriction of entry to primary cases. (Tizard J. et al 1976).

Thus the psychoanalytic perspective on pre-school school provision affected both the macro, broad policy making level of debate about pre-school from the thirties to the sixties, and the micro, local practice level of discussion about the value and format of pre-school provision. This is similar to the way in which a biologicistic conception of the child and his family had informed earlier debates, and as the thirties and early wartime had marked a transition between these two perspectives, so the early sixties marked a shift towards new development theories, and new policies which reflected these.

2) A DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE

During the 1960s a further shift in perspective on pre-school intervention took place - a move from the psychoanalytic model towards a developmental one. This was the result of two major theoretical influences - the combination of developmental child psychology with deprivation theory. Whereas the previous phase of pre-school provision had been one of limitation and restriction, new ideas were now one of the major factors in promoting experiment and development in the pre-school - although this phase was to end inconclusively.

The central figure in this new movement was Jean Piaget.

Although much of his work had been published many years before (e.g. Piaget 1930, 1932, 1947), and was referred to by a few writers on pre-school provision (e.g. Isaacs 1954), it had largely remained within the confines of developmental psychology.

The application of new insights into early development was a product of the 1960s. In addition some of Piaget's most fruitful insights only became available in translation just before (The Child's Construction of Reality 1955) or during the early part of this period (Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood 1962, and Piaget and Inhelder's The Child's Conception of Space 1963). In addition, it was at this time that commentaries upon and reformulations of the highly technical material contained in Piaget's work became available (e.g.

Flavell 1963). Hunt's (1961) Intelligence and Experience was perhaps the key text of this period, with its re-emphasis of the importance of environmental and early influences to the development of intelligence. Similarly Bruner (1960) had discussed "The Process of Education" and re-emphasised the importance of the child's attempts to make sense of and to represent his early experiences.

Many of the subtleties of such developmental arguments were lost in a general acceptance of the new importance of the early years - and much more common was the sloganising that resulted from such clear statements as Bloom's:

"in terms of intelligence measured at seventeen, about 50% of the development takes place between conception and age four, about 30% between ages 4 and 8 and about 20% between the ages of 8 and 17". (1964 p 88),

as used later, for example, in C and S.J. Hutt's Guardian article "Egg Head Starters".

"The pre-school period thus becomes of vital importance in educational terms. Any procedures carried out during this period are likely to be far more effective than comparable procedures later on". (1974),

or in Chazan's (1973) Education in the Early Years. This does make assumptions about differential impact and receptivity in the first few years of life, in contrast to the last years which may or may not be justified (c.f. Elkind's discussion of Piagetian and Psychometric conception of intelligence and his argument that intervention later could be seen as more effective (Elkind 1969).

However for most writers the pre-school phase was seen as a generalised "critical period" during which crucial developments were occurring (van der Eyken 1967). As the Plowden Report noted:

"A critical period is only the extreme example of a more general class of sensitive periods. It is likely that in the sphere of learning, periods of maximum sensitivity rather than critical now-or-neverness exist". (1966 para 28).

Similar movements were going on in relation to the commonly-held notions of childhood found in child care literature. As Beekman (1977) notes "Recently, a consensus has formed around the idea that the problems of child raising are, in fact, the problems of raising adults..." A developmental perspective became central - this is the culmination of Wolfenstein's "fun morality" (1955) - exploration is regarded as legitimate. Rapaport, Rapaport and Strelitz (1977) note a "movement toward greater sensitivity to children's needs". The 1960s are commonly seen as the

culmination of permissive influences unleashed by Spock in his Baby and Child Care of 1946, although it would perhaps be equally true to see the late 1950's and early 1960s as the peak period of his influence - as Rapaport et al. note. The Observer serialised parts of his book in 1958. It is also important to enter a reservation into this account. It may well be that such increasingly commonly-held developmental notions of child care are socially differentiated - the Newsoms clearly demonstrated in 1963 important social class differences in infant care among 700 babies in Nottingham - particularly with regard to the degree of "permissiveness". These were contrasted with "restrictive" patterns of child care which owed little to Spock and still less to Piaget, and much more to tradition and Truby King.

However, the 1960s did mark an increasing public acceptance in policy making and in child care literature of the developmental viewpoint. Interestingly, at first this had remarkably little impact upon public provision. There was some relaxation of Circular 8/60's restrictions on the provision of nursery education to allow places for the children of teachers who would be enabled to work with other age groups. Similar relaxations enabled day nursery places to be provided for nurses' children (Tizard et al. 1976). Essentially, though, public policy continued to reflect the ambivalence towards pre-school provision that had also existed in both the "Biologistic" and Psychoanalytic" phases.

The statistics for the levels of pre-school provision are plagued by problems of definitions. van der Eyken (1974) quotes Howe's account in which it is suggested that official provision varied in 1966 between 3, 6 and 9.9 per cent of the age group.

Probably the most accurate statistic is provided by Tizard et al. (1976). Local authority provision in 1966 appears to have accounted for just over 6 per cent of the age group (ibid p 81).

Although publicly funded provision did not develop in the early 1960s one of the major effects of the new "developmental" perspective was to promote the development of playgroups. In 1959 there were 543 private nurseries, catering for 13,155 children (often nursery groups registered with local authorities). By 1965 there were 2,245 (55,543 children) and in 1970 10,043 private nurseries were registered for almost a quarter of a million children. This massive growth of the private sector is due almost entirely to the development of playgroups. The beginning of playgroups in Britain is frequently linked to Belle Tutaev's letter to the Guardian 1960 (van der Eyken 1977). In fact the emergence of playgroups is a direct result of the pressure for provision created by the developmental perspective. Thus Keeley (1968) traces the origins of P.P.A. disillusion after Circular 8/60,

"Playgroups were being formed, sometimes by individuals,

sometimes by groups of parents, all had concluded that if no one else was going to provide nursery education, they would do it themselves....and they did". (p 1).

Thus by 1965 there were 500 groups, by 1972 there were estimated to be over 15,000 (not all members of P.P.A.) and in 1975 P.P.A. had a membership of 9,100 groups (Tizard et al. 1976).

In the early years, there was a period in which playgroups were seen as an extension of nursery education, and had some involvement with the Nursery Schools Association.

In the late 1950s the N.S.A. had issued a pamphlet "A Nursery Play Group" by E Balint (n.d.)

"You may of course be a fortunate mother who has a Nursery School within reach, but, is there a vacancy for your child?....Mothers often group together in the minding of their children,"

recognising that "Play is the means by which the child learns". (p 6). This approach was extended in Calveley's (1962) N.S.A. pamphlet "Starting A Community Nursery School", describing how frustration with the absence of L.E.A. provision had led to discussions. "When discussing so many problems we kept coming back to the needs of the under-fives. We decided to see what we

could do...to provide a proper Nursery School". (p 4). This led to the emergence of at least 33 Voluntary Nursery Schools in Hertfordshire. By 1967 the N.S.A. was recording that "From the number of enquiries that this Association continually receives for advice on how to start and equip such Nursery Schools and Play Groups it was decided to provide the following information in order that children be given the optimum conditions in which to make use of the play opportunities provided for them". (N.S.A. 1967 p. 2).

This growth was a response to lack of public provision, and was based firmly within the developmental perspective. It was not until there was a further shift of perspective that playgroups took on a distinctive identity.

The Plowden Report stated "The under-fives are the only age group for whom no extra educational provision of any kind has been made since 1944", and this was true of all aspects of public provision for this age group.

However, it was the catalytic effect of Plowden and its associated ideas that created a drive for pre-school provision from the bringing together of the developmental perspective with deprivation theory. Although there was a very slow take off, the late sixties marked the emergence of new pre-school provision.

a) The impact of deprivation theory

In Britain deprivation theory had its roots in the search for an explanation of inequalities described by early sociologists of education in the 1950s. (e.g. Floud 1961, Westergaard and Little 1964, Douglas 1964). While explanations for differences in educational attainment were offered at a biological level (e.g. Montagu 1971) with suggestions that nutritional deficiency could cause "sociogenetic brain damage" through lack of vitamin B, very little use was made of either these theories or suggestions that deprivation was a psychoanalytically based phenomenon (c.f. Goldfarb's study of institutions and foster homes in Bowlby 1964) and therefore much more socially generalised. The key definition of deprivation which was publicly accepted was as a socially differentiating phenomenon - the existing developmental perspective with its emphasis on early experience incorporated these notions of negative difference in early experience.

The varying definitions of deprivation in use in the 1960s had varying implications for pre-school provision. While predominantly social, both values and cognitive skills were emphasised. Much early research had emphasised the importance of favourable parental attitudes for later performance at school - from Douglas (1964) to Plowden (1967). Just what is meant by "favourable" in this context is much harder to define - for

example Musgrove (1966) suggests that a relaxed easy-going attitude at home is not as favourable as one of high aspiration for the child, placing the child under a certain amount of stress. Plowden suggests three significant indicators, fathers' involvement in choice of school, parent participation in school, and the number of books in the home. The interpretation of such findings (although the Plowden research is flawed by their use of teacher ratings of pupil performance and parent attitudes), can be somewhat variable. (Boorer and Murgatroyd 1973). When taken even further to an almost deterministic view of the effect of home background on performance at school, the possibilities for change became even more questionable. Thus J. McV. Hunt who had pioneered the developmental perspective wrote the value laden "The Challenge of Incompetence and Poverty" in 1969, in part of which he argued that McClelland's (1953) "need to achieve" developed differently between social classes, and that this value was "required for participation in a technological society that operates constructively and peacefully".

However, such simplistic views tended to become incorporated in a generalised notion of deprivation which also included urban environmental factors. Lorna Bell discussing Underprivileged Under-fives (1976) demonstrates the way in which such views led to programmes for "helping mothers and under-fives". A heavily interventionist strategy using pre-school provision as an adjunct to community development policies grew from this viewpoint.

Emerging from the work of Karnes (1970) and Gray and Klaus (1965) home visiting programmes were developed, the boundary between public and private provision in the pre-school shifted slightly and intervention in the home began to be sanctioned by new theories. (c.f. van der Eyken 1974, Halsey 1972, Midwinter 1972).

Perhaps the most important conjunction of deprivation and developmental theory came in the field of social influences on early cognitive development. Early intimations of these ideas were given by work such as that of the Newsoms (1965) examining Patterns of Infant Care - distinguishing between "permissive" and "restrictive" parents (q.v.), the implications of which were quickly drawn. Some children were being given a coherent structure within which to view the impact of their own actions on the world - to others the world operated as a series of arbitrary external forces. The cognitive effects of this could be seen very early in a child's development. Similarly Bernstein and Young (1968) argued for social class differences in parents' conceptions of the uses of toys - particularly for finding out about the world - and that these differences could be related to later IQ. It was in this area of the impact of parenting on later development that several laboratory-based studies produced more questionable generalisations:

"The central quality involved in the effects of cognitive deprivation is a lack of cognitive meaning in the

mother-child communication system". (Hess and Shipman 1965).

or

"talk may be rich in emotional content...but lacking in what calls upon the child to abstract such aspects of objects as colour, shape and size". (Hunt 1969).

The importance of such theories lies less in their direct effect upon pre-school provision which was limited (Denby M. 1973, Widlake and Bell 1973), than in their association in broad terms with the more influential cognitive deprivation theories, in particular those of Bernstein, (1971). His distinction between restricted and elaborated codes, between public and private forms of meaning was well known among practitioners in the 1960s, offering as it did a readily accessible explanation for educational disadvantage. Language has consistently been viewed as a central element in pre-school work (c.f. more recently the work of Tizard and Hughes 1984). Similar conceptions of the role of language in deprivation can be found in Bruner J. (1972). Coming directly from the developmental tradition, he suggests that there are two trends in language usage in which the deprived child is deficient: the use of language as an instrument of analysis and synthesis in problem solving, and the use of language which is free from the here-and-now context. Bernstein's theories can be found clearly underlying the work of

Joan Tough (1974) which in recent years has been influential on teachers ideas about interaction in the classroom.

It is interesting to note that the many critiques of these deprivation theories, which emerged in the late 1960s were largely ignored in the field of pre-school policy (e.g. Woodhead 1976). Thus Ginsburg's (1972) devastating criticisms emerging from Labov's (1969) work, that deprivation does not exist, is a myth which is a figment of middle-class researchers inadequacies, or that it has led to the individualisation of failure, directing attention away from the inadequacies of the system (Bernstein 1970); all were regarded as largely theoretical reservations in the move to develop pre-school provision in the late 1960s.

b) Expansion policies

The essential impetus for expansion within the developmental perspective was expressed in the Plowden Report (1967) with the merging of developmental theory and deprivation into a call for more pre-school education. Thus "There is a wide measure of agreement among informed observers that nursery provision on a substantial scale is desirable, not only on educational grounds but also for social, health and welfare considerations. The case we believe is a strong one". (Children and their Primary Schools. para 296). Basing their recommendations upon "the overwhelming evidence of experienced educators" they argue for a large expansion of nursery education", on which "a start should be made as soon as possible". There was a somewhat delayed response on the part of the government to this (D.E.S. 1972).

A more immediate response was evoked by the Plowden recommendations concerning the development of "educational priority areas", to receive additional educational resources to compensate for deprivation. Among a range of policies advocated for these areas, nursery education was central - "desirable for most children. It is even more so for children in socially deprived neighbourhoods... It will be many years before (nursery schools) are generally available. The building of new nursery schools and extensions to existing schools should start in

priority areas and spread outwards". (para 165). Circular 8/60 remained in force, however, and there was only limited development.

There were a number of "action research" educational priority area projects set up, described by Halsey (1972). While such projects had a minimal influence, partly due to the somewhat equivocal results of intervention programmes (Woodhead 1976, Little and Smith 1971), on the extent of pre-school provision, they were highly influential in shifting the perspective on those concerned with pre-school work. These projects not only provided traditional nursery education, but experimented with new curricula to promote aspects of development, such as language, in which children in deprived areas were considered to be deficient. (Widlake and Bell 1973). Often, however, traditional nursery education proved resistant to innovation in the curriculum (Quigley 1971). There was relatively little overt description of the theoretical base of the pre-school curriculum in E.P.A. projects, although those were based in the developmental perspective. In contrast, Headstart in the U.S.A. produced a much wider range of curriculum in an attempt to assess the relative merits of highly formalised, informal and structured approaches (e.g. Bereiter and Engelmann 1966, Silverman and Weikart 1972). Some even made very specific reference to Piagetian concepts:

"When an early childhood educator reads Piaget's theory, he is sooner or later likely to become convinced that in view of these insights we must change the way we teach young children". C.Kamii(1971)

This type of direct link to a theoretical perspective was absent from British E.P.A. programmes. In fact the five projects adopted a largely pragmatic approach incorporating traditional (i.e. generally accepted notions of pre-school provision). (Williams 1973). The major innovations for this age group came in the West Riding project (Smith 1973). Here the combination of an individual language programme extending in to the infant school, with a home-visiting scheme based respectively on the work of Marion Blank (Blank & Solomon 1969) and similar approaches in Headstart (Gray and Klaus 1965) - produced a lasting gain in the children's performance in school. But as the West Riding team themselves noted:

"the failure of many programmes to achieve lasting improvement, and the suggestion that much of the gain initially recorded is the result of training in specific skills or an improvement in motivation raises questions about the general approach used in such programmes".

"many...appear to lack what might be called a 'teaching strategy' - that is, some set of mediating principles and

practice that intervene between the analysis of 'deficits' that a child might have and the presentation of materials to the child".

"the function of the pre-school should be to work at specific skill areas where it is felt that the home experience is inadequate". (West Riding E.P.A. Report vol 3 p 6).

The direct impact of such projects was minimal, as Halsey (1972) noted "much remains to be done". However, indirectly, this increasing intervention in the community and the home was the major outcome of the E.P.A. work. Hence the approach advocated by Poulton and James (1975) in discussing pre-school learning in the community has been developed by various informal support networks for mothers.

Rather more important at least in terms of size, in the implementation of Plowden's proposals for a compensatory approach, was the Urban Aid scheme. Grant-aid to projects with joint funding from the Home Office, the then Ministry of Health and the D.E.S. estimated that 24,000 places had been made available under this programme. As Plowden recommended a total of 500,000 places by 1975 this represented a small start. (Tizard et al. 1976). More important perhaps was the way in which this finding was frequently used to support new and more experimental

forms of community-based nursery provision with new staffing patterns and new policies. In many ways the E.P.As had provided a theoretical and practical example of a direction for future development while the Urban programmes provided the funding.

The culmination in educational terms of the "developmental" phase is to be found in the 1972 White Paper "Education: a Framework for Expansion", which announced a major new policy on schooling for the under fives, giving effect to the Plowden recommendations. The White Paper's emphasis on part-time attendance can be traced to a continuation of the developmental tradition within education, a focus on the child and a refusal to look more broadly at the family and community except in exceptional circumstances (D.E.S 1972).

In the field of day care, the developmental perspective had a similar effect.. The Seebohm Report (1968) in Chapter 5 discussed the way in which services for children were fragmented into an artificial health/welfare/education pattern. There was much discussion in the committee as to whether day nurseries should be seen, on their removal from the health service, as care (and provided by social services) or as part of the education sector. The majority of the committee ultimately opted for the social services department. (P.Hall, 1976, Reforming the Welfare).

In Circular 37/68 the Ministry of Health set out priority criteria, which now included children "whose health and welfare are seriously affected by a lack of opportunity to play with others", some expansion of day care was envisaged, and a limited start was made by 1970. However, as Tizard et al. note:

"This can hardly be regarded as any real rise in provision as the number of places was barely increased...However it is time to say that in 1969 the decline in the number of day nurseries was halted, and they began to increase". (Tizard et al. 1976).

Thus by the early 1970s local authority day nursery provision was very patchy, heavily dependent on local priorities, and inadequate. (D.H.S.S. circular 35/72). This was despite some public recognition of the need for day care in echoing response to the impact of developmental theory already noted in this phase. Day care was also similarly vulnerable to reductions in government expenditure which were to take place in the later 1970s.

The "developmental" phase of thinking about pre-school provision had provided grounds for an increasing optimism in education, in social services and in the massively expanding voluntary sector - an optimism that at last a case for pre-school provision on a substantial scale had been made and accepted. Such planned

expansion was to be monitored, and linked to government-sponsored research, a new dawn approached. (This programme of research was reported in 1981, by the new D.E.S. sponsored Under Fives Research Dissemination Group).

The developmental perspective had, with its combination of cognitive and deprivation theories, finally legitimised a full scale intervention in the pre-school period.

CHAPTER 5:

A NEW MATERNALISM, CO-ORDINATION AND CO-OPERATION

In the 1970s British pre-school policy moved towards a more comprehensive control for the state, over the pre-school arena, the shifting ground between state and family, public and private concerns. In part this move towards more complete surveillance derived from earlier initiatives. Earlier phases had seen control based on biological, psychoanalytic and developmental theories which clearly defined the appropriate extent of state intervention. With the 1970s there was a distinct shift in the study of early childhood towards a "new maternalism", re-emphasising the crucial importance of the social context of development and in particular the function of the mother. Links can be traced between this view and parallel developments in pre-school policies - re-emphasising issues of family needs and provision; and pre-school practice - re-emphasising the importance of intervention within the family. Ultimately those policies combined to produce a new set of governmental demands for the co-ordination policies represent an attempt to move towards a more complete "tutelary complex" (Donzelot 1977), a more effective means of controlling the pre-school arena. Ultimately, therefore the key questions become those of power and control. Did the policy moves of the 1970s and early 1980s represent a concentration of power within the apparatus of

pre-school provision; or did they offer (as they appeared to many advocates at the time) a new freedom for families to control their own lives? Throughout this phase of pre-school policy there continues the issue of the extent to which public policies and perspectives inform the practice of workers at grassroots level. It is possible to argue that rhetoric of pre-school provision bears little relationship to the practice of workers - the extent to which the apparatus of provision operates to control families within the pre-school arena consciously or not, is the concern of the chapters of this study which examine the pre-school workers of Battersea.

1) A "NEW MATERNALISM"

By the early 1970s government policy was beginning to accept a major role for the state in pre-school provision (D.E.S 1973). This extension of control over a field previously dominated by the private concerns of families was due to the full impact of the developmental perspective - an increasing public acceptance of this view of children which represented a major advance over the "biologistic" and "psychoanalytic" phases. However, the optimism engendered amongst pre-school workers by such policies proved to be short-lived, and was overtaken by important changes.

One important element in this was shift in government policy on public expenditure, which meant that the priorities became "low cost" provision (D.H.S.S./D.E.S. 1976). A second, allied element in this process is a shift in views of children and their development within families while commentators on these changes have stressed economic factors and changing views of women's role (e.g. Tizard, Moss, and Perry 1976, Hughes et al. 1980), these only provide a partial explanation - both the failure to expand and the moves of policy towards a greater involvement with families can be traced clearly to a new perspective, re-emphasising the importance of development within a family context - and particularly stressing the role of "mother", a shorthand term for which might be a "new maternalism".

In one sense this new perspective was a logical extension of the

developmental tradition. The importance of the child's cognitive development continued to be stressed (e.g. Donaldson 1978), but in addition new perspectives in the analysis of mother-child interaction, new approaches adopted in child care literature, feminist commentaries on the role of women as mothers and within the family, and shifting political views of family policy combined in this period to form a distinctive set of debates about and adaptations within pre-school services. It was out of this complex of re-assessment that co-ordination and co-operation policies were born, and the impetus for this study grew.

New Psychological Perspectives

Rutter (1975) argues that an already established concern with individual differences within developmental psychology, combined with the realisation that simple motor responses could be used to gauge complex perceptual discriminations, led to an upsurge in research activity into the development of babies. In addition, the adaptation of ethological research methods and the availability of new technology (particularly video) led to a "rebirth of naturalistic studies of young children". (Lewin 1975)

As Oates (1979) noted "of all the areas of psychology, this is the one which has sustained a real knowledge explosion, which shows no signs of abating. Several major breakthroughs in

experimental techniques have generated a revolution in our views of the infant's capabilities which have barely begun to be assimilated into our current approaches to child-rearing.

Stimulated by this research, a continuing critical analysis of theories of child development has led to the development of new, more sophisticated models of the developmental process. There is much to be gained, for the parent and the professional, in at least sampling the new insights that we now have into early development". It is precisely this taking up of such theories, and the close parallels between shifting views in developmental psychology and pre-school policy that leads me to argue that here there is a distinct new stage in which ideas influence policy.

John and Elizabeth Newson (1974) also argue that such studies of early infant development "represent a shift of emphasis rather than an absolute disagreement with Piaget's philosophical viewpoint". In particular, the work of Bower in infant perception (Bower 1974) and Schaffer in mother-infant interaction (Schaffer 1977) have been highly influential in suggesting new insights and perspectives for those working with young children.

An additional element in this new perspective is stressed by McGurk (1978) - "the necessity to include a role for the child himself in shaping his own development" - "environment, in interaction with biological endowment has a significant part to play in influencing development outcome. But it recognises in

addition that there is a third force operating: the child himself". (McGurk 1978 pp xiii/xiv).

Similarly, Misiti and Benigni (1978) argued that:

"the amount of research carried out in this direction has increased rapidly over the last two years and it is now clear that the emerging area of endeavour for researchers during the next five years will be that of the child and its family". (Lewis and Rosenblum 1979).

They noted that this new perspective grew out of the developmental view of the 1960s, which in addition to viewing the child as competent and active also considered the child as "social" from birth, and which described the early stages of the child's attachment to the mother. While the influence of fathers and siblings in this process has been relatively little researched the mother-child relationship has been an important field for new work. It is for this reason, rather than any wish to underestimate the importance of contacts with fathers, that I have termed this new phase in pre-school provision, "the new maternalism".

What were the distinguishing features of this new approach? Schaffer (1977a) considers five key elements in the studies of the 1970s:

- (1) Treatment of social behaviour in dyadic terms "the mother's task in interacting with her baby is seen to be not one of creating order out of chaos; it is rather a matter of fitting her behaviour in with an already existing organisation. Interactions, even the earliest are thus two-way affairs in which mutual interchange takes place".
- (2) The need to postulate some degree of social pre-adaptation, just as the child is prepared to cope with elements of his physical environment.
- (3) Emphasis on temporal relationships in interactive situations, so that the analysis of sequences of behaviour have been emphasised in contrast to indices based on total amounts of behaviour.
- (4) The use of microanalytic techniques.
- (5) An interest in process rather than product.

Elsewhere Shaffer (1977b) considers the implications of these new approaches for our view of mothering. He argues strongly for the social construction of motherhood - that while it may be based on biological regularities, such human behaviour is ultimately also socially regulated - and that recent development

in our knowledge have highlighted this. Now that we view very young children's behaviour as organised and competent, rather than disorganised and incompetent, our view of mothers role in relation to babies have shifted to incorporate "mothering as stimulation", "mothering as interlocution, and mothers as providing some element of constancy and a basis for emotional development.

That such a view is based in a new perspective can be seen if we look at research into mother-child interaction published in the 1970s.

As MacFarlane (1975) notes, studies of mother-child interaction have examined the relationship between neonatal behaviour and mothers' behaviour, but that "Unlike Tom Bower, I do not believe that psychological processes begin at birth, but rather that they begin at conception, and that in the womb the child is subjected to a large number of stimuli... both from his environment and from his own actions". MacFarlane demonstrates that very young babies can discriminate between mothers and others and that mutual interaction emerges very early, particularly with the child's smile. Stern (1977) presents an analysis of this "individual and intricate process,...within the solid structured framework that nature has provided both infant and caregiver". This process means that during the first six months the infant emerges as a social human being. As Carpenter (1975) shows,

"for a very long time doctors believed that until the age of six weeks babies cannot see in any real sense. But psychologists now know that within the first few days of life infants can see well enough to respond differently to stimuli with differing physical characteristics". In particular a sophisticated information processing leads the child to distinguish mothers face, and voice in the first weeks. Richards (1974) argues that early separation can disrupt this process and result in a "one-day old deprived child".

In the literature of this period, perceptual development is central to the new view, and Tom Bower's (1974, 1977) theories and research have been highly influential. Building on much earlier work (McGurk 1977) Bower has demonstrated how the very general, abstract capacities of the newborn become increasingly refined. However, the effect of much of this work has been to resurrect the importance of mother's role in the developmental process. Thus Dunn (1977):

"We are beginning to realise that this early exchange between mother and child has a place of great importance in the development of the child's understanding and powers of communication". (p 65)

This interaction has intellectual consequences for Bower's "competent newborns" (1975), particularly in the emergence of

communicative ability. Thus Trevarthen (1975) in looking at early attempts at speech states:

"I believe that the evolution of experimental or scientific thought processes in the mind of a child, and the object-perception processes associated with them, may at times develop in competition or disequilibrium with the growth of intersubjectivity with persons". (p 79).

The central person within this process is the mother, for although Schaffer (1977b) emphasises, a consistent caretaker is an appropriate substitute, this is a point rarely made in the literature. In Schaffer and Crook (1978) this mutual process is also seen as central to early social development. This new maternal emphasis represents a real shift in perceptions of early development from the theories of the 1960s.

This new perspective was much more broadly influential within the pre-school period, than the comparatively narrow field of mother-child interaction in the first few months. National Childbirth Trust publications, in addition to emphasising the physiology of bonding (Whittlestone 1976) have moved on to consideration of "Educabn for parenthood - learning from baby", emphasising the "mother-child couple". (Stone 1980). The concern with the child's competence in interaction in the pre-school period has informed language development researchers

such as Wells (1978,1981a). There has been a shift from the perspectives of those such as Joan Tough (1977) who took on Bernstein's view of language use for different purposes in attempting to demonstrate a strong relationship between complexity of language use and social class. Wells demonstrates the inadequacy of such a perspective in the light of empirical evidence and suggests that "what differentiates children in their preparedness for school is the extent of their experience of the 'negotiation of meaning' through language, and that such experience can be found in homes from all social classes". (Wells 1977). This interactive approach has much in common with the perspective adopted by Bower, thus:

"Language is essentially a system which allows individuals to engage in co-operative activity and to share their thoughts and feelings with each other. All-communication involves the negotiation of meaning in order to achieve 'inter-subjectivity' - a shared perspective. It seems that infants are born with a predisposition to initiate communication and that what they need is parents who are sensitive in interpreting their meaning intentions, and, having understood them, are able and willing to help them to extend and develop them". (Wells 1981b p 2)

This view of the importance of adult, and particularly maternal interaction for language development can similarly be found in

Tizard and Hughes (1984) who imply that appropriate interactions may more readily be found at home than at school. Tamburrini (1980) argues for an "extending style" in teaching pre-school children:

"there is growing evidence that children function at their most capable when the adults interactions synchronise with the child's intentions and help elaborate them. Studies of interaction between the child and his care-giver in relation to language development show the importance of intention (McShane 1980), and of the efficacy of adult extensions of childrens utterances that elaborate their meanings (Cazden 1972)". (p 9)

Such an approach can be found in other areas of pre-school research - in looking at young bilingual children, Sylvaine Wiles (1979), stresses their competence in interaction within the classroom. Paul Light (1979) also emphasises the importance of the child's understanding of role taking in interaction with his mother for later development.

While this "new maternalism" has led to some caution in emphasising the importance of early experience as a determinant of later development (Clarke and Clarke 1979, Pilling and Pringle 1978), it has undoubtedly led to a re-emphasis of the importance of the early years. In particular child competencies, maternal

behaviour and interactions have been stressed, leading to a new concern for the role of the mother in early development. This has been associated with similar shifts in British pre-school policy and practice, as the new perspective provided a new foundation for the operation of control over the pre-school sphere.

2) THE "NEEDS" DEBATE

The "new maternalism" also gave birth to a series of discussions about the needs of families for pre-school provision. These debates centred around questions of levels of provision - what was the actual level of demand. Implicit in such discussions was a dispute about the nature of the family, and in particular the maternal role in providing for the under-fives - who should occupy the pre-school arena? - where should the state/family boundary be drawn? Ultimately these are issues of control.

The "needs debate" began with the 1972 White Paper "Education: A Framework for Expansion". Government policy became to expand nursery education to make it "available for children whose parents want it from the beginning of the term after their third birthday until the term after their fifth birthday." (D.E.S. 1972). These proposals were intended to give effect to the Plowden recommendations. The aim was that "within the next ten years nursery education should become available without charge... to those children of three and four whose parents wish them to benefit from it". Local authorities were charged with the assessment of local needs and resources, and providing suitable nursery education, since "the government are not laying down a uniform detailed pattern: they hope that local plans will reflect local needs and resources, particularly the contribution of play groups". Most of this provision should be in nursery classes, and predominantly on a part-time basis. The White Paper stated that this was regarded by "the majority of educationalists...as sufficient, indeed preferable, for most children until they reach

compulsory school age". However, it was noted that there would continue to be some children who have a special need to attend full-time, either for educational reasons or because of home circumstances..." Thus while half-time attendance was to be the general rule it was estimated that fifteen per cent of places would need to be available for full-time attendance. This followed the Plowden Report's recommendations, the intention was to make nursery education available by 1982 for 50 per cent of all three year olds and 90 per cent of four year olds.

The White Paper was followed by Circular 2/73 which was "to give guidance to local education authorities.. on the scale and nature of this expansion..." fifteen million pounds a year were to be made available for the expansion of nursery education. Local authorities were to assess their needs and submit them together with their building requirements. The N.U.T. (1973) commented that "in real terms...a programme of full expansion (is) unattainable on this basis".

This in fact proved to be the case, in spite of the continued rhetoric of governmental commitment to Nursery Education as exemplified in documents such as the D.E.S. Report on Education No. 81 (1975). Although £40m were allocated to local authorities for building programmes, twenty two l.e.a's did not fully take up these resources. In 1977 the D.E.S. noted that "over the next few years, the opportunities for providing new

buildings will be very restricted" and presented plans for the conversion of existing primary school space (D.E.S. 1977).

The "needs debate" thus emerged in the gap between governmental rhetoric and local authority provision, and resulted from a broadening definition of need (c.f. Eleanor Grey's "Why Provide for the under-fives?" 1982) - this was supported by a "new maternalism". A similar debate, equally concerned with the definition of the pre-school arena was conducted over the role of day nurseries. As with education, day nursery provision under the health service had declined in the post-war period. Ryan (1964) notes that in 1948 provision was made for 1.2% of the age group, whereas by 1963 only 0.6% of the age group were in day nurseries. While day nursery provision was not required of local authorities, and the Ministry of Health maintained a "neutral" attitude towards the extension of service on the grounds of social need significant development appeared unlikely.

With the Seebohm Report (Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, 1968) the day nursery debate entered a new phase. Needs were not only to be viewed quantitatively but also qualitatively. What were day nurseries aims, who should therefore be responsible for them? While a minority of the Seebohm committee argued that responsibility for day nurseries should be transferred to education, the Report proposed transfer to social services departments. While the expansion of nursery

education would only meet some needs, day nurseries would continue to be needed for children whose mothers were "unable to be wholly responsible for looking after them". As Smith (1976) points out this sowed the seeds of the division between day care and education by distinguishing needs in this way, particularly between "social care" and "early learning". After Seebom, the debate about registration of private provision, such as play groups - which is ultimately about the control of provision - was described by Corbett (1969) as a "pre-school tug of war". This was ultimately resolved in favour of social services department who became responsible for the oversight of all non-educational provision.

Day nurseries were clearly restricted in offering places to children under five by the definition of need in Ministry of Health Circular 37/68. The section entitled "Children for whom day care may be provided..." reads:

"Priority will normally need to be given to children with only one parent...who has no options but to go out to work and who cannot arrange for the child to be looked after satisfactorily. Other children who may need day care...will include those:

- (a) who need temporary day care on account of the mother's illness;

- (b) whose mothers are unable to look after them adequately because they are incapable of giving young children the care they need;
- (c) for whom day care might prevent the breakdown of the mother or the break-up of the family;
- (d) whose home conditions (e.g. because of gross overcrowding) constitute a hazard to their health and welfare; and
- (e) whose health and welfare are seriously affected by the lack of opportunity for playing with others".

This circular remains in force today and provides the basis upon which local authorities define their priorities for day nursery places. While the allocation of places depends on a supply which varies widely between local authorities, each area operates such a priority system. In Wandsworth the area of the present study, this means that top priority is now given to children in a number of categories:

- whose parents are unable to care adequately for the child
- where the child is physically or mentally handicapped to a

degree that integration into an ordinary day care unit is both desirable and possible

- where the child is retarded in development, either physically or emotionally, or because of adverse social factors
- if a child is from a working single parent's family, (if the parent is not in full-time employment then the child must fulfill one of the above criteria)
- emergency admission is also possible to avert reception into care.

In effect the operation of these criteria mean that need is defined, for day nursery places, for children of single parent families whose parent is working and who often comply with more than one of the above criteria.

As Tizard, Moss and Perry (1976) show after 1972 the D.H.S.S.'s plans for development in the day nursery field suffered from the same financial restrictions as nursery education in the mid 1970s, and limited provision for limited needs has resulted. This has led to concern about the effect of such a clientele on the day to day routine of the nursery (Bain and Barnett 1980, Marshall 1982, Garland and White 1980). If the "needs debate"

has resulted from concern with such issues, as Clarke-Stewart asks (1982), for which new needs should day care be made available?

The result of this careful segregation of provision by type of need, and the devolution to local authorities of the identification of local needs has been a system characterised by "muddle and irrationality" (Tizard J. 1975). Increasingly the needs debate became dominated by the concern accurately to identify sources of variability in existing provision, and the pattern of need, in some more clinical fashion. Concern that the effects of local authority meant that the London Borough of Redbridge provided places for 0.3% of children born in the borough, while the Inner London Education Authority provided for 15.4% of births, or that at this time Hertfordshire provided for 11.9% of births while Dorset made no provision at all (Education 18.1.74), led to attempts to define need more clearly. As Blackstone (1972) noted local flexibility "can easily become a euphemism for a hotch-potch of schemes". If need could be more adequately measured, control could be more effectively established within the pre-school arena.

In the face of the financial restrictions of the 1970s there was a retreat from the universalism of the 1973 White Paper, and day nurseries were not expanded. Concern to identify those for whom provision was being made continued - and subsequently to redefine

need in more specific terms (e.g. in relation to working mothers).

In the Mid-1970s a number of studies were carried out looking at use of pre-school care and parents expressed preferences (or needs?) Local surveys of varying degrees of reliability produced evidence of a major gap between demand and provision (Moss and Plewris 1975 in Tizard et al. 1976). Similar results have been reported in a series of such surveys (Osborn 1975, Hannon 1977, Greenwich 1972, Watt 1975 quoted in Hughes et al. 1980) - particularly emphasising the need for full-time provision and for provision for under threes (Bax M, Moss P and Plewris I 1979). Sheila Shinman (1978, 1981) carried out intensive studies into nursery non-users in an Outer London borough. All this research was pervaded by a concern in the absence of universal provision to make the most effective use of limited resources. Additionally it is important to recognise that it was not simply a methodological inevitability that the focus was on mothers needs for provision - the hours, and availability, rather than children's needs which were assumed. This is a further result of the maternalist perspective (cf. Haystead et al. 1980).

Concern more accurately to measure the numbers of children needing and/or receiving pre-school provision led to more demographic approaches (e.g. Overton and Eversley 1977) and in particular to their influential OPCS study (Bone 1976, 1977) trying to identify children who needed day care by refining existing priority criteria (q.v.). Also, those working on the

longitudinal Child Health and Education Study were able through their data on 13,000 children born in one week in April 1970 to produce definitive data on the pre-school experiences of children in the early 1970s (Osborn, Morris and Butler 1979, Osborn 1980, and Butler et al. 1984). Of these children:

42.4% had attended a playgroup

27.6% had not attended any form of pre-schooling (many had been admitted to school before 5)

10.9% had been to a local authority nursery class

8.0% had gone to a local authority nursery school

6.0% had attended a private (independent) nursery school

2.0% had gone to an independent nursery class, day nursery or creche

1.3% had been to a social services day nursery

0.4% had gone to a special school or class for handicapped children

1.4% offered insufficient information

(van der Eyken, Michell and Grubb 1979)

But population studies of this type ultimately proved a distraction from the main issue - the "needs debate". It was of use to know precise figures for under fives in school (cf. for example Osborn 1981) but this did not pre-empt questions of which needs should be met.

By 1978 the needs debate was much more focussed - in particular on the availability of services for young children with working mothers. The Central Policy Review Staff noted that while around £850m of public money was spent on health, education and social services for under fives there was little indication of any underlying principle governing the way in which that expenditure was distributed, (C.P.R.S. 1978) and argued for a fundamental re-think. Similarly within the context of equal opportunities the E.O.C. (1978) report "I want to work....but what about the kids?" sketched out the gap between need and provision, arguing for a "considerable re-allocation of scarce resources". These were supported by reports on alternative approaches to providing for children whose parents were working (Moss 1978, Mottershead 1978).

Not only had the "needs debate" increasingly adopted a parental and "maternalist" perspective, it had also begun to revolve around issues of provision. This is particularly evident in the

papers from the 1976 Sunningdale Conference on "Low Cost Day Provision" (D.H.S.S./D.E.S. 1976). Similarly the Thomas Coram researchers in "Nurseries Now" (Hughes et al 1980) argue very clearly in terms of state provision to meet identified need. Effectively this approach is arguing for an extension of state control within the pre-school arena, while ostensibly focussing on parental need. Increasingly this perspective has been criticised for failing to appreciate the potential developments of co-ordination (Bradley 1981a), or of co-operation - in the broad sense adopted in the present research, of giving power over provision to parents.

Thus the "needs debate" can be seen ultimately to have led to arguments for the extension of state power within a maternalist perspective. This debate led to demands in the late 1970s for greater co-ordination of services, essentially within the same framework.

3) TOWARDS A CO-ORDINATED SERVICE?

The origins of demands for co-ordination lie in the new maternalism and the needs debate (e.g. Local Authority Associations Study 1977), and represent an extension of these concerns. It is worth noting, however, that this concept is not new. It was implicit in the work of Margaret McMillan (McMillan 1927), viewing the nursery school as the centre of a co-ordinated system of family intervention. In more recent years many major governmental reports relating to aspects of pre-school services, have demanded some form of co-ordination - Plowden on primary education (1967), Seebohm on the personal social services (1968) to the Court Report on Child Health Services (1977). Halsey in 1972, reporting on Educational Priority, states:

"Education, especially for the under-fives must be widely defined and it must be linked to a medical guidance and a skilled attention to cases of social breakdown. The trick is to integrate those essential features of upbringing". (p 184)

However, it was not until the later 1970s that such ideas began to gain the currency of public debate.

Thus in 1976, at the D.H.S.S. sponsored Sunningdale Conference many of the participants argued for a move away from the

artificial segregation of resources and agencies for care and education:

"It is counter-productive to assume that the care aspects and the educational aspects of provision for the under-fives are mutually exclusive or peculiar to one sort of provision rather than another". (Taylor 1976).

"I would like...to effect over a period of time an effective and co-operative fusion between the custodians of the two great traditions represented here, the 'carers' and the 'educators'". (Price 1976).

Equally, local authorities were demanding a radical re-appraisal of service for under-fives:

"...much of the philosophical justification for long-standing attitudes and practice is the rationalisation of haphazard developments after the event. We welcome therefore the recent radical re-examination of these attitudes and functions...(this) will require joint planning, and...might suggest joint budgets".

(Local Authority Associations' Study 1977 p 19)

In these terms co-ordination is conceived as primarily an administrative exercise, to facilitate the more effective planning

organisation and delivery of services. Thus:

"...unification of the provision for under-fives - for example the setting up of a joint committee with delegated powers - is not possible in the sense that legislation limits the range of operations of the education service and requires all education proposals to be considered by the education committee as a statutory committee; equally the powers and responsibilities of the Social Services Committee are similarly defined by legislation. If a single, comprehensive service for the under-fives is not within the competence of an individual local authority improved integration of the contributing services certainly is".

(London Borough of Hounslow 1977)

In addition to the specific concerns of policy makers, one can find a further level of argument for a co-ordinated pre-school policy. In the absence of an explicit set of "family" policies, British policy makers have operated on a series of assumptions about the family and female roles within the family (Land 1977). Within this essentially consensual approach (Hall et al. 1976) child care is seen as primarily a private family concern:

"The state (both centrally and locally) has hitherto tended to assume responsibility for child care or to leave the family to cope as best it can until crisis or tragedy

occur". (Land and Parker 1978)

Finch and Groves (1979) argue that community care policies ultimately make assumptions about women and caring networks. To the extent that community care policies rely on women's unpaid domestic labour and may necessitate their withdrawal from the labour market, such policies could be counter-productive to the promotion of equal opportunities. Thus Mary McIntosh argues (1982) that the key to understanding women's oppression lies in understanding the nature of the family, and the way in which the state preserves the dependent family system and the wife's responsibility for housework and for caring for people.

Arguments for a family policy gained currency during the 1970s (Margaret Wynn 1976), not simply as a means of making the best use of resources through enabling families to care, but as a family support system, related to some concept of a life-cycle of family needs. In this sense, supporting the family with young children became a fundamental argument within the "family policy" approach. This was not simply the result of feminist critiques of the family, and motherhood although these played a part in this debate. This meant not only tracing the relationship between women's role and industrialisation (Oakley 1974) and arguing the new roles should be found, but also examining underlying assumptions about the way in which women are primed for motherhood and are given highly developed expectations of

that role. At the same time there is a public failure to appreciate that "treble task" of many women ("work in paid labour, unpaid work in the home, and the job of rearing the children", (Antonis (1981) and many have argued for a more comprehensive approach to pre-school policy in terms of women's rights and needs. Thus Sheila Rowbotham (1981) argues that a "campaign for child care which demands both the liberation of women and the liberation of children...reveals the immediate tensions between the two".

Thus arguments for a co-ordinated pre-school policy gained currency in part from arguments advanced in favour of a more coherent publicly stated family policy. A co-ordinated policy could more adequately meet family needs in the field of child care. This is clearly the underlying theme of much of the National Child Care Campaign. Rick Rogers argued that it was "time for a pre-school revolution" in Britain - that "the whole programme is wrongly conceived", and that local authority policies should reflect that pressing demand for a comprehensive education and day care policy (particularly to support working mothers). Helen Penn (1982), for the National Child Care Campaign castigates governments for their failure to provide adequate support for mothers with young children who are in employment. She demonstrates the way in which the arbitrary division of provision reflects an arbitrary division of need. In order to develop more appropriate policies:

"The largest single obstacle, for those who seek to improve child care, is the division of responsibility between the D.E.S. and the D.H.S.S.....Providing a universal service for children under five would mean recognising that child care is not necessarily the main preoccupation of the mother, and that women with children have a right to full-time work if they can get it... Only when child care services are predicated on equality of opportunity and equality of access for both sexes, will children get the services they deserve, and women the fair deal they need". (Penn 1982)

Similar arguments linking the rights of parents (especially mothers and children) to an adequate service with the need for a comprehensive approach can be found in Penn (1984a), and particularly the development of nursery education as the foundation for a comprehensive service (Penn 1984b). With the involvement of the Local Government Campaign Unit in the former document, noting Britain's relative reluctance to develop a pre-school policy, there has been an increasing recognition on the left of British politics of the need for an integrated service (Bennett 1985). However, such manifesto commitments recognising the problems of a co-ordinated policy, integrating education with day care may still collide with the reality which continues to be an ambivalence about central or local governmental intervention in the pre-school arena.

As Mia Kellmer-Pringle (1980) argues, both major political parties at least pay lip-service to the central importance of the family with children - everyone is in favour of the family (Coote 1981). But further arguments can be advanced for a comprehensive pre-school policy which relate to the needs of children, which equally reflect the new "maternalist" perspective. Thus in 1974 Kellmer-Pringle was arguing for the application of new understanding in developmental psychology to multi-purpose pre-school centres or "pre-school comprehensives". Kellmer-Pringle in 1976 was arguing for "a policy for young children" which promoted high quality day care. Providing a pre-school policy to meet children's needs could be seen as an investment by society in its future, but such an approach requires coherent development along a broad front in health, social services and education.

A third impetus towards co-ordination, in addition to those derived from policy makers and critics of family policies, is derived from developments within the services themselves. In recent years an interesting trend towards the greater co-ordination of services has come from within existing agencies, in response to criticisms, and with an increasing awareness of the limitations of traditional approaches. In particular this could be traced to an increasing awareness of a "maternalism" perspective across the services.

There are many developments which represent a broadening of the professional perspectives normally associated with particular agencies. For example, within education one may note experimentation with the extension of hours to provide full day care, collaboration with day nurseries in providing part-time places for children, the development of community education, work, toy libraries and an increasing co-operation with childminders. In the sphere of social services there is an increasing provision of educational facilities within day nurseries, including the appointment of teachers, the development of a much broader concept of family day care, a more active role in the promotion of an adequate childminding service, and increasing co-operation with playgroups and community nurseries as inter-professional agencies reflects a broader perspective. (cf. Hughes et al. 1980).

In addition to such trends within existing provision, in each sphere a range of non-institutional provision has developed, individual services providing more informal provision on parallel lines. Thus schools have been promoted as centres for "home-visiting" schemes, social services have been developing family centres and drop-in facilities for childminders. Voluntary organisations such as Home Link and Scope have been developing informal pre-school community work. It is also evident that if we look beyond the organisational forms, at the

content of the work of pre-school personnel the isolation of individual professional approaches is being broken down. Thus the health visitor and the social worker are increasingly aware of a need to consider educational and cognitive factors which were formerly predominantly the province of the nursery teacher.

The teacher, and especially the headteacher in a nursery school, must develop some of the skills of the social worker. As the barriers are breaking down, workers in many areas are becoming aware of the need to be informed about one another's perspective and to co-ordinate the range of services which are offered. This has particularly led to demands for co-ordinated training either at in-service or initial levels. (Monk-Jones 1982)

4) CO-ORDINATION POLICIES

The "new maternalism", the needs debate and the critiques of existing policies for family support all led to an increasing public advocacy of co-ordination. This was given a major boost by the joint D.E.S./D.H.S.S. Circular (1976) setting out examples of collaborative enterprise between the various statutory agencies and voluntary organisations. This was reinforced by the even more important joint circular entitled "Co-ordination of Services for Children Under Five" (1978) which stated that:

"The Departments recognise that resources available for the under-fives are still far short of what is needed to make adequate provision for the group. The purpose of this letter is therefore to urge local authorities in general through co-ordination of all available services to make maximum use of existing resources in the education, social services and health fields provided by statutory authorities and also by the community itself through volunteers or voluntary bodies...." (para 1).

"No services for young children and their families can operate in isolation; almost everyone working in this field has much to gain from the expertise and experience of people in other statutory, voluntary and community services. There is, therefore, a continuing need for the co-ordination

of development plans and for arrangements to ensure contact and co-operation between all the agencies and authorities concerned...." (para 7)

This was a re-statement of some points in the 1976 letter which stated that:

"..while formal machinery can improve day-to-day liaison at working level on matters of common concern it can never be a substitute for it. On the contrary one of the main tasks of co-ordinating machinery should be to encourage control at working level and to extend the opportunities for such contacts". (para 8)

As Bradley (1979) demonstrates in discussing the formation of the joint statutory and voluntary Pre-school Advisory Panel in Liverpool, many local authorities were already engaged in such initiatives. Palfreeman and Smith's study of voluntary initiatives and integrated services in Cheshire (1982) demonstrates the much longer-term nature of such connections originating in the need to review under-fives provision after Circular 37/68 (q.v.) and the post-Seebohm reorganisation of Social Services. This policy was also given impetus by Sir Keith Joseph in June 1972, discussing the cycle of deprivation:

"The Government wishes to help without in any sense eroding

the voluntary nature of the work...It is to local authorities that playgroups should look for support. Many authorities do help already. I hope that where there is need all will do so". Joseph (1972)

Although some co-ordination was already developing it was given a focus by the 1978 circular. In parallel with these developments many local authorities were reviewing their services for under-fives in a more comprehensive framework, from the Butt Report on Islington (1972), the London Borough of Hounslow review (1977), Wandsworth's Social Services Department review (1978), London Borough of Merton (1979). In addition, organisations campaigning locally for a more adequate child care policy have conducted local surveys and reviews (Westway Nursery Association 1981). Thus:

"Co-ordination of these facilities on an area basis makes sense. It would bring together and build on the experience and expertise of local parents, childminders, voluntary and Council workers. They are all in an excellent position to identify gaps in provision, help improve local services and adopt patterns of child care provision which reflect the particular needs of their area".

(Haringey Child Care Campaign 1981)

Many of the studies of co-ordination which followed on the 1978 circular focussed on three main areas. There were studies concerned with the development of networks of care, for example Denise Hevey's (1981) study of under fives co-ordinators appointed to three areas in Hampshire which emphasised the different styles at grass roots level from traditional co-ordination of information about existing services, to a more radical personal development approach. Whatever type of network of neighbourhood care evolves, Abrams (1980) argues that the majority of such approaches to co-ordination ultimately result in colonisation, through the domination, appropriation or incorporation of that network by public authorities.

Alternatively "some serious surrender of powers is unavoidable if one really wants any significant measure of social care to be provided with neighbourhood social networks". (p 23). The development of co-ordinated caring networks can thus be viewed as an extension of state control within the pre-school arena.

A second area of study which has been extremely limited has been in investigating the extent of local contacts between pre-school workers. Bender and Sutton (1980) looked at the ways in which agencies perceived "the network" of which they were presumed to be part - did it exist, and did it work? Responses to a questionnaire study of 84 agencies within a single health district (two-thirds response rate) suggested that in relation to referrals for child guidance:

"the "network of services", the "collaboration" and "flexibility"...appears to depend upon an informal structure at variance of the the formal structure of the major agencies".

In consequence they argue for a decentralisation of services so that referrals can be based even more effectively on the local community rather than the whole Area Health Authority. This would be supported by the findings of the present study that contacts are local and personal rather than area based and formal. A small interview study of 15 health visitors examining their links with social workers (in referral and contact) indicated a considerable overlap in work which demonstrated a need for co-ordination to the client and the worker's benefit. (Corney 1980). Dowling (1980) in discussing the relationships between volunteers and professionals in local networks argues

that such a partnership must be a two-way relationship, and may involve major changes in attitude. Bruce (1982) comes to similar conclusions in looking at links between social work and education - particularly in relation to referral - and argues that schools should be offered a more personal, regular and co-ordinated service by educational psychologists and social workers. The major conclusion from Leaper's (1980) three county comparison of links between health and social workers was that "integrated agency provision at local level leads to better co-operation between nurses, social workers and other health workers. This factor had more impact and was more important than a remote "co-ordinated administration". This too would be supported by the present study.

A third area of consideration in the post-1978 period has been the extension of services to fill vital gaps, and thus promote a more co-ordinated service. The field of child abuse has been one area in which this has happened with the establishment of central register systems (D.H.S.S. 1980), and an increasing concern to share information (Wells 1981, Jones 1981).

Essentially, all these developments of increasingly co-ordinated policies and practices in the under-fives field represent an extension and refinement of control over that arena. This is particularly borne out by Martin Bradley's study of co-ordination procedures, which conceives of co-ordination as predominantly an

administrative authority based concern - more effectively to organise services. Bradley's survey (1980b) reported that an earlier emphasis on formal co-ordinating committees had shifted towards more semi-formal and informal structures, that there was a subtle and varied pattern of procedures across the country. Social services departments were playing a key role in co-ordination, and rarely involved voluntary organisations in co-ordination procedures (cf. Bradley 1980a). In addition, health visitors played a central role in developing services and in extending contacts with provision across all sectors. (Bradley 1982). Ultimately co-ordination must be seen as a "portmanteau word covering a variety of situations at different times...communication (i.e. informing others of decisions) consultation (seeking advice and information) negotiation (with a view to compromise or agreement) and collaboration on a joint scheme". (Bradley 1981b).

The logical development of such co-ordination lies in such joint schemes - particularly in the emergence of nursery centres (Ferri et al.1981) jointly funded and staffed to provide for the needs of the locality (HMI 1979). This type of provision varies enormously across the country, as early evaluation studies have noted (Ferri 1980). However the move towards combining different types of pre-school care and education to enable a flexible response to family need (Oates 1981) and an available range of professional skills (Kotzen 1979), has focussed

attention on the issues involved in co-ordination. Clearly as Bruner (1980) notes such local experimentation can be seen as a vital supplement to national co-ordination of policies. Clearly, too, the Thomas Coram researchers had nursery centres in mind (Hughes et al 1980) in arguing that:

"Co-ordination schemes should no doubt be welcomed as attempts to do something about the present situation...None of them, however, can be said to have solved the basic problems arising from the split between care and education: indeed, bringing together different aspects of the two services in some cases serves only to show up the anomalies and discrepancies between them".

Co-ordination policies act to control the pre-school arena in a number of different ways, and with a number of different aims. In the 1978 Circular the global aim of improving provision is refined to include "the maximum use of existing resources", "to take full advantage of additional resources that may be available" and to offer "support for the family as a whole.. complement and supplement, but not serve as a substitute for parental care". Within what appears to be a straightforward means of improving the effectiveness of the system lie unstated assumptions about the role of the state in this field. This perspective can be seen to owe much to the "new maternalism" and the need to support the child's development within the

interactive family setting. In addition this approach can be seen to derive directly from the "needs debate", particularly in the sense of a more adequate match between need and provision. Ultimately the system can be seen to operate as a more effective control over the pre-school arena.

Co-ordination is clearly a policy designed to promote control from the central policy making process within the local authority to the periphery. Thus through improved knowledge about the system, a more adequate flow of information, control can be more effectively exercised both over the varied elements of the system, and over the clients. Power is essentially retained by the workers within the co-ordinated system - a power to define need, to provide and to make decisions about pre-school care. This power is maintained on a knowledge base.

The most basic level of co-ordination - that of awareness of the availability of provision - has resulted in many areas in the compilation of directories of pre-school facilities (Haringey 1983, Clapham and Larkhall 1982). This may result in more effective matching of children's needs and parents needs with available provision, a laudable aim on its own, but does not imply any devolution of power, in fact effective control over entry to the various facilities is retained by pre-school workers and control over the organisation and type of provision is similarly not devolved with the co-ordination of information.

At the next level, co-ordination can be viewed as effective networking between workers exchanging information about children and families. In crisis situations this needs to operate effectively, for example when children are deemed to be "at risk" and the range of workers involved with them and their families need to be alerted to work together. In addition this type of information flow operates more effectively to place children within the system, and also to continue the surveillance of children who move from one provision to another. In all these ways, the exchange of information must be seen as an apparatus of control.

A further level of co-ordination is more concerned with the interests of pre-school workers themselves. An efficiently co-ordinated service would see regular contact between all workers within a particular area. Such contact might take the form of discussion groups, offering opportunities for an exchange of ideas and perspectives as well as information. These contacts would be likely to lead to the identification of gaps in the service, if effective co-ordination results in an examination of local needs. Clearly this type of co-ordination implies the eventual development of joint planning, the emergence of new services and increasing possibilities of working together across traditional boundaries. At this level co-ordination consists of exchange of "professional knowledge". The implication of this

exchange for the concept of control is that it will inevitably result in more efficient intervention in the pre-school arena even if the boundaries of that intervention are limited by agreement among the workers concerned.

Whatever level of co-ordination operates in any specific area, the fundamental assumptions of increasing state and professional involvement in child care would be questioned by many in the field. Thus Leach (1979) argues that increasing "help for families" will mean taking away women's power over their lives:

"Very gradually...the right to manage is slipping away from us. If this were being brought about by obvious forces of accepted evil...it would be easy to recognise the enemy and to see how to go about combating it. But in the western world the trend towards reliance on and control by 'them' is far more subtle than that". (p 43)

Sneila Rowbotham (1981) examines the triangle of state, children and parents and argues that there is a substantial ambivalence underlying demands for increasing state provision while at the same time reducing personal control over provision for children.

Mozere (1981) in an important paper clarifies this ambivalence, through a discussion of the emergence of integrated services in France, and the contradictions between such ideas and the "model

or social management" or community control. She asks "Is it possible to devise forms of collective management which are geared to the aspirations of the individuals and groups concerned and not normalised by officialdom?" As in Britain integrated projects, and more co-ordinated approaches have developed as a reaction against the compartmentalisation of services. This compartmentalisation is clearly a control process:

"Young children in France are allocated to the existing facilities for care...for play...for treatment...for education...and for maternal care...on the basis of contradictory sometimes compartmentalised reasoning".

"..the children...gradually tend to be characterised by their membership of one or another institution...this places children in an imposed 'typology'...and inserts them into a logical stream...heading for a 'predictable' type of development".

"The classification...is generally exclusive...each supervisory area will therefore have to develop (according to its own logic) as a whole early childhood complex for 'its' own category of child..."

There will be no contact with comparable institutions administered by other authorities, there will be no circulation

of information. "Segregation and incarceration within a given category begin from the moment of birth". Users have to take on roles assigned to them. These are clearly the types of criticisms of segregated services which underlie the moves towards co-ordination in Britain.

Mozere's analysis of the emergence of integrated services in France clearly owes something to Foucault's discussion of the emergence of prisons as total institutions. (Foucault 1975). She notes how most "integrated" projects have tended to retain and perpetuate some form of compartmentalisation:

"the integration projects so far attempted...have held aloof from this idea by eliminating all the collective, multi-disciplinary and local aspects of the project, just as they have 'forgotten' to ensure continuity, bypass the present stratified pattern of administration and challenge the suitability of certain government departments for their present supervisory role".

Mozere considers four aims central to all these experiments, which are fundamentally concerned with control, and apply directly to the present study:

1. to standardise action and co-ordinate the various objectives previously pursued through a wide range of disciplines

2. the creation of new infant ghettos

"the child is taken over completely..."

"social pressure is exercised to promote a closed and very highly responsible (conventional) family pattern"

3. promoting parent co-operation

"the parents...find themselves vested with new powers to 'manufacture good children' but under conditions of constant subordination to the specialists"

"the incompetence felt by parents is thus increased and extended to more and more sectors and activities" and

4. management

Thus for Mozere the fundamental feature of the last twenty years has been the way in which children have been consistently taken over by experts - "children are being scrutinised and tracked down in a climate of normality and conformity that is more refined and efficient each day". The importance of Mozere's analysis lies partly in the direct parallel between the processes she notes in France and those discussed in the present study in Britain. In addition she argues that this control process is directly opposed to attempts to provide more community-based services, and will effectively negate attempts to relocate power within the system.

It is this latter concern that is central to the present study, for in contrast to notions of co-ordination, the "new maternalism" and the "needs debate" have also produced an apparently alternative concept - that of "co-operation".

5) CO-OPERATION POLICY AND PRACTICE

During the 1970s a second policy emerged in the British pre-school field. The concept of co-operation between workers and parents came to the fore, and can be seen to complement the idea of co-ordination (Bradley 1984). Both policies emerged in response to the "new maternalism" and the "needs debate".

However the two policies appear opposed in one aspect - that of their concept of control. Whereas co-ordination policies tend to emphasise professional or worker control, co-operation policies stress an increase in parent involvement and ultimately parental control of services.

The debate about the relationship between pre-school provision and parents is an inevitable one. The proximity of home and school in the child's experience at this period means that the interface of the two "systems" can be viewed as problematic. (Smith 1980).

Research has been devoted to smoothing transfer between home, pre-school and school (Blackstone et al. 1982, Cleave et al. 1982). Much of the literature relating to co-operation is school-focussed. As with co-ordination policies the idea of co-operation is not new - it can be found in the work of pioneers such as Margaret McMillan (McMillan 1927), - but similarly it was given a new emphasis in the 1970s.

The impetus towards co-operation was derived from early researchers in the Sociology of Education demonstrating an association between home background and experience (and the

impact of deprivation theory q.v.) Much of the emphasis in early moves towards co-operation was to seek in some way to intervene to promote children's achievement within education by altering parental attitudes. (c.f. Midwinter (1972)). The major emphasis on attitudes can be found in the British Educational Priority Area projects and in the American Headstart programme. Bronfenbrenner, reviewing the latter states:

"there are social forces and educational arrangements that diminish the status and motivation of parents (both mothers and fathers) as the most powerful agents for the development of their child. By communicating to the parent that someone else can do it better, that he or she is only an assistant to the expert who is not only more competent but also does the job, some social agencies, schools and even intervention programmes undermine the principal system that not only stimulates the child's development but can sustain it through the period of childhood and adolescence".

(Bronfenbrenner 1974a)

As Woodhead (1981) notes in relation to this "there is still a tendency to overestimate the professional role and underestimate

the parental role..." Woodhead quotes the work of Wells (q.v.) in refuting some of the Bernstein-based assumptions about children's language and home background in support of this. Allied to an overemphasis on the separation of professional and parent one may also find an overemphasis on the problems of the poor. Thus Bruner (1980) argues that Sir Keith Joseph's use of the concept of a "Cycle of Deprivation" in the early 1970s, derived as it was from America "where it had been used by Patrick Moynihan to characterise poor Black families and by Oscar Lewis and others in discussion of Puerto Rican families who had come to urban America from the barillos of San Juan, importing their self-perpetuating habits of poverty with them", led to the notion that the problems of childhood and of young families was made to appear principally the result of poverty. The deprivation approach could therefore be adapted to move from a passive provision of facilities to be made use of by parents and children, to active intervention in poor people's homes, to promote more adequate educational environments. This approach raises major theoretical and ethical arguments (c.f. Ginsburg 1972), and is essentially an extension of control based in the developmental phase of pre-school provision (q.v.)

However with the advent of a new maternalism in the 1970s the

concept of co-operation took on a much broader meaning. The new emphasis on the integrity of the child's relationships with care-givers and especially mothers, and their importance for early development meant that intervention was increasingly based on a involvement and support model, on mutual co-operation rather than domination by the worker in the relationship.

One further element in the new view of families is an increasing tendency to study the family and parenthood - and the need to support adults as parents. In part this derives from the cycle of deprivation arguments as in Cooper (1974), reporting on a D.H.S.S. sponsored conference on "Dimensions of Parenthood".

Thus Bronfenbrenner (1974b) argued:

"Any force or circumstance which interferes with the formation, maintenance, status or continuing development of the parent-child system in turn jeopardises the development of the child". (p 98)

and in the same conference Rutter presented a strong argument for education in parenthood:

"First,...parenting being based in part on skills in

interpersonal relationships, in communication and in coping with stress, then one essential is to ensure that young people have the best opportunities to develop these skills... (we must make clear) the limits of our knowledge. We have had far too much in the way of edicts from professionals on what parents must do..." (Rutter (1974) p 23)

However, the underlying theme of such discussion is to identify "strategies designed to change or influence family functioning". (Stevenson 1974)

A second set of arguments for the support of families is derived from the effects of changing family structure. The precise nature of such changes is a matter of some controversy (Blumberg and Winch 1972). As Pugh (1984) notes "Only 5 per cent of households at any one time consist of a married man who is working, with a wife not in paid work and with two dependent children...the structures and patterns of family life in Britain are characterised by the diversity". (p 23). There are major changes in family patterns, although "the family is still very much alive in Britain".

Rapaport et al. (1977) argue that one of the key changes is towards an idea that the family household is an essentially private concern. They use Barbara Laslett's (1973) argument that like childhood such privacy is an essentially modern invention, and has led to an increasing sense of loneliness for mothers as "captive" wives. (Gavron 1966). This argument received particular attention in the 1970s with the work of Brown and Harris (1978), demonstrating a high prevalence of depression among mothers of young children. However, as Bruner (1980) states, faced with this high incidence it is no longer sufficient to regard pre-school provision as essentially a private family concern. The boundary between public and private shifts.

Similar arguments can be found in the child care literature of the 1970s, which shifted with maternalism to place more emphasis on the support of mothers own feelings and judgements - e.g.

Rapaport et al. (1977):

"In the newer baby books there seems to be a growing trend, in parallel with a fine delineation of children's needs, towards a more sensitive approach towards parents".

The authors review a series of texts for parents which support parents in their feelings and experiences, and argue that mothers needs are to be balanced with those of the child.

Thus the 1970s saw a shift away from the concept of co-operation with parents in order to help the child, towards the notion that such co-operation has an important function of parental and particularly maternal support. As Wolfendale (1983b) argues:

"Changes in ideology, focus and intent are discernible in recent years in the vast area of supporting services and welfare networks the concern of which are children, their parents and families...they beg questions about the precise relationships between the vast armies of personnel trained to work with or on behalf of children..."

As De Ath notes (1984):

"There has been a growing recognition perhaps best summarised in the Court Report, that professional 'expertise' is tending to confuse parents and undermine their self-confidence in their own parenting

abilities".

Some studies do continue to promote the notion of parental involvement primarily to support the child's development (Athey 1980), and particularly the work on parents assisting with their children's reading in the "PACT" scheme (Tizard J et al. 1982, Harrison 1980). Such notions of involvement have developed much further into the concept of co-operation. This is particularly referred to in Smith (1984) and Wolfendale (1983) as the distinction between "client" and "consumer", a characterisation which is useful in drawing attention to the power dimension of this shift - there is a clear shift in control implied in recent moves towards co-operation.

This becomes apparent if one compares the typologies of parent involvement produced by Teresa Smith (1980) and Gillian Pugh (1984). In the earlier account five categories of involvement in pre-school groups are listed:

1. working with the children on "educational activities"
2. working in the group "doing the chores"
3. servicing the group e.g. mending equipment, fund raising

4. miscellaneous contacts between parents and the group
5. involvement in management

However, in the later formulation a clear series of levels of involvement are defined:

1. Non-participation
2. "Being there"
3. Co-operation (over contribution)
4. Collaboration (joint working)
5. Partnership (equal planning and working)
6. Control

Although, as Pugh notes very few schemes outside the voluntary sector operate under full parental control there is an increasing tendency to define parent involvement in these terms rather than the more miscellaneous types of involvement implied in Smith's typology.

To view co-operation with parents in terms of control probably only makes sense if one adopts a sufficiently broad perspective across the range of pre-school provision. Within Education although there are strategies to increase parental involvement (Tizard B et al. 1981b) these are still largely in a traditional

"parent as assistant" role. Cyster et al. (1980) suggest that progress in Education towards even this type of involvement has to be "cautious". In contrast the voluntary sector has often based its provision in a model of co-operation and parental control - and within social services it is possible to find a whole series of relationships between parents and professionals (Eisenstadt 1984).

Wolfendale (1984) quotes a number of authors who are increasingly advocating such partnerships: thus:

"The basic principle, I believe, behind a true partnership is a sharing. A sharing of knowledge, of power, of resources, of information of expertise, of experience and of decision making.."

(De Ath 1982)

"Partnership involved a full sharing of knowledge skills and experience...parents and professionals are working together on a basis of equality". (Mittler 1983)

"Partner characteristics include these:

- parents are active and central in decision making and its implementation
- parents are perceived as having equal strengths and equivalent expertise
- parents are able to contribute to as well as receive services
- parents have responsibility, thus they and professionals are mutually accountable".

(Wolfendale 1983)

Such notions of parental control in partnership would appear to have been incorporated into practice in relatively few areas of pre-school work, and will be examined in relation to Battersea. The central element of a shift away from a conception of parental involvement in helping the child (consistent with a "developmental" perspective) towards a concern with co-operation with parents for its own sake (consistent with a "maternalist" perspective) reflects fundamental changes in all areas of pre-school work. While on initial examination such moves might appear to represent changes in control over the pre-school arena, it could be argued that in fact this is an extension of the "tutelary complex" beyond the control through institutional

provision offered by co-ordination policies into much more subtle forms of control acting through the family. Whether this is in fact the case may become clearer if we examine the same shift in perspective towards co-operation as it has occurred in two further areas - those of informal support for parents, and the development of playgroups. In both of these one finds arguments for a fundamental shift in control which could lead to a "grass roots" emergence of pre-school provision contrasting with the hierarchical emergence of co-ordination policies. However, either could be viewed as an extension of "policing" in the pre-school arena.

Informal support for parents outside conventional institutional frameworks, emerged particularly in the home visiting schemes of compensatory education. Thus in the U.S.A. many such schemes were devised under Headstart, with the intention of extending the educational function of the school into the home, of developing the educational content in child rearing. This rested on major assumptions about existing patterns of child rearing (Poulton and James 1975). Very often such schemes became parent-support schemes (Evans n.d., reports on developments in the 1970s from a "parent-infant curriculum" to a "Parent-to-Parent" model). The early stages of such schemes were influenced on the E.P.A.

programme in Britain, and in particular on the team in the West Riding of Yorkshire - who developed their own home visiting scheme. Four main aims were defined:

1. "to study the educational environment of young children, particularly the mother-child relationship
2. to examine the stages of development in children's play and learning in the home
3. to try to discover in co-operation with the mother any problems or difficulties in the child's progress
4. to work out a home visiting programme acceptable to individuals and families in the community".

(Armstrong and Brown 1979, in Poulton 1983)

By 1975 this emphasis on the child shifted in many schemes to a concern with parents themselves (Poulton 1975), and within the West Riding project itself there was an increasing awareness of importance of parental attitudes. However there was considerable variability within such schemes in their approaches to this (Poulton 1983). The concept of home visiting to support parents has gained considerable ground within all the main services concerned with pre-school children (Pugh 1983) .

Poulton reports a survey of such schemes in which he found at

least 450 visitors in England and Scotland, three quarters in the voluntary sector, and the remainder employed by local authorities, mainly in school (Poulton 1981). Whilst this is still a relatively small number, the concept of home visiting has gained ground within many agencies working with young children and families. Poulton notes from his survey "a marked shift from the earlier emphasis placed on children's cognitive and social performances of earlier schemes. There is more focus now on family support".

As the report on the Deptford scheme states "our original aim was to develop what Halsey calls the "teaching triangle" of parent, child and teacher" (I.L.E.A. 1979), but since then London's home visiting projects "have become firmly entrenched in adult education, and their objectives now reflect this " and include "the personal growth of the parent " and "the development of effective links between the family and the wider community network" (Marsh and Scribbins 1983). As Robinson (1981) points out in discussing the role of the education visitor working from school to home, the development of confidence in parents is one of their major functions. Similarly Seaman (1983) reporting on a study in Norwich describes the way in which a visiting scheme focussed on children's language became increasingly aimed at

parents. This development of home visiting into a support service for parents is a common feature of school based schemes.

The rationale for this is frequently similar to that advanced by Whitham and Aplin (1983) for whom the educational visitor is seen as "an enabler, assisting the family to participate in the process of helping the child to achieve his educational potential. Consequently it was the family as a whole, and the mother in particular, who was the immediate target of the educational home visitor.." Increasingly home visitors were involved in "enhancing parenting skills". Similarly Stacey (1983) in discussing a scheme based on a nursery centre argues that such schemes must give parents opportunities to widen their horizons, and reduce parental isolation.

Not only did this shift occur in schemes based in pre-school facilities, other schemes which derived similar inspiration from e.p.a. projects and developed in more informal ways also demonstrated the same change in rationale. This is particularly evident in the Poulton's work (Poulton and Poulton 1979). Their basic model of home visiting, evolved in the West Riding e.p.a., provided continuing support for mothers and families. This model transferred to Hampshire with the idea of SCOPE, a "small supportive organisation for a network of neighbourhood groups"

all acting as informal support networks for mothers. As Poulton and Couzens (1980) state this organisation was set up "to help families to help themselves". The work is organised by co-ordination(Hevey 1981), but functions informally. While Poulton and Poulton suggest that such an organisation must inevitably lead to increasing questioning by consumers of the institutions provided for them.

Similar ideas can be found in the emergence of other informal organisations, such as Home Start in Leicester or Home Link in Liverpool. A network has emerged in which mothers of young children volunteer to support others. "Home Start, though aimed at under-fives, was from the start equally concerned about their parents, not merely as "change-agents" or "first teachers" but as persons in their own right who might need help" (van der Eyken 1982). The same feeling underlies Pugh's argument for support for parents in the community, "Ideally there should be a whole specimen of services in any one area to enable parents to 'plug in' at whichever point they feel is relevant" from support networks to playgroups and nursery classes. (Pugh 1981). Van der Eyken (1979) argues that community nurseries can provide the basis of such "neighbourhood care that is genuinely democratic, community involving and intimate with a strong thrust towards

flexible provision that is based on collective responsibility". Poulton and Couzens (1980) argue that SCOPE is "an alternative model to statutory services".

However, a note of caution is valuable here. The accounts reviewed present little evidence of transfer of power over services from workers to parents. There has been little evaluation and rather more description of these developments by interested practitioners (Birchall 1982). While co-operation with parents might appear to offer an alternative approach to co-ordination - a grass-roots influenced pattern of services rather than an imposed one - once we incorporate the concept of control into the account the similarities emerge. Thus it is more appropriate to view policies of co-operation with parents as a more subtle extension of those control policies also found in co-ordination. While co-ordination policies can be seen to act directly to extend a more effective complex of services into the pre-school arena, co-operation is acting more subtly to control key problem areas on an individual basis.

6) THE PLAYGROUP MOVEMENT

An analysis of the emerging role of the Playgroup movement in Britain since the 1960s helps to clarify the way in which policies for co-ordination and co-operation were in effect acting as an extension of state control over an arena which lay between the family and state. During this period the boundary between the two was being redefined as a result of the influence of a "new maternalism", which stressed the importance of the context of a child's development - particularly the child's relationship with mother and family.

The emergence of the Pre-school Playgroups Association in the 1960s was a clear response to governmental restrictions on the growth of nursery education (Circular 8/60 q.v.). Initially established as a mutual support and contact organisation for those concerned to develop a substitute for absent educational provision, membership of the organisation grew rapidly during the 1960s:

PPA Membership 1961-1968 (adapted from Keely 1968)

| | |
|------|------|
| 1961 | 80* |
| 1962 | 160* |
| 1963 | 320* |
| 1964 | 500 |
| 1965 | 550 |
| 1966 | 1100 |
| 1967 | 2100 |
| 1968 | 4000 |

*estimated from survey figures

By 1968 on Keeley's survey of 1,020 playgroups it is estimated that over 100,000 children were being provided for in 4,000 groups. As Keeley argued "Playgroups have revealed a demand for nursery education that cannot conceivably be met in the immediate future even by a vast increase in the number of conventional nursery schools. They have demonstrated the readiness of parents to take an active part in the provision of their children's pre-school education (p 29)

Playgroups initially were very firmly based in the developmental perspective as a voluntary organisation for parents concerned to promote more adequate development in their children (Crowe 1973).

While playgroups were predominantly middle class in origin, there was increasing concern that groups should be set up in less advantaged areas. As Ferri and Niblett (1977) note the Urban Aid programme provided funds for the development of groups in "priority" areas. "while others were started with the support of local authority departments...or of voluntary organisations". This extension of the concept of the playgroup to compensate for disadvantage is clearly consistent with the second element noted in the "developmental perspective" - a concern with pre-school provision to combat deprivation. As Ferri and Niblett conclude from the in-depth study of thirty groups catering for disadvantaged families in some groups needy often difficult children were being given exceptional care and attention...some groups were obviously doing very well indeed". However they note that other groups were less successful in coping with the problems posed by the presence of difficult children - "The conventional playgroup is not one which could offer compensatory provision of this (structured programme) nature" (p 73). Similar caution can be found in Joseph and Parfit's study of "Playgroups in an Area of Social Need" (1972) which notes a "wide variation in the degree to which (such groups) involve mothers and also in the degree by which they provide for children with the highest incidence of social needs ". (p 24). However, at

this time, at the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s playgroups were clearly being proposed as one answer to deprivation. In 1972 Sir Keith Joseph as Secretary of State for Social Services chose a P.P.A. conference to make a major speech launching research and policy initiatives into the "cycle of deprivation". Playgroups, it was argued had an important part to play, particularly in working with parents, and in co-ordination with local authorities.

It was Lady Plowden in 1973 who argued that the playgroup movement provided a "cycle of opportunity" and in so doing she listed five main strengths of the movement:

- for parents
- in the community
- among the handicapped
- in crisis
- with mothers and toddlers

The striking feature of this list is the emphasis on parents. The playgroup movement experienced the same shift in underlying thinking that other pre-school services had undergone. Thus Plowden states "Playgroups have enabled mothers - and some fathers - to gain confidence both as parents and as people. It has enabled mothers to escape from the loneliness and inertia

they may experience at home...it has made them aware of their children's needs". (p 3) and "The strength of the playgroup movement lies precisely in the way it has enabled mothers of all classes to recognise that they've got skills, and use them". (p 5) (Plowden 1973) At this time mother-and-toddler groups were also becoming a feature of many playgroups, involving parents in provision for much younger children (Blythe et al. 1978), and specifically in mutual support.

Thus parent involvement had become the key distinctive feature of playgroups:

"A playgroup reaches its potential when a self-help group of parents works together to provide the means for safe and satisfying play for their children and those of the of community. In so doing, the parents are strengthened in their roles as mothers and fathers, and a greater sense of awareness of their contribution to the upbringing of their children is created. As a result the lives of families and the community in which they live are enriched". (P.P.A. 1978a)

As Eric Midwinter argued "the playgroup with active and effective parental involvemnt is a markedly better social and educational

investment than the nursery school or class which hasn't...the professional pre-schooler who does not perceive of the parent-child in unison as the unit for treatment is acting unprofessionally - in the sense of refusing to accept the currently received wisdom of the day". (Midwinter 1979)

By the 1980s parental involvement was the "received wisdom of the day" in many areas of pre-school working. The playgroup movement took this further than most with control over the organisation and running of the group as an implicit part of involvement (P.P.A. 1981). By this time Lady Plowden was arguing that her Report (Central Advisory Council 1967) had not given sufficient weight to the contribution of playgroups - "We didn't know then what we know now". (Plowden 1982). Provision should still enable mothers to play a responsible part - "We have passed the point where it was thought that the state could provide all the services which the community needed. We have now reached the point where the community with help can provide so much itself". The subsequent debate stimulated by these comments focussed on the relative merits of one form of provision rather than another, but did not question the wisdom of the notion that "parental involvement" was a good thing. (Rogers 1982, Francis 1982)

By the late 1970s playgroups were also involved in the other key aspect of pre-school policy in the phase of "new maternalism" - co-ordination. In Bradley et al.'s (1980) analysis of a 1975 survey of playgroups, a strong level of P.P.A. involvement in local co-ordinating groups was found - and an especially close affiliation between playgroups and social services departments (in registering and grant-aiding) - although there were relatively fewer links with Education Departments, 24 out of 37 co-ordinating groups included P.P.A. Clearly P.P.A. was increasingly being seen as an important element in pre-school co-ordination. The first local-authority grants were made to local associations in the 1960s, as were DES and DHSS grants at national level (PPA 1978b). Increasing grants during the 1970s were accompanied by closer links with other voluntary groups at a national level (Tams 1978), and more involvement with other services locally (P.P.A. 1981). Those who advocated this role for playgroups argue that such co-ordination is far more than consultation. O'Connor (1984) argues that the gap between volunteer and professional in pre-school provision is closing and that there is a realisation of the contribution of each within a co-ordinated service. This is akin to the argument for partnership between professionals and parents in under-fives services (Dowling 1979), which view such developments as a positive strengthening process. An alternative, and currently

influential view of the role of the voluntary sector within a co-ordinated service is provided by Jenkin (1971) with his argument for returning care to the community and providing a state safety-net.

A dissenting voice of particular relevance to the present study is that of Janet Finch, whose work on working class playgroups suggest that the idea of playgroups in such areas is anomalous, indeed:

"The whole enterprise is fundamentally deceitful. This is so for three reasons. First, encouraging women to run their own pre-school facilities, rather than seek an extension of statutory services is deceitful because it promotes a form of provision which such women cannot provide for themselves. Second, the idea of self-help obscures the fact that what is being sought is facilities on the cheap.. Third...playgroups make no contribution to the need of parents in work". (Finch 1984a)

While Maxwell (1984) argues that this is to force a "harsh but false dichotomy between mothering and the informal economy of the household, and the world of struggle for women to have a place in the labour market", this does not answer the central argument of Finch which implies that if playgroups have a place at all it is limited to areas in which women have more resources available to them. This notion is extended in Finch (1984b) in which she argues that it is unrealistic and insulting to expect a self-help solution to work in the face of such constraints - that working class playgroups cannot provide a "first class environment" for young children.

Thus co-operation for playgroups could be viewed as in reality only a meaningful development for middle class groups. In working class groups "rough" mothers are divided from the "respectable" (Finch 1983) and this means that involvement only has meaning for the "respectable" minority. That this is the case could be supposed with reference to Pugh's (1984) typology of parental involvement. It is not possible to argue that co-operation for any parents in playgroups goes beyond the earlier levels, and becomes control.

Equally a note of caution must be introduced in relation to increasing co-ordination of playgroup services with social services - this could well be viewed as an extension of control into the voluntary sector by the 'local state" . These issues of the role of the voluntary sector will be especially important to explore in relation to Battersea, where the voluntary sector plays a prominent part.

There have, therefore, been similar shifts of perspective in the whole range of pre-school services. Such shifts reflect a changing view of childhood, from a focus on early development as child-centred, towards a view which encompasses the child's relationships with adults, and particularly with mother - a "new maternalism". This change of view led to a particular emphasis on co-ordination and co-operation, policies which have been seen to be in opposition - implying strengthening or weakening of state control over the pre-school arena. However, it has been argued here that it is more meaningful to regard both policies as essentially similar in their extension of control over the pre-school.

The key question for investigation in Battersea therefore becomes the extent to which such policies of co-ordination and

co-operation have been adopted and developed, and how far such policies represent an extension of control over the pre-school field. Has the boundary between public and private shifted? Can we see a process of "policing the pre-school" as Donzelot (1979) might describe it?

CHAPTER 6. THE METHODS OF THIS STUDY

The foregoing discussion of the development of pre-school policy in Britain (with particular reference to educational policy) has relied upon a number of key concepts:

1. That the development of pre-school services has, during this century, represented a gradual extension of state control over an area previously regarded as specifically the concern of the family. This shifting boundary between state and family has moved in concert with shifts in a complex of ideas about children's development and families which could be said to provide an ideology of intervention.
2. That in the last decade this ideology has shifted to a new maternalism, with a fresh emphasis on the role of the mother, the need for support services for families, and an increasing call for an overview of pre-school policy which while it might not be comprehensive would at least be co-ordinated. (Kellmer-Pringle 1976)
3. That this concern to establish a pre-school system represents a new phase in state control over this area. This implies a move into different forms of work and roles for some workers, and a new perspective, as part of a system operating across the boundaries of education, health, social

services and the voluntary sector. (DES/DHSS 1976 and 1978)

4. That the extent to which such a co-ordinated service represents an extension of control will depend upon a number of factors, notably the operation of the pre-school network of provision. The extent to which pre-school workers co-operate within such a network, the coherence of ideology with the network, and the relationship between the network and families could be seen as three major areas indicating the effectiveness of the pre-school system as a means of social control.

While previous studies of co-ordination and co-operation in pre-school work have taken the form of pragmatic and empirical investigations into local authority policy (Bradley 1982), or specific professional perspectives (Watt 1977), they have not made use of the broader concepts described above. In consequence organisational studies such as Bradley's have limited relevance to the operation of pre-school networks, co-ordination at committee level may not be co-operation at practitioner level.

However Watt's study of position of education within the pre-school services of Fife provided a starting point for this study. Specifically the concept of the twin allegiances of teachers, vertically to the education system and horizontally to the pre-school system, combined with the identification of "professionalism" as a major factor in limiting the extent of

co-operation were influential in preliminary thinking about the type of study to be undertaken. From the foregoing it became clear that to examine the complex of pre-school services operating in Battersea, it would first of all be essential to investigate the operation of the pre-school network.

It is to be hoped that developing this research within such a broad framework represents more than the "taking" of problems from policy makers and a move towards the "making" of a problem, a distinction made by Seeley (1966). Young (1971) criticises the simple "taking" of problems, in discussing the sociology of education:

"in this way certain fundamental features of educators' worlds which are taken for granted, such as what counts as educational knowledge, and how it is made available become objects of educational enquiry". (MFD Young 1972, p2)

As Shipman (1976) notes "in practice this distinction is hard to maintain...taking problems clears the way for making problems". However the present research is an attempt to move beyond the pragmatic, empirical tradition of pre-school research which has tended to be atheoretical and lacking in historical perspective. The key problem is thus taken as "the operation of a pre-school network", made problematic with the addition of "as a mechanism of social control".

To describe the underlying concepts of this research in such terms is to conform to the idealised model of research described by Gerry Rose (1982) and many other writers - a movement from theory, through propositions, to operationalisation, fieldwork and the final reporting of results. In practice the research began much less theoretically, taking a problem from social policy rather than social philosophy (c.f. Greer 1969). There was an evident discrepancy between the ideal of co-ordination policy and co-operation in practice. What perspectives would facilitate an explanation of this?

While the research moved on to the broader conceptual level already described, this was not the starting point. The approach adopted was much closer to JD Douglas' "Investigative Social Research" (1976). For Douglas the research process involves constant movement from broad goals, through ideal to practical research methods. This less idealised, common sense model of research has similarities with the more formal idea of analytic induction (Znaniecki 1962) described by Denzin as a movement between defining the phenomenon, examining cases and redefining the phenomenon. It is also similar to Glaser and Strauss (1963) formulation of "grounded theory". These ideas underly research based in participant observation, although at a very general level there are parallels between this and more positivistic approaches to research (Evans J 1979). In using a combination of survey and observation methods the present

research was exploratory, and consequently tended towards the more cyclical approaches described by Douglas.

Although the broad process of the research was not a precise sequential testing of hypotheses and tended towards the approach of Mapheus Smith in formulating problems rather than precise hypotheses (Franklin and Osborne 1971), it was nevertheless necessary to move from the broad concepts defined above towards testable statements:

"important variables should be defined clearly and at least some should be operationally defined to permit testable propositions".

Labovitz and Hagedorn (1971)

Wilson (1979b) argues that in exploratory research it is appropriate to use much less precise hypotheses which are "conceptual guides", rather than adopting an experimental approach.

What, therefore, were the key areas to be investigated in order to clarify the operation of the pre-school network as a mechanism of social control?

1. That some kind of network exists among pre-school workers in a given geographical area.

2. That this network can function in a wide range of different ways, at a number of different levels even in different parts of the network. This could range from a basic knowledge of the existence of other pre-school workers through to a fully co-ordinated, co-operative service.
3. The boundaries of the network need to be defined not simply the physical, geographical ones, but also the inclusion/exclusion of the personnel.
4. Boundary is a much more complex concept than this. In the light of the notion of a "maternalist" ideology validating the intervention of pre-school workers in the family sphere, we also need to look at the conceptual boundary of the network. What policies are adopted in theory, and in practice about relationships between provision and family?
5. In addition to the operation of the network, in order to explain the nature and extent of control exerted by the network it will be important to move beyond structural explanations and look at the relationship between ideology and action for pre-school workers. In particular, a series of underlying attitudes, reflecting the "open" or "closed" nature of provision (linked to notions of professionalism, parent involvement, co-operation) can be defined (following Watt 1977).

A study of a network of this type raises a number of broad methodological issues. It is evidently possible to investigate a network using ethnographic methods, or equally to conduct a positivistic survey of workers. Each approach can be criticised from the standpoint of the other (e.g. Evans 1979a). As Morgan (1981) emphasises "the selection of method implies some view of the situation being studied". The key problem in this research is that the network is conceived as having a definable physical reality (in terms of contacts, geographical spread etc) and at the same time exists in terms of the meaning it holds for the participants. Zelditch (1962) discusses the match between method and information required: while participant observation would be most appropriate to examine incidents and histories, and a survey approach would produce frequency distributions, informant interviewing provides the best access to institutionalised norms and statuses. It was these norms of behaviour which provided the starting point for the investigation. Starting from informant interviewing the research moved on to a survey of the network, and also incorporated an observational study of pre-school institutions. A combination of methods was essential to ensure coverage of the full network, in surveying it, and to explore emerging issues such as organisational structure which were not readily amenable to the survey approach. While a participant observation study in a particular institution might have rendered much more information about the operation of one part of the

network (and about the informal operation of that institution), and provided a series of potentially generalisable statements about the rest of the network, it was important to look across the full range of participants in the pre-school network. Equally a survey could provide general information, but raised a whole series of problems about the relationship between what respondents say and what they do, between attitudes and action, (Deutscher 1965, in Filstead 1970). In consequence, a mixture of methods was adopted, hopefully combining their strengths in what Lacey describes as "a blend or synthesis of methodologies and approaches" (in Shipman 1976).

This combination of methodologies has been described as "triangulation" - E J Webb et al (1966) argue that "Every data gathering class - interviews, questionnaires, observations, performance records, physical evidence - is potentially biased and has specific to it certain validity threats. Ideally we should like to converge data from several different data classes, as well as converge with multiple variants within a single class". Webb's concept of "multiple operations" is close to Stacey's argument for "combined operations" (1969), and Douglas's case for "mixed strategies" (1976). This idea was most fully formulated by Denzin (1970) who argues for the use of multiple viewpoints in data, investigators, theories, and methodologies. Denzin's concept of "triangulation" could even be used to produce a "multitrait multimethod matrix" (Campbell and Fiske 1959).

While the present research respects the spirit of such ideas, and in particular the need to combine approaches to understand different aspects of the network, the grand formulations of methodologists such as Denzin are beyond the scope of a single researcher with limited resources. In addition, as has been previously noted, the process of doing research rarely conforms to the tidy models of theoreticians.

A note of caution must be introduced in the combination of survey and observational methods. As Atkinson (1979) argues "we should not assume that contrasting methods can be combined in a simple additive way" - he notes especially that p.o. and surveys have very different contexts and meanings for respondents. This research has avoided producing two unrelated sets of data by its exploratory nature and by the use of an "observer as participant" role. Sieber (1973) argues that such an integration is entirely appropriate and that such methods can inform one another at a general level. The key point is that the use of different methods and sources of data are a source of strength (M Bulmer 1977).

Thus in order to investigate the nature, limits and functioning of the network of pre-school workers a blend of methods - discussions, interviews and observations were felt to be appropriate. At first exploratory discussions were held with a range of pre-school workers from the range of contributing

agencies - particularly with students on a two-year part-time Diploma in Early Childhood Studies course. These discussions enabled some refinement of the concept of co-operation within a pre-school network, and clarified the types of issues that survey would need to concern itself with. The second stage was the design and piloting of a survey of pre-school workers. The early stages of this survey rapidly revealed the need to complement the quantitative data with qualitative data obtained by periods of observation in various pre-school institutions. As Atkinson (1979) emphasises different styles of interview may be appropriate to different times, depending upon the state of one's theory. As Becker and Greer point out in their classic comparison of survey methods and interviewing such a mixture of methods can be complementary (Filstead 1970).

The above clarification of concepts and of the range of methods to be adopted was arrived at through the first stage of the research - discussion with practitioners and key informants. Group discussions were held during 1981-82 with two groups of fifteen practitioners, over a period of weeks. These discussions were devoted to:

1. current policies in pre-school services with a particular emphasis on those policies tending towards a greater commonality of approach between sectors;
2. the extent of current co-ordination and co-operation within

pre-school provision and factors affecting this;

3. the extent to which the above concepts of network bore a relationship to practitioners' experience in the field;
4. the methods to be adopted, with a particular emphasis on practicality and amount of information obtainable;
5. the choice of area in which to carry out the research.

In addition about 20 pre-school workers were identified, representing a range of levels of responsibility within each sector. Individual discussions were held with these people at their place of work. These discussions tended to focus around current experiences, and the research methods appropriate to the investigation of the network of pre-school workers.

These initial exploratory discussions were very important as the two major previous studies in this area had worked from rather different concepts and used rather different methodologies. Thus Bradley's (1982) was a policy development study using interviews with key informants and postal questionnaires. Joyce Watt's study (1977) used structured interviews with four different questionnaires - postal questionnaires to pre-school groups obtaining largely descriptive information about pre-school groups and the children in them, and a questionnaire to health visitors

obtaining descriptive information on a sample of 3 and 4 year olds. The key element in Joyce Watt's methodology for the present study is her series of staff interviews which particularly investigated attitudes. The major criticism which emerged in this discussion with practitioners was the relative remoteness of data gathered in this way, and the need to supplement this with richer information from the field.

It was partly for this reason, combined with a concern to view the whole, that the decision was made to survey a complete pre-school network. In a sense such "completeness" never actually exists within a complex industrial society. For individuals near the boundaries there will always be significant further connections to other networks (in terms of geography, hierarchy, or relationship with members of the community at large). However, by initially concentrating on a clearly defined geographical area it was hoped to make it possible to determine whether such a network exists and how it functions as described above.

As Smith (1975) points out in discussing research strategies, in order to be able to generalise from the findings of research on a working population to the general population, one needs to know with some precision the differences between the two populations.

In this case such differences will lie in the choice of area. However, as a piece of exploratory research the issue of

generalisability is secondary to the identification, analysis and description of a network. Calder (1979) in examining sampling argues that it is essential clearly to define the population, clearly to identify it and to be able to contact. These issues, which are posed as problems in a traditional sampling model become part of the working procedure if one adopts a "census" approach (i.e. a survey of a whole working population - see Wilson MJ 1979a). One of the major tasks of the research is to identify the working population.

The choice of area within which to carry out a network study thus became crucial to the research. The identification of an area was one of the major tasks of the preliminary discussions with pre-school workers. A number of criteria emerged:

1. The area chosen should have a full range of pre-school services operational within it since the description of links between all sectors was central to the study. This, in many Outer London areas in particular, was not an easy criteria to satisfy. Frequently a strong presence of voluntary provision was coupled with an absence of educational provision, and a low level of involvement of social services. If a full range of services could be studied the findings might have some implications for areas with more limited provision. The reverse was much less likely to be true.

2. Possibilities of access were also influential in the choice of area. In such an exploratory study the researcher would be heavily reliant on personal contact and goodwill in health, education, social services and the voluntary sector.

Initial discussions suggested that access to the health service would prove more problematic particularly with traditional concerns about confidentiality. In addition access was more likely to be granted and the research facilitated in an area where the researcher had already built up some contact and credibility. Initial discussions were thus partly devoted to this.

3. The area selected would preferably be relatively easily geographically defined and distinct. This was important in order to facilitate the identification of a network, and in order to provide some defined limit to a study which could otherwise have become an endless pursuit of further connections.

4. The area selected would need to be within reasonable travelling distance of South West London as the research was to be an individual effort unsupported by further funds. Also the period of time required to identify and study the network would be fairly substantial, and additional time for travelling would hamper the research. The area chosen

should not impose stress upon the limited resources available.

The fact that this was an exploratory study and the relatively limited resources (in time and money) available to the individual researcher led to the decision to focus in depth upon one network rather than to attempt a broader study of more than one area. Such a broader study without further resources would have meant less complete information about the networks.

For all the above reasons it was decided to focus on Battersea, defined as the North and South Battersea Social Services areas of the London Borough of Wandsworth. This was a readily identifiable geographical area with clear boundaries (see Appendix) which also tended to operate as functional boundaries for pre-school workers. As part of Division 10 of ILEA, primary schools with nursery classes were readily identifiable, and the single nursery school in the area. The social services boundaries also related to those used by the health service and the Pre-school Playgroups Association. The Social Services Department had produced lists of available provision in this area which although not comprehensive provided an excellent starting point for the investigation. Provision which did not readily fit within the main sectors was a less easily identifiable part of the network, and several community nurseries had to be added later.

Access to the various forms of pre-school provision was provided at a general level as a result of personal contacts established during initial discussions. Key points emphasised to "gatekeepers" in each sphere were:

The proposed research had arisen out of work on the Roehampton Institute Diploma in Early Childhood Studies. Information about the nature of pre-school networking would be fed back into the course. The research was not solely an academic exercise but had a readily identifiable practical purpose.

The proposed research would focus on the practice and ideas of pre-school workers, it would not require any confidential information about clients.

Since the information being sought related to the operation of a network there would be no need in the reporting to identify individuals or name specific institutions.

In consequence, with the time taken to establish credentials in initial discussions, there was no general problem of access to Battersea.

However, each pre-school institution visited and each pre-school worker contacted required a similar negotiation of agreement to be involved in the research. As Atkinson (1979) states, it is "imperative that it (one's research) makes sense to the gatekeepers" - "a common elementary pitfall is to make initial approaches that are expressed in the vocabulary of the social sciences. It is also advisable to avoid giving any impression that the hosts will be subject to evaluation or criticism. It is therefore customary to present the study as some straightforward fact-finding exercise". In adopting this approach it became clear that the process of negotiation in the field is a continuous one and does not stop once formal access has been granted. Atkinson also makes the valuable point that the process of negotiation with "gatekeepers" can in itself be a useful source in data - it was this which led the present research into an observational approach for part of the study. Lofland (1971) makes similar points about access, of particular relevance is his observation that "it seems quite typical for known observers to accomplish access to settings through already established contacts....in an attempt to use pre-existing relations of trust", rather than "going in cold". This gradual negotiation plus some determination in obtaining individual interviews produced a 100% response rate - all pre-school workers in the area were included in the study.

The process of obtaining access in the field went through a

number of stages:

1. personal or telephone contact arising from initial discussion
2. a preliminary visit to discuss the research with the head of the institution/team leader etc.
3. an initial meeting with staff or team in larger institutions to explain the purposes of the research
4. a visit or series of visits to the group of pre-school workers
5. these visits would often be combined with periods of observation and more general discussion with staff and further visits might be made for this purpose enabling the collection of qualitative data.

In some cases repeated visits were necessary before access was granted. In no case was access eventually refused.

Evidently as an independent researcher visiting pre-school workers my role was not one of "participant observer"; equally, the process of obtaining access led to a much closer involvement with many pre-school institutions and workers, a role which could not be typified as "complete observer". Using Gold's (1959) typology it is probably most useful to describe my role as "observer as participant" in which "the researcher's identity is known to the hosts, but he or she remains a relative stranger".

As Denzin (1978) notes the "observer as participant" role is typical of the survey approach, although in the present research this was taken somewhat further. The role of researcher required on occasion involvement with children's activities, discussions with parents, discussions with staff, and periods of observation of activities within different types of pre-school provision.

In order to minimise distortion in responses to questions in the interview a gradual approach was adopted to establishing the legitimacy of the study and maintaining the interest of pre-school workers. As J A Hughes (1976) notes "This notion turns upon the interviewer being able to communicate to the respondent trust, warmth, reassurance and likeableness : a formulation which might fit the shady salesman as much as the successful interviewer".

Prior to this it had been decided to adopt a "semi-standardised" interview format (Hughes 1976), a schedule had to be devised and piloted. The interviews would then be based around a set format with opportunities for further discussion, since as Denzin (1978) notes: "the interview should be approached as a conversation". This conversation should be organised around five main areas in order to gain information about the key concepts defined above:

1. "Face-sheet variables", basic information about the workers background, experience, qualifications.

2. Information about the type of institution/fieldworker role of the individual - this would include information about parent involvement.
3. The nature of the network experiences of the individual worker - frequency and type of contact.
4. The worker's view of needs in the area and their relationship to provision.
5. Some underlying attitudes to co-ordination and co-operation.

As Oppenheim (1966) argues the sequencing of questions and topic areas within the interview is crucial to the accuracy of the information given. While much of the factual information was relatively straightforward - and the recounting of working life history, training and the careful definition of current role all provided a very useful beginning to the interview - other questions - age and number of children if any were deliberately left until the end of the interview when a stronger relationship had been established and a more sensitive question could be made light of. The giving of the further information led naturally into the second area of the interview, relating to the place of work and work role of the respondent. Very frequently this developed into a conversation, from which key points were extracted, the schedule acting as a checklist. The third area - network experiences was central to the study and was therefore left until the interviewer and interviewee had had time to establish a relationship. This was a complex area and several

attempts were made to design a question to cover the information.

"When did you last see" was felt to be a better guide overall than "how often do you see", tending towards a more factual (less imaginative) response. A checklist of types of pre-school workers was provided and used to prompt. Responses were divided into "the last month" (very recently), in the last three months, then "in the last year" as this gave some indication of a slight relationship or "not at all". A second question was included designed to assess the level of co-operation within that workers network. An increasing level of co-operation was implied: with which pre-school workers had the interviewee:

- (a) exchanged information on children?
- (b) exchanged information on families?
- (c) approached for help with particular children or families?
- (d) met for occasional discussions?
- (e) met as a regular discussion group?
- (f) planned a joint project?
- (g) worked together with children and families?

Inevitably this section of the interview tended to become a far more broadly ranging conversation, several elements of which were noted and used as the basis of observation in institutions. One type of contact which it was immediately clear had originally been omitted from this schedule was the simple visit - contact with no particular exchange of information. This was discussed in

all interviews, and included in the ultimate coding of the data.

The fourth area of the schedule moved much further away from the factual, and was used to start a general discussion about the area worked in, what the main needs were in that area and how far they were being met. This was aimed at assessing the conceptual rather than physical boundaries of the network. Responses to this opportunity to discuss varied more widely than much of the remainder of the schedule - as is frequently the case with open-ended questions, such information was obtained but the analysis was far harder (Forcese and Richer 1973).

The final section of the questionnaire was a series of statements about attitudes, which, it was hoped would yield information about a key area affecting the operation of the network. It would have been possible to develop an instrument to measure such attitudes, but there already appeared to be one available as part of Joyce Watt's fourth questionnaire (Watt 1977). This had looked at three dimensions of staff attitudes to pre-school education, but had much broader relevance since the key areas were:

1. attitudes to parent involvement
2. attitudes to professionalism
3. attitudes to co-operation between pre-school workers.

Joyce Watt had used this set of statements with nursery teachers,

nursery nurses, health visitors, social workers, playgroup supervisors, chairmen of playgroup committees and youth and community workers. The initial set of 60 statements had been piloted twice and reduced to 35. In the second pilot the "professionalism" dimension was particularly concentrated on and a standardised scale was produced from these items. The items on "parent involvement" and "co-operation" were not developed in this way, but were included with one or two more general statements to provide an overall assessment of attitudes.

This research took on that set of 35 statements, ordered at random, with a five point scale of response (see questionnaire for statements). It was hoped to use this as a starting point for further analysis of these items, and possibly the further development of a scale. (Nachmias and Nachmias 1976)

The pilot stage of the research was relatively brief and consisted of a set of eight taped interviews with a range of pre-school workers from the various contributing agencies, but from outside the Battersea area. The purpose of this stage was two fold (Wilson M J 1979a) - both to discuss weaknesses and necessary modifications in the schedule, and to train the interviewer in the use of the schedule as a basis for a conversation. Tapes were analysed and while only minor modifications were needed to the schedule, particularly in layout, there was a noticeable improvement in interviewer skill.

With an awareness of the substantial body of literature on interviewer effect (e.g. Benney and Hughes 1956, Hyman 1975, J A Hughes 1976), the interviews were approached with some care - not only in the initial stages as previously recounted, but also during the interview. The main stance adopted was one of "wanting to find out what really goes on in practice, at the grassroots", rather than in theory. It was hoped that this, combined with a guarantee of individual anonymity, and relatively little indication of the interviewer's feeling about co-operation, would ensure the maximisation of accuracy. Each interview was private and held at a time convenient to the interviewee; only very rarely was there any pressure of time to complete the schedule. Interviews were always informal.

Inevitably the process of obtaining interviews was time consuming and involved long periods of waiting in all types of provision. Because of the nature of pre-school children, and the informal atmosphere in most types of provision, such waiting could not be passive and there were periods of several hours involvement in the daily life of the institutions visited.

A set of notes was maintained on these observations, and on conversations with other adults, parents or ancillary workers not included in the study. It became clear during the investigation that this was a valuable set of information of a qualitative

nature which could usefully complement the quantitative. As a result of this a set of observational visits was also made, consisting of several days and half days in a range of pre-school situations. This enabled much of the information upon which the typology of pre-school provision is based to be collected. While it would be an overestimate to describe this as an attempt at a "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1957) of pre-school networking, the observations gathered enabled a refinement of the concepts used. (In particular of the open and closed dimension). It should also be noted that these observations were collected by an experienced teacher with more than ten years' experience of working with pre-school workers - with the advantages in terms of focus and disadvantages in terms of predisposition that that implies.

In parallel with this investigation of the network, information was collected about pre-school policy in Wandsworth. In part this was completed with many of the pre-school workers interviewed, but in addition a number of further interviews and discussions were held with "key informants" (heads of institutions, departments etc.). Also access was obtained to many documents, policy statements and minutes of various organisations operating in Battersea. It is with the analysis of this material that the account of the Battersea study begins. Policy developments provided the context within which the network operated.

The limitations of this study have been discussed in arguing for the particular methodology adopted. There are four main areas in which it is evident that this study is limited:

1. in scale, which the resources available to a single researcher over a limited time;
2. in area, with the decision fully to describe a single network in Battersea rather than to generalise over a broader field;
3. in focussing on pre-school workers, other aspects of the pre-school network are omitted - in particular the role of parents in defining the boundaries of the network. Also the intermediate position of childminders has not been researched.
4. in focussing largely on professionals accounts of their own work there may be a gap between statement and practice. There did not appear to be any evidence for this in other observations, and the observational data was an attempt to alleviate this limitation.

CHAPTER 7 - CO-ORDINATION, NETWORKS AND CONTROL

1. PRE-SCHOOL POLICING IN BATTERSEA
 - (1) Moves towards co-ordination of policy
 - (2) Developments of traditional services
 - (3) Links with the voluntary sector

2. THE NETWORK IN BATTERSEA
 - (1) Provision
 - (2) Contacts with other pre-school workers
 - (3) Background factors affecting contact
 - 3a Previous experience
 - 3b Qualifications
 - 3c Personal Details of Respondents
 - 3d Time in post
 - (4) Types of Contact
 - 4a Complexity of contact
 - 4b Fieldworkers' contacts
 - 4c Provision-based workers' contacts
 - 4d The Network
 - (5) Boundaries of the network
 - 5a Geographical
 - 5b The parent boundary
 - 5c The political boundary

3. THE NETWORK AND CONTROL
 - (1) Control by provision
 - (2) Control within provision
 - (3) Control between institutions
 - (4) Fieldworkers and control

4. CO-ORDINATION AND CONTROL

CHAPTER 7 - CO-ORDINATION, NETWORKS AND CONTROL

To what extent is the collection of services found in Battersea, which offers provision for some of the pre-school children and their families, a complex which is seeking to "control the pre-school arena"? At first sight this might seem rather unlikely. A rather disparate collection of somewhat haphazard activities could hardly appear to be co-ordinated, and certainly any control would appear to be the unintended consequence of social action, rather than a deliberate assertion of power.

However, the historical argument presented thus far has been that in Britain a constant debate over the policing of the pre-school has become focussed within a "maternalist" view upon the two policies of co-ordination and co-operation. In this chapter we will examine the extent to which such co-ordinated policies have developed in Battersea, and in the following chapter the analysis will shift to the concept of co-operation.

If we are to examine co-ordination in Battersea it is important from the outset to be aware that we are not discussing a single unitary policy, but a set of policies which exist at a series of different levels. Thus the negotiation of control over the pre-school arena can take place at a very broad political level in terms of the organisation and planning of services. To consider this we will need evidence of recent policy developments

which may or may not represent a shift in policy influenced towards the "new maternalism". Evidence for this in the present study has been found in policy documents, minutes and other records, as well as in interviews and discussions with many key personnel working in the Wandsworth area (which includes Battersea).

At a second level the assertion of a co-ordinated pre-school policy could be seen to lie in the operation of pre-school services in relation to one another (and to parents and families) on a day-to-day basis. To what extent can we describe some sort of coherent network of services, and in what way does such a network operate to assert control? Or are we simply examining a series of unco-ordinated elements of services which happen to overlap because they are dealing with the same phenomenon - the pre-school child?

Evidence for this can be obtained from the detailed interview study of all pre-school workers in Battersea.

Finally, there is a need to consider the way in which this collection or complex of services acts to control through definition of need and provision. Evidence for this can be obtained both from the questionnaires and from the observational study which provided a collection of notes on daily life within different types of provision.

Thus within each policy level, political, network or provision, we may find different forms of co-ordination. This may take the form of an exchange of information, discussion, or some type of working together. Without some element of co-ordination the notion of a "complex" of services becomes somewhat weak and ill-defined, for while a pragmatic collection of services could act to control the pre-school arena the argument advanced here is that this control is more positively asserted within a maternalist framework. How far is this true of Battersea?

1. PRE-SCHOOL POLICING IN BATTERSEA?

Recent policy making in Battersea (as part of the London Borough of Wandsworth, and the Inner London Education Authority) can be viewed in the context of some of the changes already described at national level. Key developments have reflected a "new maternalist" view of pre-school provision, not simply in a passive sense as the inevitable result of providing for the young child an integral part of some sort of family, but actively in pursuit of goals which include the regulation of certain aspects of family life. Thus some limited moves towards co-ordination of policies, some developments of traditional services, and an increasing experimentation with links with the voluntary sector can all be seen to be elements in the development of a complex of services for families with young children. This deliberate attempt to extend policy into new areas without an associated extension of power or control to those for whom provision is being made, can be seen to be an extension of pre-school policing in Battersea.

(i). Moves towards co-ordination of policy

One of the earliest and most important thrusts towards a co-ordinated pre-school policy is the review "Day Care for Under Fives" published in December 1978. This was initiated by the Social Services Department, and overseen by a specially appointed

Development Officer for the Under Fives on a two year contract. The review was carried out by six working groups which involved individuals from education, health and the voluntary sector as well as social services. A total of ten volumes were eventually published including research evidence, deliberation and recommendations. This unusually comprehensive review produced relatively few fresh policy initiatives - a change in political complexion of the local authority and a need for economies of expenditure effectively limiting the possibility of viewing under-fives as a priority area. The importance of the review is much more related to the process of working together and the overview of policies which it provides.

As Leigh (1980) comments, "There had been no radical rethink by the London Borough of Wandsworth since the war about why day care was provided". As the officer who chaired the review he places it firmly in the "maternalist" context - with particular relevance to the "needs debate", "there is no identifiable social policy towards day care provision for under fives, particularly for children from families where the mother needs to go out to work. National discussion is pointing to two major trends. The first is closer partnership between education and welfare services to generate a more forceful and integrated policy to help the ordinary working family". (Leigh 1980 p 151). A Yale (1977), the officer in charge of the review, remarked "the Council has no formal statement of objectives for its day care

service", but the groups involved in the review needed to be interdisciplinary, to develop such a statement. A similar perspective was given by the Chief Executive of Wandsworth in his preface to the report: "we recognise the importance of a co-ordinated approach to meet the needs of the under-fives..there are important links to services not wholly directed to the under-fives - for example those concerned with the family situation.."(Akid 1978).

The review's major concern was to rethink the role of day care: "All day-care, if it is effective, sees the child's need in the family context. A family-centred approach which supports the family early on may prevent a child becoming a needy child in his own right". (Review 6.9). "Factors which have given a new insight into the importance of day care include three roles of day care: preventing stress and breakdown, supporting and complementing changing patterns of family life, sharing with parents our growing knowledge of the needs of children and how best to meet them". Thus the review is a clear attempt to shift the focus of day care towards a "maternalist" perspective.

The first recommendations from the review are to "strengthen family life", particularly as a general policy. "That this Council wishes to promote the physical and mental well-being of families with young children by actions aimed at safeguarding and enhancing the quality of family and community life". (Review

7.3). The recommendations in this section relate to broad family policy issues in relation to employment, housing and medical aspects. The second area of recommendation was to propose "new tasks undertaken by day nurseries: working more closely with parents; providing an environment that reflects our growth in knowledge of children's needs; working with very difficult cases requiring teamwork from a variety of professions". (Review 8.10 Other recommendations argued for the need to foster collaboration between care and education - proposing a full-scale co-ordinated scheme including point centres, family care schemes and other joint working (only one scheme came to fruition in Battersea). Further consideration was given to a policy for working parents, improving and expanding childminding services. Finally the review addressed itself to the need to ensure co-ordination in the future: "to actively collaborate with other providers and users of day care services so as to ensure the most effective use of all day care resources to meet the needs of children and their parents". (Review 12.6).

Co-ordination policies at member, officer and community level are proposed, with the development of a co-ordinating body of officers and the appointment of a Principal Officer - Under Fives (neither of which occurred). Co-ordination at community level is addressed directly: the need to ensure an adequate response to parents requirements for day care, and the requirement to

interrelate agencies provision for differing needs.

Particularly this could be achieved by a more adequate flow of information. The paragraph on liaison is worth quoting in full as it relates directly to the focus of the present study:

"12.20. The Working Group on Care and Education also notes that liaison between schools and under fives terms does not occur because of inadequate time. It considers that joint work with ILEA cannot be successfully achieved with the present establishment. There are good informal networks in most Areas, all now have interest groups for under fives in which the free exchange of ideas and information can take place...."

By 1984 this situation had clearly not changed very much in Battersea - except that the interest group was no longer meeting - contacts were largely based on the local network.

The 1978 Review has been extensively quoted for several reasons:

1. it reflects then current thinking among pre-school workers in Wandsworth - a broad acceptance of a maternalist perspective and the consequent need for co-ordinated policies
2. it provides a base-line for examining later policy

developments

3. at this time there was evidently little policy co-ordination between authorities

4. subsequent to the Review a number of political policy shifts have given less priority to under-fives services, and to public provision in this area, consequently there have been relatively few co-ordinated developments in Battersea.

Advocacy of co-ordination in under-fives policies in the area has largely been taken over by the Wandsworth Child Care Campaign, arguing for an extension and improvement of existing services. This "informal pressure group - led by local parents and people already working with under-fives" (WCCC 1983) has consistently argued for a comprehensive service for all children under-five. "Our aim is the development of comprehensive network of community based Nursery Centres" - in this aim they have been supported by the Popular Planning Project with funding from the GLC. The main aims of this project include to enable people to:

1. become more effectively involved in important decisions which affect their lives

2. make connections between different institutions and activities so that they service people's needs better.

While this campaigning approach represents a full acceptance of the notion of co-operation as well as co-ordination, and demands a fundamental shift of power, which would be in the opposite direction to the "policing" thesis, practically such campaigning has had little effect. This would tend to lend support to the idea that co-ordination policies are fundamentally to do with extending state and professional control - increasing policing.

The impact of the Child Care Campaign has been outside Battersea, with the Tooting Child Care Survey (Lewis 1981, WCCC 1982), and with a shift workers nursery. However, the publication of their Wandsworth Childcare Guide provides an index to provision in Battersea, and represents a first stage in co-ordination - exchange of information on facilities (WCCC 1983).

Consequently at a general policy making level there has been relatively little movement towards a co-ordinated policy. In co-operation at officer level there have been meetings between social services officers and ILEA inspectorate but these appear to have produced a policy statement on co-ordinating services for under-fives (ILEA 1980) which provides general guidelines. The HMI Report on ILEA (DES 1980) records the existence of a central liaison working party, but in only one instance (the extended day care scheme at one school) has this affected the provision in Battersea. The most appropriate conclusion would appear to be

that of Watt (1977), that co-ordination is "largely approved in principle but neglected in practice".

A further initiative towards co-ordination was taken by Wandsworth Pre-school Playgroups Association in 1983. Effectively this initiative took up several of the issues raised in the 1978 Review. The initial suggestion was for an "under-fives policy conference" and meetings were held between ILEA, Social Services, Leisure and Amenities Department and WPPA representatives. These meetings included the present researcher.

The initial meeting arose from concern expressed at WPPA general meeting, arguing that there was a need for co-ordination:

1. to avoid overlapping provision
2. to avoid lack of knowledge of available provision among workers
3. to make such knowledge available to parents

At the second meeting WPPA presented an even more comprehensive schedule for co-ordination, covering:

1. links with schools, working with teenagers
2. potential use of school premises, where empty, by playgroups

3. consultation in planning new nursery classes and schools
4. joint training needs between PPA playleaders and nursery assistants
5. co-ordination between schools and playgroups when children transfer

The idea of a conference was rapidly rejected by the representatives of social services and education, and it was agreed that the first stage of co-ordination should be the exchange of basic information about what was available. There did not appear to be a strong desire to develop co-ordination further and soon these meetings were abandoned. Co-ordination, even at its most basic level did not appear to be a great priority, particularly at a time when the financing of existing services was under threat.

(2). Developments of traditional services

In addition to the slight provision of extended day care, there have been important developments in organisation within Social Services - especially in the setting up of under-fives teams in each area, one in North and one in South Battersea. Under-fives teams were originally set up in Wandsworth in 1976 with two main purposes: to provide a focus and place of expertise in relation to non-accidental injury and also to co-ordinate and be responsible for day care. As Lauber (1978) states "The basic theory was that by putting extra resources into families with children at a very early stage of their development, problems could be effectively tackled and later difficulties therefore avoided. While teams were initially a small group of two social workers, one child minding adviser and one team leader, each team expanded to meet the tremendous demand for day care. Each area team developed its own priorities: in Battersea this was particularly the placement of children in day care, with a lack of places (especially for the under-twos).

Seven main functions developed within under-fives teams, many of which clearly relate to increased co-ordination:

1. allocation of day care
2. information spreading to colleagues
3. case work

4. work with day nurseries
5. childminding support work
6. administration
7. liaison with other agencies

However, there were major problems for such teams which effectively prevented adequate co-ordination, notably:

1. lack of provision for under-twos - leading to much illegal minding
2. lack of flexibility of provision to meet the needs of working parents
3. inadequate staffing levels "clearly not related to area need..original staffing levels are now quite inadequate..." (Lauber 1978)
4. problems of structure in under-fives teams, particularly because of the diversity of skills required, which mean that effective management is difficult
5. lack of a central direction in under-fives policy which rendered under-fives teams vulnerable to cut-backs

By the early 1980's it was clear that the impetus towards strong, committed under-fives teams had been lost. The Council's policies demonstrated a reduced commitment - reduction in staff/child ratios in day nurseries, the scrapping of one of the extended day care schemes, the abandonment of plans for a

childrens centre, and closure of day nurseries. In addition staffing policies had led to drastic reductions without any overall plan - so that under-fives teams had been left with varying numbers of staff. Under-fives teams changed in each area: two became part of larger childrens teams, one became an "under-sevens" team, one was partially disbanded by basing its workers within neighbourhood teams. At the same time there had been an increased emphasis on the use of voluntary services.

In total therefore the potential of under-fives teams for co-ordination has been lost through shifting priorities within the Social Services Department. In addition to the under-fives team, there have been other changes in public provision in Battersea which reflect changing perspectives. In particular one can note the extended day care scheme in one school funded by social services, and the emergence of "family centre" provision in one day nursery.

Beyond the public sector important policy developments towards co-ordination have taken place in relation to voluntary organisations.

3. Links with the voluntary sector

The most important voluntary organisation in Battersea is the Preschool Playgroups Association, already mentioned in the context of co-ordination initiatives. It will be useful briefly to trace the development of this organisation and its increasing links with the local authority (information from the minute books and AGM reports of WPPA):

1961-65 Several local playgroups formed, very strongly in the "developmental" perspective. Before WPPA was set up, in 1964, one group at least had become affiliated to the local Nursery Schools Association.

January 1965 A Wandsworth branch of PPA formed, and during 1965 applications were made to the Borough for support grants for playgroups. The first grant was for £150

By 1966 small sums were available for equipment. During 1966-70 playleaders were increasingly helped with central funds, voluntary area representatives and workshops. Free places were introduced, provided letters were presented from health visitors.

The early 1970s saw important changes with paid full-time staff - a Development Worker for mothers groups and workshops was appointed through adult education, a playgroup organiser was

funded via Urban Aid. The playgroups' grant was administered by the Council - some element of control being retained.

At this time WPPA were beginning to reflect the national changes already described - a shift to emphasis on working with mothers: "the playgroup is an integral part of a total pre-school service. We do not regard ourselves as apologies for nursery schools, classes or day nurseries. We exist in our own right. Parental involvement and responsibility is the playgroup's own unique contribution to education and it is on this contribution that we must build and develop". (Chairman's Report)

By the mid 1970s a much more substantial organisation (1974 33 playgroups, 1976 61 groups) with peripatetic playleaders and organisers employed. Close links were being built up with social services both in the administration of Urban Aid grants, joint meetings with social workers and health visitors and training provided by ILEA Adult Education. The 1976 Chairman's report comments that "generous financial backing had been received from our local authority in recognition of the services we are providing within the community". This is particularly the result of adopting a "maternalist" perspective on the needs of under-fives, of which the development of mothers groups is only one aspect. The 1976 Organiser's report includes:

"We have tried to encourage in the past year, and to make people aware that the child's needs in isolation should be those of the child in the family. This is something that PPA has discovered in the last ten years and has developed and encouraged involvement of parents. This has given this association its strength and drive to develop at the tremendous rate it has".

During 1979 and 1980 there were major developments in funding - the expansion of mothers group funding, the appointment of six new workers to support this. WPPA took over the administration of the grant from the Council. By the early 1980s the association was planning the development of five "Family Centres" which represented a new attempt to meet the broad spectrum of need in the area and required substantial funding. In addition the playgroup/mother and toddler group distinction had been rethought so that all groups were seen to cater for a range of children and their families.

This brief history indicates the emergence of a very important voluntary organisation, offering provision which reflects the prevailing philosophy. The initial developmental emphasis has been replaced with a strong "maternalist" view. This philosophy has been explored to its limits with increasing co-ordination, strong links with the local authority, a coherent philosophy of co-operation with parents and families. Financial

support by 1983/4 was well over £100,000 and increasing with grants from the GLC and the Manpower Services Commission towards expansion. These changes can be interpreted as an extension of power to the community, a reduction of central control, running counter to the concept of policing. However, in fact the degree of interdependence between social services and playgroups, the basic control by the Borough over purposes for which funds are provided, the easy access between the two organisations for information and advice, suggest that informally the playgroup association could be viewed as part of the overall under-fives provision. In this sense it can be viewed as an extension in a more "informal" guise of the control of the provision for under-fives - and a more effective form of policing.

Similarly the development of Wandsworth Childminding Association from 1976 shows an ambivalent relationship between social services and a voluntary organisation. Starting as an informal coming together of individual minders (and including the founders of the later National Childminders Association), the Association soon linked with Social Services for information, and was involved in the Policy Review (q.v.). Gradually there was increasing involvement of childminding advisers from under-fives teams, offering a convenient contact with minders as a group. The Committee structure developed in 1981 actually confirmed the strong contribution from the Council, with 5 out of 10 members, and representatives voluntary organisations such as PPA. The

Association developed its own Salaried Minders Scheme (for which substantial council funding under Urban Aid was made available) and York Road Drop In Centre for minders (in conjunction with the Council and WPPA). In addition training courses were being developed with Adult Education, as with the playgroup staff.

This policy of shift of resources to the voluntary sector can be seen to be coherent politically, both in terms of prevailing philosophies of reducing public expenditure, and in terms of an emphasis on voluntarism. There is a clear view that community provision for the under-fives is much to be preferred, being supposedly more responsive to local need and more appropriately family based. (Jenkin 1979). The importance of this policy for the present analysis, is however that since such a transfer implies a transfer of power and control to the community, one might have expected to find a reduction in policing.

Effectively such strong interconnections remain between local authority services and voluntary organisations that the extension of voluntary provision can also be regarded as an extension of policing. This is not to deny the great local involvement of parents, minders and workers in such organisations and not to deny their involvement in the decision making process for individual groups or projects. However in terms of control over policy, providing a framework within which such decisions are taken, and ultimate financial control it is more meaningful to regard such moves as a development of policing.

Thus many local policies have tended to take on a "maternalist" philosophy in arguing for co-ordination and co-operation within services for the under-fives. Whereas there have only been limited developments, and some retrenchments within local authority services, the voluntary sector represents a major extension of the policing of under-fives.

2. THE NETWORK IN BATTERSEA

Earlier sections of this study have demonstrated the development of policies to control the pre-school field by policing, both nationally and historically. Additionally a selective review of recent policy developments in Wandsworth has demonstrated that the concept of policing can be extended to local policy making. We must now move to examine the practical reality of policing the pre-school. As has already been argued the central concepts within a maternalist ideology are co-ordination and co-operation.

In the next section we will be concerned with the practical operation of pre-school workers in Battersea, and the extent to which such operation can be viewed as a "network". The factors which affect the functioning of those workers within such a "network" and whether it is meaningful to view this "network" as a mechanism of control or policing.

This section is concerned with the reality of the "network" - the interconnections between pre-school workers in Battersea. The central questions will include: Who are the pre-school workers in Battersea? To what extent does their system of contacts constitute an operational network? What factors affect the location of individuals within such a network? How far can we build a model of the operation of this network?

(1) Provision

As previously described, the first identification of the range of provision was derived from lists made available to the public. This list of contacts was expanded by accretion, as further individuals were mentioned by workers. New members of the network were identified as significant contacts by other workers, this was especially the case with fieldworkers (defined as non-institution based workers such as health visitors, social workers, childminding advisers). By the end of the fieldwork period a total of 42 different forms of pre-school provision had been identified and visited:

14 schools with nursery classes (includes 1 nursery school)

13 playgroups

9 day nurseries

6 community nurseries and family centres

This was a broad range of provision, and the expectation of finding this was one of the key reasons for choosing Battersea as a study area. The level of provision is much higher than the national average, and higher than in many parts of London. It was important to assess the operation of a variety of pre-school workers, in a variety of situations, in order to begin to understand the operation of a a full-scale network.

With this provision a total of 180 workers at all levels of responsibility were interviewed, which with the addition of 35 fieldworkers completed the 215 working population - all pre-school workers in Battersea.

(For a full breakdown of this population see Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix).

(2) Contacts with other pre-school workers

Every pre-school worker was asked about contacts with other workers (Question 8). In particular, how recently had they been in contact with other workers? (up to 1 month, up to 3 months, or in the last year). If they had been in contact, with which individuals?

A number of patterns emerged from this (see Table 3 in Appendix).

The three main groups of fieldworkers (health visitors, social workers and childminding advisers) had either been contacted recently or not at all, suggesting the existence of a network of frequent contacts for all three. For each fieldworker, however, there was a minority of less recent contacts (up to three months and one year).

The pattern of contacts for those in charge of institutions

tended to confirm the existence of a network, since it was very similar to that of fieldworkers with either recent or non-existent contacts, although there were fewer contacts in the last 3 months and one year.

For those in subordinate roles within provision, there was a very different pattern. Very few other workers had contacts although when they did these tended to be recent. This added further evidence to the picture of a network as a functional set of contacts between fieldworkers and those in charge. This is to use "functional" in an organisational rather than sociological sense. Such contacts appear to be made to sort out organisational matters. If they were concerned with day-to-day treatment of children and families the contacts of those within institutions in subordinate roles would be far higher.

That this is the case is supported if one examines the percentages of contacts. Whereas fieldworkers were contacted by 27% of other workers, and those in charge by 24%, subordinates were only contacted by 6% of other workers. Fieldworkers were not contacted by 65% of other workers, those in charge by 64%, whereas subordinates were not contacted at all by 90% of other workers.

A further piece of evidence which supports the concept of a "functional" network is the contact pattern of "other health

workers", such as speech therapists and school nurses. They are involved much more with day-to-day working and mostly visit day nurseries and schools rather than playgroups or family centres. Over 50% of workers reported recent or within three months contact with this group and only 3% within the three months to one year period - reflecting a pattern of regular and relatively frequent contact.

In addition, fieldworkers contacts with one another were analysed, and these confirmed the previous observations. Fieldworkers contacts were overwhelmingly within the last months when they did occur (Table 4).

The next stage of the analysis was to examine the pattern of contact within each main area of provision. Thus within education the contacts of headteachers were contrasted with those of teachers and nursery assistants, and distinctive, contrasting patterns emerged.

The somewhat complex patterns obtained by considering six types of worker with four categories of contact were made more comprehensible by combining categories - contrasting fieldworkers contacts with those of provision-based workers, and recent contact was redefined to include contact up to the last three months.

A number of significant findings emerged:

1. Headteachers' contacts with fieldworkers were much more likely to be recent (in the proportion 5:2) whereas exactly the reverse was true of their contacts with provision-based workers (2:5). This suggested that their more frequent regular contact was with fieldworkers while contacts with others tended more often to be on a one-off basis. (Table 5)

2. Teachers' contacts were relatively less frequent outside their sector - the majority of teachers had no recent contacts outside education. The pattern of contact with fieldworkers represents an important difference from headteachers, with more than three times as many "not recent" contacts as "recent" ones. This indicates that while some teachers were evidently involved in case conferences and similar meetings, the headteacher more frequently took on the role of dealing with external relationships. (Table 6)

3. Contacts with nursery assistants are so infrequent that they clearly demonstrate the operation of a hierarchy within the education system. Whereas headteachers had most external contact, and teachers much less, nursery assistants hardly ever have contact with other workers outside education. On examination, those few contacts mentioned appear to be

visits to the classroom by health visitors or childminding advisers - casual rather than organised contact.

4. Day nursery workers demonstrated a remarkably similar, hierarchical pattern of contact. While officers-in-charge were very frequently in contact with fieldworkers (proportionately even more than headteachers, reflecting closer links with social workers), they had relatively little contact with workers in other types of provision. (Table 8). Unsurprisingly deputy officers-in-charge displayed a similar pattern (often substituting for their officer-in-charge in discussions with social workers and health visitors). (Table 9). In contrast, nursery officers working with children had proportionately far fewer contacts outside the day nursery with fieldworkers (approximately 25%), and virtually no contact with workers in other forms of provision. The involvement with fieldworkers of those lower in the hierarchy is similar to the contact pattern of teachers, and if one excludes nursery assistants from the analysis it is virtually identical. (Table 10).

5. Thus within those types of provision organised in a strongly hierarchical structure there was a distinct pattern of contact with fieldworkers. This was predominantly the responsibility of those at the head of the institution -

with infrequent contact for those lower in the hierarchy working directly with children.

The importance of this finding lies in the stress placed in discussions of co-ordination policy on the importance of such contact in improving the flow of information and thus the quality of work with individual children. If co-ordination is, as it appears to be, largely an administrative policy, the connection with those working with children must be largely second-hand, and the effects on children somewhat indirect. Co-ordination between pre-school workers appears thus far to be based in control of the flow of information through a hierarchy rather than practical and immediate working exchange of ideas. In this sense, the network clearly would seem to be operating to promote an extension of policing - not only controlling information but having clearly defined contacts for dealing administratively with crises.

6. In the voluntary sector, community nurseries once more repeated the pattern, with minimal contact with schools and no contact with day nurseries. Co-ordinators of community nurseries took a similar role in contacting fieldworkers. (Table 11).
7. The only group of workers to display a variation in this pattern was that of playgroup workers for whom there was a

more subtle range of contacts. Overall, far fewer contacts were made by playgroup workers with other workers. The only category of fieldworker with a significant level of contact was the childminding adviser - presumably because of their responsibility in the registration of groups. A very low level of contact was reported with health visitors, probably because the majority of health visitor contacts were concerned with the placement and checking of particular individuals for whom part-time provision in playgroups may well not have been suitable. There was almost no contact with social workers, probably for similar reasons. There was virtually no contact between playgroup workers (indicating the major difference in clientele) and only limited contact with education (as was seen in examining co-ordination policies a source of some concern to some playgroup workers). (see Table 12, 13).

8. The next stage in the analysis was to examine the relative strengths of contact between the main types of provision. Thus, overall, 22% of school workers mentioned recent contact with playgroups. Schools tended to have more contact with other forms of provision than did day nurseries or playgroups. However, the major feature of this analysis was the relative infrequency of recent contact between workers in different types of provision. (Table 6.14).

9. In contrast, health visitors and social workers demonstrated a far higher level of recent contact with all forms of provision. (Table 15). Overall, it is clear that fieldworkers are responsible for the major proportion of contacts within the pre-school network - even though this is on a hierarchical basis. (Table 16).

10. The figures for reciprocal visits (16) do provide some measure of "spread" of contact. Thus a large proportion of fieldworkers had between them visited almost all day nurseries. However only 9 out of 19 health visitors had contacted 10 out of 14 schools, whereas all social workers had, between them, contacted a similar proportion of schools. While a large proportion of fieldworkers were involved in contacts with playgroups this appeared to be with a relatively small proportion of playgroups.

Thus, to summarise the key features of the network of contacts described:

1. Contact tended to be either recent or non-existent suggesting a pragmatic, "functional" network operating relatively frequently to sort out organisational problems.

2. This suggestion was supported by the similarity of patterns of contact for fieldworkers and those in charge of different types of provision.

3. Contacts tended to reflect hierarchies within provision, with subordinates much less involved, again suggesting that such contacts may well have been largely concerned with the co-ordination of organisational policy.
4. Contact was relatively weak between types of provision, probably because few types of provision dealt with the same children.
5. Stronger contact between fieldworkers and provision reflected concern with individual cases.
6. Contacts were strongest between fieldworkers of all kinds and day nurseries, suggesting the existence of a "care complex" concerned with the particular needs of day nursery clients.

All these points combine to form a picture of a somewhat conventional network, largely concerned with pragmatic issues, perhaps surprising in an area with such a range of pre-school provision.

3. BACKGROUND FACTORS AFFECTING CONTACT

Up to this point the analysis has focussed on the level of contact between individuals as members of staff groupings. A picture of a network based on functional contact between key individuals began to emerge. Before proceeding any further with this analysis it is important to look at the extent to which individuals' background factors such as previous experience or qualifications had any impact upon their contacts with other workers in the network. In the early part of the interview workers were asked about the length of time they had been in their particular post, their range of previous experience in other types of work, and their qualifications in the pre-school field.

3a. Previous experience

Previous experience in other types of work with pre-school children and families was analysed, since it was possible that experience of working in another sector might predispose workers to contact with that sector, making such contact more likely. It appeared that there was substantial previous experience in other sectors (Table 17). Although very few workers had previous experience in the voluntary sector or in social work, a quarter of the respondents had playgroup experience (and were not now working in playgroups), around a fifth had experience in education and day care. Experience in private employment and

the health service were also strongly represented.

However, this experience could be the result of relatively few workers gaining a wide range of experience, or of many workers with limited experience outside their sector. When we examine the spread of experience, we can see that previous experience in another sector had been gained by about three quarters of all workers, while more than a quarter had experience in two or more other sectors. This appears to be a relatively high level of variety of work experience. (Table 18) The major part of this previous experience was accounted for by two factors: the use of playgroup experience by women with young children to gain entrance to other forms of pre-school work, and the varied career patterns of NNEB trained nursery workers. The latter had frequently moved between private employment (as a nanny), work in education or the health service and work in day care. It was usual for NNEBs to have at least one other form of pre-school work experience.

In order to extend this analysis and to obtain a picture of the extent to which variability existed between groups of workers, the responses to Question 3 were combined (variables 7-14), to create a new variable. This confirmed that breadth of experience was much more frequently found among nursery officers in day nurseries and community nursery workers. In addition there was a tendency for those who were "in charge" in any

provision to have a more narrow range of previous experience.

(Table 19).

The above observations were strongly confirmed by the tabulations of previous experience against qualification level. The great majority of those with wide previous experience had "basic" (i.e. two years or less training) qualifications - largely those with playgroup or nursery assistant posts. (Table 20).

How far did previous experience affect contact with other workers? If earlier suppositions in the analysis were correct, and the major factors influencing contact were structural there might be little effect. As many of those with broader previous experience were in subordinate roles in the hierarchy they would have little contact across sectors.

Each area of experience was cross-tabulated with workers' contacts with that area. Many types of previous experience did not appear to be linked with any tendency to have contact with workers in that area. For example experience in education did not affect likelihood to contact headteachers, experience in day care did not relate to contact with officers in charge of day nurseries. Similarly playgroup experience had no effect on contact with playgroups.

There were only two areas in which previous experience appeared

to affect contacts. Experience in the voluntary sector appeared to predispose to contact with fieldworkers of all kinds, but not with institutions. However a re-examination of the voluntary sector revealed that there was a strong representation of community nursery co-ordinators and day nursery workers (especially officers in charge and their deputies). It was this association that appeared to promote contact with fieldworkers.

A similar confounding effect was found with previous experience in the health service. This consistently related to higher than expected levels of contact with all fieldworkers, playgroups, and day nursery staff. On examining the employment pattern of those with experience in the health sector it became clear that these were predominantly senior post-holders in day nurseries.

There is an alternative explanation for the two observed areas of correlation between previous experience and contact. These could have been an extra pre-disposing factor - making day nursery officers in charge more likely to contact other workers when they were in a position to do so. However, since the relationship between post held and recent contact was stronger than that with previous experience and the number of workers with such previous experience was small (16) this explanation appears unlikely.

3b. Qualifications

Since no separate relationship could be detected between previous experience and contact, was there any effect on qualifications held? Did type or level of qualification appear to affect the level of contact with workers in other sectors?

The level of qualification of pre-school workers varied in accordance with normal employment patterns. While 16 workers had no qualifications of any kind, these were all working in subordinate posts in community nurseries and day nurseries. "Basic" qualifications (playgroup certificates for playgroup workers, nursery nurse qualifications for day care and nursery assistant posts were held by 60% of the workers (131). As expected teachers, headteachers and health visitors had fuller qualifications reflecting their normally longer training patterns. Interestingly only 6% (13) of the workers had taken any training leading to a more advanced qualification.

One factor which emerged significantly from this analysis was the relative absence of those with more extended training from work in the voluntary sector: whereas 66 had up to two years training only 5 workers (7%) had more than this (Education 24%, Social Services 19%).

By its very absence it was evident that further training was not affecting the extent of contact within the pre-school network.

As initial training was so closely associated with employment no separate effect could be discerned.

3c. Personal details of respondents

Pre-school workers were largely clustered in the 20-40 age group. (Table 21). There were no unexpected associations of age with employment: there was some tendency for officers-in-charge and headteachers to be older, and for teachers, nursery assistants and day nursery workers to be younger. Age did not appear to have any separate effect on level of contact with other workers.

Almost exactly half of all respondents had children (105).

While all playgroup workers had children, and over 80% of nursery officers had no children (both as expected), there were no other significant variations. It would be hard to argue that having children made playgroup workers less likely to make contacts with other workers, and not having them was having a reverse effect on day nursery staff. However these variables may both be reflecting important ideological differences between the two forms of provision. Playgroups may be a much more "home-centred" type of provision, which provide part-time employment for women with children who do not see themselves as part of a broader network. Day nursery staff will (almost all) have some training and may regard their role rather differently - which may predispose them to greater contact with other workers.

The issue of underlying ideologies of provision will be

developed in the next chapter.

The only significant group of pre-school workers who themselves had children under five were 10 out of 15 community nursery workers - although individuals had pre-school children in each sector. This is a reflection of the different employment pattern of the voluntary sector offering greater flexibility and more desire to involve mothers of young children in providing for the community. The stability of staffing of Battersea playgroups meant that most workers' children in that sector were over five. Once more one is examining a variable which is a reflection of an underlying ideology rather than an influence in itself on levels of contact.

Thus, the pre-school workers with children of their own did not demonstrate a different pattern of contact with other workers.

3d. Time in Post

The amount of time that any pre-school worker had spent in their present employment might well have been a significant factor in the extent to which workers had made contact with others in the network. Overall, 18% of workers had been in post for less than one year, 52% for 1 to 5 years, and 30% for over five years.

This distribution was observed for most groups of pre-school workers: nursery class teachers, nursery assistants, health

visitors and playgroup assistants. A few significant deviations from this pattern emerged: headteachers and playgroup leaders tended to have been in post for longer. Nursery officers in day nurseries and community nursery staff tended to be in post for less time: this reflected the high turnover and varied employment opportunities already noted for the former, and the relatively recent development of community nurseries in Battersea.

Cross-tabulation of length of time in post with contact with each category of worker did not produce any significant variation in the pattern. The only slight effect was a lower likelihood of contact with each group of workers for those who were in post for less than one year. Apart from this expected finding, length of time in post did not affect contact with other workers.

Thus the consideration of background factors which might have been expected to have some effect on level of contact with other workers did not produce any new directions of analysis. It appeared that previous experience, qualifications, age and having children were all closely associated with employment patterns: in turn employment patterns and contact with other workers were affected by the structuring of the available provision, and its underlying ideology. Background factors on their own were not responsible for separate effects, but in several instances (e.g. previous experience in other sectors) could have acted as a

reinforcement making contact even more likely. With the numbers in the sub groups of the population becoming so small such an effect would have been difficult to distinguish. The analysis of background factors therefore reinforced the picture of the network developed in earlier sections.

4. TYPES OF CONTACT

Given the pattern of contact described in the network, what was that contact used for? At what level was the network functioning? As noted previously it is useful to conceptualise co-operation between workers as functioning at a series of different levels. Question 9 clearly made this explicit: workers were asked "with which pre-school workers have you

- a) exchanged information on children?
- b) exchanged information on families?
- c) approached for help with particular children or families?
- d) met for occasional discussions?
- e) met as a regular discussion group?
- f) planned a joint project?
- g) worked together with children and families?

In addition, as already noted, all workers were asked which workers had visited them indicating a basic level of awareness, a preliminary to co-operation. Thus for each respondents set of contacts there were eight distinct levels of co-operation. Each of these were recorded for each contact, and coded as a separate variable. The resultant 96 variables could then be crosstabulated separately for ease of analysis.

This analysis looked at the quality of contact within the

network, regardless of how recent that contact had been within the last year. Considering this further dimension of networking considerably strengthened the model.

4a. Complexity of contact

The most noticeable feature of this analysis was the almost complete absence of the more complex forms of contact within the network. Thus only two workers out of 215 recorded any experience of working together with children or families; five workers had planned a joint project (as members of a steering group of a family centre); only two workers claimed to have taken part in regular discussions with those from other sectors (presumably an exclusive dyad). Only 16 workers had met for occasional discussions - evenly distributed across all types of worker except nursery assistant. This small occasional discussion group was impossible to trace, and proved to be non-existent: checking the questionnaires revealed that this involvement in occasional discussions tended to be on a one-off basis with other individuals or small groups of workers. This almost chance happening could not be regarded as a significant element in the networking of those workers.

Thus, the overwhelming majority of contacts with other workers were at the more pragmatic end of the spectrum visiting, exchanging information and approaching for help. This tends to confirm the pattern previously observed, that contacts were only

engaged in on a functional basis. Thus, for example, there was almost no contact between day nurseries and playgroups, but very frequent contact between day nurseries, social workers and health visitors who could be regarded as forming an important "care complex".

4b. Fieldworkers' contacts

The analysis of contact quality reinforced the key position of health visitors within the pre-school network. Health visitors had the highest levels of each of the four less complex forms of contact: just under half of workers reported visits, and exchanging information about children and families, while just under a third had approached health visitors for help (Table 23). This clearly represents a level of contact which goes beyond the simple communication of information via the person in charge of particular form of provision. Clearly this central position was due not only to the health visitors possession of much information from regular visiting of children at home and clinics; it was also due to a clear policy among health visitors of visiting pre-school provision and meeting other workers to discuss children and families. This is evident in Table 24; while the great majority of those in charge of provision have had recent contact with a health visitor, a substantial proportion of other workers have also had recent contact. Contact with social workers displayed a very similar pattern to health visitors although at a lower level (Table 25). While social workers

were evidently a significant group within the pre-school network, more detailed analysis suggests a lower level of penetration of the hierarchy within provision (Table 26). In day nurseries social workers' contacts involving visits and the exchange of information are very similar to those of health visitors, as are their contacts with headteachers. However, these contacts relate particularly to involvement in specific cases, and in particular case conferences. There are relatively much lower levels of recent contact with teachers and the voluntary sector, which reflect a much less active exchange of information than that pursued by health visitors.

The importance of all fieldworkers as members of the pre-school network is confirmed by the similarities of types of contact of childminding advisers, particularly in the exchange of information (and probably therefore in problem-handling). (Table

27) However the detailed analysis of these contacts shows some important variations, suggesting that generalisations about the fieldworkers need to be made cautiously. Childminding advisers' contacts with day nurseries were nearly identical to those of social workers reflecting departmental policy on liaison. A lower level of recent contact with schools reflects a lower level of involvement in individual cases. The major difference lies in the much higher level of recent contact with playgroups, reflecting responsibility for registration and oversight in this area.

Thus fieldworkers are central to the pre-school network, although each fulfils a slightly different role. Their pattern of involvement contrasts with that of other workers.

4c. Provision-based workers' contacts

The pattern of contact is similar to that of fieldworkers (Table 29) workers known as a result of visits are those with whom information is exchanged about both children and families. For fewer workers are approached for help, reflecting the hierarchical effect in formal contact.

Among provision-based workers, playgroups, officers in charge and headteachers had very similar profiles of contact. This tends to confirm the largely functional nature of such contacts, largely administrative and based on handling problems.

The much lower involvement of other day nursery workers and teachers in contact with other workers has already been noted, this hierarchical effect is confirmed here in relation to all types of contact. Similarly nursery assistants' minimal involvement is confirmed - they are almost never in contact in any way, and are never approached for help.

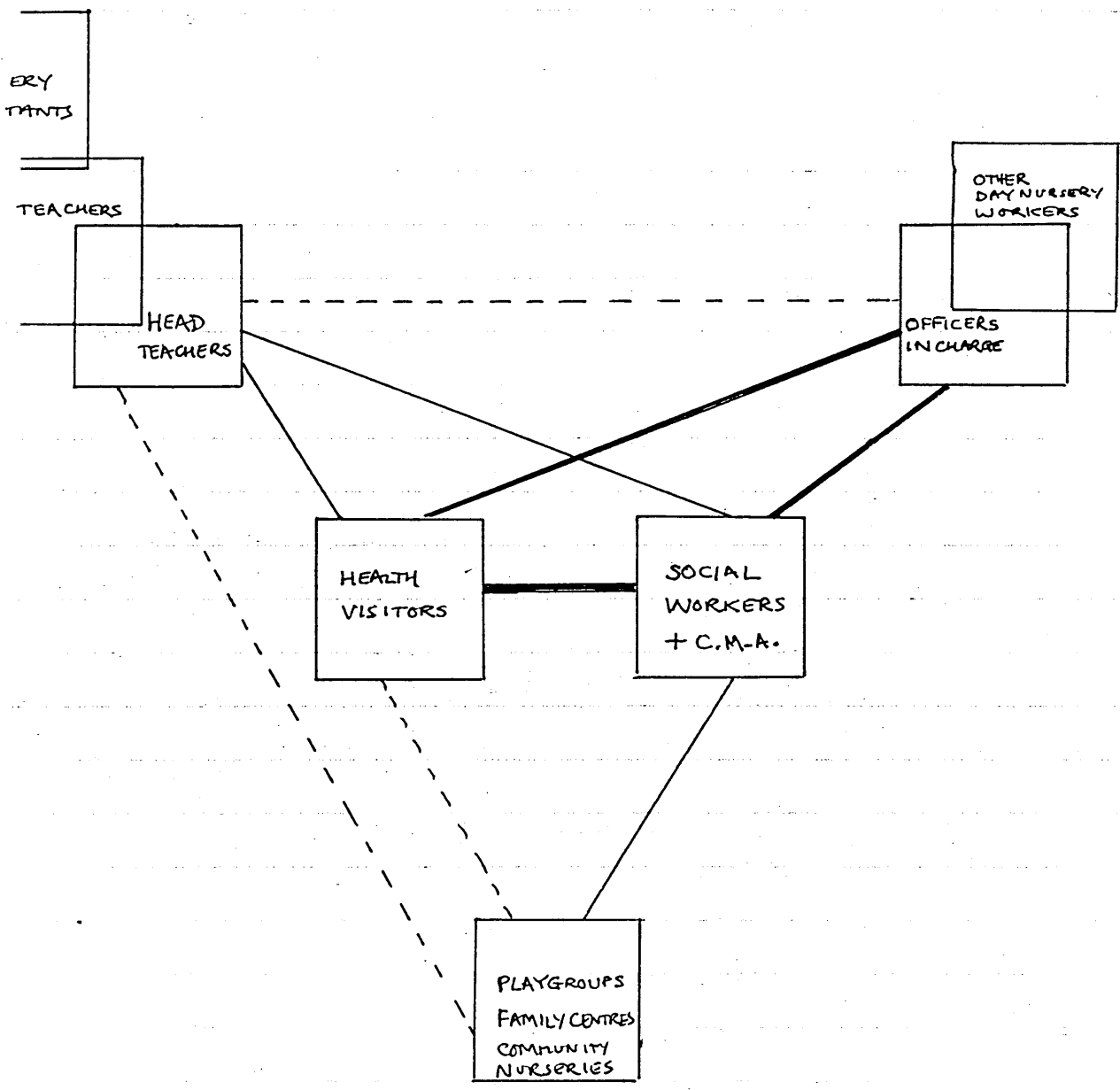
The contacts of "other health workers" (e.g. speech therapists, school doctors etc.) are of interest in that they are at a level

equivalent to those in charge of provision (suggesting a problem-handling role?), while the exchange of information with them is focussed to a greater extent on children: the low level of approaches for help seems to reflect a regular visiting pattern normally adopted by such workers for screening and therapeutic procedures.

4d. The Network

The pattern of contact between pre-school workers in Battersea has been summarised in Diagram 1. Strength of contact is defined by a relative proportion of recent contact. The central role of fieldworkers, particularly in defining a "care-complex" exchanging information about (and liaising on policies for) individual families and children, becomes clearer in diagrammatic form. The relatively much less important contacts of those in subordinate roles are shown by the degree of overlap with the person in charge. The very low level of contact between schools and day nurseries, schools and playgroups, and health visitors and playgroups reflects limited basic information exchange between workers in these separate forms of provision.

From this analysis there emerges a very conventional network of pre-school contacts. Even in an area which has particular inner-city problems, and has a full range of provision, the network has not developed beyond the relatively less complex levels of contact. Different sectors of provision are



----- weak contact
 _____ moderate contact
 _____ strong contact

Diagram 1
Contacts between pre-school workers in Battersea.

Strength of contact defined by proportion of recent contact.

relatively isolated from one another, linked mainly by fieldworkers. The absence of any significant contact at the level of discussion, or in planning for future needs, or working together across the divide between sectors, implies a perception of pre-school services as a set of separately functioning systems rather than as a range of provision in its own right.

To what extent is this network a self-contained grouping of workers, or is it an arbitrary selection from a much broader set of individuals which would include members from nearby parts of London, from local parents and politicians in total forming a much more amorphous collection of people concerned with the pre-school in Battersea? We must examine the boundaries.

5. NETWORK BOUNDARIES

5a. Geographical

There were clearly identifiable geographical boundaries to the network. The area chosen for the study was that of two social services teams - North and South Battersea. Consequently fieldworkers from social services formed their professional contacts within the area, and Social Services Day Nurseries similarly contained their contacts within the Battersea area. Health visitors were both GP attached and geographical patch based - but there was a congruence between their contact pattern and the geographical area studied - with only one exception of health visitors operating from a single clinic at one end of the area. Two out of fourteen schools had contacts with workers in other sectors who worked outside the area - both these were at extreme ends of the area studied, and represented two contacts with social workers in each school. Playgroup contacts were also somewhat limited, and did not occur with other workers outside the area.

Consequently it is possible to demonstrate that the network studied was complete. It was almost totally separated not only by physical boundaries such as the River Thames, Nine Elms and large stretches of common: the separation of this network was also due to those working in the service defining geographical boundaries to their functioning.

5b. The parent boundary

In addition to the boundaries of interprofessional contact and geography previously discussed, the network has an important conceptual boundary, the extent to which it includes parents. The extent of parent involvement in services will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter which considers such relationships under the broad heading of co-operation. For the moment we are concerned with the way in which the co-ordination of network implies a coherent "professional" or "worker" network.

In this sense the extent of parental involvement could be used as an indicator of the conceptual boundary of the network.

The picture which emerges from this analysis is that parent involvement is relatively much less frequent in more formally established types of provision, while in more recently established informal types of provision much greater involvement of parents in the day-to-day life of the institution can be found. Thus the boundary between parents and the network is relatively clearly defined for more formal provision, but becomes somewhat less precise in more informal provision.

The detailed relationship between such involvement and control will be explored in the next chapter. However, at this stage it is sufficient to note that the parent boundary does not imply control by either workers or parents - it is ambivalent. Thus a "maternalist" view of pre-school services could imply an attempt

to extend control over parents (for instance in family centres' attempts to influence mother-child interaction). It could equally imply an attempt to extend control to parents (for instance in representation in management).

The "parent boundary" was quite clearly found within institutions - some home visiting took place to smooth transition from home to provision, and extremely rare visits were made to deal with specific problematic episodes of behaviour, (made by 5 out of 178 staff).

5c. The political boundary

While pre-school services are provided by four different sectors, and in Wandsworth one authority is not conterminous with another, it was clear that pre-school provision for Battersea was being dealt with as a coherent whole within each service. Thus Battersea's local services were the responsibility of the London Borough of Wandsworth, but authority over almost all the day-to-day decisions was vested in two social services area teams. The health authority covered a far wider area, but once more day-to-day running was vested in nursing officers based in local clinics. Similarly PPA and other voluntary organisations had locally based fieldworkers who liaised between groups and Social Services had a day care manager, responsible for local day nurseries. Thus the management of local services was sufficiently politically devolved to enable the network to

function as a self-contained entity. The only major contacts outside this area were at a very senior management level (Principal Officer, District Inspector etc) and only affected the general framework within which the network operated rather than the day-to-day running.

In terms of political structure therefore, it is reasonable to view the network as a self-contained entity.

3. THE NETWORK AND CONTROL

Having thus far described the operation of the pre-school network in Battersea, the central issue becomes the extent to which that self-contained entity operates to control families and children. As has previously been argued the configuration of the boundary between family and state within the pre-school sector has shifted over time, in connection with changing ideologies of intervention. The recent "maternalist" ideology with its emphasis on support for mother and child has provided a setting for the emergence of more comprehensive intervention and control in the form of co-ordination policies for pre-school services. With the use of evidence gathered during observation within different types of pre-school provision it will be possible to clarify whether the network functions in this way.

The constituent elements of the network can be seen by their definition of need to be acting to control specific aspects; additional levels of control can be found within and between parts of the network. Co-operation between different elements of the network can also be shown to represent a further series of levels of control; both between provision and with the involvement of fieldworkers. In order to develop the analysis, each level will be considered in turn.

1. Control of provision

The consistent complaint of many critics of pre-school provision (e.g. Hughes et al 1982) of a multi-authority pattern which results in a series of disparate definitions of need is clearly borne out in Battersea. If one examines the separate elements of the network (schools, playgroups, day nurseries, family centres, community nurseries), each has been established to meet a distinctive need, each places limits upon the appropriate expression of need. In this sense the pattern of provision is quite clearly defining appropriate areas of intervention into the family sphere.

Traditionally schools have been seen to offer only a restricted form of provision, in practice available to those parents able to provide supplementary care. Thus part-time attendance for three and four year olds living within the catchment area of the school has tended to restrict the clientele of schools to two parent families where the wife works at most part-time to fit in with school hours, and with sufficient resources to make their own provision for the under threes. While the majority of children under five attending nursery classes in Battersea were there on a part-time basis, a substantial minority were in full-time nursery education. This provision of 9.00-3.30 pm care is a response to the needs of the neighbourhood, and to recent shifts in ILEA policy favouring an increased proportion of full-time places.

Even with full-time provision, many of the children in school were also with a childminder, resulting in a complexity of shared care which advisers and teachers agreed tended to impose extra stresses on children. One school had obtained funding via social services for an extended day care scheme operating 8.00-6.00 pm, used only by a very small group of children (approx. 10-12). What might therefore appear to be a very open entry policy became restricted by the type of provision made. Additionally many headteachers reported a waiting list for places in their nursery classes, resulting in some necessary further priority being given on entry - only some were operated on a first come first served basis, the majority of headteachers used additional information from health visitors and social workers to give some priority to individual cases. Thus, there had been some shift in entry policy in schools, reflecting a changing awareness of the family needs of young children.

Day nursery entry policies are far more clearly defined on a priority system, in which criteria are clearly laid down (including single parent families, handicap, housing conditions, and the extent to which children are considered to be "at risk").

Entry is controlled not simply by the officer-in-charge, but through discussion in allocation meetings with social workers - although the officer-in-charge acts as gatekeeper in these meetings. The decreasing availability of day nursery places to Wandsworth Social Services, with the closure of day nurseries,

has combined with a reluctance to remove children from families (and the closure of the only residential nursery in the Borough) to create a great pressure on entry into day nurseries. The majority of families of children accepted into day nurseries have thus fulfilled a number of qualifying criteria. While day nurseries are available from 6 months to 5 years old, very few children under 18 months were in fact admitted in Battersea - a further restriction in practice. As with schools the nature of provision effectively limits availability to a subset of the local community. It could be argued that the changes noted are a response to increasing awareness of a "maternalist" ideology.

Whereas the limitation is publicly and formally exercised in day nurseries, with relatively little power for the officer in charge compared to the headteacher in controlling entry, the restrictions upon entry into playgroups are formally few.

Serving the needs of families in the immediate area, part-time playgroups are available on an ostensibly open-entry basis.

However, because of the short period of each session (2-2 1/2 hours) these have little value for working parents (and relatively few children with childminders use them - although several groups had taken specific initiatives in this direction). In addition several groups operated a rota system for mothers to help on a weekly or fortnightly basis. The majority of groups did not appear to take involvement of parents in working with children very much further; although coffee and group discussion was

available at more than half the groups studied, this was never a condition of attendance. Thus the strongly maternalist ideology of playgroups only acted as a restriction on entry in so far as part-time attendance was the only mode available: with younger children however (under three) mothers were normally expected to remain at and be involved in groups (this only applied in three of the groups studied).

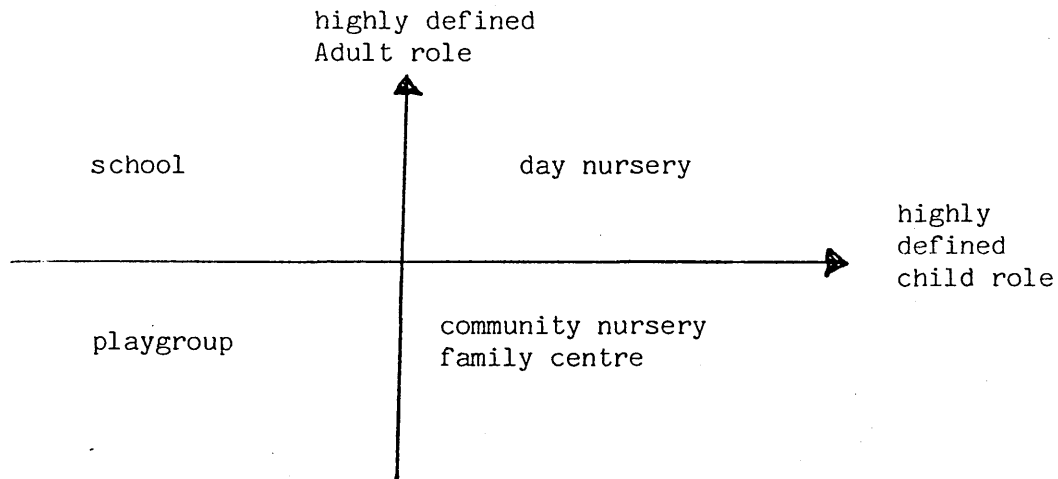
The operation of control through restriction on provision was less clear in the case of community nurseries. Each community nursery had been established to provide a service to a very specific locality, and recruited a clientele from that area. Entry policies were normally left unstated and assumed to be open - places available for any child. However in practice the co-ordinator or leader of the community nursery acted as gatekeeper in a similar manner to headteachers and officers in charge. Interviews were held to establish need. In practice in the absence of facilities for the children of two parent low income families with both parent working, apart from childminding, the overwhelming majority of places were allocated to children of those parents. Additionally the community nurseries took some children on the recommendation of health visitors or social workers. The family centres studied offered more variety of entry policies - those within social services had been established as extensions of day nurseries and operated on a tight referral and treatment basis. Family centres which had

developed from playgroups operated a combination of entry policies - an extension of the traditional playgroup open entry to those wishing to make use of broader facilities, and some referral from health and social services. Need in the case of family centres was much more defined in terms of the mothers' needs to be involved with the child. Thus for both community nurseries and family centres what appeared at a general level to operate as a flexible open-entry policy, in practice led to very tight definition of need and control over entry.

The existence of a network of provision with a range of differing definitions of need can thus be seen in itself as the operation of control over the sphere of the family. Only certain clearly defined categories are provided for, only certain clearly defined needs are legitimately expressed beyond the family's confines. Categories of parental and child need, specific age groups, and area of residence all act as qualifying conditions. Control quite clearly rests with the provider either in terms of general qualification for entry or in the allocation of scarce resources by those in charge of each form of provision. Within each type of provision the effective operation of formal definitions of need could be seen to reflect an awareness of the "maternalist" definition of need - to encompass families' and particularly mothers' needs in admission policies.

2. Control within provision

The network of provision also operates as a mechanism of control through differential regimes within each type of provision. The operation of schools as mechanisms of social control is well-documented (e.g. Sharp and Green 1975). Within the Battersea network different types of pre-school provision extended different degrees of control over the children in their care. In particular this related to the degree of definition of appropriate activities. Thus within some forms of provision the children's timetable was tightly controlled, the sequence of activities, their duration, and also the appropriate performance of those activities were clearly defined. In other forms of provision a more "laissez-faire" approach was adopted, children were free to engage in a wide range of activities, in many different ways, and for self-defined periods of time. Equally, in some "instructions" the adults involved had their roles, tasks, timetables, and the appropriate performance of those tasks closely defined; while in other "institutions" a wide range of roles was regarded as appropriate. These two dimensions of specificity of adult and child role provide a framework for the analysis of control within different types of provision forming part of the network.



The observation of daily routines within each provision demonstrated that within classrooms the adult roles of teacher and nursery assistant were clearly defined as providers of learning opportunities, and for nursery assistants in addition as ancillary help to the teacher. This definition extended to a clear timetabling of adult activity, to some agreement over the type of interaction with children, the type of language to be used, and the role of school staff in relation to parents. In school the definition of children's roles was much less specific. A wide range of appropriate outcomes for child activities were acceptable (e.g. in relation to children's art, or the low level of specification of appropriate outcomes from play with table games). A far more flexible attitude was adopted to children's use of time - within a broad framework of story and lunchtimes children were allowed great freedom of time in beginning and ending their own activities.

Daily routines in the day nursery revealed different (but equally highly defined) expectations of adults and much more highly specific expectations of children. The role of nursery officer was quite clearly defined as manager of activities for children within a specific room, interactions with children were highly managerial, and the sequencing of staff and children's activities was highly timetabled. In addition, appropriate outcomes of children's activities were highly specified (e.g. the precise form of picture, the exact construction of table apparatus). Children's timetables were highly specific - one activity would be provided for a period of time, to be succeeded by another for the whole group of children.

This type of very close definition of adult and child roles was noticeably absent in playgroups which largely adopted a laissez-faire attitude to the activities of both. Adults tended to adopt a broadly custodial role rarely intervening in children's play beyond making materials available and mediating in disputes. There was relatively little regulation of time. Playgroups thus tended to operate a very low level of control over children. Much more highly defined child roles, with very specific activities being provided and very specific outcomes being expected, were observed in community nurseries and family centres. Adult roles, however, were still very diverse and relatively little regulated - it was possible to observe highly

interventionist strategies more commonly seen in day nurseries, or more passive roles equivalent to those of playgroup staff.

Thus within each part of the network of provision in Battersea different types of institutional control were observed. The simplistic application of a global concept of "control" to the network can be seen to be inappropriate as much depends upon the regime operated by each form of provision.

While this makes the analysis of "control by provision" rather more sensitive, it does not develop the broader issue of control over the boundary between public and private provision so clearly.

To attempt to impose an association between the two dimensional model of control within provision and the development of control over parents would be simplistic. In order to develop this aspect of the analysis we need to examine the boundary of the network, between provision and parents; and then to look at the extent to which the network represents an extension of control over that boundary.

3. Control between institutions

Given the pattern of control exercised by the network in terms of provision, the operation of institutions and in relationships with parents, how did the network function more actively to

control the pre-school field? Predominant modes of control are in terms of control over information. Contacts between schools and day nurseries (see Table 31) while mainly between headteachers and officers in charge were made to handle the transfer of children between provision, not only to avoid problems for the individuals (implied by visits from one type of provision to another), but also to exchange information about children and their family background. Such discussions of individuals and their treatment it could be argued represent a networking of control, an attempt by the network to generate some consistency of treatment between different elements of the network. A similar process could be observed with regard to contact between playgroups and schools.

The fact that contact between institutions in the absence of fieldworkers is relatively limited, reflects the relatively low level of transfer between institutions (mainly to school from other provisions) - hence the absence of contact between playgroups and day nurseries, with no transfer there is nothing to control.

4. Fieldworkers and control

While much of the control operated by fieldworkers is similarly

in terms of information management, two additional elements enter the analysis: placement and surveillance.

Health visitors' contacts within the network are predominantly those of placement - their involvement with very young children prior to the rest of the network, means that very often they will be the first point of contact for an institutional placement in school, playgroup or other type of provision. In addition health visitors are to a limited extent involved in the surveillance of the development of individual children placed in all types of provision - although due to pressure of work more emphasis is placed on work with individuals and families than on visiting institutions.

Social workers are very heavily involved in the initial placement of children, in the exchange of information about cases at case conferences, six monthly reviews for all children in day nurseries, in relation to children in their caseload.

Inevitably this strong level of control is exerted in concert with day nurseries, but very little in relation to other forms of provision. Child minding advisers operating within social services while having some involvement in initial placement are much more involved in the continuing surveillance of children within the system. In addition, with registration responsibilities child minding advisers are involved at a very

general level in the surveillance of the quality of provision by voluntary organisations (playgroups, community nurseries etc.).

Thus fieldworkers operate through the control of information to place and to supervise individual children within the system - and also to control some limited aspects of provision through registration. As has already been noted this type of control consists largely of formal and informal problem-handling, there is no sense in which the network has taken any further the full implications of a maternalist model either in terms of intervention within the home (q.v.) or in terms of active planning and working together to meet newly defined or perceived needs in the area.

Given this somewhat conventional network of pre-school provision in an area with a full range of types of provision, control has been shown to operate in a number of ways within the network. The nature of provision, the internal operation of that provision and the boundary between the network and families are all important elements in the pattern of control, in addition to the more directly active operation of the network in control of the pre-school arena.

4. CO-ORDINATION AND CONTROL

Arguments for co-ordination have suggested that pre-school services should be viewed as a whole, rather than as a collection of separate elements (DES/DHSS 1978). Such a comprehensive range of services would be planned in a co-ordinated way, would work together to meet local needs, and would develop new forms of provision related to the specific needs of the locality.

If we examine the extent of co-ordination in Battersea, it is clear that such globally prescribed national policies have only a very general connection with the local reality. It is evident that there is no single co-ordination policy, or even a clearly worked-through set of prescriptions and ideas which could form the basis of such co-ordination. The Wandsworth Review of 1978 comes closest to this, but the impetus from this has been lost without the political will to implement such policies. However, at a general level one may note a subscription to the ideas of "maternalism" and increasing community-based provision for under fives. Specifically the expansion of the voluntary sector of provision, and the development of close links between these new forms of provision and existing local authority services can be seen to be a move towards more specific, informal types of co-ordination. At the same time, it must be noted that the extension of such policies represents an extension of control -

the involvement of pre-school workers in fields which previously had been seen to be the concern of the family.

Moving from the policy making level to the operation of pre-school services, advocates of co-ordination have argued strongly that individual workers and institutions should be seen as a complete set of interrelated services (Bradley 1982), that there should be some coherent network (Bender and Sutton 1980). In Battersea this network is far from comprehensive. It evidently works at the level of problem handling, the placement of children in provision, and the supervision of cases for concern. However this network is clearly an administrative one, concerned with the official handling of such problems; being centred on fieldworkers and the heads of institutions, rather than involving those working directly with children and families.

Even in an area with a wide range of types of pre-school provision, this network does not appear to have developed beyond such problem-solving. There is no evidence of contacts for more general discussions, let alone any consideration of local needs, new policies and provision which might be needed. Thus the concepts of co-ordination only has limited application to the network of pre-school workers. It may be more useful to view the range of such contacts as an attempt to control those areas of family life which present problems for pre-school workers.

Co-ordination policies are also advocated as a means of improving the somewhat random nature of existing provision - at present it appears to be almost a matter of chance that an individual parent or child's needs are met (Hughes et al 1982). If we examine the range of provision in Battersea it has clearly not been co-ordinated to meet local needs. Although at one level, the availability of information, this has improved with the publication of local directories of facilities (Wandsworth Child Care Campaign and Social Services Department), this has not extended to a broader attempt to link the planning of provision to local needs. In fact it is more useful to analyse the range of provision as an attempt to control a series of problems related to the pre-school field in Battersea. Control by provision, control within provision, and control between institutions are all seen to operate within the Battersea services.

Thus, while some elements of co-ordination policies can be found in Battersea it has been more appropriate to view the extension of such policies as an extension of control within the pre-school field. In many ways this chapter has described the more formal aspects of the pre-school network of provision in Battersea. To gain a clear picture of the working of pre-school policing in Battersea we need to move beyond the publicly stated elements of the system and examine the operation of the network as an

informal system. What are the conceptual factors involved in the definition and operation of the network? In examining this aspect of the pre-school we are bringing into the analysis the second major policy initiative within the perspective of the new maternalism, co-operation.

CHAPTER 8 - CO-OPERATION, ATTITUDES AND CONTROL

- (1) Views of local need and the definition of services
- (2) The issue of parent involvement
- (3) Workers' attitudes to co-operation with parents
- (4) Workers' attitudes to co-operation between voluntary
and professional sectors
- (5) Workers attitudes to professionalism
- (6) The Factor Analysis of Attitudes
- (7) Co-operation and Control

CHAPTER 8 - CO-OPERATION, ATTITUDES AND CONTROL

As has previously been argued, we may view the field of pre-school services as an arena between the family and the state, in which competing claims for control are resolved. There is a constantly shifting boundary between the essentially private concerns of the family and the public concerns of the state. The definitions of this boundary is highly dependent upon the prevailing view of the families and children. In recent years that view has been dominated by a "new maternalism" which has led to two general policies which assert state control over the pre-school arena - co-ordination and co-operation.

In the last chapter it was argued that the operation of pre-school services in Battersea and the limited attempts towards co-ordination were meaningfully viewed as a move by the network of services towards greater control. This issue again arises in relation to co-operation policies. While for many writers such policies as parental participation have the ultimate implication of some transfer of power to parents (e.g. Pugh 1984), it has been argued in this study that in practice it is more meaningful to view such policies as a means of extending control beyond institutional provision and into the family.

Central to this argument is the way in which pre-school services are defined by those working in them, and the way in which they

operate in relation to families. Where is the boundary within the pre-school arena defined? The Battersea data from the questionnaire study holds much information of relevance to these problems, particularly in relation to workers' ideas about patterns of local need, and attitudes to key concepts such as "professionalism".

In examining the concept of co-operation we are therefore essentially analysing the relationship between services and families, and the way in which pre-school workers' ideas support that relationship. The key questions to be considered are:

1. How are pre-school workers defining their service in relation to local need?
2. What is current practice in relation to co-operation with parents, and to what extent is this supported by workers' attitudes?
3. Is there a distinguishable pattern in workers' attitudes to pre-school services, and to what extent does this relate to underlying dimensions such as professionalism?
4. How useful is the concept of control in helping us to understand any pattern of co-operation that exists?

(1) Views of local need and the definition of services

All pre-school workers in the survey were asked "What do you think are the main needs of under-fives in your area, in your order of priority"? (Q. 10) This was an open-ended question, used to lead into a very general discussion about local needs, those of the area as compared to the needs displayed by children and families using existing provision. While new topics were not introduced by the interviewer, frequently further open-ended questions were used to clarify the meaning intended by workers. All needs mentioned by the interviewee were noted in essential form. The discussion then led on to issues of the extent to which needs were being met:

Q11. "Which of these needs do you feel able to meet"?

Q12. "Which of these needs are met by other pre-school workers"?

Q13. "Which of these needs are not being met"?

These questions were used as "prompts" within a conversational discussion rather than as a series of specific items, since it was felt that this would be likely to elicit more useful information.

The material collected was then classified under forty three headings, of separate "needs" (Variables 167-209 see Appendix), from "Improved housing" to "language development", and it is from

this data that the evidence in this section is drawn.

At an early stage in the interviews it became apparent that in talking about "the needs of under-fives" in their area respondents were talking from their own service's perspective, and were specifically discussing their perceptions of what their service was attempting to achieve. It was evidently quite difficult for interviewees to dissociate themselves from their "worker" role and to examine the needs of young children independently. This may in itself be an expectation which is unlikely to be fulfilled, but the fact that the rest of the interview was about the workers' role may well have predisposed them to discuss these issues from that standpoint. Additionally, it became clear that for many workers to discuss the "needs of under-fives" was to discuss "what was needed" rather than some abstract concept of need. Consequently the main use of the replies in this section is to develop an understanding of perceptions of services and the gaps in those services.

This is important in relation to the concepts of co-operation and control, since these perceptions can be seen as predispositions to view the operation of pre-school services in particular ways.

In particular they help us to understand how pre-school workers see their services in relation to the community which they serve.

This is not to argue that the pattern of need in Battersea is

insignificant. As can be seen from census data (Appendix), there is clear evidence of many of the classic inner city environmental factors at work, for example with poorer housing (higher than normal proportions of households lack baths and inside w.c.'s, and are overcrowded). It must be recognised that such indicators only provide a very general guide to the needs of children and families, and could be argued to be committing the "environmental fallacy" of imputing personal need from broad social indicators. However, if we examine Alan Little's criteria used to identify social priority schools within ILEA (Halsey 1972), all schools in Battersea would have some priority.

However in a wider ranging discussion only a small proportion of workers mentioned such "environmental" factors as creating significant needs for young children.

Although the initial question was related to young children, the subsequent discussion led into consideration of the needs, background and experiences of those using the local provision. However, factors associated with family background which might have featured in views of need based on "deprivation" hypotheses.

Thus the high proportion of single parents in the area (around 23% of households with children) was mentioned directly by relatively few workers (only 11), although indirectly this appeared in discussion of the needs of working parents.

Other demographic characteristics did not appear to be

influential in workers' accounts. Thus Battersea's social class distribution is distinctly skewed towards the lower categories, with a 13% unemployment rate even in 1981, and a more mobile population (12% had moved in the last year), but none of these were emphasised. Additionally there are distinct differences between the South Battersea wards and those in North Battersea; the former being clearly more middle class, with better housing, having been "gentrified" in recent years - but these were not reflected in workers' accounts (c.f. Ivatts et al 1982 "Housing Need in Wandsworth").

This absence of relationship between demographically defined needs and those specified by workers raises some fundamental conceptual questions. It could be argued that this is some evidence for a tendency to reject broadly defined "deprivation" theories, and a tendency to focus on much narrower concepts of development which might be argued to relate more closely to a "new maternalism". A second conceptual issue is the extent to which the concept of co-operation is of relevance in the analysis. If workers are providing an account of need which bears more relationship to their perceptions of their own service than to the general pattern of need in the area, this could argue for the notion that workers are inclined to provide such services independently, rather than co-operatively with the local population. It is these conceptual questions which must be examined further in relation to workers' views of local need.

Out of the 215 workers in the study only six were not prepared to specify any needs of the under-fives in their area. These were all recently appointed workers who claimed not to have had time to get to know the area. This lends some support to the notion that we are examining workers' perceptions of their services and the area rather than some abstract conception of need. Of the remaining workers almost half (102) mentioned 2 or 3 needs in the discussion, and 74 mentioned 3 or 4. Only 33 respondents listed more than four separate needs of under-fives. There did not appear to be very much variability between groups of workers in the extent of needs specified - apart from a slight tendency among teachers to give more extended lists.

Once the main types of need specified were broken down into categories some interesting trends emerged:

While 46% of replies from those working in education specified needs of the children themselves, or were related to the quality of provision for children, only 15% of day nursery workers, 18% of playgroup workers and community nursery workers and 9% of family centre workers' specified needs fell into these categories.

By contrast day nursery workers were the only group to give emphasis to environmental needs (65% of those specifying

this area, while only 35% of the studied population worked in day nurseries).

"Type of provision" was an important area of need for all workers - once more reflecting the way in which the discussion had centred around workers own services. Both this and "parental needs" were specified by an even spread of types of worker.

These trends lend support to the notion that workers were rejecting broader, environmentally based notions of deprivation and supporting a conceptualisation of need more closely allied to maternalism - meeting both mothers and children's needs.

When the question of whether the needs specified were being met was analysed, support was given to the idea that workers were debating "what is needed". More than 80% of all groups of workers felt that the existing services did not meet the pattern of needs they had described. Teachers were somewhat more satisfied, with two thirds of their accounts including unmet needs - but 34% arguing that they were meeting local requirements themselves. In the light of the many criticisms of the extent to which the education service with its limitation in hours and other provision for working parents (see "the needs debate"), this may either demonstrate an inclination among the teachers to view need differently (which appears to be the case - see later), or to be less closely in tune with the local population.

A more detailed analysis of whether particular needs were seen to be important by specific groups of workers revealed a remarkable commonality of view - with a few important exceptions:

Environmental needs

The issues of improved housing or environmental factors influencing need were mentioned by under 20% of workers, with a strong tendency for these to be day nursery staff.

Interestingly the only environmental issue to receive a broader spread of support was the need for more play provision - mentioned by 25% of workers but from all types of provision.

This may reflect a generally held child-centred view of environmental need and also reflects a clear inadequacy in the district.

Family based issues

Questions such as levels of income, problems of family relationships were not considered to be significant by this population of workers - yielding only 4 and 6 mentions respectively from the 215 workers interviewed. It could be argued from this that only certain areas of family life are seen as central to the provision of services for families with pre-school children. However this does not match up with the rhetoric of many of the day nurseries, and especially the family centres who specially mentioned their concern to work with mothers and families, to help them with their problems.

It appears that when asked on a broader level to define local needs there is an individualisation of such needs - they become the problem of individuals rather than the needs of the local population. This individualisation of problems could also be an explanation for the relative insignificance of replies which mentioned problems of employment, and those of single parent families (which gained 24 and 11 mentions respectively). From census data (q.v.) it is clear that these are important factors but are evidently not seen as general needs by local workers.

Needs for specific services

As has already been noted much of the discussion of need focussed on the adequacy of existing services. Much of this deliberation was in terms of very pragmatic issues, few general improvements gained support. Thus in spite of much evidence about the general inadequacy of pre-school services (c.f. "the needs debate"), the ideas of spending more money on pre-school services or of obtaining more staff were very rarely mentioned (4 people in each case). Interestingly only 6 out of the 215 respondents felt that there was a need for more information on pre-school services. As has been noted, the first level of a co-ordinated pre-school policy is to provide information about the full range of services available. Either such information was readily available in Battersea (from the previous chapter on networking this would

appear to be rarely the case) or such co-ordination does not appear to figure strongly among Battersea workers in the case for improved under-fives services. In support of this, only 14 pre-school workers mentioned a need for more liaison between different sectors of the service. Such general questions of co-ordination clearly have not become an issue for Battersea workers (this is congruent with the basic network already described).

In contrast, the question of making more provision for under-fives gained some support among workers in day nurseries, family centres and community nurseries (largely those making full day care available - for which there is a clear excess of demand over supply), but did not appear to be an issue for playgroup and education workers (around 30% support compared to 15% for the latter two groups). When examined in relation to the age groups being provided for there appeared to be little awareness of the type of gaps in provision described by the Thomas Coram researchers (Hughes et al 1980). More provision for the under-threes (not catered for by education and by traditional playgroups) gained support from 12 workers (in day nurseries and playgroups), there was hardly any support for provision for over threes or babies. However there was a moderate demand for more flexible provision which would relate to specific families' needs. In particular there was a relatively frequent mention of the need

for more full-time provision - over 23% of interviewees mentioned this, spread broadly across all sectors.

There was very little perceived need for playgroups, day nurseries community based nurseries and childminders, even from staff working within those sectors. Only those working in primary schools argued for more nursery education. The only specific provision to gain more general support was the family centre - although only 17% of workers felt that there was a local need for more of these centres. This could be seen to represent a perception of the needs of young children as focussed in the family, and perhaps some element of "maternalism". This is quite a high proportion of awareness of such a need in the light of the relative scarcity of such provision.

Quality of service

Perhaps surprisingly there were very few demands in the discussions for changes in the quality of services - such areas as quality of equipment or buildings or staff were raised extremely infrequently (by much less than 10% of workers in each case). There was little interest in improving the quality of health services. There were only 5 workers who felt that multi-ethnic policies needed to be developed by those making pre-school provision.

Thus it appears that "need" is defined either in individual terms, or in terms of certain organisational rather than qualitative aspects of existing services.

Support policies

There was a broad spread of demand across workers in all services for policies which could be seen to offer support to the local community. Mothers' need to socialise with others, the need to raise mothers' self image gained minority support - especially in non-educational areas of work. Thus those workers who appeared to be attempting greater co-operation with parents appeared to be more aware of this as a local "need". This was particularly strongly shown in the general category of "support for parents" - overall 23% of workers felt this was a need but the specific figures reveal an interesting trend, thus:

14% of workers in Education mentioned support for parents

26% of workers in Day Nurseries mentioned support for
parents

21% of workers in Playgroups mentioned support for parents

38% of workers in Family Centres mentioned support for
parents

30% of workers in Community Nurseries mentioned support for
parents

There appears to be a tendency for those workers whose provision is defined more broadly in terms of parental needs to emphasise parental support in their account of local need.

What is not clear is the process involved here - do workers subscribe to such ideas because of their work experience or are they attracted to such work by their ideas? What is clear from this is that while there is a general level of support for "co-operation" policies which imply parental involvement, this is differentially distributed. In consequence it may be necessary to refine such global concepts as "maternalism" as applied to the whole set of pre-school services. This becomes particularly apparent on examining the statements made in these discussions about children's needs.

Children's needs

Generally children's own needs were specified mainly by those working in schools and day nurseries. Very little emphasis was given to this area of need by workers in playgroups, family centres or community nurseries. While there was some tendency for these latter groups of workers to mention emotional and/or social development as important, over 60% of those discussing these areas were teachers. This makes an interesting comparison with Taylor et al's study of nursery education (1977) in which they found that over 39% of teachers' free statements about the aims of nursery education

concerned the "social-emotional-moral" area. In Battersea, teachers also emphasised cognitive development more strongly - over 30% of teachers gave this a priority, while in Taylor's group only 10.5% of statements mentioned "intellectual" aims.

In addition of those mentioning topics in the category of "cognitive development", over 70% were teachers, and the remainder worked in day nurseries. This tendency was even more strongly emphasised in relation to language development - over 86% of those discussing this category were teachers, and more than a third of teachers specifically viewed this as a need of under-fives in their area (Taylor et al found only 6.5%). With allowance for the differences in wording, and the different emphasis of the research it is clear that these findings differ from those of Taylor et al. There continues to be a high level of agreement among teachers that social and emotional aims are important, but cognitive and linguistic aims would appear to be of almost equal priority. This may reflect an increasing awareness of recent research - especially in relation to language development (Taylor 1973, Wells 1981).

There are several implications of these conceptions of local need and services for the main argument: the fact that many needs are specified with relatively low frequency is unsurprising, in the light of the less structured conversational nature of this part of the interview, the fact that respondents were not prompted in

relation to specific topics, and that consequently the conversation could range very broadly. The result of this is that the data relates to key items of significance to pre-school workers themselves, and it could be argued provides a more accurate guide to the awareness of those workers. Such awareness could be central to the day-to-day functioning of those workers within the network of provision. Consequently it is arguable that by asking in a relatively unstructured way about local need we are in some way examining the way in which workers are defining the relationship between themselves and the local population. This is supported by the way in which the workers' statements relate more closely to their own provision than to some abstract notion of local needs.

It is clear that workers share some conceptions which could be broadly characterised as "maternalism" - subscribing to the importance of mothers (and parents) to children's development. However, some groups of workers (particularly in social services and the voluntary sector) give much stronger direct emphasis to patterns of need which include support for mothers, while others focus much more on the developmental needs of the child. Even within the latter group, who are mainly workers in education, there is a substantial support for an interactionist viewpoint. Discussions of social development, language and cognitive development were clearly linked to family influences, and regarded as independent processes.

Within the "maternalist" perspective on local needs, we can look at the extent to which the concept of co-operation is supported. Quite clearly workers' discussions of local need are from a perspective of separation between the local population and the services provided for them. However some of the levels of co-operation which do not imply any shift in control are clearly being given support among Battersea workers. However, the idea of co-ordination does not appear to feature strongly in these accounts of need - directly, very few people mentioned this and indirectly each service was clearly being seen as quite separate and independent - pre-school services were not seen as a whole. This gives some support to the way in which the basic network was analysed in the previous chapter as a set of separate elements. There was also some evidence that there were clear differences between each type of provision in the view of need being taken - and that the "institution" to which workers were assigned was more important in determining views of need than individual factors such as previous experience or qualifications.

The view of need presented by workers in discussion fits very closely the concept of control advanced to explain aspects of the operation of pre-school services. Local needs are seen as a set of problems to which services must respond. Such responses involve a shift of the boundary from conventional institutional provision towards the family and support for parents. However

this analysis is still somewhat crude as we are dealing with a very global relationship between general conceptions of need and the operation of services. In order to refine this we must examine some specific areas of the attitudes of pre-school workers in more detail.

(2) The issue of parent involvement

One of the key elements in examining the nature of the boundary between the public and the private in relation to pre-school services is the extent of co-operation - particularly indicated by the extent of parent involvement within provision. As has already been argued, the idea of parental involvement has become an important element in the rhetoric of pre-school policy in recent years, in association with the ideas of maternalism.

On visits to provision in Battersea field notes were kept which included comments on the extent to which parents appeared to be involved in different types of provision. This demonstrated a fairly conventional picture of involvement, key points of which were:

1. At the immediate interface between parent and provider - the handover of the child from one to another at the beginning and end of sessions - considerable variability was noted in the extent to which any interaction took place.

In all types of provision there were individuals who made themselves available to parents at the beginning and end of the session: usually this was used by parents to convey basic information (about recent events, health etc) and similarly by staff in relation to events in the session. Occasionally if

a member of staff was available (e.g. headteacher, officer in charge) these discussions developed into advice or counselling sessions in relation to a broader range of problems (domestic, housing, social security etc). Thus the use of these "interfaces" was largely to convey information, between those working with the children and parents. The extent of information conveyed appeared to vary between types of provision. More conversation appeared to occur in the more informally organised types of provision - playgroups and community nurseries. In family centres parents were far more closely involved, with their children, far more discussion occurred. Day nurseries varied enormously from the very formally organised, where interaction was normally relatively brief; to the much more informal where staff appeared to make time to talk with parents in a more extended way. Schools varied in a similar pattern to day nurseries - although fewer seemed to make a deliberate policy of availability to parents.

2. The extent to which parents could remain at the provision while their child was there varied both with the type of provision and the type of parent catered for:
 - a. All pre-school workers subscribed to the idea of the parent remaining during the first few sessions the child spent at their provision. It was not possible within the scope of this study to assess the extent to which this actually

occurred.

- b. Special facilities for parents to remain, to meet informally, such as mother and toddler rooms, were available in some types of provision. Only one school (a nursery school) provided some shared use of a staffroom. In day nurseries this varied - some provided rooms and even staff time - others were content to maintain relationships at an "interface" level. This appeared to depend upon the extent to which the officer-in-charge had taken on a "maternalist" perspective and viewed the role of the day nursery as a "family" provision rather than a custodial one. Such facilities were made available to parents in all but two day nurseries in the study, but they appeared to vary in the extent to which parents were using them - some remained empty and appeared undisturbed on several visits.
- c. Parents did remain in the provision in almost all playgroups on a very informal basis - while this was normally in the same room or hall as the children, there was very little interaction between parents and children - child care was largely the responsibility of the playgroup leader.
- d. Parents remained in some community nurseries although this was limited by the higher proportion of working parents catered for. When parents did stay it was to talk informally in a similar manner to playgroups rather than in

any more organised way.

e. Family Centres were the only type of provision to operate on a parent and child basis, and to expect attendance by both. There was much more interaction between parents and staff here, as a deliberate policy.

3. It was in family centres and some day nurseries that staff were actively working with mothers. Such work could take the form of formal groups meeting on a regular date in some nurseries, or informal group work and counselling in family centres.
4. Very few staff worked with parents outside the various types of provision. During my visits there was no occasion on which staff were involved in home visits - these appeared to be very limited.

Thus on the basis of observational data it appeared that the boundary between family and provision was firmly within the provision - the key interactions took place there. Overall there was a tendency towards more formal and more limited interaction between parents and staff in schools and day nurseries, towards more informal interactions in playgroups and community nurseries, and working together only really appeared in family centres.

To what extent did data from the staff interviews support these observations? All staff who were working within provision (i.e. not fieldworkers) were asked:

Q.6(c) "In what ways are parents involved in your group"?

A six point checklist was used to prompt for the presence of significant indicators of parental involvement:

"play with children
helping on outings
advising on organisation
helping to select staff
raising money
making and repairing equipment"

These six items were selected as much later in the interview, they were among the items to be rated to assess an overall attitude to parents' involvement and it was intended to examine the relationship between opinions and policies in this area. These six items covered the full spectrum of potential parental involvement.

The findings broadly confirm the previous informal observations:

1. making and repairing equipment

This is a very crude measure of parent involvement as it is subject to the availability of equipment to repair; or the frequency with which fathers were involved.

However there was a trend in the data:

17 school staff reported this involvement, 42 did not;

for day nurseries the proportion was 8:54;

for playgroups this was 9:10;

for community nurseries 3:22;

and all 13 family centre staff reported this involvement.

The main trend in this set of figures appears to be a tendency for more formal provision to have less of this type of involvement. The low level reported by community nursery staff may reflect both the minimal quantities of equipment provided in these settings and the fact that such nurseries cater largely for children of parents already working full-time.

2. raising money

Again, to some extent a crude measure since it is dependent on the level of funding of each type of provision. However, no provision is sufficiently well endowed to be able totally to ignore this type of involvement. Whereas school and day nursery staff reported parent fundraising in about even numbers (32:27 and 30:32 respectively), there was a very

different balance in other, more informal types of provision, almost all staff reporting this (playgroups 17:2, family centres 13:0, community nurseries 20:5).

3. parent help on outings

While outings seem to have been provided less frequently by community nurseries, a broadly similar trend to the previous two items was noted. Less involvement in schools and day nurseries (27:32 and 22:40) and community nurseries (11 reported involvement: 14 did not), while playgroups (15:4) and family centres (8:5) reported more involvement.

4. parents "playing with children"

Once more increasing involvement in more informal provisions was reported by staff - interestingly in the light the frequent claim for this type of involvement in education only 14 in this sector reported this while 45 did not. Day nursery staff only reported this 9 times (52 did not) - reflecting the different type of parental involvement experienced here (working with staff). Also this figure must reflect the relatively lower availability of working parents - as in community nurseries (2:23).

The only groups reporting with substantial frequency parental involvement with children were playgroups (10:9 - rather more even than playgroup literature might suggest), and family centres (13:0). In each of these there is a stronger policy

for parents being involved with children - supporting earlier informal observations.

5. parents advise on organisation

Perhaps unsurprisingly this type of involvement was not reported in education, and by only 2 day nursery staff.

Playgroups and community nurseries reported this with greater frequency (7:12 and 13:12) although once more this is perhaps not as frequent as expected, since often playgroups and community nurseries argue strongly for this involvement. The only type of provision reporting organisational advice from parents more frequently was the family centre (11:2).

6. parents select staff

almost exactly the same pattern of reporting as with advice on organisation was noted here.

Two further elements were included in the interview to help in the assessment of the boundary between family and provision - workers were asked about policies for home visits.

7. home visits pre-entry

There was a much more mixed policy in relation to this item, possibly reflecting much less agreement about the need for such visits. The argument centres on the use of such visits to smooth the transition for young children, and to provide

further information for those working with them. Others argue that such a pre-entry visit is unnecessary or an invasion of privacy. In essence such debates are clearly about the boundary between family and provision, and are central to the question of the extent of co-operation. School staff reported this relatively infrequently (10:49), and playgroup staff did not visit at all. In day nurseries, family centres and community nurseries such home visiting was more frequently reported (21:41, 5:8, 11:14).

8. home visits post-entry

In contrast to the previous item there was very little home visiting reported once the child was in provision - only 3 school staff and 2 day nursery staff reported this.

Consequently it is clear that the extension of work with parents beyond the confines of the "institution" only occurs in relation to institutional requirements to ease transition, and on institutional terms rather than any attempt more directly to influence home circumstances.

Clearly data from the staff interviews fits closely with the pattern noted from the observational material. The boundary between family and provision was firmly within the provision. There appeared to be more parental involvement reported from the less formal types of provision; family centres, playgroups and community nurseries. Day nurseries showed more variability,

while school staff reported parent involvement to a much lesser extent than other pre-school workers. There could be a number of explanations for this in terms of the different ethos of different types of provision, or in terms of the extent to which different types of staff subscribe to notions of professionalism.

In order to look at this general trend the six variables representing the extent of parent involvement (q.v.) were combined to form a single variable. The new variable had a highest possible score of 6 (each type of parent involvement reported), and lowest possible score of 12 (no type of parent involvement reported). This provided a clearer measure of the overall extent of parent involvement.

Parent involvement : an overall pattern

Cross-tabulation of the new "parent involvement" variable with type of provision demonstrated the relative infrequency of high levels of such involvement in schools and day nurseries:

Table: 8.1 Parent involvement and type of provision

| | school | day nursery | playgroup | community nursery | family centre |
|--|--------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------|
| High involvement reported (score 6-8) | 3 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 13 |
| Low involvement reported (score 9-12) | 56 | 59 | 11 | 20 | 0 |

Playgroups and community nurseries reported a higher level of involvement (although not as high as expected from observation), and family centres were evidently working very closely with parents.

To clarify this trend, when analysed by employer:

Table: 8.2 Parent involvement and employer

| | Educational Social Services | Voluntary Sector |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| High involvement reported | 6 | 26 |
| Low involvement reported | 107 | 39 |

Clearly workers in public services were not nearly as heavily involved with parents, this is evident when one examines the figures for total non-involvement (i.e. a score of 12 on this variable).

Non-involvement with parents was reported by:

35% of school staff

39% of day nursery staff

10% of playgroup staff

4% of community nursery staff

and no family centre staff.

There was also a consistent tendency for higher levels of involvement to be reported by those in charge (12 out of 42 - or 28%, compared to 20 out of 136 or 15%). This may be due to a tendency of those in charge to report with greater enthusiasm than is warranted by day-to-day practice. However a more likely explanation, borne out by observation, is that very often headteachers, officers in charge, centre co-ordinators take on the role of parent-worker in their workplace.

There was no significant relationship found (using chi-squared with two-way crosstabulation) between parent involvement and:

- time in post

- level of qualifications
- age group of worker
- whether workers had children under five

Whether a worker had children appeared initially to produce a very significant relationship with parent involvement. On further examination, this exciting possibility that the likelihood of involvement with parents increased when workers had their own children was clearly an artefact of the tendency for the more informal types of provision to employ older workers with children.

Clearly, therefore, the extent of parental involvement reported is dependent upon the type of provision rather than any other factor relating to the workers themselves. However the overall pattern is somewhat more complex than the relatively simple pattern described by Joyce Watt (1977) in Fife. In comparing schools and playgroups she found a higher claimed level of home visiting from schools (a third), and a similar level of parent involvement in classrooms. Overall Watt reports a similar trend to more involvement in informal provision.

(3) Workers' attitudes to co-operation with parents

Workers' attitudes were assessed using items from Watt's (1977) study of co-operation between in pre-school education (see methodology section and Appendix). In the set of 35 items to be rated on a 5-point scale (strongly agree to strongly disagree), were included two general items related to parents, and six statements relating to different types or levels of parent involvement (the six items previously used in examining practice). The statements were arranged in random order with many other statements in between:

"Pre-school groups should involve parents as well as children".

"Most parents just want to leave their children in a pre-school group and forget them until it is time to pick them up again".

"The staff of pre-school groups should be appointed by a committee on which parents are represented".

"An important form of parent involvement in a pre-school group is helping to make and repair equipment".

"Accompanying children on outings from a pre-school group is an important way of involving parents".

"An important form of parent involvement is helping to raise extra money for the group".

"All the main decisions affecting the running of a pre-school group should be taken by a committee on which parents are represented".

As Watt found, there was a strong general acceptance of the

principle of parent involvement in Battersea - it was the item in the questionnaire which obtained the highest measure of agreement:

There was unanimous acceptance for this concept in playgroups and family centres, and nearly universal agreement in community nurseries (only 2 out of 27 staff were undecided). Only 5 out of 214 workers disagreed with the principle of parent involvement. This measure of agreement was markedly stronger than that found by Joyce Watt (1979) while this could reflect differences in provision between Fife and Battersea, the consistently higher rating of parent involvement by all groups suggests an increased acknowledgement of the "maternalist" perspective. As there were ten years between the two studies, this could demonstrate a shift in ideas about pre-school provision.

A further statement was included in the schedule to attempt to assess the degree of "parent acceptance" among pre-school workers - that "Most parents just want to leave their children in a pre-school group and forget them until it's time to pick them up again". This produced a great deal of divergence in opinion between workers in all types of provision. Once more the crosstabulation scores on this item against variables individual to pre-school workers (e.g. qualification, current post), did not produce any information additional to that demonstrated by

examining workers in different types of provision.

Some measure of "parent acceptance" can be derived from a combination of positive and negative replies to this item - the extent to which workers denied that parents only wanted to leave their children:

Table 8.3 Parent Acceptance

| | + ve | - ve | Acceptance |
|---------------------|------|------|------------|
| Schools | 51 | 30 | +21 |
| Day Nurseries | 39 | 42 | -3 |
| Playgroups | 21 | 52 | -31 |
| Family Centres | 54 | 46 | +8 |
| Community Nurseries | 63 | 19 | +44 |
| Total | 46 | 39 | +7 |

Watt (1977) states that positive replies in her study ranged from 73% to 29% for different groups of workers. The Battersea workers reveal a closer measure of agreement than this but there are some important differences. Within each type of provision a noticeable proportion of workers are either positive or negative - indicating that there are divided views about the extent to which parents wish to be involved. This might explain the relatively higher level of acceptance of parents among community nurseries and family centres. Since schools normally cater for

parents who are not working full-time their relatively high acceptance could be some measure of availability, while the converse could be true of day nurseries. However this does not explain the remarkably low level of parent acceptance among playgroup workers. That this is a particularly surprising finding can be seen from a crosstabulation of parent acceptance and overall parent involvement:

Table: 8.4 Parent Acceptance x Parent Involvement

| | | Parent Acceptance | |
|--------------------|------|-------------------|----------|
| | | Positive | Negative |
| Parent Involvement | High | 61 | 31 |
| | Low | 41 | 41 |

This demonstrates the significant relationship between parent acceptance and parental involvement. Within any type of provision, those who were more accepting of parents were more likely to be involved with them. This is not to suggest causation, but to reinforce the importance of attitudes in the development of such co-operation.

The apparent aberration of playgroup workers scoring relatively low on parent acceptance could be the product of the statement used. For many playgroup parents this does represent an opportunity to "get rid of" the children - although work with parents in playgroups does not tend to involve the children with

them, in comparison with, for example, day nurseries (see previous section on "the issue of parent involvement").

If attitudes appear to be central to the extent of parent involvement we need to examine the relationship between attitudes and behaviour in relation to specific types of parent involvement.

1. making and repairing equipment (v.215)

There were very few strongly positive or negative opinions on this item. However, both workers in school and day nurseries recorded much higher proportions than other groups of those who disagreed with this item - 49% of school workers compared to 30% who agreed, 26% of day nursery staff compared to 58% who agreed.

Much more favourable views were recorded by those in more "voluntary" provision - playgroups, family centres and community nurseries (16:63, 15:46 and 22:59 respectively). While the trend of this item is the same as in workers' accounts of their practice, there is a consistent tendency to rate making and repairing equipment much more highly than practised.

When this data was cross-tabulated with an overall measure of parent involvement it was clear that there was a strong association between the two:

Table 8.5 Parent Involvement x v.215

| | | Parents make and repair equipment | |
|-------------|------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| | | Positive | Negative |
| Parent | High | 63 | 16 |
| Involvement | Low | 46 | 33 |

This is not as positive a result as Watt (1979) found when levels of support reached over 90% in informal provision such as playgroups.

2. raising money (v.240)

There was much more agreement on this item than on the previous one, and the same trend towards greater agreement in the "informal" sector was noted. Thus 25% of school staff disagreed with this, and 53% agreed (possibly reflecting the relatively more adequate public funding for schools). In contrast only 10% of day nursery staff disagreed, and no-one from playgroups, family centres or community nurseries. This is reflected in their practice - almost all staff in the informal sector reported this. Again, Joyce Watt (1979) reports much more favourable ratings for this item.

3. parents help on outings (v.233)

There was almost universal agreement with this item - only two workers disagreeing and five being undecided. While less involvement in this had been reported by schools and day nurseries almost everyone supported the idea. This was very similar to Joyce Watt's finding on this item, she found that this was the most popular form of involvement.

4. parents playing with children (v.222)

The findings were remarkably close to those on the previous item, and again this was consistent with Watt (1979). It appears that these items received near-universal support although more claim to do this in practice in the "voluntary" sector.

5. parents advise on organisation (v.242)

Although this type of involvement had not been reported in the "professional" sector there was strong support for the idea that parents should be involved in this way. Only two workers who disagreed with this were from the "voluntary" sector, while 20% of school staff and 34% of day nursery staff disagreed - producing the same overall trend towards greater agreement in the "community based" provision.

This is a similar finding to that Joyce Watt who reported a more substantial split in views between teachers and nursery nurses compared with playgroup workers.

6. parents select staff (v.212)

Although there was marginally more disagreement than with the previous item, a very similar trend was noted towards greater agreement in the voluntary sector.

The overall trend in views of parent involvement can be seen from

the next table, comparing proportions of negative and positive attitudes on ea. item for "professional" provision (school and day nurseries) compared to "voluntary" provision (playgroup, community nurseries and family centres). The use of the item "professional" here is as a convenient shorthand to distinguish between two types of provision and does not imply any qualitative judgement. (See Table 8.6)

Table 8.6 Attitudes to parental involvement, "professional" v. "voluntary" provision

| PARENT INVOLVEMENT | | V 215 | V 240 | V 233 | V 222 | V 242 | V 212 |
|--------------------|----------|-------------|---------|-----------|--------|-------------|----------------|
| V3 PROVISION | | 'equipment' | 'money' | 'outings' | 'play' | 'decisions' | 'appointments' |
| 'PROFESSIONAL' | Positive | 37 | 17 | 2 | 6 | 26 | 26 |
| | Negative | 45 | 71 | 95 | 93 | 63 | 40 |
| 'VOLUNTARY' | Positive | 19 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 10 |
| | Negative | 58 | 97 | 98 | 94 | 93 | 78 |

All figures percentages, rounded to nearest single figure, omitting 'undecided' category.

Several conclusions emerge from this data:

1. As with the extent of contact with other workers in the network, institutional factors are more important than individual factors in determining the extent of parent involvement.
2. The attitude data is consistent with workers reports of the extent of parent involvement, and with the observational data.
3. All items demonstrate the same broad trend towards greater support for parental involvement in the voluntary sector.
4. There was much less disagreement and much more general support for parental involvement which implied working with children (v.233 and v.222)
5. Involvement of parents in a supportive and managerial role was more controversial among pre-school workers, but was much more accepted within the voluntary sector, where it also plays an essential part in the provision. Whereas the "voluntary" sector reported high levels of parent involvement in 45% of cases, in the "professional" sector this was 5%.

6. Consequently it is possible to demonstrate the general acceptance of some of the basic themes of the "new maternalism", the emphasis on childrens development within a familial context. Largely this perspective is being used to justify co-operation with parents which represents a maintenance and extension of control by pre-school workers over the family. The further development of such co-operation policies involve parents in control and management of pre-school provision is much more controversial.

(4) Workers' attitudes to co-operation between "voluntary and "professional" sectors

The distinction between "voluntary" and "professional" provision has been useful in the analysis, to distinguish between schools and day nurseries on one hand and playgroups, community nurseries and family centres on the other. It is also a division which is maintained within the network of provision (q.v.). To what extent is this division supported by the attitudes of pre-school workers? Watt (1977) found that "there was general acceptance of co-operation as a principle but its practical expression was not seen as a primary". How much acceptance was there in Battersea?

1. The general principle of co-operation (v.216, v.241)

There was strong support for the idea that voluntary and professional groups should work together (over 90% of all workers), and for the concept of joint evening meetings for all groups of staff (over 85%).

2. Co-operation in training (v.220, v.224)

Again broad agreement with these items was found, 89% of all workers agreed with playgroup workers talking to trainee teachers. Rather less agreement (69%) was found for teachers talking to trainee playgroup workers. These findings are very similar to Watt's figures for the same items, and as in that

study some opposition to teacher involvement came from nursery nurses (day nursery staff) and playgroup workers.

3. Co-operation in practical training (v.229, v.232)

While there was over 90% agreement that students, nursery teachers and nursery nurses should get practical experience in a playgroup, there was not such strong support for the converse.

Thus school and day nursery workers supported the idea of playgroup supervisors spending a few days in a nursery school or class (86% and 94%).

Playgroup workers themselves were a little more divided (79% in favour, but 16% against), and community nursery workers were similarly split (74%:19%). Family centre workers were even opposed to this, on balance, with 54% against and 46% for such collaboration. Thus, overall, professional workers were in favour of reciprocal co-operation: while voluntary workers showed a slight tendency to emphasise that professional workers should experience their sector more strongly than their own need to experience the professional sector. Again the figures are very similar to Watt's study.

4. Co-operation in planning (v.219, v.228)

A much stronger overall level of support for this was found in Battersea workers than in Fife (Watt 1979), particularly in relation to the need to consult playgroups when establishing school provision. This is possibly due to recent problems of

non-consultation in Wandsworth already mentioned. Clearly 85% of voluntary workers supported this consultation (only 3% disagreed), while as many as 75% of professional workers were in favour (17% against). The need to consult schools was less strongly supported among professionals (58%:29% in favour) and among voluntary workers (54%:37%).

5. Co-operation in visiting (v.235, v.244)

This was strongly supported - almost all workers felt it was useful for nursery teachers and nursery nurses to visit playgroups (94% of professionals, 100% of voluntary workers). Similarly 93% of professionals felt it was useful for there to be visits to them from playgroups staff, and 80% of voluntary sector workers.

6. Co-operation in management (v.238, v.243)

While a majority of school staff felt it would be useful to have a school representative on a playgroup committee (56%:22%), a similar majority of playgroup staff were against this (53%:21%).

Reciprocal co-operation including playgroup representatives in discussions of school policy was rejected by the majority of school staff (53%:30%) and playgroup staff were evenly divided about this (41%:42%). The division between voluntary and professional workers was broadly similar.

As Joyce Watt has argued (1977) co-operation is largely accepted

in principle but neglected in practice. Clearly from this study there is a very broad general acceptance for the idea of co-operation between voluntary and professional sectors. Equally clearly from the network data there is relatively much less co-operation across this boundary in practice. Effectively, the attitude data suggests that pre-school workers might be prepared to move towards a view of the separated elements of the network as a set of pre-school services. However, there are still important differences underlying their approach which may mean it is inappropriate to view co-operation between pre-school services in a global sense of controlling a family sphere - notably differences in views of "professionalism".

(5) Attitudes to Professionalism

In Watt's study (1979) she was able to use the twelve items relating to "professionalism" as an attitude scale, and to rate the extent to which individuals subscribed to this concept - narrowly defined to describe "a service provided by a local authority department employing personnel who have completed successfully a recognised and qualifying full-time course of training". (Watt 1977). Watt found clear differences between professional groups in the extent to which they felt that professionalism was a necessary element in pre-school services. She argued that there were three clear subgroupings:

1. "high professionalism" - assistant headteachers
 - nursery teachers
 - nursery nurses

2. "moderate professionalism" - health visitors

3. "low professionalism" - social workers
 - playgroup chairmen
 - youth and community staff
 - playgroup workers

Even within these groupings there was considerable variability - especially between those in the "low professionalism" group.

In the present study a different approach has been adopted to the analysis of professionalism. As Watt reported, individual factors such as age of children appeared to have little effect on scores on "professionalism". This was confirmed in the present study. Not only were individual factors not associated with these scores, the occupational subgrouping appeared to have no effect distinguishable from the type of provision in which the individual worked. Consequently the main analysis of items related to professionalism was carried out in relation to provision. This is consistent with the approach to earlier data on parent involvement and co-operation.

Also it was felt that the development of an additive scale for professionalism provided a somewhat crude measure of this dimension and there was a danger of producing an artefact which bore more relation to institutional practice than to individual ideas. Consequently it was decided to analyse trends within responses to various items, and then to include those items within the factor analysis of the attitude data. It was felt that this would provide a more sensitive approach. As the analysis developed a further advantage of this approach emerged.

The crude distinction formerly made between "professional" and "voluntary" provision began to become refined, especially in relation to different types of voluntary provision.

1. A general view of "professionalism" (v.277)

In relation to the somewhat bald statement that "In this country we put far too much emphasis on professional qualifications", there was general agreement. However, whereas school and day nursery staff were more divided (51%:40%), almost all workers in the voluntary sector agreed with this statement (90%:8%). This is what one would expect in the light of the qualifications and experience of workers in each sector. (For this table chi-squared was significant at the .001 level).

2. Professional compared with voluntary provision (v.213, v.230, v.231, v.239)

Answers to three of these items were very much as expected, producing distributions which were significant at the .001 level.

Thus school and day nursery staff tended to agree that "pre-school children are more likely to have their individual needs met in a professional group than in a voluntary one", and that "voluntary pre-school groups can only be second best". Staff in the voluntary sector agreed far more readily with the statement that "the best people to run pre-school groups are the children's own parents". The only item which produced similar responses in all workers was the general disagreement with the notion that "As local authority provision of professional groups expands, voluntary pre-school groups should be phased out", (85% of school workers, 90% of day nursery staff, 89% of those in community nurseries and 100% of playgroups and family centre

staff disagreed). This item was not significant. Therefore it is possible to generalise from these items that workers adopted positions in support of their own sector in a comparison between voluntary and professional provision.

3. Financial issues (v.214, v.217)

These two items did not produce significant results in a chi-squared test, and showed a broad level of agreement. The idea that "voluntary pre-school groups should get a much larger share of the local authority's pre-school budget than they get at present" received general assent, although this was stronger from the voluntary sector, (68% of professional workers agreed, 90% of those in the voluntary sector). In the same way there was general disagreement with the notion that "the main advantage of voluntary pre-school groups over professional groups is that they are cheaper to run". Interestingly whereas in most types of provision around half the workers disagreed (45% schools, 42% day nurseries, 47% playgroups, 52% community nurseries), 77% of family centre workers disagreed with this idea.

4. Quality of provision (v.221, v.223, v.234, v.236, v.237)

It was in this area of opinion related to quality of provision that some important and more subtle differences began to emerge.

While the professional-voluntary distinction was maintained, and for all variables produced values of chi-squared significant at the .001 level, some distinctions between family centres,

community nurseries and playgroups could be discerned.

In particular, the idea that "professionally trained people know most about developing high standards of children's play" produced the expected agreement from professional workers (59%), but differential dissent from voluntary sector staff - 70% of community nursery workers, 84% of playgroup workers and 92% of family centre staff felt that this was untrue.

Similarly, in relation to the statement that "parents should accept that when it comes to running a pre-school group, their ideas should take second place to those of professionally trained people", while there was a broad spread of views in schools and day nurseries (47% against:44% for), there was much more opposition to this from playgroups (66%, although a 26% minority agreed). However, 93% of community nursery workers and 100% of family centre workers disagreed.

Statements that "voluntary pre-school groups should be modelled on good nursery classes", "voluntary pre-school groups usually establish better relationships between parents and staff", and "if pre-school groups claim to provide an educational service they should employ professionally trained people", all produced highly significant distributions between voluntary and professional groups (for detailed figures see Table 8.7).

Table 8.7 TYPE OF PROVISION AND RATINGS OF PROFESSIONALISM

| VARIABLE CATEGORY | PROFESSIONAL v. VOLUNTARY | | | FINANCIAL | | | QUALITY | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| VARIABLE | v.227 | v.213 | v.230 | v.231 | v.239 | v.214 | v.217 | v.223 | v.234 | v.236 | v.237 | | |
| TYPE OF PROVISION | Prof. General | Prof. meet more needs | Vol. second best | Parents best | Vol. phased out | Vol. more money | Vol. cheaper | Parents Prof. know most | Vol. model ed. | Vol. better parent | Ed. must be prof. | | |
| PROFESSIONAL | +ve | 51 | 33 | 18 | 7 | 88 | 68 | 43 | 47 | 31 | 46 | 22 | 66 |
| | -ve | 40 | 47 | 69 | 80 | 7 | 10 | 36 | 44 | 59 | 30 | 59 | 22 |
| VOLUNTARY | +ve | 90 | 92 | 5 | 27 | 93 | 90 | 56 | 86 | 80 | 10 | 68 | 27 |
| | -ve | 8 | 7 | 93 | 52 | 3 | 3 | 29 | 8 | 14 | 76 | 17 | 63 |
| SIGNIFICANCE | | .001 | .001 | .01 | .001 | - | - | - | .001 | .001 | .001 | .001 | .001 |

Figures are percentages agreeing or disagreeing with each item, rounded to nearest whole number.
 Omits "undecided" ratings.
 Significance of chi squared calculated on frequencies.

Thus, in relation to "professionalism" the distinctions previously noted between staff in different types of provision have been maintained. Very significant differences were observed between professional and voluntary sector workers in the extent of their agreement with items related to comparisons of voluntary and professional provision (as one might have expected) and in relation to specific items about the quality of the different types of provision. Interestingly, it appears from some items that playgroup staff are overall slightly more likely to rate professionalism higher than community nursery workers, who in turn give higher ratings than family centre workers. Where there were differences (e.g. v.221) between voluntary sectors they tended to occur in this direction.

While these items were not used as a scale in Watt's approach (1979), the results suggest that her distinction between high, moderate and low professionalism may be a result of the rather divergent groups she included in her study (especially playgroup chairmen and youth and community workers). A reassessment of this scale would suggest a distinction between "high professionalism" (to include teachers, nursery nurses as in Watt's study) and "high voluntarism" (to include the remainder of workers in the study). However, this is a ^{tentative} ~~sensitive~~ suggestion which will need further exploration in relation to the overall factor analysis of the attitude data.

As a result of these differences we may usefully begin to break down the global concept of "control" through co-operation into a number of different types of approach relevant to different provisions. Prior to this, it will be important to examine the attitude data overall, to look for further dimensions of difference.

6. The Factor Analysis of Attitudes

As Oppenheim (1966) argues factor analysis of attitude data can enable one to examine underlying dimensions of opinion in a more complex way than the simpler Likert scaling. Also it was hoped that this approach to the data would provide a more sensitive measure of opinions. It would be possible once the factors had been identified to use them within the SPSS programme to attach weightings and determine factor scores for individuals. Such indices can then be used to search for significant differences between groups of individuals within the studied population.

(Blalock 1960)

A factor matrix was obtained in which five clearly identifiable factors explained over 84% of the variance within the population.

The first two factors were clearly the most important, explaining 38.8% and 23.6% of the variance respectively. The other three factors explained a further 22% of the variance but were retained as they were clearly differentiated from one another. (For a full list of factors, and the factor matrix see Appendix).

Factor 1: Professionalism

The variables incorporated into this factor were centred around the importance of a professional involvement in pre-school

provision: predominantly they were the items examined under the headings of "professional compared with voluntary provision" and "quality of provision" in relation to professionalism in the previous section. Particularly prominent items in this factor included: "professionally trained people know most about developing high standards of children's play", "parents should accept that when it comes to running a pre-school group their ideas should take second place to those of professionally trained people", "pre-school children are more likely to have their needs met in a professional group than in a voluntary one", "in this country we put far too much emphasis on professional qualifications".

Factor 2: Co-ordination

The variables incorporated into this factor were centred around aspects of co-ordination between voluntary and professional workers. The main items in this factor were concerned with more formal, organisational aspects of co-operation. Thus: "before a pre-school playgroup is set up, nearby nursery schools and classes should be consulted", "it's a good idea to include representatives of local pre-school playgroups when the staff of nursery schools or classes are discussing their policy", "the staffs of all kinds of pre-school groups in the same area should meet regularly to share their ideas", and ideas such as school representatives on playgroup committees featured in this factor.

Factor 3: Practical co-operation

While this factor also concerned co-operation it incorporated more practical policies for those working with children rather than organisational aspects of co-ordination. Prominent items included: "Experienced playgroup supervisors have little to gain from visiting nearby nursery schools and classes", "nursery teachers should be asked to contribute to courses for pre-school playgroup superivisors", "nursery teachers and nursery nurses have little to gain from visiting playgroups", "voluntary and professional pre-school groups should look for ways of working together".

Factor 4: Parent involvement in organisation

Many items included within this factor were associated with parent involvement in appointing staff, committee decisions etc. or with the need for playgroup ideas to become more part of the thinking of pre-school workers. The central focus of these items was around organisational aspects of parent involvement.

Factor 5: Parent involvement in practice

This factor was also focussed around parent involvement, but with a far more practical emphasis - raising money, making and

repairing equipment, helping with outings all appeared prominently here.

The factor analysis of the attitude data had therefore produced five identifiable factors. The next step was to look for significant patterns in the factor scores of different groups in Battersea. An analysis of variance for the differences between means of a series of variables, was carried out.

The factor analysis demonstrated the importance of variables associated with institutions and employment in explaining variability in factor scores, as compared to individual and experiential elements. This confirmed the approach taken earlier in this chapter in which differences between workers in different types of provision were emphasised. (See Appendix for detailed tables).

1. Professionalism

As might have been predicted significant differences were found between the mean scores on professionalism for both Variable 1, occupation (at 0.05 level) and Variable 3, type of provision (at the 0.01 level). The latter significance persisted when Variable 3 was recorded to professional/voluntary groups (T test significance at the .002 level). Evidently, as would be expected from the findings of scores on individual items there are important differences between workers in the extent to which

they subscribe to notions of professionalism.

Important differences could be observed between the mean scores of school and day nursery workers which were clustered together, and those of community nursery workers, playgroup workers and family centre workers - although all groups showed large standard deviations, indicating some variability within each group.

While Variable 4, employer, did not produce significant overall differences between means, the mean score for workers in the voluntary sector was noticeably different.

2. Co-ordination

Significant differences were found between the mean scores of sub-groups in Variable 1, occupation and Variable 4, employer (both at the 0.05 level). The variation in the extent to which individuals subscribed to the idea of co-ordination clearly related to their employment.

3. Co-operation

Once more significant differences were found between the mean scores of sub-groups on Variable 1, occupation, although Variables 3 and 4 were not significant. Interestingly, the only other variables with significant differences between means related to qualifications - the possession of a qualification (Variable 15) and level of qualification (Variable 29) were both

very significant (at the 0.01 level and 0.05 level respectively).

4. Parent involvement in organisation

Again significant differences were demonstrated between the mean scores of sub-groups in Variable 1, occupation (at the 0.01 level) and Variable 3, type of provision (at the 0.05 level). Once more institutional factors appear to be central, this time to the extent to which individuals subscribe to parent involvement in organisation.

5. Parent involvement in practice

Very slight variability between means on Variable 1, occupation was noted but this was not significant and was probably the product of a number of small groups. No other variable demonstrated differences in the extent to which sub-groups subscribed to practical parental involvement.

Thus the factor analysis confirms that location within the network appears to be the major factor in explaining variability in views between individuals in Battersea. This was also the central element in explaining the extent of contacts and in reviewing individual elements within the set of attitudes. A consistent pattern is emerging whereby views and attitudes on a range of interrelated areas such as parent involvement, co-ordination and co-operation are intimately linked with the functioning of the network of services.

(7) Co-operation and Control

The change of focus in this chapter from more formal aspects of interprofessional working in co-ordination to the less formal aspects implied within co-operation has facilitated the clarification of the conceptual boundaries of the pre-school network in Battersea. In examining workers' attitudes under the broad heading of co-operation a general acceptance of the concept of "maternalism" was noted. However within the framework provided by these ideas there is a differential interpretation of the implications for co-operation.

As Watt (1979) found, co-operation with parents and across the voluntary-professional divide is accepted by pre-school workers with some enthusiasm. However there are key reservations, particularly in relation to co-operation which might be seen to be threatening to individual workers, such as the involvement of parents and other workers in co-operation in management. These reservations led to the examination of the concept of professionalism.

Professionalism appears to be the major barrier to co-operation (as Joyce Watt found in Fife in the 1970s). There was a distinction between those who subscribed to "high professionalism" and those whose opinions were characterised by

'high voluntarism' which coincided with a clear voluntary-professional boundary in practice. Community nursery, family centre and playgroup workers were distinct from those working in schools and day nurseries in the extent to which they co-operated with parents and other workers. Ultimately this must be seen as reflecting not individual factors (as Watt 1977 suggests), but location within the network. This was confirmed by the factor analysis: when there were variations in attitudes to professionalism, co-ordination, co-operation and to organisational aspects of parental involvement these were shown to vary with occupation and type of employment. In contrast, these factors did not show variation in relation to individual characteristics.

Thus attitudes are seen to underline the differences observed within the pre-school network, and to vary with location in that network. These attitudes create a conceptual boundary to workers networks, between themselves and parents. However this conceptual boundary is less precise than that observed in the analysis of the network. Clearly professionalism is a major factor in maintaining a distinctive boundary between workers in schools and day nurseries as a group, and both parents and other workers. Voluntarism seems to promote a less clear boundary between workers in more "informal" provision and parents and other workers.

Such differences between types of provision have implications for the concept of control. Whereas in those types of provision maintaining a high professionalism we can observe a clear attempt to maintain a distinctive area of control, this dimension is more subtle where the conceptual boundary is weaker. Effectively there is still an attempt to assert control by workers rather than parents, but in more subtle ways - there is less resistance to parental involvement in management at least in theory. That control remains a major element in the pre-school network as a whole is confirmed by the analysis of workers' views of local need, in which such needs were largely seen as a problem to be controlled.

Thus the idea of a pre-school network has been refined to understand some of the conceptual components. However we must now consider these findings as a whole and consider why it is that relative isolation within the network relates to attitudes to co-operation with other workers and with parents, and whether we are therefore examining some further underlying dimension - and to try to develop an understanding of the key concepts of co-ordination, co-operation and control.

CHAPTER 9. POLICING THE PRE-SCHOOL

If Berger and Berger (1983) are correct in describing current debates as a "war over the family", in this study we have been examining the "battle for the pre-school". Who should control the ground between the family and the state occupied by the pre-school child? What is the appropriate boundary between public and private provision? The debate has continued throughout this century, is occurring at national level today, and persists at local level every day. The boundary is constantly being redefined in negotiations between politicians, local authorities, voluntary organisations, workers and parents.

To call this a battle is an evident exaggeration, it is not being fought by armies on well-defined sides, the front between opposing camps is not a clear boundary, and is constantly blurred and shifting. Constant negotiation for control is more appropriately analysed in terms of an extension of policing than in militaristic terms.

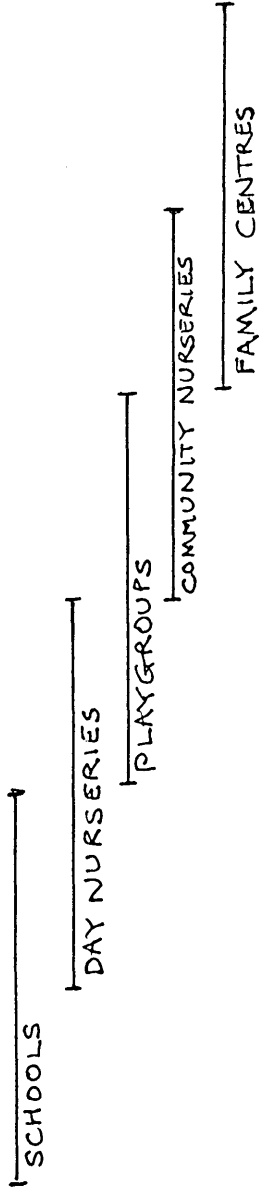
In "The Birth of the Clinic" Foucault (1963) described the change from a classificatory medicine to an "anatamo-clinical" approach at the end of the eighteenth century.

As the identification and location of disease changed, so the methods of treating it shifted, and a new medicine of epidemics emerged in the public sphere. This new form of medicine required policing,

and gained a political status. Similarly the emergence of a pre-school period as an identifiable separate category of childhood, created an "arena" occupied by the child. This arena, an intermediate sphere between home and school, became the scene of an ever-shifting debate about policing and control. During this century the major shifts in publicly agreed views of appropriate policing have occurred in response to changes in knowledge and understanding about pre-school children and their families. Biologistic, psychoanalytic and developmental theories have held the stage in turn, each with their own implications for the type of policing appropriate to the pre-school. The latest of these knowledge shifts is towards a "new maternalism", the re-emphasis of the child's development in the context of the family and particularly in relation to mother. This shift has led to a much broader interpretation of the pre-school sphere, and a boundary shift to incorporate more of that sphere into the public arena. New models of pre-school provision have emerged, based in an increasing co-ordination of services and greater co-operation between workers and parents.

It is possible to develop a historical model such as this from policy documents and literature which largely operate at a national level. How does this model relate to the realities of provision in a specific locality? In order to incorporate the Battersea data into this picture it will be useful to build up a typology of pre-school provision.

CLOSED ————— OPEN



PROVISION

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|---|-------|---|-------------------------|---|-------|
| HISTORICAL | POST-WAR | → | 1960s | → | 1970s | → | 1980s |
| CO-ORDINATION OF POLICY | PUBLIC PROVISION | → | | → | VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS | → | |
| CO-ORDINATION OF WORKERS | NARROW / STRONG | → | | → | BROAD / WEAK | → | |
| CO-OPERATION | WEAK | → | | → | STRONG | → | |
| PROFESSIONALISM | STRONG | → | | → | WEAK | → | |
| PARENT INVOLVEMENT | WEAK | → | | → | STRONG | → | |
| CHILD FOCUS | STRONG | → | | → | WEAK | → | |
| STRUCTURE | HIERARCHICAL | → | | → | DEMOCRATIC | → | |
| PROVISION | NARROW | → | | → | BROAD | → | |
| SIZE | LARGE | → | | → | SMALL | → | |

An overlapping set

A sequence of emergence

Practice + Attitudes

Voluntarism
Weak — strong

Types of involvement

Parent focus
weak — strong

Coincidental
or
Related ?

(1) A TYPOLOGY OF PRE-SCHOOL PROVISION

If we examine key elements of variability between the major types of pre-school provision found in Battersea, we can begin to order those types along a spectrum and attempt to assess whether there is some underlying dimension. In constructing this typology we are considering provision in an "ideal typical" sense, to clarify the analysis - individual schools, day nurseries, playgroups, community nurseries and family centres will vary within a narrow range. This is summarised in the associated diagram.

a. Historical

In Battersea, the emergence of school and any nursery provision came in the years immediately after the war, the first playgroups began in the 1960s, while community nurseries started during the 1970s. It is only in the 1980s that family centres have emerged.

The typology of provision is based on this sequence, although there have been many recent developments. Thus in recent years nursery classes have expanded, and a nursery school has been established; and day nursery provision has only shown a slight increase in number of places. Playgroups have shown a slight reduction in the number of places available, as a small number have closed. Community nurseries have only shown a slight expansion in the number of places on offer to families locally, although family centres are recently established and continuing

to expand. These changes in availability of different types of provision do not detract from the basic sequence which moves from local authority provision, through different types of voluntary provision, to the new forms of family centres.

b. Co-ordination of policy

We have already noted a shift in Battersea policy since 1979 from a reliance on public provision, towards more reliance on voluntary organisations, and more community-based provision.

This has been a deliberate policy on the part of the local authority and has inevitably meant broadening the range of those involved in pre-school provision. It has been argued in this study that the base of decision making has not been broadened to the same extent - effective control is largely retained by the local authority.

c. Co-ordination of workers

The network study demonstrated the tendency of institutions at one end of the spectrum to have a stronger element of co-ordination, particularly with fieldworkers, although this involved in the main those at the head of the institution. In contrast at the other end of the spectrum there was much weaker co-ordination with other provision but greater involvement of the full range of workers. The narrower definition of co-ordination could be seen to relate to higher levels of involvement in a professional network, the broader view links to more

community-based views.

d. Co-operation

Just as very significant variations in co-ordination were observed between types of provision, similarly significant variations in co-operation were found - both in terms of practice and attitudes. Whereas at one end of the spectrum workers were relatively weak in their support of the ideas associated with parental and worker co-operation (particularly in the more threatening areas of management), at the other end of the spectrum there was a much stronger acceptance of such ideas.

e. Professionalism

Again, a similar movement from strong professionalism at one end of the spectrum to weaker definitions at the other. This was re-interpreted to incorporate the more positive notion of "voluntarism" as the converse of professionalism. The major split was between local authority and voluntary provision, rather than as a continuum.

f. Parent involvement

This is not a simple unidimensional feature of the spectrum, from relatively low levels of involvement to relatively high ones, although an initial interpretation of the figures might suggest this. In fact the dimension relates to different types of parent involvement. It is not totally absent from schools but

tends to take on different forms. Thus involvement of parents in working with staff is more common at one end of the spectrum, whereas in schools such involvement is rare and working with children is more likely to be found. Nevertheless overall, the involvement of parents at one end of the spectrum of provision is stronger than at the other, and reflects a move towards models of "social management".

g. Child focus

The extent to which activities of workers are focussed on the child can also be seen to vary along the spectrum. Whereas at one end there is a very strong almost exclusive child focus, this focus broadens out to include parents and the local community towards the other end of the spectrum.

h. Structure

The association between the external dimensions described thus far, and the internal structure of the various types of provision is immediately noticeable. Thus schools and day nurseries are clearly organised on a more hierarchical basis, power and decision making are clearly more concentrated towards the top of the hierarchy of headteacher, teacher and assistant. In contrast day nurseries are less hierarchical, and playgroups, community nurseries and family centres tend to have a single leader or co-ordinator and a group of workers. In decision making the latter types of provision appear to involve more

workers in discussion.

i. Control by provision

It could be argued that the dimension of control by limitation of definition of need is a similar dimension to those already analysed. In this argument the definition of need by schools is seen to be narrow in catering for those children able to attend largely part-time between the ages of three and five. Similarly the day nursery in defining priority cases attaches a relatively narrow limit to eligibility, and towards the other end of the spectrum the definition appears to broaden. However this is far from clear, it could equally be argued that each type of provision is involved in control by its own definition of eligibility.

j. Size

Some interesting ideas are suggested if we look at the physical attributes and architecture of different types of provision. Clearly there is a move from large to small provision, and from purpose built to various degrees of adaptation of accommodation. This might be seen to be coincidental. However it appears to relate to the extent to which specialism and professionalism are emphasised within provision. The structure of provision, and the degree to which children are located within the architecture appear to vary along the same dimension as many of the features described above.

k. Closed - Open

Throughout this analysis the dimensions of the spectrum can be related to power and control. The underlying dimension of this typology could be argued to be a shift from relatively closed forms of provision to relatively open provision. The constellation of features of schools described thus far are all related to a degree of narrowness of definition, attitude and action among workers. In contrast workers in family centres appear to be much broader in role definitions, attitudes and policies and actions.

There appears to have been a very fundamental shift historically in local policy from closed forms towards more open forms of provision. This is reflected in the inter-professional working of such provision, in relationships with parents and the local community and in the basic structure of different types of provision.

Although the literature arguing for such policy changes tend to argue that this move towards "more accessible" provision is a positive one it is important to recognise that defining this spectrum of provision does not imply an equivalent evaluation of the typology. From a research viewpoint it has been established that such a spectrum exists in Battersea. From the viewpoint of pre-school workers it could be argued that there are strengths

and weaknesses in each form of provision - the spectrum merely defines a range of difference.

(2) AN HISTORICAL SHIFT

If we return to the historical analysis in which the shift in commonly held ideas and theories about pre-school children and families was related to shifts in thinking about provision, we find a similar movement from arguments which support closed forms of provision towards more open ones.

Thus biologicistic notions supported very precise, relatively narrowly defined forms of treatment within clearly delineated institutions. Psychoanalytic ideas broadened the focus to incorporate more elements of children's development, but treatment was still very clearly located within the child. It is only with the advent of developmentally based theories that the focus broadens to incorporate the community (particularly in relation to deprivation). Finally with the "new maternalism" the child and family are opened up to treatment by the pre-school.

This ever-widening focus of treatment could be related to a shift in types of control. It could be argued that this reflects a move from more "mechanistic" notions of control towards more "organic" ideas. At a very general level of concern with social order this has long been a preoccupation of sociologists (c.f. Tonnies, Parsons). Similarly there is an apparent relationship with the concept of ideology. However this too is

at a very general level, the ideas of hegemony found in Gramsci's writings, or of an "Ideological State Apparatus" as proposed by Althusser tend to view ideology as reflecting and promoting the interests of specific social groups. In the present analysis a much more general interpretation is attached to the role of ideas and theories about the pre-school. Rather than supporting a specific group's claim to hegemony in the pre-school sphere, these ideas are seen to lend support to a varying interpretation of the role of the state in the pre-school arena. It can also help us to realise that this shifting boundary is not only producing different balances between state power and family power, but is also based in different forms of control.

(3) CO-ORDINATION - A BROADER VIEW

This study began with a concern to explain the absence of a coherent pre-school policy in Britain, particularly as a result of initiatives towards co-ordination. In many analyses the extension of professional power has been the major theme:

Illich's account is particularly relevant:

"imputed needs move into a third mutation. They coalesce into what the experts call a "multidisciplinary problem" necessitating, therefore, a multiprofessional solution...the client is trained to need a team approach to receive what his guardians consider "satisfaction". Personal services which improve the consumer illustrate the point...the intensity of the service-economy has made the time needed for the consumption of pedagogical, medical and social treatments increasingly scarce...Already in kindergarten, the child is subject to management by a team made up of such specialists as the allergist, speech pathologist, paediatrician, child psychologist, social worker, physical education instructor and teacher..."

Illich I 1977 Disabling Professions p.26)

However to view such developments of team approaches and co-ordinated policies as a simple extension of professional power is to limit the analysis to a narrow view. (Wilding 1980). This assertion of professional power needs and problems, of power over clients, and to control a sphere of work such as the pre-school has been heavily criticised especially in the absence of any

partnership with "clients, society and other professionals". (Wilding 1981). It is not the purpose of this study to make such judgements about the worthwhileness of the extension of such control. This study can make some contribution to the debate over professional power by demonstrating that within the pre-school co-ordination policies which appear to claim greater professional control are by no means so clear-cut. In many ways what we are seeing is an extension of the powers of the state to regulate family life, but this is being achieved by a redefinition of the pre-school field as well as by extending the powers of specific professionals.

Equally such redefinition of the boundary within the pre-school arena lends support to the ideas of those who argue that responsibility for children is being removed from families. Whether this is a removal of power from women by men is less clear from the present study (c.f. Ehrenreich and English 1979).

Ultimately debates about co-ordination can now be seen in a broader context. They take place within debates about the nature of state power in relation to the family, which are based in changing views of pre-school children and families and are consequently never entirely static and never entirely resolved.

Because of this constantly shifting boundary between public provision and the family, the more diffuse concept of "policing" as used by Foucault and Donzelot has proved to be of more use in understanding the process of boundary definition than a single dimension of "control". What we have seen is an extension of regulation by state power which is much more subtle and more pervasive. Such "policing" has retained power on the side of the providers - the state and the professional pre-school worker. This contrasts sharply with the rhetoric of co-ordination and co-operation policies which has emphasised the extension of some elements of control to the parent and the non-professional worker. In this way, the ideas represented by the "new maternalism" have been incorporated into a policing policy when they could have provided the basis for quite different policies.

(4) WIDER IMPLICATIONS

Issues of pre-school policy are ultimately issues of control. The contribution of this study in adopting a new approach and introducing the key concepts of policing, of a "new maternalism" and of "open" and "closed" types of provision, is to clarify the underlying dimension of control. The development of pre-school provision in this country, and current policy debates have largely taken this fundamental truth as given. By arguing that existing policies fail adequately to address this issue, resting as they do on an extension of policing, a series of fresh debates are opened up. In particular:

1. The extension of political power into an area of family life, justified by a "new maternalism" appears to have been little questioned, and to have been largely the result of a search for more "adequate" provision. By whom is this desired or accepted?

2. The development from more "closed" forms of provision towards more "open" ones appears largely to be the result of pragmatic decisions seeking to improve the quality of service to the family. If we view this as a conscious policy there are important implications for workers, politicians and parents. Whether one views this spectrum of types of provision in value terms, or whether one regards

this simply as a description, there is a clear need for all involved in the pre-school arena to develop conscious policies in relation to this dimension. In particular a greater awareness of the cumulative effect of a range of policies in rendering individual institutions more open or closed, will be needed on the part of all pre-school workers. This debate has been neglected, and only conducted in terms of the relative merits of specific types of provision.

3. At a very general level use of Foucault's "history of the present" has illuminated the importance of changes in commonly-held knowledge about pre-school children among public and workers. Britain's failure to develop a clear "pre-school policy" has frequently been lamented. By highlighting the importance of underlying ideas we can see that much of this failure can be attributed to a failure successfully to articulate practical policies and the supporting ideas. Without the latter, a succession of specific, pragmatic policies have emerged. These specific policies fail to address the central issue of control, and thus fail to develop an overall coherence.

More specific findings in the study also have implications for those involved in the pre-school field:

1. The role of voluntary and community groups has expanded and been given new prominence within the "new maternalism". The extent to which such groups become full members of a network of pre-school provision is very limited. In particular there are not clear support networks for those involved in working within such organisations. Contact with other workers to exchange information is very limited. Yet very often such developments are welcomed as providing new perspectives on pre-school provision, as offering new alternatives to parents and children. Clearly this is an area which is badly in need of a more adequate policy framework. It is suggested that such a framework could be developed from the consideration of the central issue: who should control provision? From this the relationship can be elaborated between voluntary and "professional" provision.

2. Co-ordination appears largely to be an administrative exercise. This is in contrast to the policy literature which stresses the benefits to workers and clients. If this benefit is fully to be realised strategies must be devised to enable those engaged in day-to-day work with children and parents to exchange information and to enable those workers to make use of that information in practice.

3. Co-ordination policies require a broader perspective from pre-school workers. Whereas much of the co-ordination

literature stresses joint planning this does not appear to have developed either at local or national levels or between separate authorities operating within the pre-school field. It appears to be the case that pre-school services are viewed as a collection of services which happen to intersect in the pre-school arena. Workers clearly tended to view the needs of children and parents from the perspective of their own service. If we wish to achieve more adequate co-ordination we will need to develop strategies which enable practitioners to become involved in the joint consideration of the needs of children and families in their own area. This will ultimately produce pressure for more adequate joint planning at authority levels. It is suggested that policies which develop in this way, from the grassroots, will avoid the current failure of many ideas about co-ordination to be translated into practice.

4. Co-operation policies require some further commitment at local level. While parental involvement is consistently stressed, and there is a broad subscription among all workers to this idea, levels of involvement at a local level are quite low. Clearly there is a need for practical policies to enable the practical aspects of co-operation to take place. It may well be that this failure to articulate the ideal and the practical is similar to that noted with co-ordination policies. We may need to expand the debate to

include notions of control, to enable those in the field to see the implications of policies. With a greater awareness of aims rather than a series of pragmatic recipes for co-operation, more successful policies could be developed.

In a general sense, since so many of the views and attitudes of pre-school workers are linked to their location within the network, this research has led to a plea for a broader view to be taken of pre-school provision - not only across the range of services, but also in terms of underlying dimensions of control. The natural implication of such a plea is for more training of an interdisciplinary type to enable workers (and parents) to take on these broader perspectives. Most issues in the pre-school field appear to revolve around finance, training, planning and similar pragmatic questions. Without doubt all of these need to be more adequately thought through. However the major implication of this research is that such a process of thinking through future pre-school policy should begin with some consideration of the question of control. From this answers to the current issues of co-ordination and co-operation, and practical policies for those in the field will emerge. There will not be agreement, there are many views on the relative role of the state and the family in the pre-school arena, but this is where the debate lies.

In order to assist that debate, some of the evidence in this study may be useful. Further research may well be needed to

amplify some of the dimensions of "open" and "closed" pre-school provision. Fundamentally, decisions about the types of pre-school provision, and the mixture of services required at national and at local level must be seen to derive from the question "who should control the pre-school"?

The answer to this question lies beyond the scope of the present study. What has emerged clearly from this analysis is that the failure to address the question of control has meant that while pre-school rhetoric has stressed maternalism and mutual involvement, the twin policies of co-ordination and co-operation have been severely limited in practice. Effectively there has been an extension of state and professional power into the pre-school arena which can be interpreted as "policing the pre-school".

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ABRAMS P. (1980)

Social Change, Social Networks and Neighbourhood Care
London, Social Work Service, Feb. 1980

AKID L.B. (1978)

Under fives policy review
Preface to L.B. Wandsworth (1978)

ANTONIS B. (1981)

Motherhood and mothering
in Cambridge Women's Studies Group (1981)

APLIN G. and PUGH G. (1983)

Perspectives on Pre-school Home Visiting
London, National Children's Bureau
Coventry, Community Education Development Centre

ARIES P. (1962)

Centuries of Childhood
Harmondsworth, Penguin

ATHEY C. (1980)

Parental Involvement in Nursery Education
Early Childhood Vol. 1 No. 3 December 1980

ATKINSON P. (1979)

Research design in ethnography
Milton Keynes, Open University

AXTELL James L. (1968)

The educational writings of John Locke
London, Cambridge U.P.

BAIN A. and BARNETT L. (1980)

The Design of a Day Care System in a Nursery Setting for Children
Under-five
London, Tavistock Institute of Human Relations

BALDWIN J.M. (1895)

Mental Development in the Child and the Race
New York

BALINT E. (n.d.)

A Nursery Playgroup
London, Nursery School Association

BATE M., HARGREAVES M., GIBSON V. (1962)

Liaison Groups in Early Education
London, Schools Council

- BATTEN Mary Ann (1981a)
Nursery Nursing - Past and Present (1)
in Early Childhood Vol.1 No. 4 Jan 1981 pp 18-21.
- BATTEN Mary Ann (1981b)
Nursery Nursing - Past and Present (2)
in Early Childhood Vol.1 No. 5 (Feb 1981) pp 14-19.
- BAX M., MOSS P. and PLEWIS I (1979)
Pre-school families and services
London, Thomas Coran Research Unit (unpub.)
- BEEKMAN D. (1977)
The mechanical baby
Westport, Lawrence Hill.
- BELL L. (1976)
Underprivileged Under fives
London, Ward Lock.
- BENDER R, and SUTTON A (1980)
Services for the under-fives: does the network not work?
London, Social Work Service.
- BENNETT A. (1985)
Partnership and Choice
Times Educational Supplement 1.2.85.
- BENNEY M. and HUGHES E.C. (1956)
Of Sociology and the Interview
in Bulmer M (1977).
- BEREITER C. and ENGELMANN (1966)
Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Pre-school
New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
- BERGER P. and BERGER P.L. (1983)
The War over the Family
London, Hutchinson.
- BERNSTEIN B. and YOUNG D (1968)
Social Class Differences in Conceptions of the Uses of Toys
Sociology. Vol. 1.
- BERNSTEIN B. (1970)
Education cannot compensate for society
New Society No. 387, February.
- BERNSTEIN B. (1971)
Class, Codes and Control Vol. 1
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul
- BIRCHALL D. (1982)
Home based services for the under fives
London, National Children's Bureau Highlight No. 54

BLACKSTONE Tessa (1971)

A fair start

London, Allen Lane.

BLACKSTONE T. (1972)

First Schools of the Future

London, Fabian Society.

BLACKSTONE T. (1973)

Education and Day Care for Young Children in need

London, Bedford Square.

BLACKSTONE T. (1982)

Disadvantage and Education

London, Heinemann.

BLALOCK H. (1960)

Social Statistics

New York, McGraw Hill.

BLANK M. and SOLOMON F. (1969)

How shall the disadvantaged be taught?

Child Development Vol. 40 pp 47-61.

BLATCHFORD P., BATTLE S., and MAY J. (1982)

The First Transition: Home to Pre-school

London, NFER:Nelson

BLOOM Benjamin S. (1964)

Stability and Change in Human Characteristics

New York, Wiley.

BLUMBERG R.L. and WINCH R.F. (1972)

Social complexity and familial complexity evidence for the
curvilinear hypothesis

American Journal of Sociology 77,5,898-920.

BLYTHE H. and P.P.A. WORKING PARTY (1978)

Report on Mother and Toddler Groups

London, Pre-school Playgroups Association.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1888)

Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the
Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales

London, HMSO Cd. 5485

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1893)

Circular to HM Inspectors on the Training and Teaching of Infants

London HMSO Circular 322 6.2.93.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1904)
Report of Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration
London, HMSO Cd. 2175

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1905)
Reports on children under five years of age in public elementary
schools by women inspectors of the Board of Education.
London, HMSO Cd. 2726

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1905)
Suggestions for the consideration of teachers
London, HMSO.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1906)
Education (Provision of Meals) Act
London, HMSO.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1907)
Education (Administrative Provision) Act
London, HMSO

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1908)
Report of the Consultative Committee on the School Attendance
of Children below the age of five
London, HMSO Cd. 4259.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1930)
The Health of the School Child
Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer
London, HMSO.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1933)
Report of the Consultative Committee on infant and nursery schools
London, HMSO.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1934)
The Health of the School Child
Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer
London, HMSO.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1936)
Nursery Schools and Nursery Classes
London, HMSO.

BOARD OF EDUCATION and MINISTRY OF HEALTH (1940)
Nursery Centres for Children in Reception Areas
(joint circular 1495 and 1936)
London, HMSO.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1943)
Educational Reconstruction
London, HMSO Cd. 6458.

BONE M. (1976)
Day Care for Pre-School Children: Use and Preferences
in DHSS/DES (1976)

BONE M. (1977)
Pre-school children and the need for day care
London, HMSO/OPCS

BOORER D. and MURGATROYD S. (1973)
Nursery Education in Perspective
Froebel Journal, Autumn 1973.

BOWER T.G.R. (1974)
Development in Infancy
San Francisco, Freeman

BOWER T.G.R. (1975)
Competent Newborns
in LEWIN R (ed) (1975).

BOWER T.G.R. (1977)
The Preceptual World of the Child
London, Fontana.

BOWLBY John (1946)
Forty-four juvenile thieves, their characters and home-life
London, Baillere.

BOWLBY John (1952)
Maternal care and mental health
Geneva: World Health Organisation.

BOWLBY John (1953)
Child Care and the Growth of Love
Harmondsworth, Penguin.

BOWLBY John (1969)
Attachment and Loss: Vol. 1. Attachment
London, Hogarth Press.

BOWLBY John (1973)
Attachment and Loss: Vol. 2 Separation
London, Hogarth Press.

BOWLBY John (1980)
Attachment and Loss: Vol. 3 Loss
London, Hogarth Press.

BOYD William (1975)
Emile for Today
London, Heinemann.

BRADBURN Elizabeth (1976)
Maragret McMillan
London, National Christian Education Council

BRADLEY M. (1979)
Co-ordination and Competition: the administration of services for children under five in a metropolitan district council, with special reference to voluntary groups
unpub. Ph.D. thesis: University of Keele.

BRADLEY M., McTIGUE, and DAVIES G. (1980a)
Co-ordination of services for children under five
Report of a survey of local authority procedures for co-ordination in England.
St Katharine's College, Liverpool, mimeo.

BRADLEY M., McTIGUE P., and DAVIES G (1980b)
Post White Paper Developments
St Katharine's College, Liverpool. mimeo.

BRADLEY M. (1981a)
Under fives: research and policy
Education 3-13, Vol. 9 No. 2 Autumn 81.

BRADLEY M. (1981b)
Confusions and uncertainties
Times Educational Supplement 2.10.81.

BRADLEY M. (1981c)
Co-ordination of Services for Children under five: final report
St Katharine's College, Liverpool, mimeo.

BRADLEY M. (1982)
The Co-ordination of services for children under five
London, NFER - Nelson.

BRADLEY M (1984)
Co-ordination for under fives: potential for development
in De Ath and Pugh (eds) (1984).

BREWER John (1980)
The Genesis of the Modern Toy
History Today, Dec. 1980.

BRIERLEY J.D. (chairman)(1980)
A Future for Nursery Nursing
London, NNEB

BRONFENBRENNER U. (1974a)
Is Early Intervention Effective?
A report on longitudinal evaluation of pre-school programmes
Washington: US Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

BRONFENBRENNER U. (1974b)
Children, Families and Social Policy: An American Perspective
in Cooper J D (1974).

BROWN G.W. and HARRIS T.O. (1978)
Social Origins of Depression
London, Tavistock.

BRUCE N. (1978)
The Social work/Education interface
Department of Social Administration, University of Edinburgh.

BRUNER Jerome S.(1960)
The Process of Education
Cambridge, Harvard U.P.

BRUNER J.(1972)
Poverty and Childhood
in Parker R.K.(1972).

BRUNER J. (1980)
Under five in Britain
London, Grant McIntyre.

BULMER M. (1977)
Sociology and Research Methods
London, McMillan.

BURLINGTON Dorothy and FREUD Anna (1942)
Young Children in War-time
London, George Allen and Unwin.

BURLINGTON Dorothy and FREUD Anna (1944)
Infants without families
London, George Allen and Unwin.

BURNS J. (1906)
Presidential address: National Conference on Infant mortality
Leeds.

BUTT R.B. (1972)
Report on Services for Under Fives (Islington)
in Greenwood R. and Stewart J.D. (1974).

BUTTERWORTH E. and HOLMAN R. (eds) (1975)
Social Welfare in Modern Britain
London, Fontana.

BYNNER J. and STRIBLEY K.M. (1979)
Social Research: principles and procedures
London, Longman/Open University.

- CALDER J. (1979)
Introduction to Applied Sampling
Milton Keynes, Open University.
- CALVELEY Audrey (1962)
Starting a community nursery school
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet
- CAMBRIDGE WOMEN'S STUDIES GROUP (1981)
Women in Society
London, Virago
- CAMPBELL AND FISKE (1959)
Convergent and Discriminant Validation in the Multitrait-Multimethod Matrix
Psychological Bulletin 56, 81-105
- CARPENTER G. (1975)
Mother's face and the newborn
in Lewin R. (ed) (1975)
- CAZDEN C.B. (1972)
Child Language and Education
New York, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston
- CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (1966)
Children and their Primary Schools
London, HMSO
- CENTRAL POLICY REVIEW STAFF (1978)
Services for Young Children with Working Mothers
London, HMSO
- C.E.R.I. (1981)
Children and Society: issues for pre-school reforms
Paris, O.E.C.D.
- C.E.R.I. (1982)
Caring for young children
Paris, O.E.C.D.
- CHAMBOREDON J.C. & PREVOT J. (1975)
Infancy as an Occupation: towards a sociology of spontaneous behaviour
O.E.C.D. Paris
- CHAZAN M. (ed) (1973)
Education in the Early Years
Swansea, University College
- CHESTERS Gwendolen E. (n.d)
Our Responsibility to Children
London Nursery School Association pamphlet 52

CLAPHAM AND LARKHALL UNDER FIVES ORGANISATION (1982)
Directory of under fives services
London C.L.U.F.O. mimeo

CLARKE A.M. and CLARKE D.B. (1979)
Early Experience: its limited effect upon later development
in Shaffer D and Dunn J (eds) (1979)

CLARKE-STEWART A. (1982)
Day Care
London, Fontana

CLEAVE S., JOWETT S. and BATE M. (1982)
And so to school
London NFER-Nelson

CLEVERLEY John and PHILLIPS D.C. (1976)
From Locke to Spock
Melbourne, University Press

COHEN Alen and GARNER Norman (1967)
Readings in the history of educational thought
London, University of London Press

COMER L. (1979)
The Ideology of Childcare
in Hoyles M. (ed) (1979)

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AUTHORITY AND ALLIED PERSONAL SOCIAL SERVICES (1968)
Report of the Committee
London, HMSO

CONDY G. (1977)
Teachers Perception of the Nursery Curriculum
unpub. MSc dissertation, University of Surrey

CONDY G. (1981)
Towards multi-professional co-ordination
Early Child Development and Care Vol. 7 pp 371-9

COOPER J.D. (1974)
Dimensions of Parenthood
London, HMSO/DHSS

COOTE A (1981)
Fixing up the family
New Statesman 20.3.81

CORBETT A. (1969)
Pre-school tug of war
New Society 25.12.69

CORNEY R.H. (1980)
Health visitors and Social workers
London, Health Visitor Vol. 53, Oct. 80

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (1979)
From Birth to Eight
London NFER/Nelson

COURT REPORT (1976)
Fit for the Future
see DHSS/DES (1976)

CROOK S. and WOLKIND S.N. (1983)
A longitudinal study of single mothers and their children
in Madge N. (1983)

CROSS COMMISSION (1888)
see Board of Education (1888)

CROWE B. (1973)
The Playgroup Movement
London, Allen and Unwin

CUSDEN Phoebe E. (1938)
The English Nursery School
London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Truber

CYSTER R., CLIFT P.S. and BATTLE S. (1979)
Parental Involvement in Primary School
Slough, NFER

DALLY Ann (1982)
Inventing Motherhood: the consequences of an ideal
Burnett Books

DARWIN C. (1877)
A Biographical Sketch of an Infant
Mind vol. II, pp 285-94

DAVID Miriam E. (1980)
The State, the Family and Education
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

De ATH E. (1982)
Establishing a true partnership between parents and professionals
in National Children's Bureau: Parenting Paper 6

De ATH E. (1984)
Working together: Parents and Professionals as Parents: an introduction
in De Ath E and Pugh G (eds) (1984a)

De ATH E. and PUGH G. (eds) (1984a) ,
Working together: parents and professionals as partners
London, National Children's Bureau Partnership Paper 1

De ATH E. and PUGH G. (eds) (1984a)
Parent Involvement: what does it mean and how do we achieve it?
London, National Children's Bureau Partnership Paper 2

DELEUZE Gilles (1977)
The Rise of the Social
in Donzelot J. (1977) The Policing of Families Hutchinson

De LISSA Lilian (1935)
Essentials in Nursery School Education
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet no. 33

de LISSA Lillian, (1973)
Life in the Nursery School
London, Longmans

de LISSA Lilian (n.d.)
Education up to Seven Plus
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 59

de MAUSE Lloyd (ed) (1974)
The history of childhood
Souvenir Press

DENBY Maeve (1973)
Pre-school - the cycle of opportunity?
London, National Elfrida Rathbone Society

DENZIN N.K. (1970)
The Research Act
London, Butterworths

DENZIN N.K. (1978)
Sociological Methods: a source book
New York, McGraw Hill

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1972)
Education: a framework for expansion
London, HMSO Cd. 5174

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1975)
Report on Education no. 81: Nursery Education
London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1977)
Report on Education no. 91: Nursery Education, Converting Primary Space
London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY (1972)

Circular 35/72

London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY/
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1976)

Committee on Child Health Services : Fit for the Future

HMSO Cmnd. 6684

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY and

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1976)

Low Cost Day Provision for Under-Fives

London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY/
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1976)

Co-ordination of Local Authority Services for children under five

London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY/
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1978)

Co-ordination of Services for children under five

London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY (1980)

Child Abuse: Central Register Systems

L.A.S.S.L. (80) 4.

DEUTSCHER I. (1965)

Words and Deeds: Social Science and Public Policy
in Filstead W.J. (1970)

DONALDSON M. (1978)

Children's Thinking

Fontana

DONZELOT Jacques (1977)

The Policing of Families: Welfare versus the State

London, Hutchinson

DONZELOT Jacques (1979)

The poverty of political culture

Ideology and Consciousness 5. Spring 1979 pp 73-86

DOUGLAS J.D. (1976)

Investigative social research: individual and team field research

Beverly Hills, Sage

DOUGLAS J.W.A. (1964)

The Home and the School

London, MacGibbon and Kee

- DOWLING S. (1980)
Patterns of partnership for the future
London, Volunteer Centre, mimeo
- DREYFUS Hubert L. and RAINBOW Paul (1982)
Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics
Harvester Press
- DUNN J. (1977)
Distress and Comfort
London, Fontana
- EDUCATIONAL ENQUIRY COMMITTEE (1929)
The Case for Nursery Schools
London, George Philip
- EHRENREICH B. and ENGLISH D. (1979)
For Her Own Good
London, Pluto Press
- EISENSTADT N. (1984)
Sharing Management
in National Children's Bureau Partnership Paper 2
- ELKIND David (1969)
Piagetian and Psychometric Conceptions of Intelligence
Harvard Educational Review 39 pp 319-337
- EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION (1978)
I want to work, but what about the kids
Manchester, E.O.C.
- EVANS J. (1979)
Evaluation of Research Designs
Milton Keynes, Open University
- EVANS J. (n.d)
Developing Community Based Family Support Systems
U.S.A. High/Scope Educational Research Foundation mimeo
- FARRANT W. (1979)
Who's Deprived
in Hoyles M. (ed) (1979)
- FENNELL M. (1902)
Notes of lessons on the Herbartian method
London, Longmans, Green and Co.
- FERRI E. (1980)
Combined Nursery Centres
Concern No. 37 Autumn 1980

FERRI E., BIRCHALL D., GINGELL V. and GIPPS C. (1980)

Combined Nursery Centres

London, MacMillan

FILSTEAD W.J. (1970)

Qualitative Methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world

Chicago, Rand McNally

FINCH J. and GROVES D. (1979)

Community Care and the Family: A case for equal opportunities?

Journal of Social Policy 9, 4, 487-511

FINCH J. (1984a)

The deceit of self-help: pre-school playgroups and working class mothers

Journal of Social Policy 13, vol. 1 pp 1-20

FINCH J. (84b)

A First Class Environment? Working class playgroups as pre-school
experience

British Educational Research Journal Vol. 10 No. 1 pp 3-11

FINCH J. (1983)

Dividing the Rough and the Respectable: Working Class Woman and
Pre-school Playgroups

in Gamarnikow E. et al (1983)

FLAVELL John H. (1963)

The developmental psychology of Jean Piaget

Princeton, Van Nostrand

FLOUD J. (ed) (1956)

Social Class and Educational Opportunity

London, Heinemann

FONTANA D. (ed) (1984)

The Education of the Young Child

Oxford, Blackwell

FORCESE and RICHER (1973)

Social Research Methods

New Jersey, Prentice Hall

FOUCAULT Michel (1961)

Madness and Civilisation

London, Tavistock (Trans. R. Howard 1967)

FOUCAULT M. (1963)

The Birth of the Clinic

(trans. A Sheridan 1973)

London, Tavistock

FOUCAULT Michel (1979)
Discipline and Punish
(trans. A Sheridan 1977)
Allen Lane

FOUCAULT M (1976)
History of Sexuality Vol. 1
(trans. R Hardy 1979)
London, Tavistock

FOUCAULT M. (1982)
The Subject and Power
in Dreyfus & Rabinow: (1982)

FRANCIS H. (1982)
Further thoughts on Plowden
Times Educational Supplement 30.4.82

FRANKLIN B. and OSBORNE H. (1971)
Research Methods, issues and insights
Belmont, Wadsworth

FROEBEL, Friedrich (1826)
The education of man
(trans. J. Jarvis)
New York, A. Lovell & Co. 1886

FROST J.L. (ed) (1972)
Early Childhood Education Revisited
New York, Holt.

FULLER P. (1979)
Uncovering Childhood
in Hoyles M. (ed) (1979)

GAMARNIKOW E., MORGAN D., PURVIS J. TAYLORSON D. (eds) (1983)
The Public and the Private
London, Heinemann

GARDNER D.E.M. (1949)
Education under eight
London, Longmans

GARDNER D.E.M. (1956)
The Education of Young Children
London, Methuen

GATHORNE-HARDY J. (1972)
The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny
Hodder & Stoughton

GAVRON H. (1966)
The Captive Wife
Hamondsworth, Penguin

GOLDSWORTHY G.M. (1964)
Part-time Nursery Education
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 75

GARDNER D.E.M. (1969)
Susan Isaacs
London, Methuen

GARLAND C. and WHITE S. (1980)
Children and Day Nurseries
London, Grant McIntyre

GINSBURG H. (1972)
The Myth of the Deprived Child
New Jersey, Prentice Hall

GLASER B. and STRAUSS A.L. (1963)
The discovery of grounded theory
Chicago, Aldine

GOLD A. (1959)
Problems in sociological field observations
Social Forces vol. 36 pp 217-23

GORDON Colin (ed) (1980)
Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings: Michel Foucault
Harvest Press

GORDON Peter (1982)
Concepts of Childhood and the Curriculum
in Gordon P. (ed) (1982)

GORDON Peter (1982)
The Study of the Curriculum
London, Batsford

GRAY S.W. and KLAUS R.A. (1965)
An Experimental Preschool Program for Culturally Deprived Children
Child Development vol. 36 p 887

GREENWICH, London Borough of (1972)
Day Care and Play for under-fives in Greenwich
in Hughes M. et al (1980)

GREENWOOD R. and STEWART J.D. (1974)
Corporate Planning in English Local Government
London, Charles Knight and Co. Ltd

GREER S. (1969)

The Logic of Social Enquiry
Chicago, Aldine

GREY E. (1982)

Why Provide for the under-fives
London, National Children's Bureau, Highlight No. 52

GROVE Irene (1950)

The Nursery School in Action
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet no. 62

HADOW REPORT (1933)

see Board of Education (1933)

HALL P., LAND H., PARKER R. and WEBB A. (1975)

Change, Choice and Conflict in Public Policy
London, Heinemann

HALL P. (1976)

Reforming the Welfare
London, Heinemann

HALSEY A.H. (1972)

Educational Priority, Vol. 1
London, HMSO

HANNON P. (1977)

The Belfield Pre-School Survey
Belfield Community Council (in Hughes et al 1980)

HARINGEY CHILD CARE CAMPAIGN (1981)

Who needs child care? The results of a survey in the
West Green area of Haringey.

H.C.C.C. mimeo

HARRIS W.T. (1897)

Froebel's pedagogics of the kindergarten
London, Arnold 1897

HARRISON M. (1980)

Home Start
in van der Eyken (1980)

HAYSTEAD J., HOWARTH V. and STRACHAN A. (1980)

Pre-school education and care
London, Hodder and Stoughton

HESS R.D. and SHIPMAN V. (1965)

Early experience and the socialisation of cognitive modes in children
Child Development 36: 869-86

HEVEY D. (1981)

The under-fives co-ordinators: Pre-school evaluation project
Department of Child Health, Southampton University

HEWES D.W. (1982)

Employer supported day care: a Kuhnian perspective
Early Child Development and Care Vol. 10 pp 5-20

HEWISON J. and TIZARD J. (1980)

Parental Involvement and Reading Attainment
British Journal of Educational Psychology 50, 209-215

H.M.I. (1979)

Combined Nursery Centres
HMSO/DES

HODGES Jill and HUSSAIN Athar (1979)

La Police des familles
Ideology and Consciousness 5 Spring 1979

HOLMAN Henry (1914)

Seguin and his physiological method of education
London, Pitman

HOLT L.E. (1896)

The care and feeding of infants
New York, Appleton

HOYLES M. (ed) (1979)

Changing Childhood
London, Writers and Readers

HUGHES J.A. (1976)

Sociological Analysis: methods of discovery
London, Nelson

HUGHES M., MAYALL B., MOSS P., PERRY J., PETRIE P., PINKERTON G (1980)

Nurseries Now
Harmondsworth, Penguin

HUNT John McVicker (1961)

Intelligence and Experience
New York, Ronald Press

HUNT John McVicker (1969)

The Challenge of Incompetence and Poverty
Urbana: University of Illinois Press

HUTT C. and HUTT S.J. (1974)

Egg Head Starters
London, Guardian 22.1.74

HYMAN H. (1975)
Interviewing in Social Research
University of Chicago

I.L.E.A. (1979)
S.E. London Educational Home Visiting Report
London, Frobisher Institute I.L.E.A.

I.L.E.A. (1980)
Co-ordinating Services for under-fives
Circular 80/27
I.L.E.A. mimeo

ILLICH I. (1977)
Disabling Professions
Marion Boyars

ISAACS Susan (1929)
The Nursery Years
London, Routledge

ISAACS Susan (1930)
Intellectual Growth in Young Children
London, Routledge

ISAACS Susan (1933)
Social Development in Young Children
London, Routledge

ISAACS Susan (1941)
The Cambridge Evacuation Survey
London, Methuen

ISAACS Susan (1954)
The Educational Value of the Nursery School
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 45

IVATTS J., GLEESON G., PONTING G.H. (1982)
Housing need in Wandsworth: a preliminary assessment
CARAS and the Junction Project mimeo

JENKIN P. (1981)
Trumpet Volunteers
Guardian 21.1.81

JENKS C. (1982)
The Sociology of Childhood
London, Batsford

JONES D.N. (1981)
A social work perspective (on sharing information)
Concern no. 39 Spring 1981

JOSEPH A. and PARFIT J. (1972)
Playgroups in an Area of Social Need
N.F.E.R.

JOSEPH Sir K. (1972)
The Cycle of Deprivation
speech to P.P.A.
in Butterworth E. and Holman R. (eds) (1975)

KAMERMAN S.B. and KAHN A.J. (1978)
Family Policy
Columbia University

KAMII C. (1971)
A sketch of the Piaget - derived pre-school curriculum
developed by the Ypsilanti early education programme
in J.L. Frost (ed) (1972)

KEELEY B. (1968)
1020 Playgroups: survey 1968
London, P.P.A.

KELLMER-PRINGLE M. (1974)
The Pre-school Comprehensives
National Campaign for Nursery Education Newsletter 1.

KELLMER-PRINGLE M. (1976)
A policy for young children
in DHSS/DES (1976)

KELLMER-PRINGLE M. (1980)
The Needs of Children (2nd ed)
London, Hutchinson

KING T. (1913)
Feeding and Care of Baby
London, Oxford University Press

KOTZEN V. (1979)
What is a Nursery Centre?
Contact (I.L.E.A.) 11.5.79

KUHN T.S. (1962)
The Structure of Scientific Revolutions
University of Chicago Press

LABOV W. (1969)
The Logic of Nonstandard English
Georgetown Monographs on Language and Linguistics Vol. 22 pp 1-31

LABOVITZ S. and HAGEDORN R. (1971)
Introduction to Social Research
New York, McGraw Hill

LAND H. (1977)
Who cares for the family?
Jnl. Soc. Pol. 7, 3, 257-84

LAND H. and PARKER R. (1978)
The United Kingdom
in Kamerman and Kahn (1978)

LANE H. (1977)
The Wild Boy of Aveyron
London, George Allen and Unwin

LASLETT B. (1973)
The Family as a public and private institution: a historical perspective
Journal of Marriage and the Family 8.73, 480-92

LAUBER S. (1978)
Under five teams in Wandsworth Social Services Department
unpub. paper Diploma in Early Childhood Studies, Roehampton Institute

LAWRENCE Evelyn (1952)
Friedrich Froebel and English Education
London, University of London Press

LAZERSON (1970)
Social Reform and Early Childhood Education: some historical perspectives
Urban Education Vol. 5 pp84-102

LEACH P. (1979)
Who Cares?
Harmondsworth, Penguin

LEAPER R. (1980)
England, Belgium and France: A three country survey of Health/Social
Work Co-operation
Social Work Service 1980

LEIGH A (1980)
Policy Research and Reviewing Services for under-fives
Social Policy and Administration Vol. 14 no. 2

LEWIN R. (ed) (1975)
Child Alive
London, Temple Smith

LEWIS Jane (1980)
The Policies of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England 1900-1939
Croom Helen, London

LEWIS J. (1981)
Day Care for Children in Tooting
unpub. M.A. dissertation, University of Essex

LEWIS M. and ROSENBLUM L.A. (eds) (1979)
The Child and its Family
Plenum Press

LIGHT P. (1979)
The development of social sensitivity
Cambridge University Press

LITTLE A. and SMITH G. (1971)
Strategies of Compensation: a review of educational projects for
the disadvantaged in the United States

OECD

LOCAL AUTHORITY ASSOCIATIONS (1977)
Under-fives
London, Association of Metropolitan Authorities and Association of County
Councils

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (1910)
Infant and Child Mortality
(A Newsholme)
London, L.G.B.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (1914)
Circular: July 30th 1914
London, L.G.B.

LOCKE J. (1690)
An essay concerning human understanding
Oxford Clarendon Press 1975 edn.

LOCKE J. (1693)
Some thoughts concerning education
London, Auriushan and John Churchill

LOFLAND J. (1971)
Analysing Social Settings: a guide to qualitative observation and analysis
Belmont, Wadsworth

LONDON BOROUGH OF HOUNSLOW (1977)
Report of Working Party on Provision for under-fives
L.B. Hounslow mimeo

LONDON BOROUGH OF MERTON (1979)
Social Services Health and Education Topic Paper
L.B. Merton mimeo

LONDON BOROUGH OF WANDSWORTH (1978)
Day Care for under-fives: policy review
Vol. 1 Development Officers Repoort
Vol. 2 Needs of 0-2s
Vol. 3 Needs of 2-5s
Vol. 4 Care and Education
Vol. 5 Dual use of Day Nurseries
Vol. 6 Needs of Working Parents
Vol. 7 Childminding
Research Studies: 1. Priority Children
 2. What Parents Want
 3. Part of the family
L.B.W. Social Services Department mimeo

LONDON SCHOOL BOARD (1871)
Regulations for the Management of Schools
see Hadow Report (1933) p 20

LORD Miriam (n.d.)
The Lilycraft Open Air Nursery School
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 19

LOWNDES G.A.N. (1960)
Margaret McMillan the children's champion
London, Museum Press Ltd

LOWNDES G.A.N. (1969)
The Silent Social Revolution
Oxford University Press

MACCOBY E. (1980)
Social Development
New York, Harcourt Brace

MacFARLANE A. (1975)
The first hours and the smile
in LEWIN R. (ed) (1975)

MADGE N. (ed) (1983)
Families at Risk
London, Heinemann

MANSBRIDGE Albert (1932)
Margaret McMillan prophet and pioneer
London, J.M. Dent and Co.

MARENHOLTZ-BULOW Berthe von, Baroness (1855)
Women's Educational Mission
London, Darton and Co.

MARSH M. and SCRIBBINS J. (1983)

Educational Home Visiting in Inner London:
an adult education model
in Aplin and Pugh (1983)

MARSHALL T. (1982)

Infant care: A day nursery under the microscope
London, Social Work Service

MAXWELL S. (1984)

Playgroups: The Parent as Parasite, Parody and Partner
in Pugh G. et al. (1984)

McARDLE I., PROSSER M. and THOMAS N. (1972)

Playgroups in an Urban Area
Birmingham Association of Playgroups

McGURK H. (ed) (1978)

Issues in childhood social development
London, Methuen

McCLEARY G.F. (1933)

The Early History of the Infant Welfare Movement
H.K. Lewis, London

McCLEARY G.F. (1935)

The Maternity and Child Welfare Movement
P.S. King, London

McCLELLAND D. (1953)

The Achievement Motive
New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts

McINTOSH M. (1979)

The Welfare State and the needs of the Dependent Family
in S Burman (ed) Fit work for women (1979)
London, Croom Helen

McMILLAN Margaret (1901)

Early Childhood
London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

McMILLAN Margaret (1906)

Citizens of Tomorrow
London, I.L.P. pamphlet

McMILLAN Margaret (1907)

Labour and Childhood
London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

McMILLAN Margaret (1930)
The Nursery School
London, J M Dent

McSHANE J. (1980)
Learning to Talk
Cambridge University Press

MIDWINTER Eric (1972)
Priority Education
Harmondsworth, Penguin

MIDWINTER E. (1979)
Playgroups with parent involvement are better social
and educational investments
London, P.P.A. Contact July 1979

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1960)
Circular 8/60
London, HMSO

MINISTRY OF HEALTH (1945)
Circular 221
London, HMSO

MINISTRY OF HEALTH (1968)
Day Care facilities for children under five
Circular 37/68
London, HMSO

MISITI R. and BENIGNI L. (1979)
The fundamental needs of the young child and society's
answer to those needs
in Council of Europe (1979)

MITCHELL Juliet (1974)
Psychoanalysis and Feminism
London, Allen Lane

MITTLER P. and McCONACHIEH (eds) (1983)
Parents, professionals and mentally handicapped people:
approaches to partnership
Croom Helm

MONK-JONES M. (ed) (1982)
Training for Work with under fives
London, Voluntary Organisations Liaison Council for Under-Fives

MONTAGU Ashley (1971)
Sociogenetic Brain Damage
Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology p 597-

MOREL M.F. (1979)

The child through the ages
Forum February 1979

MORGAN G. (ed) (1981)

Beyond method: strategies for social research
Beverly Hills, Sage

MORGAN Michael (1982)

1782-1982 Friedrich Froebel
London, Froebel Institute

MORONEY R.M. (1979)

The Family and the State: considerations for social policy
London, Longman

MORTON D. and GOLDMAN R. (1969)

The Formal Institutions of Pre-school Education in Britain
and the Sociological Context of their Emergence
Occasional Paper No. 1
Didsbury College of Education Compensatory Education Project
Didsbury, Manchester

MOSS P. (1979)

Alternative models of group child-care for pre-school children
Manchester, E.O.C.

MOTTERSHEAD P. (1978)

A survey of child care for pre-school children with working parents:
costs and organisation
Manchester, E.O.C.

MOZERE L. (1981)

Some thoughts on "models of social management of children's services"
in C.E.R.I. (1981)

MUSGRAVE P.W. (1960)

Society and Education in England since 1800
London, Methuen

MUSGROVE Frank (1966)

The Family, Education and Society
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

NACHMIAS D. and NACHMIAS C. (1976)

Research methods in the social sciences
London, Arnold

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF CHILDREN'S NURSERIES (1943)

A Four year plan for children's nurseries
London, N.S.C.N.

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS (1949)
Nursery - Infant Education
London, Evans

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS (1973)
Nursery Education
N.U.T. pamphlet

NEWMAN Sir George (1930)
Nursery Schools
(extract from 1930 Annual Report of Chief Medical Officer
of the Board of Education)
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 23

NEWSON J. and NEWSON E. (1965)
Patterns of Infant Care in an Urban Community
Harmondsworth, Penguin (1963 pub.)

NEWSON J. and NEWSON E. (1974)
Cultural Aspects of Childrearing in the English speaking world
in Richards M.P.M. (ed) (1974)

NEWSON J. and NEWSON E. (1979)
Toys and Playthings
Harmondsworth, Penguin

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (1927)
Nursery School Education
London Nursery School Association mimeo

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (1932)
Variations within the nursery school movement -
the nursery class and the nursery school for children up to seven
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 25

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (1935)
Nursery School Education : Statement of Policy
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet no. 7

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (1943)
The First Stage in Education
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (1957)
Nursery Classes in Primary Schools
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 69

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (1967)
Nursery and Playgroup Facilities for Young Children
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (n.d.)
Nursery Schools in relation to slum clearance and rehousing
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 27

NURSERY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION (n.d.)
Experiments in Nursery School Education:
the part-time Nursery School
London, Nursery School Association pamphlet 66

OAKLEY A. (1974)
Housewife
London, Allen Lane

OATES J. (1979)
Early Cognitive Development
London, Croom Helm/Open University

OATES J. (1981)
Taking stock of the new
Times Educational Supplement 10.7.81

O'CONNOR H. (1984)
Catching them younger
Guardian 9.10.84

OPPENHEIM A.N. (1966)
Questionnaire design and attitude measurement
London, Heinemann

OSBORN A. (1975)
The Day Care of Children Under Five in the City of Westminster
Westminster Social Services Dept. (in Hughes et al. 1980)

OSBORN A.F., MORRIS A.C. and BUTLER N. (1979)
Regional follow-up of babies born 5-11 April 1970
Department of Child Health, University of Bristol, mimeo

OSBORN A.F. (1980)
Pre-school Education in Britain
Child Health and Education Study Final Report
Department of Child Health, Bristol University mimeo

OSBORN A.F. (1981)
Under-fives in school in England and Wales 1971-9
Educational Records vol. 23 No. 2 Feb. 1981

OSBORN A.F., BUTLER N.R. and MORRIS A.C. (1984)
The social life of Britain's five year olds
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

OVERTON E. and EVERSLEY D. (1977)
Falling fertility: the effect on the 0-5 age group
of the changing demographic structure
in VOLCUF (1977)

OWEN Grace (ed) (1928)
Nursery School Education
London, Methuen (3rd Ed.)

PADLEY Richard and COLE Margaret (1940)
Evacuation Survey
London, Routledge

PALFREEMAN S. and SMITH T. (1982)
Pre-school provision: Voluntary initiatives and
integrated services in Cheshire
Cheshire County Council

PARKER R.K. (1972)
The Pre-school in Action
Boston, Allyn and Bacon

PARRY H. and ARCHER M. (1974)
Pre-school Education
London, MacMillan

PEARSE I.H. and CROCKER L.H. (1943)
The Peckham Experiment
London, George Allen & Unwin

PEARSE I.H. (1981)
The Quality of Life
Scottish Academic Press

PENN H. (1981)
The more the merrier
Guardian 21.10.81

PENN H. (1982)
Who cares for the kids? New Statesman 8.1.82

PENN H. (1984a)
Nursery Education - What future?
London, Local Government Campaign Unit

PENN H. (1984a)
No hope at the nursery end
Guardian 24.7.84

PIAGET Jean (1930)
The Child's Conception of Causality
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

PIAGET Jean (1932)
The moral judgement of the child
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

PIAGET Jean (1947)
The Psychology of Intelligence
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

PIAGET Jean (1955)
The Child's Construction of Reality
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

PIAGET Jean (1962)
Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

PIAGET Jean and INHELDER Barbel (1963)
The Child's Conception of space
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

PILLING D and PRINGLE M.K. (1978)
Controversial issues in Child Development
London, Paul Elek

PINCHBECK AND HEWITT (1969)
Children in English Society
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

LOWDEN REPORT (1966)
see Central Advisory Council on Education

LOWDEN B. (1973)
The Playgroup Movement: a cycle of opportunity
in Plowden B., Sutherland J. and Carmichael C (1973)

LOWDEN B. SUTHERLAND J., AND CARMICHAEL C. (1973)
Focus on the Future of Playgroups
London, Preschool Playgroup Association

LOWDEN B. (1982)
We didn't know then what we know now
Times Educational Supplement 2.4.82

PLUMB J. (1971)
The great change in children
Horizon vol. XIII no. 1 Winter 1971

PLUMB J. (1975)
The new world of children in eighteenth century England
Past and Present No. 67 May 1975

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PLANNING (1943)
A charter of child welfare
London, Planning No 203 P.E.P.

POLLACK Linda (1982)
Not such hard times
Guardian 15.3.82

POULTON G.A. and JAMES T. (1975)
Pre-school learning in the community
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

POULTON G.A. and POULTON L. (1979)
Neighbourhood Support for Young Families
Early Child Development and Care Vol. 6 pp73-82

POULTON G.A. and COUZENS L. (1980)
Scope for Parents and Children
Department of Sociology and Social Administration
Southampton University

POULTON G.A. (1981)
Is Educational Home Visiting Here to Stay?
Coventry, Community Education Development Centre, Outlines

POULTON G.A. (1983)
Origins and development of pre-school home visiting
in Aplin and Pugh (1983)

P.P.A. (1978a)
Parental Involvement in Playgroups
London, Preschool Playgroup Association leaflet

P.P.A. (1978b)
P.P.A. and its Playgroups
London, Preschool Playgroup Association leaflet

P.P.A. (1981)
Parents and Playgroups
London, Allen and Unwin

PRICE C. (1976)
A Policy for the under-fives
in D.H.S.S./D.E.S. (1976)

PUGH G. (1981)
Support for parents in the community
Coventry, Community Education Development Centre: Outlines

PUGH G. and DeAth E. (1984)
The Needs of Parents: Practice and Policy in Parent Education
London, MacMillan

QUIGLEY H. (1971)
Nursery teachers' reaction to the Peabody Language Development Kit
B.J.E.P. 41, 155-162

RAPOPORT R. RAPAPORT R.N., and STRELITZ A. (1977)
Fathers, Mothers and Others
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

REIN M. (1893)
Outlines of Pedagogics
London (trans. van Liew)

RICHARDS M. (1974)
The one-day old deprived child
New Scientist 28.3.74

RICHARDS M.P.M. (ed) (1974)
The integration of a child into a social world
Cambridge University Press

RILEY D. (1983)
War in the Nursery
London, Virago

ROBINSON F. (1981)
Education Visiting
Community Education Development Centre: Outlines

ROGERS R. (1979)
Time for a pre-school revolution
New Statesman 2.3.79

ROGERS R. (1982)
What would Plowden say now?
Guardian 30.3.82

ROSE G. (1982)
Deciphering Social Research
London, MacMillan

ROUSSEAU Jean Jacques (1762)
Emile, ou de l'education
Paris (trans. Worthington E., Boston, D.C.Heath 1888)

ROWBOTHAM S. (1981)
Mother, child and state
New Society 1.10.81

RUTTER M. (1974)
Dimensions of Parenthood: Some myths and some suggestions
in Cooper J.D. (1974)

RUTTER M. (1975)

The birth of human developmental psychology
in Lewin R. (ed) (1975)

RUTTER M. (1981)

Maternal Deprivation Reassessed (2nd ed)
Harmondsworth, Penguin

RYAN T.M. (1964)

Day nursery provision under the health service: England and Wales 1948-63
London, National Society of Children's Nurseries mimeo

RYAN J. and THOMAS F. (1980)

The Politics of Mental Handicap
Harmondsworth, Penguin

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND (1936)

Emergency Nursery Schools for children in distressed areas
Annual Report of the S.C.F. Emergency Open-air Nurseries Committee,
1935-36

London S.C.F.

SCHAFFER H.R. (1977a)

Studies in mother-infant interaction
London, Academic Press

SCHAFFER H.R. (1977b)

Mothering
London, Fontana

SCHAFFER H.R. and CROOK C.K. (1978)

The role of the mother in early social development
in McGurk H. (ed) (1978)

SCHON D. (1971)

Beyond the stable state: public and private
Learning in a changing society
Harmondsworth, Penguin

SEAMAN E. (1984)

Educational Visiting for parents of the very young
Journal of Tutors of Advanced Courses for Teachers of
Young Children Vol. 5 No.1 Autumn 1984

SEEBOHM REPORT (1968)

see Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services (1968)

SEELEY J. (1966)

The 'Making' and 'Taking' of Problems
Social Problems Vol. 14

SHAFFER D. and DUNN J. (eds) (1979)
The First Year of Life
New York, John Wiley

SHERIDAN Alan (1980)
Michel Foucault: the will to truth
Tavistock

SHINMAN S. (1978)
Pre-school facilities: some factors affecting demand and utilization
Unpub. PhD thesis, Brunel University

SHINMAN S. (1981)
A Chance for Every Child?
London, Tavistock

SHIPMAN M.D. (ed) (1976)
The organisation and impact of social research
Six original case studies in education and behavioural science
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

SHIRREFF Emily (1880)
The kindergarten at home
London, Abbott, Jones and Co.

SIEBER S.D. (1973)
The Integration of Fieldwork and Survey methods
A.J.S. Vol. 78 No. 6 pp1335-59

SILBER Kate (1960)
Pestalozzi, the man and his work
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

SILVER Harold (1983)
Education as History
London, Methuen

SILVERMAN C. and WEIKART D. (1972)
Open Framework: evolution of a concept in pre-school education
Michigan, High/Scope

SKILBECK Malcolm (1976)
Ideologies and values
Open University

SMELSER N. (1959)
Social Change in the Industrial Revolution
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

SMITH G. (1973)
Educational Priority Vol.4 - The West Riding Project
London H.M.S.O.

SMITH H.W. (1975)
Strategies of Social Research: the methodological imagination
New York, Harper and Row

SMITH J. (1976)
Who should care for the under-fives
Municipal Review vol. 561 Sept. p. 164-5

SMITH T. (1980)
Parents and Preschool
London, Grant McIntyre

SMITH T. (1984)
Teachers and Parents working together
in Fontana D. (ed) (1984)

SOMERVILLE John (1982)
The rise and fall of childhood
Beverley Hills, Sage Publications

SPENCER H. (1863)
Essays on Education
London, Everyman Edn. (1949)

SPOCK B (1946)
Baby and Child Care
New York, Duell Sloan

STACEY M. (1969)
Methods of Social Research
London, Pergamon

STERN D. (1977)
The first relationship: infant and mother
London, Fontana

STEVENSON O. (1974)
Rapporteur's Observations: Dimensions of Parenthood
in Cooper J.D. (1974)

STEVINSON Emma (1923)
The Open Air Nursery School
London, Dent

STONE F.H. (1980)
Education for parenthood - learning from baby
Naitonal Childbirth Trust monograph

SZRETER R. (1964)

The origins of full-time compulsory education at 5
British Journal of Educational Studies Nov. 1964

TAMBURRINI J. (1980)

Play and the Role of the Teacher
London, Froebel Institute, typescript

TAMS D. (1978)

The Chairmans Report
London, Preschool Playgroup Association leaflet

TAYLOR B. (1976)

Extending the role of the nursery teacher
in D.H.S.S./D.E.S. (1976)

TAYLOR P.H. EXON G., and HOLLEY B. (1971)

A Study of Nursery Education
(Schools Council Working Paper no. 41)
London, Evans/Methuen

THANE Pat (1978)

A childhood in the past
New Society 21.2.78

TIZARD B. (1974)

Early Childhood Education: a review and discussion of
research in Britain
London, S.S.R.C.

TIZARD B., MORTIMORE J. and BURCHELL B. (1981a)

The Way to Involvement
Times Educational Supplement 19.6.81

TIZARD B., MORTIMORE J. and BURCHELL B (1981b)

Involving parents in nursery and infant schools
London, Grant McIntyre

TIZARD B. and HUGHES M. (1984)

Young Children Learning
London, Grant McIntyre

TIZARD J. (1975)

The objectives and organisation of educational and
day-care services for young children
Oxford Review of Education Vol. 1 No. 3

TIZARD J., MOSS P. and PERRY J. (1976)

All Our Children
London, Temple Smith/New Society

TIZARD J., SCHOFIELD W.N. and HEWISON J. (1982)
Collaboration between teachers and parents in assisting children's reading
British Journal of Educational Psychology 52, 1-15

TOUGH J. (1973)
The language of young children: implications for the
education of the young disadvantaged child
in Chazan M. (ed) (1973)

TOUGH J. (1974)
Focus on Meaning
London, Allen and Unwin

TRADES UNION CONGRESS (1942)
T.U.C. Mmemorandum on Education after the war
London, T.U.C.

TREVARTHEN C. (1975)
Early attempts at speech
in Lewin R. (ed) (1975)

UNDER FIVES RESEARCH DISSEMINATION GROUP (1981)
Under Fives: A programme of research
London, R.D.G. mimeo

U.N.E.S.C.O. (1952)
Mental Hygiene in the Nursery School
Paris, U.N.E.S.C.O.

van der EYKEN W. (1974)
The Pre-school Years (3rd Edition)
Harmondsworth, Penguin

van der EYKEN W. (1977)
The Pre-school Years (4th Edition)
Harmondsworth, Penguin

van der EYKEN W. (1979)
Community Nurseries
Early Child Development and Care Vol.6 pp 61-72

van der EYKEN W., MICHELL L. and GRUBB J. (1979)
Pre-schooling in England, Scotland and Wales
Department of Child Health, Bristol University mimeo

van der EYKEN W. (1982)
Home-Start: a four year evaluation
Leicester, Home Start Consultancy

van der EYKEN W. (1982)
The Education of Three-to-Eight Year Olds in Europe in the Eighties
NFER-Nelson

VOLCUF (Voluntary Organisations Liaison Council for Under-Fives) (1977)
0-5: A Changing Population
London, VOLCUF mimeo

WALVIN J. (1982)
A Child's World
Harmondsworth, Penguin

WANDSWORTH CHILDCARE CAMPAIGN (1982)
Wandsworth Childcare Guide
W.C.C.C.

WANDSWORTH CHILDCARE CAMPAIGN (1982)
We want nurseries: the Tooting Child Care Survey
W.C.C.R./W.C.C.C.

WARDLE David (1974)
The rise of the schooled society
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

WATT J.S. (1975)
Pre-school education and the Family
Aberdeen, University Institute of Education

WATT Joyce S. (1977)
Co-operation in pre-school education
S.S.R.C.

WATT Joyce S. (1979)
Co-operation in pre-school education
Unpub. PhD Thesis
University of Aberdeen

WEBB E.J., CAMPBELL D.T., SCHWARTZ R.D. and SECHREST L. (1966)
Unobtrusive Measures
Chicago, Rand McNally

WELLS F.O. (1981)
A medical perspective (on sharing information)
Concern no. 39 Spring 1981

WELLS G. (1977)
Language use and educational success:
an empirical response to Joan Tough's 'The Development of Meaning'
Research in Education no. 18 Nov. 1977

WELLS G. (1978)
Talking with children: the complementary roles of parents and teachers
English in Education 12.2.1978

WELLS G. (1981a)
Learning through interaction
Cambridge University Press

WELLS G. (1981b)
Language and Learning
Bristol University typescript

WESTERGAARD J. and LITTLE A. (1964)
Educational Opportunity and Social Selection in England and Wales:
trends and policy implications
B.J.S. Dec. 1964

WEST RIDING E.P.A. Report (1973)
Ten Reports
Denaby, E.P.A. team mimeo

WESTWAY NURSERY ASSOCIATION (1981)
The Swinbrook Survey
W.N.A. mimeo

WHITBREAD Nanette (1972)
The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

WHITTLESTONE W.G. (1976)
Foundation for parenthood - the physiology of bonding
National Childbirth Trust monograph

WIDLAKE Paul and BELL Lorna (1973)
The Education of the socially handicapped child
London, Nelson

WILDING P. (1981)
Professional Power and Social Welfare
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

WILES S. (1979)
The multilingual classroom
Open University

WILLIAMS P. (1973)
The Schools Council Research and Development Project
in Compensatory Education
in Chazan M. (ed) (1973)

WILSON M.J. (1979a)

Styles of Research in Social Science
Milton Keynes, Open University

WILSON M.J. (1979b)

The Language of Social Science Research
Milton Keynes, Open University

WINNICOTT Donald W. (1964)

The child, the family and the outside world
Harmondsworth, Penguin

WOLFENDALE S. (1983a)

Parental Participation in Children's Development and Education
London, Gordon and Breach

WOLFENDALE S. (1983b)

Schools, support services and the place of parents
Early Child Development and Care vol. 13 pp 225-248

WOLFENSTEIN M. (ed) (1955)

Childhood in Contemporary Cultures
University of Chicago Press

WOLLEN Peter (1979)

Do Children Really Need Toys
in M Hoyles (ed) (1979)

WOOD Margaret E. (1971)

The triumph of the child
New Society 30.9.71 p 604

WOODHEAD M. (1976)

Intervening in Disadvantage: a challenge for nursery education
Slough, N.F.E.R.

WORKERS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (1943)

Plan for Education
London, W.E.A.

WYNN M. (1970)

Family Policy
London, Joseph

YALE R. (1977)

Policy Review - Under Fives Newsletter
London Borough of Wandsworth mimeo

YOUNG M.F.D. (1972)

Knowledge and Control
London, Collier MacMillan

APPENDIX 1 - THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Pre-school Services Interview Schedule

Arising from the work at Roehampton on the Diploma in Early Childhood Studies which looks at the co-ordination services, I am interested in the ideas of pre-school workers in this area about the services which are available, and in their experiences of working with others in the field.

1. What is the official title of your job?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Playgroup supervisor | Headteacher |
| Playgroup chairman | Deputy headteacher |
| Social Worker | Nursery teacher (nursery school) |
| Childminding Adviser | Nursery teacher (nursery class) |
| Health Visitor | Other (specify) |
| Nursery Assistant (nursery school) | |
| Nursery Assistant (nursery class) | |
| Nursery nurse (day nursery) | |

2. How long have you been working here?

- Under one year
- 1 - 5 years
- Over 5 years

3. Do you have previous experience in any other type of work with pre-school children or their families?

- Playgroup
- Social Work
- Education
- Health Service
- Other (specify)

4. What qualifications do you have in this field?

- None
- NNEB
- CSS
- CQSW
- Teachers Certificate
- B.Ed.
- PGCE
- SRN
- HV Certificate
- Other (specify)

5. Have you attended any other courses?

Yes/No

SPECIFY

6. If you work with a group of children

(a) How many children attend? 0 - 10/10 - 20/20 - 30/over 30.

(b) For what hours?

(c) In what ways are parents involved in your group?

playing with children

helping to select staff

helping on outings

raising money

advising on organisation

making and repairing
equipment

(d) Do you ever visit your children at home?

Yes/No

If so, how often and why?

7. If you are a field worker

(a) Approximately what is your "caseload"?

(b) What are your main types of work in a typical week eg. individual casework, working with groups, running a clinic or drop-in centre, administration etc.

(c) Which types of work take the most time, and which the least time?

8. I am interested in your contacts with other pre-school workers in your area. With whom have you had contact?

| In the last month | Up to 3 months | Up to 1 year | Not at all |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|

- (1) Health Visitor
- (2) Social Worker
- (3) Playgroup Worker
- (4) Day nursery staff
- (5) Headteacher
- (6) Nursery school teacher
- (7) Nursery class teacher
- (8) Other (specify)

9. With which pre-school workers have you

- (a) exchanged information on children?
- (b) exchanged information on families?
- (c) approached for help with particular children or families?
- (d) met for occasional discussions?
- (e) met as a regular discussion group?
- (f) planned a joint project?
- (g) worked together with children or families?

10. What do you think are the main needs of the under fives in your area?
In your order of priority:

- (a)
- (b)
- (c)
- (d)
- (e)

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Un-decided | Dis-agree | Strongly disagree | |
|--|----------------|-------|------------|-----------|-------------------|-----|
| 1. Previous experience in a preschool group is of great benefit to the child starting compulsory schooling. | | | | | | 1. |
| 2. Preschool groups should involve parents as well as children. | | | | | | 2. |
| 3. The staff of preschool groups should be appointed by a committee on which parents are represented. | | | | | | 3. |
| 4. Preschool children are more likely to have their individual needs met in a professional group than in a voluntary one. | | | | | | 4. |
| 5. Voluntary preschool groups should get a much larger share of the local authority's preschool budget than they get at present. | | | | | | 5. |
| 6. An important form of parent involvement in a preschool group is helping to make and repair equipment. | | | | | | 6. |
| 7. Voluntary and professional preschool groups should look for ways of working together. | | | | | | 7. |
| 8. The main advantage of voluntary preschool groups over professional groups is that they are cheaper to run. | | | | | | 8. |
| 9. Small numbers of children from all kinds of neighbouring preschool groups should visit one another for joint play sessions. | | | | | | 9. |
| 10. Before a preschool playgroup is set up, nearby nursery schools and classes should be consulted. | | | | | | 10. |
| 11. Training courses for nursery teachers and nursery nurses should include a talk from a representative of the preschool playgroup movement. | | | | | | 11. |
| 12. Parents should accept that when it comes to running a preschool group, their ideas should take second place to those of professionally trained people. | | | | | | 12. |
| 13. Playing with children in a preschool group is an important form of parent involvement. | | | | | | 13. |
| 14. Professionally trained people know most about developing high standards of children's play. | | | | | | 14. |

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Un-decided | Dis-agree | Strongly disagree | |
|---|----------------|-------|------------|-----------|-------------------|-----|
| 15. Nursery teachers should be asked to contribute to courses for preschool playgroup supervisors. | | | | | | 15. |
| 16. All kinds of preschool groups in the same area should plan joint evening meetings for parents. | | | | | | 16. |
| 17. Most parents just want to leave their children in a preschool group and forget them until it is time to pick them up again. | | | | | | 17. |
| 18. In this country we put far too much emphasis on professional qualifications. | | | | | | 18. |
| 19. It is important to consult existing preschool playgroups when a new nursery school or class is planned for an area. | | | | | | 19. |
| 20. Before taking charge of a preschool playgroup, supervisors should spend a few days in a nursery school or class. | | | | | | 20. |
| 21. Voluntary preschool groups can only be a second-best. | | | | | | 21. |
| 22. The best people to run preschool groups are the children's own parents. | | | | | | 22. |
| 23. Students on professional preschool courses (nursery teachers and nursery nurses) should get part of their practical experience from working in a preschool playgroup. | | | | | | 23. |
| 24. Accompanying children on outings from a preschool group is an important way of involving parents. | | | | | | 24. |
| 25. Voluntary preschool groups should be modelled on good nursery schools and classes. | | | | | | 25. |
| 26. Experienced preschool playgroup supervisors have little to gain from visiting nearby nursery schools and classes. | | | | | | 26. |
| 27. Voluntary preschool groups usually establish better relationships between parents and staff. | | | | | | 27. |
| 28. If preschool groups claim to provide an educational service, they should employ professionally trained people. | | | | | | 28. |

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Un-decided | Dis-agree | Strongly disagree | |
|--|----------------|-------|------------|-----------|-------------------|-----|
| 29. If there is a preschool playgroup and a nursery school or class in the same area, the playgroup should invite a school representative on to its committee. | | | | | | 29. |
| 30. As local authority provision of professional groups expands, voluntary preschool groups should be phased out. | | | | | | 30. |
| 31. An important form of parent involvement is helping to raise extra money for the group. | | | | | | 31. |
| 32. The staffs of all kinds of preschool groups in the same area should meet regularly to share their ideas. | | | | | | 32. |
| 33. All the main decisions affecting the running of a preschool group should be taken by a committee on which parents are represented. | | | | | | 33. |
| 34. It's a good idea to include representatives of local preschool playgroups when the staff of nursery schools or classes are discussing their policy. | | | | | | 34. |
| 35. Nursery teachers and nursery nurses have little to gain from visiting nearby preschool playgroups. | | | | | | 35. |

APPENDIX 2 - DATA: PRE-SCHOOL WORKERS
IN BATTERSEA

APPENDIX
London Borough of Wandsworth
WARD BOUNDARIES

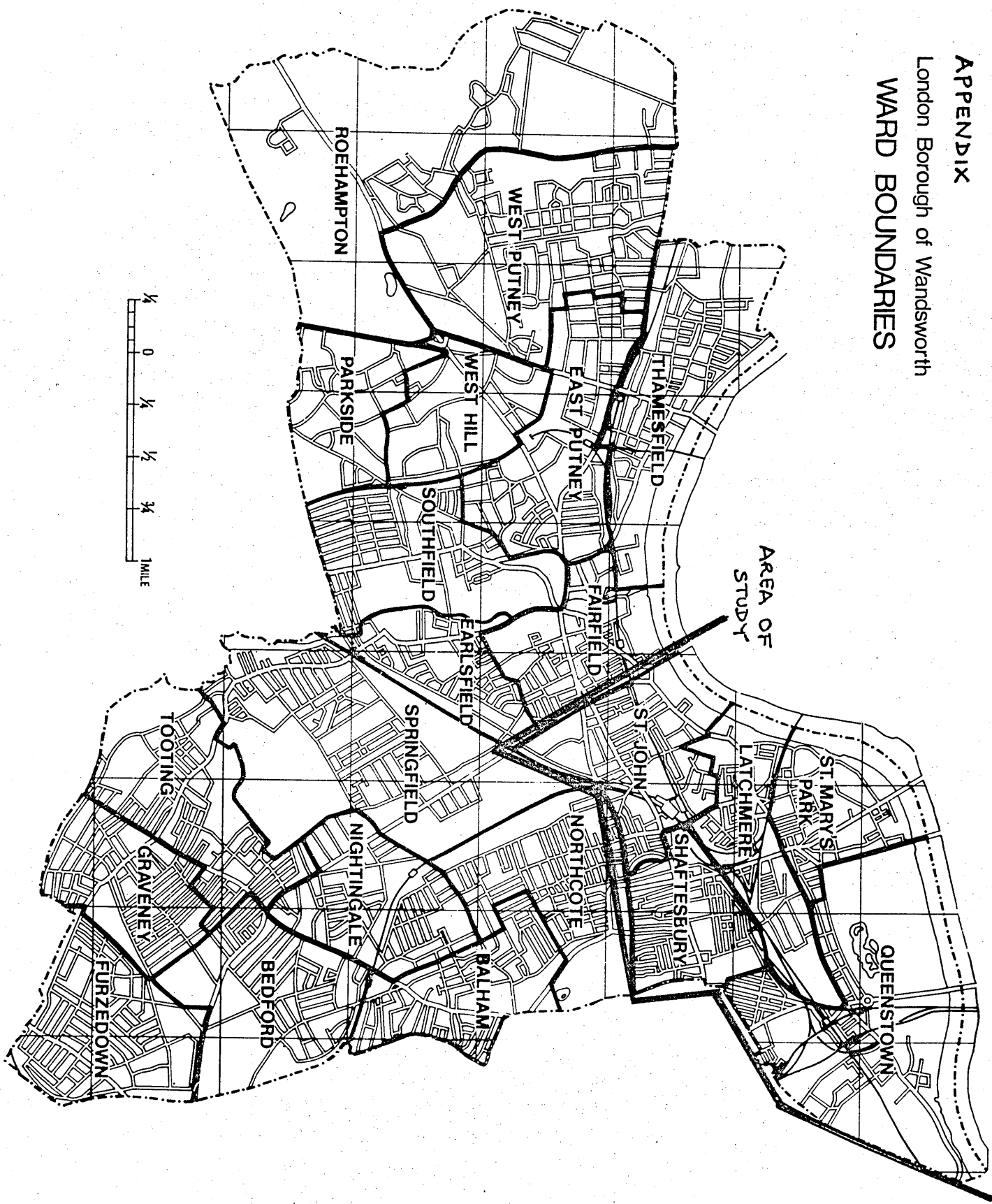


TABLE 1

| WARD CHARACTERISTICS | QUEENSTOWN | ST MARY'S PARK | LATCHMERE | SHAFTESBURY | ST JOHN | TOTAL BATTERSEA | BOROUGH FIGURES |
|------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| UNDER FIVES NO. (pop'n) % | 455 5.9 | 583 5.6 | 871 8.1 | 598 4.7 | 844 7.4 | 3351 6.3 | 5.5 |
| SINGLE PARENT NO. (hsehd) % | 138 4.4 | 248 6.0 | 384 9.4 | 144 2.8 | 304 6.8 | 1218 5.8 | 3.6 |
| MARRIED COUPLE NO. (hsehd) % | 404 12.9 | 471 11.4 | 539 13.3 | 677 13.4 | 568 12.7 | 2659 12.7 | 12.8 |

TABLE 2

| WARD | QUEENSTOWN | ST MARY'S PARK | LATCHMERE | SHAFTESBURY | ST JOHN | TOTAL BATTERSEA | BOROUGH FIGURES | |
|------------------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|------|
| OWNER OCCUPIED | NO. % | 638 21.8 | 908 22.0 | 400 10.0 | 1633 32.2 | 694 15.6 | 4273 20.5 | 35.5 |
| COUNCIL | NO. % | 1242 39.7 | 2222 53.9 | 3397 82.6 | 1039 20.5 | 2541 57.0 | 10401 49.9 | 35.3 |
| LACK BATH | NO. % | 372 11.9 | 124 3.0 | 105 2.6 | 255 5.0 | 68 1.5 | 924 4.4 | 3.8 |
| LACK INSIDE W.C. | NO. % | 295 9.4 | 100 2.4 | 106 2.6 | 235 4.6 | 46 1.0 | 782 3.7 | 3.3 |
| 1.5 to room | NO. % | 42 1.3 | 71 1.7 | 112 2.8 | 78 1.5 | 106 2.4 | 409 2.0 | 1.6 |
| 1 to 1.5 to room | NO. % | 185 6.0 | 261 6.3 | 320 7.9 | 216 4.3 | 341 7.6 | 1323 6.3 | 5.0 |

TABLE 3

| WARD | QUEENSTOWN | ST MARY'S PARK | LATCHMERE | SHAFTESBURY | ST JOHN | TOTAL BATTERSEA | BOROUGH FIGURES |
|--|------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|
| SOCIAL CLASS % | | | | | | | |
| 1. Prof. | 4.9 | 5.7 | 4.3 | 4.6 | 2.2 | 4.3 | 7.1 |
| 2. Inter-mediate | 25.4 | 20.8 | 14.6 | 25.4 | 19.4 | 21.0 | 26.8 |
| 3. Skilled non-manual | 19.0 | 17.9 | 13.0 | 19.4 | 16.5 | 17.1 | 17.5 |
| 4. Skilled manual | 20.0 | 23.3 | 27.3 | 26.0 | 24.2 | 24.5 | 22.5 |
| 5. Partly skilled | 19.5 | 18.6 | 23.3 | 13.9 | 19.8 | 18.8 | 14.1 |
| 6. Unskilled | 6.8 | 8.7 | 11.1 | 8.7 | 12.1 | 9.6 | 6.0 |
| UNEMPLOYED % | 11.3 | 10.5 | 14.4 | 8.7 | 13.0 | 12.8 | 9.0 |
| MOVED IN LAST YEAR % | 11.0 | 9.4 | 13.0 | 12.3 | 14.0 | 12.0 | 11.5 |
| HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD NEW COMMONWEALTH OR PAKISTAN | 14.6 | 14.9 | 29.4 | 19.5 | 26.6 | 21.4 | 18.8 |

TOTAL POPULATION: 52,991
 TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS: 20,848
 TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN: 5,359

2. DATA - PRE SCHOOL WORKERS IN BATTERSEA

1. Pre-school workers in Battersea

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|--|-----|-----|
| <u>Schools</u> | 14 | headteachers | | |
| | 1 | deputy headteacher | | |
| | 17 | teachers | | |
| | 24 | nursery assistants | | |
| | 3 | miscellaneous (extended care scheme) | | |
| | | <u>Total Education workers</u> | 59 | |
| <u>Day Nurseries</u> | 9 | officers in charge | | |
| | 9 | deputy officers in charge | | |
| | 38 | nursery officers | | |
| | 6 | miscellaneous | | |
| | | <u>Total Day Nursery workers</u> | 62 | |
| <u>Playgroups</u> | 9 | leaders | | |
| | 10 | assistants | | |
| | | <u>Total Playgroup workers</u> | 19 | (1) |
| <u>Community nurseries</u> | 4 | playgroup leaders | | |
| <u>and family centres</u> | 6 | playgroup assistants | | (2) |
| | 5 | co-ordinators | | |
| | 25 | nursery workers | | |
| | | <u>Total Community Nursery workers</u> | 40 | |
| | | <u>SUB-TOTAL PROVISION-BASED WORKERS</u> | 180 | |
| <u>Fieldworkers</u> | 19 | health visitors | | |
| | 11 | social workers and childminding advisers | | |
| | 4 | voluntary sector (playgroup etc.) | | (3) |
| | 1 | education (adult education fieldworker) | | |
| | | <u>Total Fieldworkers</u> | 35 | |

TOTAL POPULATION OF PRE-SCHOOL WORKERS:215

- Note: (1) Playgroup total only includes those groups not claiming to make community or more extended family provision.
- (2) Playgroup workers included in 'community provision' were self-defined as taking on a broader role.
- (3) Fieldworkers were contacted on a similar accretion basis, via:
- a. health clinics and general practices
(six clinics)
 - b. social services area offices (North and South Battersea)
 - c. playgroup association and project offices.

In addition to the intention to represent a range of provision it was important to secure adequate representation of the four main providing sectors; this was undoubtedly the case. (see Table 3)

2. Providing sectors in Battersea

| Employer | Number of workers | Percentage |
|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| Education | 57 | 27 |
| Social Services | 68 | 31 |
| Health Service | 19 | 9 |
| Voluntary Sector | 71 | 33 |
| Total | 215 | 100 |

3. Contact with other pre-school workers

| Contact with | In last month | up to 3 months | up to 1 year | not at all |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| (1) Health visitor | 61 | 23 | 17 | 94 |
| Social worker | 45 | 22 | 14 | 123 |
| Childminding adviser | 58 | 18 | 11 | 113 |
| (2) Head teacher | 33 | 11 | 6 | 115 |
| Offioer in charge D.N. | 31 | 6 | 6 | 13 |
| Playgroup worker | 35 | 10 | 8 | 131 |
| (3) Teacher | 15 | 11 | 1 | 138 |
| Nursery Assistant | 5 | 1 | 0 | 159 |
| Nursery Officer | 10 | 3 | 2 | 141 |
| Other health workers | 22 | 35 | 3 | 139 |

Q8. V.55-V.66

This table represents contact with other pre-school workers, as mentioned by each worker, in raw frequencies.

(1) are the three main fieldworker groups

(2) are those in charge of provision

(3) are those in subordinate roles

4. Fieldworkers contacts with one another

| Fieldworkers Contact with: | in last month | up to 3 months | up to 1 year | not at all |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|
| Health visitors | 13 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Social workers | 19 | 4 | 0 | 3 |
| Childminding advisers | 17 | 6 | 0 | 3 |

Q1, Q8

V2, V55-57

5. Contacts of Headteachers

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|--------------------|--------|------------|
| Field workers | 30 | 12 |
| Provision based | 12 | 30 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 14 Headteachers (Q8.)

V1 x V56 - V60

6. Contacts of Teachers

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 12 | 39 |
| Provision based | 8 | 43 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 17 teachers (Q8)
V1 x V56-60

7. Contacts of nursery assistants in Education

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 5 | 67 |
| Provision based | 7 | 65 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 24 assistants (Q.8)

8. Contacts of officers in charge of day nurseries

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 23 | 4 |
| Provision-based | 8 | 26 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 9 officers in charge (Q.8)

V1 x V56-61

9. Contacts of deputy officers in charge of day nurseries

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 19 | 8 |
| Provision-based | 4 | 32 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 9 deputy officers in charge (Q.8)

V1 x V56-61

10. Contacts of nursery officers in day nurseries

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 33 | 87 |
| Provision-based | 4 | 156 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 38 nursery officers (Q.8)

V1 x V56-61

11. Contacts of community nursery workers

a. Co-ordinators

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 10 | 5 |
| Provision-based | 5 | 10 |

b. Workers

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 17 | 58 |
| Provision-based | 7 | 118 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 5 co-ordinators and 25 workers (Q.8)

V1 x V56-61

12. Contacts of playgroup workers

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Fieldworkers | 22 | 71 |
| Provision-based | 18 | 137 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 31 playgroup workers (Q.8)

V1 x V56-61

13. Contacts of playgroup workers (detail)

| Contact with | Recent | Not recent |
|-------------------------|--------|------------|
| Health visitor | 5 | 26 |
| Social worker | 1 | 30 |
| Childminding adviser | 16 | 15 |
| Officer in charge DN | 1 | 30 |
| Nursery officer | 1 | 30 |
| Headteacher | 6 | 25 |
| Teacher | 5 | 26 |
| Nursery assistant | 5 | 26 |

Frequency of contacts mentioned by 31 playgroup workers (Q.8)
V1 x V56-61

14. Levels of contact between provision

| Type of contact | Recent contact | Total Responses | % |
|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----|
| School to Playgroup | 12 | 55 | 22 |
| School to Day Nursery | 15 | 109 | 14 |
| Day Nursery to Playgroup | 1 | 58 | 2 |
| Day Nursery to School | 15 | 172 | 9 |
| Playgroup to Day Nursery | 2 | 62 | 3 |
| Playgroup to School | 16 | 93 | 17 |

Contacts mentioned by workers in each provision with
another form of provision (Q.8)

V1 x V56-61

15. Levels of recent contact between fieldworkers and provision

| Type of contact | Recent contact | Total responses | % |
|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----|
| Health visitor to School | 22 | 57 | 39 |
| H.V. to Day Nursery | 23 | 38 | 60 |
| H.V. to Playgroup | 13 | 19 | 68 |
| Social Services to School | 10 | 24 | 41 |
| S. Services to D.N. | 7 | 16 | 43 |
| S. Services to Playgroup | 6 | 8 | 75 |

Contacts mentioned by fieldworkers with each type of provision
(Q.8) V1 x V56-61

16. Levels of contact between fieldworkers and those 'in charge'

18a.

Health visitors: out of 19: 9 claimed contact with headteachers (10/14)
 17 " " " officers in charge (8/9)
 13 " " " playgroup leaders (5/26)

Social workers: out of 8: 8 claimed contact with headteachers (11/14)
 6 " " " officers in charge (8/9)
 6 " " " playgroup leaders (17/26)

(Q.8, V1 x V58, 59,61) Reciprocal figures in brackets.

17. Previous experience of working in other sectors

| Type of experience | Frequency | % of respondents |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Playgroup | 53 | 25 |
| Education | 42 | 20 |
| Day Care | 41 | 19 |
| Private | 33 | 17 |
| Health | 31 | 14 |

Main types of experience mentioned by all respondents (Q.8)
V7-V14

18. Number of other sectors of previous experience

| Number of sectors | Frequency | % of respondents |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| None at all | 49 | 23 |
| One other sector | 105 | 49 |
| Two other sectors | 47 | 22 |
| Three or more sectors | 14 | 6 |

Q.3, V7-V14

19. Range of previous experience (provision based workers)

| | In charge | Not in charge |
|----------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Wide previous experience (1) | 12 | 41 |
| Narrower previous experience (2) | 31 | 97 |

(Prevexp 1 x V5)

(Q.8)

(1) experience in more than one other sector

(2) experience in one or no other sector

20. Previous experience and level of qualification

| Experience \ Qualifications | Qualifications | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------|------|---------|
| | None | Basic | Full | Further |
| Wide | 1 | 43 | 15 | 1 |
| Narrower | 15 | 88 | 40 | 11 |

(Prevexp 1 x V29)

21. Age distribution of pre-school workers

| Age | Frequency | % of workers |
|----------|-----------|--------------|
| Under 20 | 8 | 4 |
| 21 - 30 | 88 | 41 |
| 31 - 40 | 72 | 33 |
| 41 - 50 | 37 | 17 |
| 51 - 60 | 10 | 5 |

Q.15, V.30

22. Time in post for all workers

| Time | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------|-----------|------------|
| Under 1 year | 39 | 18 |
| 1 - 5 years | 112 | 52 |
| Over 5 years | 64 | 30 |

(Q.2, V6)

23. Health visitors' contacts

| Contact | % of workers |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Visit | 49 |
| Exchange information on children | 49 |
| Exchange information on families | 47 |
| Approach for help | 29 |

(V67-70)

24. Recent contact with health visitor

| Worker: | Recent contact | Not recent |
|-------------------|----------------|------------|
| Headteacher | 11 | 3 |
| Nursery teacher | 11 | 5 |
| Officer in charge | 7 | 2 |
| Deputy O.I.C. | 8 | 1 |
| Nursery Officer | 11 | 29 |
| Playgroup worker | 7 | 14 |
| Community Nursery | | |
| - co-ordinator | 5 | 0 |
| - worker | 12 | 13 |

Contact mentioned by other pre-school workers.

V1 x V55

25. Social workers' contacts

| Contact | % of workers |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Visit | 37 |
| Exchange information on children | 40 |
| Exchange information on families | 40 |
| Approach for help | 25 |

V75-78

26. Recent contact with social worker

| Worker | Recent contact | Not recent |
|-------------------|----------------|------------|
| Headteacher | 11 | 3 |
| Nursery teacher | 3 | 13 |
| Officer in charge | 8 | 1 |
| Deputy O.I.C. | 7 | 2 |
| Nursery Officer | 10 | 30 |
| Playgroup worker | 0 | 29 |
| Community Nursery | | |
| - co-ordinator | 2 | 3 |
| - worker | 2 | 23 |

V1 x V56

Contacts mentioned by other pre-school workers

27. Childminding advisers' contacts

| Contact | % of workers |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Visit | 41 |
| Exchange information on children | 37 |
| Exchange information on families | 35 |
| Approach for help | 24 |

V83-86

28. Recent contact with childminding advisers

| Worker | Recent contact | Not recent |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------|
| Headteacher | 7 | 5 |
| Nursery teacher | 1 | 15 |
| Officer in charge | 7 | 2 |
| Deputy O.I.C. | 4 | 5 |
| Nursery officer | 12 | 28 |
| Playgroup worker | 12 | 13 |
| Community nursery - co-ordinator | 3 | 2 |
| - worker | 3 | 22 |

V1 x V57

Contacts mentioned by other workers.

29. Provision based workers' contacts

| % of workers Contact | Playgroup | Day Nursery | | School | | | Other Health |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------|--------|---------|---------|-----------------|
| | | O.I.C. | Other | Head | Teacher | Assist. | |
| Visit | 28 | 24 | 8 | 26 | 15 | 2 | 27 |
| Exchange information on children | 22 | 24 | 7 | 26 | 16 | 1 | 28 |
| Exchange information on families | 19 | 24 | 6 | 24 | 14 | 1 | 16 |
| Approach for help | 9 | 16 | 2 | 19 | 9 | 0 | 5 |

Contact % mentioned by other workers

APPENDIX 3 - FACTOR ANALYSIS

3. FACTOR ANALYSIS

| | FACTOR 1 | FACTOR 2 | FACTOR 3 | FACTOR 4 | FACTOR 5 |
|------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| V210 | 0.02872 | 0.13136 | 0.13202 | 0.09783 | 0.09761 |
| V211 | -0.13192 | 0.20612 | 0.26785 | 0.33704 | 0.13215 |
| V212 | -0.21026 | 0.27766 | 0.20785 | 0.47394 | -0.04830 |
| V213 | 0.65109 | 0.07106 | 0.08655 | -0.02580 | -0.03174 |
| V214 | 0.15344 | -0.03207 | 0.06466 | -0.31833 | -0.24419 |
| V215 | -0.02091 | 0.01848 | 0.06474 | 0.05694 | 0.61596 |
| V216 | -0.02425 | 0.49834 | 0.49003 | 0.17024 | 0.10406 |
| V217 | 0.27985 | 0.00595 | 0.00655 | -0.07057 | 0.15816 |
| V218 | -0.04875 | 0.45088 | -0.03592 | 0.11050 | 0.33283 |
| V219 | 0.15101 | 0.61617 | 0.00751 | 0.01742 | -0.01919 |
| V220 | 0.09370 | 0.18756 | 0.41749 | 0.40670 | 0.20282 |
| V221 | 0.66803 | -0.09673 | -0.30654 | -0.02315 | -0.07337 |
| V222 | -0.11699 | 0.12323 | 0.16847 | 0.31239 | 0.06105 |
| V223 | 0.72987 | 0.03661 | 0.20545 | -0.00984 | -0.04284 |
| V224 | 0.06052 | 0.17731 | 0.51618 | 0.16254 | -0.09443 |
| V225 | -0.11326 | 0.53536 | 0.09927 | 0.14909 | -0.06821 |
| V226 | -0.05544 | 0.12806 | 0.22447 | 0.11229 | -0.08150 |
| V227 | 0.56024 | -0.14336 | 0.26262 | -0.17399 | -0.02819 |
| V228 | -0.15825 | 0.37326 | -0.00218 | 0.32463 | 0.02650 |
| V229 | 0.16280 | 0.17478 | 0.12852 | -0.00686 | 0.07443 |
| V230 | 0.55992 | 0.04946 | -0.09924 | -0.12408 | -0.00983 |
| V231 | 0.49326 | -0.15158 | -0.09658 | -0.03861 | -0.06585 |
| V232 | -0.08136 | 0.18601 | 0.07554 | 0.55736 | 0.12416 |
| V233 | 0.02978 | 0.23174 | 0.07266 | 0.26741 | 0.50833 |
| V234 | 0.46636 | 0.11316 | 0.07457 | 0.00759 | -0.00398 |
| V235 | 0.11661 | 0.17348 | 0.60999 | -0.01870 | 0.01418 |
| V236 | 0.47676 | -0.05425 | 0.13774 | -0.20537 | -0.01507 |
| V237 | 0.54873 | -0.00689 | 0.01241 | -0.12814 | -0.04568 |
| V238 | 0.07508 | 0.50195 | 0.18477 | 0.11935 | 0.02064 |
| V239 | 0.34384 | -0.00531 | -0.16732 | -0.12106 | -0.11242 |
| V240 | -0.13544 | -0.07482 | -0.03724 | 0.02341 | 0.61620 |
| V241 | -0.07905 | 0.53163 | 0.23303 | 0.06794 | 0.04714 |
| V242 | -0.26809 | 0.35811 | 0.08910 | 0.42006 | 0.02178 |
| V243 | -0.18491 | 0.57225 | 0.22468 | 0.22048 | -0.00799 |
| V244 | -0.25435 | 0.10313 | 0.48010 | 0.14951 | 0.05417 |