Shifting Worlds of the Young Child: A Discursive History of the Early Years Foundation Stage in England

By

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Abstract

Throughout the early 21st century, ideas about standardization, learning goals, and curriculum shovedown increased the emphasis on academic attainment for young children to a degree formerly reserved for older children; I focus on England although these ruptures occurred in many countries. My analysis of national legislation and of curricula indicated that this reflected a rupture in the grid of reasoning about young children that moved them into the arena of schooled, important and with 'potential' to be developed resources for the nation. The early 19th century was also a time of rupture in the grid of reasoning about the young child as legislation and curricula reconstituted 'normal' children as workers, then as students. The two themes, the 'normal child' and the child with 'potential', during these two discursive moments (late 20th/early 21st centuries and early 19th century) comprise the topic of this dissertation. England's Education Act 2002 was part of a reconstitution of young children that brought a new kind of 'normal child' into existence in England, the early years *foundation stage* child, in the late 20th and early 21st century. The extensive use of the scientifically defined 'normal', or 'not normal' (sometimes further defined as 'at risk', 'a dangerous outsider' or 'disabled') in the language of national policy documents and curriculum guides and the many implications of this definition has been influential in the formation of a grid of reasoning about the young child includes ideas about the complexities of national imaginaries that are part of the circulation of power/knowledge that produced the curricular decisions and the legislation. Analysis of the capillaries of power/knowledge that run through these two times of rupture brings new ideas to the long-term discussion about standards, the 'universal child', surveillance and the child with 'potential'.

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The Child in a Shifting World: A Discursive History of the Young Citizen in Early Childhood Education in England

Chapter One

The chimera is born with a triple animal body, "a sort of multiform and polycephalous beast uniting multiple forms *in one body*".[1]

Yet specific unity is not maintained [;]…a chimera represents three juxtaposed species…producing a paradoxical being. It is not a *metamorphosis* [italics added] of the body, but a *complex* [italics added] body… at the same time a lion, a dragon, and a goat. (Kac, 2006, p. 1-2)

Figure 1. Etruscan sculpture of a chimera from the 5th or 4th century B. C. (Bardi, 2002)

The Education Act 2002 was part of a reconstitution of young children that brought a new kind of child into existence in England, the early years *foundation stage* child. Defined in 2000 as a "significant landmark in funded education in England" that "[f]or the first time…gives this very important stage of education a distinct identity" (Qualifications and Curriculum

[1] (Plato, cited in Kac, 2006) (italics added)

Authority [QCA], 2001, p. 3[2]), the name first referred to a child who was between the ages of four and five years old, and subsequently included children from three to five as the 2002 Education Act's final stages were enacted. A later act extended this reconstitution to include *all* children from birth to age five in *early years foundation stage*, replacing the prior identification of young children as infants, preschoolers or nursery-schoolers, reception year, and infant or primary school or school-aged. In addition, foundation stage children were moved into the national curriculum, first legislated in 1988 for primary and secondary children, and their education and care was included in the surveillance through inspections and later a system of standards.

"Early years" children, younger than school-age (under-fives), have been running around in England for many, many years; "early years" is similar to the term "early childhood" and has become part of popular usage more recently. The "foundation stage" is a new construction, first brought into use in 2000. A scaffolding of events and practices intertwined to create these movements in discursive understandings of children and education in England in the late 20th and early 21st century so that the new early years foundation stage child was an effect of these events. Although changes and reforms in English policies have involved all age groups, for the purpose of this study, I focus primarily on this new category, the *early years foundation stage child*.

A foundation stage child is no longer solely a child of independent play but a child engaged in schooling, one who is now not only a learner but a student as well. This is despite the fact that the guide to the foundation curriculum developed for practitioners notes, "Children do not make a distinction between 'play' and 'work' and neither should practitioners. Children

[2] The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) changed to the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Authority (QCDA) in 2009. When the documents that I used were published the name QCA was used so that is what I used in this dissertation.

need time to become engrossed, work in depth and complete activities"; the foundation stage child is now to focus on the "work" of schooling (QCA, 2001, p. 11). The role of play in learning fluctuated in the national curriculum for young children. Research on brain development and global circulating discourses on curriculum "shovedown" (see Hatch, 2002) cautioned against too-early academic expectations and research on the importance of play in learning and development supported this. The curricular choices faced by early childhood practitioners and policy-makers in many countries reflected a tension between the importance of play and the emphasis on measured achievement. Those in England were no exception. The national curriculum for foundation stage children "might have brought a sigh of relief from Early Years practitioners...who had struggled to work with and adapt inappropriate expectations of a rigid curriculum" (Allingham, 2002, p. 16) but this sigh of relief would have been short-lived. The Childcare Act 2006 (Childcare Act 2006, 2006) established literacy and numeracy requirements for foundation stage children that minimized play and increased emphasis on academic standards. This newly fashioned curriculum was a language of descriptions, bringing into being the foundation stage child as a new "human kind" as Ian Hacking (1995) would say—a new kind of child who now resembles other schooled children—enveloped into and now endowed with capacities, capabilities and particular subjectivities such as the problem solver and the lifelong learner.

The symbol of the chimera is one that serves in this dissertation to describe a new, phantasmagorical, foundation-stage child. I use this mythological discursive figure as a metaphor to illustrate particular subjectivities related to 1) the young UK child; 2) the learner, student and recipient of schooling; and 3) the productive worker, human capital for the nation, and citizen in the making who is embedded in the education policies. At first glance, these three

subjectivities appear to be disparate but in fact intertwine as the lion, goat and snake intermingle in the complex body of the chimera. I play with three definitions given to the chimera in relation to iterations of young children found in UK educational policy documents—the chimera as distinct creatures with a shared body, as blended tissue, and as illusion. This is a symbol for the foundation stage child who is discursively one creature but is constructed out of disparate and in some cases incommensurate parts. In the section that follows I define the chimera.

The first of these definitions is that of a hybrid comprised of multiple animals (Oxford dictionaries online, 2008). Ancient descriptions of the mythological chimera focused on the frightening oddity of her[3] beastly appearance or her prowess in battle. The mythological chimera's juxtaposed forms gave her the ferocity of each animal contained within her skin—the lion, a goat and a serpent or a dragon. Today, in the twenty first century terminology this multi-headed chimera arises from her ancient sleep to take on a new function—as a symbol of multiple distinct qualities or organisms within the same, apparently unified, space, used in microbiology. The symbol of blended tissue within the chimera has been adopted as a term for cells that have been genetically modified to contain tissue from two or more sources (Oxford dictionaries online, 2008). Conjoining the disparate parts of this merged body of the chimera in which cells of lioness, the goat and the serpent troubles seemingly distinctive bodies and subjectivities.

Numerous aspects of the animals making up the chimera (see Figure 1) depict more intertwining than the simple attachment of a goat's head and serpent's tail onto a lion's body. I argue that the blended tissue where the leonine meets the caprine or the caprine meets the serpentine are not distinct, but instead, this tissue creates hybrid spaces embracing tissues of two or all three bodies simultaneously. The interstitial blending of tissue echoes the lines of tension

[3] The chimera was generally considered female.

in the ways the subjectivities of children are constituted in educational discourse including the early years foundation stage child (discussed in this chapter, as well as in Chapters 2 and 4), the learner, student, and recipient of schooling (discussed in Chapters 3 and 5), and the citizen with 'potential' (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). The blended imagery of the child makes the distinction illusory in that the child is enacting differing subjectivities at the same time; 1) the child whose subjectivity is negotiated through the family; 2) the child as a learner—educated at the same time in Englishness(es)/Britishness(es) within the colony/metropolis binary; 3) the child as worker in direct relationship with the nation (discussed in Chapter 3). I have divided this content and these discourses by historical moments in which they appear as salient, forming a *sense* of what is true and important. They are presented within these moments which for ease of discussion are aligned with the 19th century (Chapters 3 and 5) and the late 20th-early 21st century (Chapters 2 and 4). Why did I choose to examine the discourses through different texts (educational policy, literature, and other texts) and make these divisions?

The discourses illustrated in the chapters of this dissertation are intertwining and non-linear with several possible divisions. One example of a text that was used for analysis is from Derek Gillard, a teacher and School Head from 1963 to his retirement in 1997 with an MA in Religious Education. During his retirement, he wrote a timeline of *The History of Education in England* and posted it as a website first in 2000, with editing in 2011 (Gillard, 2011). Gillard's timeline includes legislative acts, reports and white papers that he considers to be central to the shaping of policy and practice, from 600 AD to 2010. Gillard divides this long span into twelve chapters, based on the Prime Minister of the time (e.g. Thatcher, Major, Blair, Brown) or political moves (1800-1860 Towards a state system; 1860-1900 Class divisions; 1900-1944 Taking shape; 1944-1951 Post-war reconstruction). These are useful groupings and they provide

a way of handling the many pieces of legislation; however, these are not the ones I use because they contain a more microscopic view of the policies than I want to use in my own analysis. Nonetheless they were helpful in discerning different periodization of policies, and helped me gain insights into what others found 'true' and 'important' or significant at particular moments; this then fed into my selection of discourses to examine throughout the chapters.

Another division that was possible would be an intriguing one of framing this historiography within the discursive movement of the nation-state as responsible for the welfare of its citizens. The changes in England in these reasonings and the intertwining of the policies with regard to children would be an intriguing study. Bloch, Holmlund, Moqvist and Popkewitz (2003) covered similar material in their *Governing children, families and education: Restructuring the welfare state* but from a broader global perspective. This is another example of a possible way to structure this dissertation but not the one that I used.

A third possible division is pre- and post-1918. The Education Act 1918 (Fisher Act) established a "National System of Education" (Education Act 1918, 1918) that required Local Education Authorities to provide schooling for all children from ages five to fourteen (fifteen in some cases) and limited employment for children under twelve so that all young workers could be in school for a minimum of eight hours a day, 270 hours a year and later 320 hours a year. The prior school leaving age of twelve actually remained in effect until the Education Act 1921 (Education Act 1921, 1921). However, I did not choose this division either because the 1918 act pertains primarily to "school-aged" children (as defined at the time, five year-olds to fourteen year-olds only) and this dissertation is looking at shifts and ruptures for the younger children, under five years of age. The 1918 act was not a major point of rupture for under-fives.

The structure that I chose for this dissertation is that of two themes and two discursive moments. I chose these because I identified them as points of rupture in the grid of reasoning about young (under-fives) children. This decision came from reading the legislative acts relating to children along with curricular traditions and innovations for young children. The two themes that I identified were 'normalization' and 'dangerous outsider'. I looked at these two themes during two discursive moments, the late 20th to early 21st centuries, and the pre-19th to early 19th century. Education policy and curriculum discourses are themselves an amalgamation of differing social, historical, and political disciplinary fields of study such as developmental psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, political theory, among others. Since the turn of the 20th century, social science research including child development knowledge(s), along with other psychologies, have robustly participated in the normalizing of subjectivities "helping to identify who and what was normal and what was abnormal and required intervention." (Bloch, 2000, p. 258) These knowledges have functioned to govern how we think of the child. One of these ways that these knowledges have shaped the subjectivities of child is through ideas about "culture".

Cultural, social, and historical construction of childhood and education have been a circulating discourse for many years (e.g. Plato, Locke, James, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, G. Stanley Hall and the Child Study movement, Piaget, Skinner, Montessori and many more). In the 1990s they shifted into new prominence as interest in multicultural and cross-cultural education, along with the intersection of anthropology and education became widespread internationally. There are many important works relating to this topic; here I cover a few that are particularly related to this dissertation, theoretically, historically or socially. Chris Jenks (1993) made culture the topic of his entire book, aptly named *Culture*, in which he identified "a four-fold typology" that

summarises "the genesis of our concept 'culture'" (Jenks, p. 11) and tied culture to ideas about compensatory education and 'mainstream culture' as the implied but invisible, or explicit, norm, using standard English speech as an example (p. 169-171). Jenks asserted that: "Within the confines of British and American social theory the concept of culture has been understood in a far more pluralistic sense" (p. 10) that "tends to have been most usefully applied as a concept of differentiation within a collectivity rather than a way of gathering (p. 10) and used the idea of *subculture* to further explore the plurality of culture which he claimed was more prevalent in England and North America. A monolithic and hierarchical use of the term culture was more prominent in other countries as "high" culture and cultural knowledge formed part of the capital of citizens: "Within the German intellectual tradition…a different and particular sense of culture emerged…This was the Romantic, elitist, view that culture specified the pinnacle of human achievement". (P. 9) The "four-fold typology" of the genesis of culture identified by Jenks is listed and discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. A chapter by Prout & James appeared in Chris Jenks' edited book from 2005, *Critical concepts in sociology, Volume 1*, pages 56-80. I engaged with their work and ideas in this study, which I discuss further in Chapter 3.

In this dissertation and the exploration of "Englishness(es)" and "Britishness(es)", I use the plural form of these two imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) to designate the plurality and hybridity of ways of being British, and English that comprise the citizen with 'potential', also as a 'dangerous outsider', both within contemporary iterations as well as during the time of colonialization. The idea of 'dangerous outsider' is the primary focus of Chapters 3 and 5 of this dissertation.

The foundation stage child moves through this discursive terrain, shaped by and shaping the circulating discourses of child, learner, and citizen with 'potential', all of which are illusory

in the sense that the subjectivities produced through educational policies and subsequent curriculum are themselves discursive fictions. I use the idea of illusion to trouble the apparent certainties of policy and curricular language, which imply that there is a knowable, universal child to be "saved" or rescued. Through circulating current local and global discourses, the young child has become inscribed as a citizen in the making. The early 21st century discourses, as in other times, have crafted the child with a renewed sense of importance in relation to the nation, now imbued with "potential" and new dispositions. For example:

> The establishment of a *foundation stage* is a significant landmark in funded education in England. For the first time it gives *this very important stage of education* a *distinct identity*. The *early learning goals* set high expectations for *the end* of the foundation stage… (QCA, p. 3, 2001) (I have added *italics* here as I do in other places to emphasize the newness of certain language—in this case-- 'foundation stage', the emphasis on a new distinct identity, the importance of learning goals assessed at *the end* of the foundation stage; the italics are to highlight ways of reasoning that appear normal but signal new and multiple narratives or discourses many of which will be further discussed in later parts of the document).

In this dissertation, I argue then that the young child, in various social and historical locations, is a site upon which multiple narratives are written: romanticized as innocent, pure, and in need of protection; demonized as uncivilized, in need of salvation or governance; and categorized as a being with potential who can become 'normal' after the application of prescribed practices and disciplines. In the dissertation, I look at the way that diverse cultural events have created and construct children in England during the two discursive moments as a chimeric or rhizomatic hybrid consisting of uneasily coexisting reasonings about the young child as modern schooling

emerged and then solidified across England. Within a certain notion of 'history of the present' of England's early years policies, I analyzed cultural reasoning about young children as citizens and proto-citizens, with the shifts in gaze and power/knowledge relationships that make these movements possible. Discontinuities are part of my work as I traced themes through discursive turns, situating the broader policies in a nexus of discursive understandings of the young child. In this dissertation, these discursive understandings that emerge from my analysis are inextricably tied to particular social, historical and cultural factors.

Nonetheless, I have *not* focused on causal linkages. The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of these particular historico-cultural discursive ways of reasoning and how they *interplay* and play with policy initiatives. I argue that these have created an uneasy but unique collection of understandings packed into the neat language of government policy and national curriculum.

Education Act 2002 and the Foundation Stage Child. Why did I choose England as the subject of this dissertation? Electing to read policies from England rather than policies from the United States or another country was important to me for several reasons. As an undergraduate I was a student teacher at the American School in London in 1976 and observed teaching at several British schools. The contrast was intriguing and I became curious about the cultural and curricular differences between England and the US. One contrasting practice was that when I walked into a classroom in a British primary school and as the students drifted in I realized no one was sitting down. It took a while to realize that they could not sit down until I did. This was a contrast to my experiences in American schools which were much more informal and in which the teacher was the one to stand if there weren't enough chairs. Another difference was that the instruction was a great deal of drill at a time that many schools in the US

were emphasizing learning through experimentation. The brevity of this initial visit of three weeks kept my understandings of these differences to a superficial level, but the experience was enough to give me an initial respect for the depth of the differing traditions- particularly as they applied to schooling.

I visited England multiple times between 2001 and 2009, staying in Coventry with relatives and an English son-in-law who patiently answered many questions about the differences between the two countries. While visiting the Institute of Education at the University of Warwick in Coventry in 2001, a graduate student told me of the controversy surrounding the school voucher system that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had recently implemented on a national scale. Vouchers had been issued all around the country, but unfortunately no provision was in place for monitoring availability of spaces for young children or for the creation of new spaces; as a result, many vouchers went unused and people were incensed at the waste of taxpayer money. In 2002 I returned to England and learned that the Education Act 2002 had been passed by the new Blair regime. At that time there was a high level of speculation among the Institute's Early Childhood faculty and students about what this new act would make possible. *The Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage* (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2001) notebook, a guide for practitioners, was distributed while I was visiting. As this was a new policy, I was interested in how it contrasted with the No Child Left Behind legislation which was passed in the United States at around the same time. The contrast between the Education Act 2002 and the No Child Left Behind Act was especially dramatic in its focus on three- to five-year-olds: the English Education Act featured establishment of universal nationally funded curriculum programs for three- to five-year-old children while the US No Child Left Behind Act mentioned this age group only in passing- and then almost exclusively

those young children designated as “at risk”. Of the two, I found the English act to be a more fertile area for the exploration of the role of young children in society; further research supported my original ideas that the Act was part of a discursive movement of young children into the arena of “schooled” and ‘with potential’ for the nation. Over the next six years, during biannual visits of one to six months each, I researched policy documents and the related policy materials.

The early years child (under-fives) of England became more visible as the enactment of Education Act 2002 fashioned a new category of child, the “Foundation Stage Child”, located at the beginning of formal publicly funded schooling. The Act defines this new Foundation Stage Child, approximately three to five years of age (Education Act 2002 [c. 32], 2002, p. 56), in relationship to the Key Stages One through Four, a previously established system (Education Reform Act of 1988 [c. 40], 1988) covering primary and secondary schooling; Key Stage One starts at the beginning of primary school and Key Stage Four ends when the child is no longer required to attend school (approximately age 16). Defining three- to five-year-old children as part of the Key Stage system situates them at the beginning of a linear progression from “school child” to “adult” and moves them into the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. This represents a break from previous education policies in England. Preceding legislation placed young children within the Ministry of Health rather than the Ministry of Education and, mentioned children under five only briefly. The Education Act 2002 unequivocally moves younger children into the domain of public schooling.

The Education Act 2002, while written in the early part of the 21st century, lies among and within historical discourses about the young child, the good citizen, schooling, and parenting. Although the act is apparently a new and discrete entity, those past trajectories push and pull at the child at the same time as they contribute to the child’s discursive shaping through

language and legislation. While this child is being shaped by historical discourses, the discourses also shift as new ways of knowing the child emerge: "An 'age' does not pre-exist the statements which express it, nor the visibilities which fill it" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 48). This England policy articulates a shift in the "age" of young citizens, creating and created by bringing the child further into the public sphere than it had been prior to this act. I historicize this shifting discourse of child and distinguish some of the invisible visibilities within, around, and before the Education Act 2002.

While this act distinguished three- to five-year-old children from infants, it also introduced a specific national curriculum for the Foundation Stage child. It placed these "new" children within the Ministry of Education instead of the Ministry of Health that had previously been responsible for the age group. All of these political moves appeared to increase the movement of the young child out of the private arena of "family" and into the public arena—in relation to Ministry, and/or State governing. This new positioning of young children locates them as part of the 'potential' or human resources of the country

Prior to the Education Act 2002, the children included in the various acts were primary and post-primary students. The Education Act 2002 changed this. England has passed acts regarding children's schooling roughly every two to three years since 1870: *Elementary Education Acts* from 1870 to 1900 and *Education Acts* after that. Prior to the rediscovery and foregrounding of the early years child with the Education Act 2002, they were tucked away in the Child Care Acts, which regulated children's health, care, welfare, residential centers, adoption, prevention of cruelty to children, and child care at different times. Another innovation is discursively significant: prior to the Education Act 2002 children under the age of five were under the purview of the Ministry of Health and after which they were under the purview of the

Ministry of Education. The effect of moving the three- to five-year-old child from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health to the Ministry of Education was to increase the emphasis on education and define young children in relationship to schooling and its particular regulatory practices, rather than to what many thought of as a theoretically *less regulated* stage of 'infancy' (while there is substantial literature on the regulation of young children in Danziger, 1990, Rose 1999, Walkerdine 1998, Burman's *Deconstructing developmental psychology*, 1994, and Cannella's *Deconstructing Early Childhood Education*, 1997 show clear regulation of infancy and early childhood).

Moving early years children into a new realm of child with 'potential'. Another effect of this move, as mentioned earlier, was that the early years child is now located more directly and explicitly in the realm of child with 'potential' and resources for the nation. Young children are a resource to be cultivated in hopes of future financial or cultural gain (as capital) if that resource is developed wisely, but also in fear of potential future loss if the resource is squandered. The early years child, as a potential economic or well-educated cultural citizenship 'resource', is now subject to a different form of surveillance—that of schooling regulatory practices—than when they were discursively situated as being *only* within the sphere of family, nursery, or the stage of infancy. They now have a standardized curriculum, constructed in the interest of national economic and global security, well-being, and global competition, with their programs now subject to explicit state regulatory practices such as inspections.

Why critique something that looks so good?

A Brief Review of the Literature

Many authors have looked at the British policies for the young child, and the new policies related to Foundation Stage Child; therefore, in a brief overview I want to acknowledge the work of many of these authors, and further explain why my particular approach to analysis and critique adds to the current literature, and is also an important contribution or addition to this literature.

As examples, I can begin with the work of educational theorists such as Phillipe Ariès (1962), Jerome Bruner (1980), Helen Penn (1997), Peter Moss & Helen Penn (Eds.) (1996), Peter Moss & Alan Pence (1994), Peter Moss & Pat Petrie (2002), and Cathy Nutbrown (2003) who have written extensive histories of early years programs in the England. Penn, Moss & Penn, Moss & Pence, Moss & Petrie, Nutbrown, and Bruner specifically write about UK early years learning while Ariès writes about the formation of the modern child. Bruner's *Under five in Britain* from 1980 was a report on the Oxford Preschool Research Project that studied the variety of care available to young children from 1975 to 1978. Playgroups, nursery schools, daycare centers and "childminders" were the main programs available at the time. This study provides a seminal effort to survey the profession after a 1971 proposal to overhaul early childhood programs in the UK foundered because of lack of formal documentation. (Bruner 1980, p. xx)

Helen Penn and Peter Moss provided a similar overview in their 1996 work, *Transforming nursery education,* offering a "vision of a comprehensive, integrated and coherent early childhood service" while "offer[ing a] critique of what is already available" (p. xi). Penn's 1997 work compares nurseries in Italy, Spain and the UK, contrasting areas in Italy where Reggio Emilia programs were in place and urban Barcelona in Spain to English nurseries in a

particularly low-income area. In this international comparative case study of state-funded programs for children deemed as "needy", Penn critiqued the varying definitions of "in need" among the three countries. Specifically she noted that "[i]n the UK the publicly funded day nurseries exist for the most deprived children. For the rest they are not thought to be necessary—nor perhaps to be appropriate" (p. 6-7). In contrast, the Italian and Spanish nursery schools were "an expression of civic well-being" (p. 7) and available to all children. Penn and Moss's 1996 study and Penn's 1997 project were part of a body of critical research, which included the *OECD Country Note, Early childhood education and care policy in the England* (OECD, 2000) that argued for many of the changes implemented in the Education Act 2002.

Another study that was an important part of the critical research preceding the Education Act 2002 was Bertram and Pascal's 1999 Background Report for the OECD Country Note. This report called for the universal state funding and systematization of education and care for young children but this was not new; early years professionals had been advocating for state-funded and systematized national early years programs for many years. In fact, schooling (primary schools, nursery education, infant schools, child minding, etc.) for young children has a long history only some of which will be highlighted below (see some of the resources mentioned above for more extensive descriptions of these histories in England, and Great Britain).

According to Bertram & Pascal (1999), public provision of primary school education in Britain dates from 1649 when republican puritans set up 60 schools in Wales. Public funding of schooling ended with the restoration of the monarchy, and schooling was maintained solely by the voluntary sector until 1833. During this period, of course, many children were involved in child labor and were also subjected to 'poor laws' that institutionalized them and disciplined

them on the streets, and within orphanages and poor houses. Others were tutored at home until sent off to public (private) boarding schools.

With the introduction of new educational philosophies (Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi) and influences, we also see some of the early educational innovators emerge in the early 19th century. In 1816 in New Lanark in Scotland, a social reformer named Robert Owen founded "the Institution for the Formation of Character." Owen believed that children could never thrive in schools that fostered passivity and obedience (OECD 2000, p. 8). This was an early system of infant care (for children of laborers) and a form of nursery schools that focused on observation of children in natural surroundings, play, sensory activities; as these ideas traveled and were translated in different ways from England, they became, as one example, a foundation for the Infant School Movement that was highly influential during the second quarter of the of the 19th century in the USA (see Bloch, 1987; Kaestle & Vinovskis, 1980.)

Froebelian type kindergartens were started by immigrants from Germany in England, much as they were by different German immigrants in the USA in the last half of the 19th century. Later, in the early 20th century, Margaret and Rachel McMillan's nursery education programs were used as a model for education for young 'nursery' age children.

This dissertation focuses on the discourses of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' of young children in educational policy documents during the 19th and later 20th/21st centuries in England. I follow in the footsteps of these educational theorists, practitioners, and, more recently, researchers (some of whom are cited earlier in this section.) While the review of literature is far from complete, it provides a glimpse into other sources and reviews of British policies by many key British early childhood researchers.

As a complement to their work, but also in contrast to their histories, I look at circulating international discourses that underlie the English policies. Earlier critiques of educational policies from British writers and researchers certainly have been made, though few have focused on recent discourses in the educational policy documents related to the Foundation Stage as I do in this research.

Writing from a critical theory perspective, several scholars have critiqued England's education policies; these include Ball (see, as only two examples, 1990, 1994); Mahoney & Hextall (1997); Arnot, David and Weiner (1999); Salisbury and Riddell (2000); and Walkerdine, Lucey and Melody (2001). Ball has written extensively on UK education policy, frequently analyzing the effects of social class, and edited a book in 1990 that was an early English language commentary on Foucault's effects on education and educational research; Ball recently published *Global education inc.: New policy networks and the neo-liberal imaginary* (2012) critiquing the marketization of education policy from a critical theory perspective. Arnot et. al., Salisbury & Riddell and Walkerdine et. al. focus their critique on gender and UK education policy, while other work by Walkerdine, for example has drawn on a Foucaultian perspective to examine, in one example, Piagetian discourses about child-centered pedagogy as a way of disciplining the child (Walkerdine, 1998). While Erica Burman (1994) drew on Foucault's theoretical framework in *Deconstructing developmental psychology*, there was less emphasis on discourses related to the policy of the *Foundation Stage child* than I focus on here in this research. Burman's newer work, *Developments: Child, image and nation* (2008) contains a chapter entitled *Appealing and appalling children.* In this chapter she touches in the idea of 'normal child' and 'dangerous outsider':

> How can we help in ways that do not require those whom we help to occupy a position of gratitude, or even to be or become more like 'us'?...it is all too easy, in the midst of a very individual and personal relationship [adult and child, i.e. teacher and child], to lose sight of the culturally constructed ingredients that inform the dynamics of specific adult-child relations. Equally discussions of childhood experiences with adults in psychotherapy mobilize representations of norms and ideas of childhood—if only (or perhaps especially) in their transgression. (2008, p. 127, brackets added)

Other studies in the sociology of childhood studies group (see Woodhead, Faulker, and Littleton, 1998, and James, Jenks, and Prout 1997; see also pages 84-86 in chapter 2 of this dissertation) also focus on the constructions of childhood rather than an examination of the language/knowledge/power nexus within current policy statements.

Scholars who write from a poststructuralist theoretical framing are major resources from which I draw in this study. Those who I have read and studied most extensively include Marianne Bloch, Bernadette Baker, Thomas Popkewitz, Gunilla Dahlberg, Kenneth Hultqvist. Their understandings of postmodern, poststructuralist and postcolonial theories have been central to my dissertation and to my graduate study. The opportunity to read their work, attend courses taught by them, attend presentations by them at national and international conferences, and to learn from conversations with these scholars has been invaluable. Their influences run throughout this dissertation, even when not specifically cited. They formulate and shape the discursive waters in which I swim and from which this dissertation was extracted. Bloch's insightful writings about the cultural effects of schooling first drew me to this field of study and her deep inquiry into theory and Foucauldian analysis led me farther than I believed possible. Baker's brilliant book, particularly *In perpetual motion: Theories of power, educational history,*

and the child (2001) and Popkewitz' profound work including *Cosmopolitanism and the age of school reform* (2008) and earlier *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, knowledge and power in education* (with Marie Brennan, 1997) provided inspiration and challenges on my academic journey. The writings of Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida, Donzelot, Hacking, Bhabha, and others provided a theoretical framing and ideas that pushed new limits in my thinking and that of many others.

Early childhood education and policy has also been the topic of several studies by scholars who formed a group, loosely organized as Reconceptualizing Early Childhood Education (see chapter 2 of this dissertation, p. 86-88 for more details), that critiqued child development, particularly as detailed in what is often called the "green bible" of USA early childhood education, *Developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood programs* (1997) by Bredekamp and Copple. The reconceptualist researchers typically work from a postmodern or critical theoretical framing. Kessler and Swadener's *Reconceptualizing the early childhood curriculum: Beginning the dialogue* (1992); Swadener & Lubeck's *Children and Families "at Promise": Deconstructing the Discourse of Risk* (1995); Dahlberg, Moss & Pence's 1999 *Beyond quality in early childhood education and care: Postmodern perspectives;* Bloch and Popkewitz' 2000 *Constructing the Child, Parent, and Teacher: Discourses on Development;* and Hultqvist and Dalhberg's (2001) *The Changing Child in a Changing World;* and, finally, Cannella's (1997) *Deconstructing Early Childhood Education are* key publications in this tradition. By reconceptualizing early childhood education, these theorists problematize assumptions about the normative discourses of child development and deconstruct "truths" about young children to allow nuanced understandings to emerge. These writings, as well as others mentioned above within the English literature focusing on interrogating childhood, and critiquing policy and

pedagogical discourses are theoretical/methodological positions within which my dissertation is situated.

National organizations formed to support ideas about care and education of young children also form part of the grid of reasoning and available literature about young children and learning. For example, the US organization, National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) includes a section on its website titled "Early Years Are Learning Years". This section provides articles about young children to "parents and other adults" (NAEYC 2003). The site states that "Early Years Are Learning Years: is an ongoing effort to focus attention on the importance of the early years for children's learning and all aspects of development." NAEYC was founded in 1926 (but was incorporated initially in 1929 as the National Association for Nursery Education or NANE, see: http://www.naeyc.org/about/history) in order to "promot[e] excellence in early childhood education for all young children from birth through age 8."

In England, many organizations have similar aims, including the National Children's Bureau (NCB), founded in 1963 as "the only national charity that promotes the voices, interests and well-being of all children…[w]hether it is health, education, living arrangements or social welfare" (NCB website, 2006). These two long-term organizations, while not unproblematic in many ways, have been advocates for young children for many years.

The value-driven argument for educating young children. A relatively recent shift to using ideas about the "value" or 'potential' of young children has created some problematic new ways in which young children are discursively constructed. One way that the production of young children has shifted is that they are now included in the national policy that governs publicly-funded schooling in some countries (including England). There are benefits for early

childhood professionals in this new production of young children as potential citizens with 'value', such as increased professional respect, and more funding, but at the same time this shift changes the production of young children and their schooling. Part of this shift is that early years children, staff, and curricula become the locations of the practices of school inspections, national curriculum, and high-stakes testing that were implemented in state-funded schooling in the 1990s. These practices were part of the move that promised teacher accountability and measurable results on high-stakes tests (among other results). The goal is to produce

> a strong public sphere, coupled to a thriving market economy; a pluralistic, but inclusive society; and a cosmopolitan wider world, founded upon principles of international law. (Giddens, 2003, pp. 6-7)

Producing young children as capital for their countries through a business model of schooling was part of the political agenda that produced the Education Act 2002 in England and other reforms in other countries. Politicians promoted these reforms by promising that their enactment would create improvements in the quality and quantity of workers. The following excerpt from a speech promoting the English reform is one example:

> The next few years pose a special challenge – to move from catching up with the rest of the world, as we have by cutting class sizes, raising teacher salaries, improving pedagogy, to moving ahead and giving our young people the best possible chance of making their way in the world and contributing to *economic and social renewal* [italics added] in this country. (Miliband, 2002)

In another example, Ms. Estelle Morris, former Minister for School Standards, included this comment in a report made to Parliament on December 16, 1999 as the Labour party was in the process of creating the education program that produced the Education Act 2002:

> The Government have established child care as a major strand of their school standards agenda, of their family-friendly policy and of *economic and competitive policy* [italics added]. (England Parliament, 16 December 1999)

This emphasis on creating an English citizen who will be competitive in a globalized economy demonstrates the 'value' rationale and idea of young child with 'potential' behind increased support for early years programs.

A third example comes from the United States. At around the same time as the production of the Education Act 2002 in the UK, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 was passed in the United States. The content of this quote from a speech by the US Secretary of Education contains language that is quite similar to that used by the English officials in the speeches cited earlier; this similarity indicates a circulation of ideas between the two countries. When signing the No Child Left Behind Act in 2002, the US Secretary of Education Rod Paige under President George W. Bush said:

> Instead of paying for services, we will be *investing in achievement* [italics added]. When federal spending is an investment, it gives the federal government leverage to demand results. And demanding results is what the Department of Education will do. (Paige, 2002)

The content of the three comments makes the value-driven educational goals in use at the time of these two reforms quite transparent. Investing in achievement and demanding results from that investment moves teachers, children, parents, and schooling into a marketized relationship. High-stakes testing, standards, and schooling as investment combine to re-define schooling for young children in the Education Act 2002 reforms.

Along with these critiques, the "Accountability Shovedown" critique by Hatch (2002), identifies several ways that the impacts of business models of schooling and early years programs are problematic. Long-term studies on the integration of a business model into early years children and families, their programs and providers, are not yet available but critiques, commentaries, recommendations, amendments and follow-up legislations are (i.e. see Moss 2007, Moss 2008a, Moss 2008b, Goodfellow 2005). In Joy Goodfellow's 2005 article on Australian childcare services, *Market childcare: Preliminary observations of the 'property view' of the child*, she stated that: "There exists a tension, or paradox, between humanistic perspectives on childcare and business-oriented approaches to service provision". In his 2008 paper on childcare presented in Ireland, *Beyond childcare, markets and technical practice—or repoliticising early childhood*, Peter Moss said that: Despite years of discussion about the inseparability of 'care' and 'education'…market standardization system continue(s) to be based on the care/education split". (Moss 2008a, p. 6) Moss goes on to say that the split between education and care is conceptual as well as structural and he then problematizes both. To clarify the issue, he posits that "'Market standardization' makes technical practice first practice…services are producers of marketised commodities (e.g. 'childcare' or, these days, 'quality childcare') and predetermined outcomes (e.g. developmental and learning goals)." (Moss 2008a, p. 7) The earlier use of the business model in primary and secondary schools has generated some changes in the way the model is carried as a result of critiques; it is too soon to know what this shift might bring to the younger children, their caregivers, and their families.

Historically, in national education policies in England, the US, and in many nations, young children have not been included in state-financed schooling but have mostly been funded by family-paid tuition costs. These early years programs vary from tiny gems of luxury with all

the frills (early computer experiences, foreign languages, the very highest quality of educational toys) to struggling centers that barely stay afloat. The OECD reports (OECD 2000, 2006 & 2012) and many research projects (e.g. Moss & Penn, 1996; Bruner, 1980) critiqued the unequal and uncertain levels of care for young children at the time. In many countries, including the United States in 2012, this is still the case. In the England, the Education Act 2002 has taken a step to change this, to re-write the young child by moving it along the blended tissue of the chimeric body into the area of public space. As part of the 'potential' of the nation, young children have moved into one type of public citizenship—that of a resource for the future economic and cultural/global *wealth* of the nation—clearly reiterating or reinforcing the marketization theme, as well as the child conceived as future citizen of the nation and, as citizen of the nation, a competitive global/British citizen of the 'future.

> The reformed child of the lifelong learner lives in a continuous course of personal responsibility and self-management of his or her risks and choices; life is now thought of in segments of time where quick actions are required to meet the challenges of new conditions and where nothing seems solid or stable…The salvation themes of the lifelong learner embody different relations of time and space than they did at the beginning of the 20th century. Both are strategies in which the self lives in uncertainty and certainty…The lifelong learner is the citizen of the nation, but he or she also communicates through Internet and computer games played simultaneously around the world (Popkewitz 2008, p. 119).

While educating and caring for future citizens is an old theme (see Baker, 2001, *In Perpetual Motion*, as one important example), the specific reference to children as 'normal' or as a 'dangerous outsider' with potential will be discussed in the analysis chapters 2 through 4.

After a first reading of recent English policy documents pertaining to three- to five-year-old children (Education Act 2002, Education and Skills Act 2008, Child Care Act 2006), I was struck by several things: movement in the production of young children within the educational constellation constituted by each policy, and in the policies in which children under five years of age appeared and did not appear. I traced the historico/socio/cultural trajectories created by and creating the young child as a newly defined citizen. I focused on policies in the England, but I also found examples from other countries when exploring global circulating trajectories. My closer analysis of English education policies forms the heart of this research project, though comparative analysis will sometimes be added to add a broader context to the specific analysis of the 'present reasoning' in English policy and curriculum texts—much of which is new in England, but appears in similar forms ---thus as traveling discourses—elsewhere (for example, OECD 2000).

Looking at the education policies in England that preceded this recent burst of interest in early years children was the next step in a deeper exploration of this research topic. In the latter half of the 20th century, England produced major national policies every few years, moving from "bricks and mortar" concerns in the latter part of the 19th century into increasing levels of surveillance and governance—including establishing a national curriculum, creating key stages one through four (primary and secondary grades), and recently, adding the Foundation Stage (three to five year-olds) by the early part of the 21st century. Acts from the Education Act 1962 (Education Act 1962, 1962) which, along with the Education Act 1944 (Education Act 1944, 1944), strengthened the groundwork laid in the first part of the 20th century (1918 & 1921 Acts) for the "modern" schools and the Education and Skills Act 2008 (debated in Parliament during the course of my research) are included in my analysis. Attached as an appendix (see Appendix

1) is a table of the policies examined and used in this dissertation research, the years they were passed, the names of the Acts, the summary statement given at the beginning of each act about its purpose and a note about the ages of children and highlights of each act. The table also contains the number of pages of the acts and finally the name of the Prime Minister in office at the time that it was passed, including the political party and years in office. This table contains much of the information that I analyzed for this dissertation in a form that I found useful when dealing with the large quantity of material available, but the table is only a tool for organizing and displaying the resources examined and 'textual data' used. It represents what I used, thought to be essential to examine, and, therefore, is a broad selection, but incomplete selection of what might exist in document form. In addition, the table does not represent a "truth" in itself since it is linear, quantitative, and descriptively summative. The policy texts also contained an assumption of an unproblematic progressive move into modernity that I critique in this dissertation. This dissertation is a study of that movement of young children to citizens and of the historical, cultural, economic and political waters in which they were formed.

My Foucaultian Theoretical/Methodological Framing

This study is situated within Foucault's ideas of truth and power. Foucault posits that truth and power are inextricably intertwined. We perceive and create reality through certain types of culturally and historically situated beliefs, or "truths."

> Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it produces regular effects of power. Each society has its régime of truth, its "general politics" of truth: that is the type of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true: the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, in Gordon, 1980, p. 131)

Truth is not universal but is the product of a particular time and place; veins of power run through our understandings of what is true or not true. Nor is truth historically constant, but instead it is marked by disjunctures where one understanding of truth is replaced by another. Tracing these disjunctures through time may be a history of the present, or genealogy—two of the ways that Foucault's work is used to analyze discursive histories.

Foucault used multiple terms to delineate the ways that he played with history in his work, e.g. archeology of the present, genealogy, regimes of truth, history of thought, history of the present (O'Farrell, 2005, p. 61-73); history of the present is the term that most closely describes what I have attempted to do in this dissertation, "examining the past in order to throw light on contemporary 'problems' (p. 71). Foucault, when asked about his "historical method", replied:

> My work takes place between unfinished abutments and anticipatory strings of dots. I like to open up a space of research, try it out, and then if it doesn't work, try again somewhere else. (in Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991, p. 73-74)

Foucault's writings have been used in various ways, e.g. studying power/knowledge relationships, tracing histories of the present—teasing apart discourses "perhaps because his [Foucault's] challenge asks for an enormous shift in the largely modernist progressive or emancipatory discourses of education that have dominated pedagogical thought" (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1997, p. xiii). Writing from the standpoint of someone drawing on the theoretical/methodological tools Foucault's (and others') writings offer sometimes makes me seem to be entering a rarefied atmosphere and therefore it appears to be intimidating. But "[i]t is precisely the rarefied nature of this space [created by Foucault's statements] which creates these unusual movements and bursts of passion that cut space up into new dimensions" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 3). Reading Foucault has often propelled me (and many others) into new ways of thinking. Using his ideas has opened up new spaces from which to analyze English policy documents as they traverse the terrains of child, learner, and citizen or proto-citizen/future worker for the state while all of these ideas circulate within the discursive construction of "child". In this dissertation on the ways that England's national policies governing young children are historically, nationally, and at times culturally situated, I explore the history of the present of policy discourses—or the underlying "truths" that make up what is constructed as the "reality" of the young child that these policy discourses create and are created from.

I drew on traditions ranging from Foucault's search for the "grammar of truth," to the history of the present, and the methodology of close reading.

> A discourse-oriented educational research would attend to the multiplicity of meanings that attach to (and divide) the people, spaces, objects and furniture that comprise its focus – the teachers, children, classrooms, textbooks, policy documents – and to the passion and the politics that are inevitably woven into these meanings. (MacLure 2003, p. 12)

Kristeva described the historical traditions that preceded MacLure:

> Bakhtin was one of the first to replace static hewing out of texts with a model where literary structure does not simply *exist* but is generated in relation to *another* structure...as an *intersection of textual surfaces*. (in Moi, 1986, pp. 35-36, italics original)

In this study, I used the following documents to find an "intersection of textual surfaces": policy documents and curricula for young children, non-statutory curriculum guidelines, and governmental handbooks issued to guide the implementation of the early childhood policies. I analyzed these documents through close reading, then by grouping themes that I found in them. I identified the themes and placed them within their socio-historical contexts in the history of the present.

The technique I used to identify these themes was a close and repeated reading of the documents—identifying and marking phrases, images, and ideas that repeatedly circulated through these documents. I looked at what was present and absent from the documents of the historical period and identified points of change where one particular discursive framing of the young child changed into another. In the case of the young child in England, there was a rapid movement in discourses describing the child in the first years of the 21st century—remarkably similar to that in the Education Act 1921 (Education Act 1921, 1921) regarding nursery schools. However, while the Education Act 1921 outlined the goals of a national system of nursery schools for the under-fives based on local needs, the Education Act 2002 set up a nationwide

system to enact and fund these goals within the national *education* system. While a goal of many for a long time, universal public funding for education for foundation stage children was a shift. The various ways in which truth/knowledge and reasoning changed is the subject of this dissertation.

How did I "use" Foucault in this dissertation—or possibly more accurately, how did Foucault "use" me? I interacted with Foucault in this dissertation in a multiplicity of ways throughout, by using his historical analysis of breaks and shifts to look at apparatuses of power/knowledge as I historicized discourses in policies and other media. One point of clarification is that I used the term "shift" in this dissertation both in the big "S" Shift manner that Foucault did, as the major shifts in apparatuses power/knowledge such as that from resemblance to reason that he claims occurred as part of the Renaissance in *The Order of Things.* (Foucault, 1973b) I also used the term shift with a small "s" to refer to smaller shifts and slippages that were part of the movements within the large Shifts--for example, I posited in Chapter 3 that the panopticon shifted from a disciplinary tool in the late 18th century into a punitive one in the early 19th, although Foucault might disagree. I clarify this in Chapter 3. This was a subtle shift in emphasis rather than in discourse since discipline and punishment are closely intertwined and linked. This illustrates another way that I use Foucault in this dissertation—I argue with him. I do not hold him as sacred, but this does not in any way imply a lack of profound respect for his work or his brilliance.

The specific policies that I read in this dissertation were copied from primary documents in the British Library personally--any omissions or errors are mine alone. Included are the texts of the England's Acts of Parliament pertaining to education, nursery schools, and child care. I included, as historical context, the texts of the England's *major* Acts of Parliament from 1870 to

1962 and *all* acts from 1962 to present pertaining to education and schooling as well as acts relating to schooling and young children, including child employment before 1870. The 1870 Act (Elementary Education Act 1870, 1870) laid the groundwork for the "modern" British publicly-funded school system. A series of frequent acts between 1870 and World War I put the pieces in place—adding more school buildings, making school free and compulsory, changing the administration, adding grants and funding to purchase land. Education Act 1918 was written "[w]ith a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby" (Education Act 1918, 1918). Other data sources for this dissertation were: publications by the former Department for Education and Employment (DfEE, replaced in a 2007 demerger by the Department for Children, Schools and Families or DCF from 2007 to 2010, then renamed the Department for Education or DfE in 2010) that translated the more recent acts for practitioners, the handbook for practitioners about the National Curriculum from its 1992 inception in the Education (National Curriculum) (Exceptions in History and Geography at Key Stage 4) Regulations 1992 bill, and a 2001 handbook for practitioners working with Foundation Stage children entitled *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2001). Adding to the social contextualization of the acts, I analyzed the text of speeches given by political figures during the times that the major acts in this dissertation were being debated and promoted. Finally, I researched newspaper articles, online news series, and television series available during the pivotal times of educational reforms governing the care of the young UK citizens (particularly around the time that the Education Act 2002 was being publicized and clarified).

I highlighted the ways in which local factors such as politics, culture, and history interplay with the effects of power that created, and are created by, policy discourses. I argued

that the unintended consequences of these policies—written to reform or to transform—propagate the same inequities that they were intended to resolve. This was the result of educational reform efforts in multiple contexts; the English policy statements are the example I used in this dissertation to analyze how diverse discourses circulate and come together in hybrid or chimeric ways, forming new governing mentalities about children and childhood. In addition, to help study the cultural history of ways of reasoning about schooling, care and young children, chapters 3 and 4 focus on a variety of literary texts, demographic/census data and populational descriptions, and media texts about immigrants and others during the 19th century as well as late 20th, early 21st century. Following are the research questions that I used to shape this inquiry.

Research Questions

How were children under the age of five discursively constructed in the English Acts of Parliament during the time of "modern" schooling, early 19th century to the present?

i. What were the social, political and educational discourses and conditions that made public schooling possible for early years (birth to five) children, particularly during times of shift and disconnect such as national education policy legislation in 1870, 1918 and 2002?

ii. In what ways are early years education and care constructed and reconstructed as discursive practices that discipline and regulate the child, differently and the same at different cultural/historical moments?

iii. How do the discourses and discursive practices change over time? What are the different ways of reasoning, and points of rupture or breaks?

The responses to these questions appear throughout this dissertation since the questions directed my inquiry, but I specifically address them in the summaries at the end of each chapter. They are the topic of the final chapter, chapter 6; I discuss the research questions and my findings extensively there.

A comment on doing research as insider and outsider. My perspective on the economic, educational, political, and social systems in England that are at the heart of this dissertation is a hybridity of outsider and insider as both tourist and temporary resident. The outsider subjectivity is the most apparent since I am a citizen of the United States and my childhood and higher education, teacher education, and teaching experience were within the US system. My brief student teaching experience in London was at the American School in London so while it was not a part of the English school system there were cultural and social blendings. My insider status is more complex. I have spent over two years in England, the longest

consecutive visit being for six months; my daughter married a British citizen (my mother then moved to England after visiting for the ceremony and discovering there were no ragweeds there, enabling her to live out the last eight years of her life freer from hayfever) and I had the privilege to be present at her ceremony of becoming a dual British and United States citizen. My British son-in-law and his family have done their very best to disabuse me of my many romanticized and/or incorrect ideas about their homeland, while initiating me into the mysteries of holidays such as Red Nose Day and the annual Cheese-Rolling Festival; curries and roasts; quiz night at the pub; the remnants of Norman keeps with no roofs but very thick stone walls that were used to lock up stray livestock, bicycles, and drunk people overnight; the magnificent beauties of the Lake District; and of course, pubs including the Saxon Mill Pub featuring an authentic Saxon millstone. During one of my visits to Kenilworth Castle I discovered that an apparent ancestor was a gatekeeper who became tipsy and enamored during Queen Elizabeth I's visit and addressed a loud and lewd song to her. Fortunately she was amused rather than insulted and the ancestor lived to produce a long line of Mortimers, and then Mortimores, which was my maiden name. My in-laws and their friends attempted to clarify the differences in language usage, not an easy task, and to translate Midlands slang and various accents into something I could begin to understand. The UK tradition of using a plural verb with a noun that refers to a group of people (as in "The faculty are") has confounded the grammar software on my computer in quotations in this dissertation but honestly makes more sense than the American usage.

In addition to these social, cultural, historical, gastronomic and linguistic matters, the faculty at the University of Warwick in Coventry in the Institute of Education kindly made me welcome as they provided me with answers to many questions, access to the excellent university library, and invitations to sit in on three of their excellent early years courses. Special thanks to

Dr. Carol Aubrey and to Mrs. Elizabeth Coates at the University of Warwick for their time and effort.

As an early childhood professional, I am mostly an insider. My insider status is based upon eighteen years in practice, including time as Executive Director of a center that was both state licensed (required) and city certified (voluntary and rigorous), navigating local and national policies in the United States, in the states of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas, and in the city of Madison. My initiation into the profession was in a Montessori preschool and daycare, which was an eye-opening experience as I learned how much I did *not* know about curriculum, behavior management, room arrangement, and the dreaded naptime (which could look more like a riot at times until I learned a few things). After that initial experience, I returned to my undergraduate work and changed my major from microbiology to education. I graduated my undergraduate program with a double major in elementary education and in art since early childhood education (which I knew was the area in which I wanted to teach) was not available as a major until the year after I graduated. I had Iowa teacher certifications as a K-8th grade regular classroom teacher and in K-8th grade art. After graduation I moved to Madison, Wisconsin and started my final thirteen years as a practitioner.

While teaching, parents whose children had completed pre-K requested that we add Kindergarten to our program. Since I was certified in Iowa to teach Kindergarten, we could have a certified program if I got Wisconsin teacher certification. In order to do this, I had to take two courses in early childhood, which I took at University of Wisconsin-Madison from Professor Marianne Bloch. In these courses I became very excited about the possibilities for further study in the profession and a few years later enrolled in graduate school full-time. That began the next phase of my insider status, as a graduate student and teaching assistant in education, then an

assistant professor in teacher education. During graduate school and as an assistant professor I have attendance conferences such as the Reconceptualizing Early Childhood Education (RECE) conference almost yearly, and the American Educational Research Association conferences, also yearly which gave me another perspective as an insider in my profession.

Given all of the above supports to my claim of insider, outsider, and (mostly) an admirer from afar, what do I have to contribute to the body of knowledge already gathered by the many scholars in my review of the literature and others? The perspective of an academic with an outsider's curious eyes may have made it possible for me to see things as a stranger, as recommended by ethnographers, to make the familiar strange in a way that is a harmony to the very knowledgeable professionals who study from the inside, having lived their lives in the England and possibly having visited the United States as well.

Overview of chapters

Having introduced the metaphoric image of the young English child within policy and curriculum language as a chimera, tapping on the definitions of chimera as blended tissue and as illusion, discussing my theoretical framing and research questions then briefly reviewing the literature in Chapter 1, here is an overview of the chapters which follow.

In Chapters 2 and 3 I discussed one of the two themes of the study: 'normalization' and the 'normal child' as created by circulating discourses within curricula and policy language. The extensive use of the idea of 'normal' and the many implications of a child being constructed as 'normal'—or as 'not normal'—has been influential in the formation of a grid of reasoning about the young child. I posit that the analysis of this reasoning about the child as a scientifically defined 'normal', or 'not normal' (sometimes further defined as 'at risk', 'a dangerous outsider' or disabled) is a key part of my response to the research sub-question, *In what ways are early years education and care constructed and reconstructed as discursive practices that discipline and regulate the child, differently and at the same at different cultural/historical moments?* In this dissertation I identified two cultural/historical moments in which the subjectivity of the young child in England was reconstructed and reshaped. One discursive moment is the late 20th to early 21st centuries; the other is pre-19th to early 19th century. My analysis of the 'normal/not normal' idea in policies and curricula applicable to young children during the first of these two discursive moments, late 20th to early 21st centuries, in England, forms the topic of Chapter 2 of this dissertation. The second of these discursive moments, pre-19th to early 19th century, is the topic of Chapter 3 of this dissertation, again looking at the theme of 'normalization' as it appeared in curricular and legislative documents that were part of the circulations of power/knowledge of the time.

The second theme of this dissertation is that of the child as a citizen with 'potential', who is situated as an outsider, often as a 'dangerous outsider', by the grid of reasoning about what constitutes a 'normal' child and what does not. This includes ideas about "Englishness(es)" and "Britishness(es)" and the complexities of national imaginaries that are part of the circulation of power/knowledge that produced the curricular decisions and the legislation.

The final chapter is a summary of my findings and plans for future work. This summary includes revisiting my research questions and including my findings in response to the original questions.

Chapter 2. 'Normalization' and the English Child

> The word [normal] became indispensable because it created a way to be 'objective' about human beings…it uses a power as old as Aristotle to bridge the fact/value distinction, whispering in your ear that *what is normal is also all right*. But also, in the events to be described, it became a soothsayer, teller of the future, of progress and ends. (Hacking, 1990, pp. 160-161, brackets and italics added)

Introduction

In this chapter, I illustrate how the young child is created by circulating discourses within education reforms and curricula; the 'normal child' is one of these ways that I chose to analyze because of its extensive uses and many implications. However, the construction of the 'normal child' has shifts and breaks in different discursive moments. In this chapter I trace one such moment, focusing particularly on the under-fives in England but with occasional reference to transnational and 'traveling' discourses that appear to have moved into and been influential in the formation of a grid of reasoning about childhood in England. I examine the cultural reasoning systems, the circulation of different discourses about normal childhood, and also the power/knowledge relations associated with the constructions of 'normal childhood' within the English policy and curriculum texts that I analyze.

The two discursive moments in this chapter and the next are: 1) normalization and "scientific", "universal" reasoning (roughly associated with the late 20th and early 21st century) and 2) normality as work (roughly associated with pre- and early 19th century in England). While I present more detailed textual analysis for the first of these two periods in this chapter and the second of them in Chapter three, these two breaks are part of a much longer trajectory of ideas about what constitutes a normal child that also would include an examination of the late

19th and early 20th century (see Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000; and Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001 here for the USA), and how that construction is intertwined with the important but different idea of the 'educated child,' and also the child as desired future citizen (see Fendler, 2001; in Hultqvist & Dahlberg, 2001, *Governing the child in the new millennium;* and also Baker, 2001, *In perpetual motion*). In this chapter, focusing on England in particular, I overview the shifts in reasoning that are of importance, and I provide specific texts that illustrate the shifts in reasoning about the 'normal' child for the first-mentioned (late 20th and early 21st century) of the two 'moments' above in regard to educational philosophies, policies related to younger children, and curriculum textual analysis. These specific interrogations of reasoning systems, I believe, will show in the next chapter that while the 'normal child' was an important way of reasoning by the early 19th century in England, it took on different meanings and was enmeshed in different discourses that constituted its meanings for educators, policy makers, parents, teachers and children by the early 21st century. These shifts in reasoning in the late 20th and early 21st centuries form the topics of this chapter.

Constructing 'normal' childhood. As ideas changed about the relationships between the young child and the larger citizenry, the education of young children in England as well as in Western Europe and in the United States of America also changed. Hacking's idea that "what is normal is also all right" as stated in the epigram to this introduction is continued as he adds: "Normality is a vastly more important idea than determinism, but they are not unrelated. A story of the erosion of determinism is also an account of the invention of normalcy". (Hacking, 1990, p. 161) Therefore, the relationships between the construction of 'determinism' where the child appears to be determined by whether he is considered normal/abnormal, and the notion of constructing 'normalcy/abnormalcy' are part of the discussion in this chapter; to what extent do

we examine the discourses that construct the 'normal' or 'abnormal' child, and in what ways were these discourses of abnormality determining belief and action with material consequences?

My way of looking at these issues is as ideas and patterns that were illustrated in early childhood curricula, national policies, and philosophies regarding childhood and the education of young children. Section 1 below focuses on the rise of discourses about science, as well as recent discourses that focus on development in general, and on brain development in particular. These discourses of the pre- and early 19th (next chapter), late 20th and early 21st centuries (this chapter) come together to form the cultural reasoning about young children, as well as their education, and possible lives as future citizens. A brief overview of each of the three sections in this chapter is presented next, and then I turn directly to textual examples and their analyses within each section afterward.

Section 1--Overview: Recent scientific research and studies about the brain development in infants and young children thrust the under-five year-old child into the spotlight of curriculum and policy reforms. The research on brain development, especially, was part of a shift in reasoning about young children as future citizens and as workers in a neo-liberal society. Preparing them to tap on their "potential" while administering palliative remedies to children who are designated as "at risk" and as "dangerous outsiders" has been the goal of many reform efforts in many places around the world during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. These arguments or discursive text led to an increased allocation of resources to the education of young children across a variety of nations (e.g. OECD, 2006; UNICEF, 2005), while at the same time the documents also illustrate a greater concern about the policing of young children in multiple ways, including by the use of standards and the monitoring of their full and 'normal' development via the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) profile, for example. Therefore, in

section 1 I traced these ideas, primarily from the late 20th and early 21st centuries, and included critiques of these inclusions and exclusions

Section 2--Overview: The "new" foundation stage child, introduced to England in 2000, was described in the Foreword to the *Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage* manual:

> The foundation stage of education will make a positive contribution to children's early *development and learning*. During this time we cannot afford to get things wrong. *The early years are critical in children's development. Children develop rapidly during this time*---physically, intellectually, emotionally and socially. *The foundation stage is about developing key learning skills such as listening, speaking, concentration, persistence and learning to work together and cooperate with other children. It is also about developing early communication, literacy, and numeracy skills that will prepare young children for key stage I* [early primary school] *of the national curriculum*. (QCA 2000, italics and brackets added)

The definition of the foundation stage reflects a change in the grid of reasoning about the young child, dividing what was previously a more general "pre-primary" grouping of children from infancy to school-agers, with infancy defined as not yet ready for school and therefore not old enough for "real" education. The foundation stage now defines a new young child, one upon which the foundation for school learning will be built and for which schools will be built (governmentally-funded, directed by their own standards, and inspected). This act moves the younger children into the realm of "schooled", a schooling that is included as an important part of the national Education Act 2002.

In this section I look at ideas about normalization and a 'normal/abnormal' child as they move through this re-designation of the under-five year-old child in England. I analyze the texts

of policies and of documents that were written to guide early childhood professionals to an understanding of this 'new' child. I also situate this foundation stage child within the previously established Key Stage system (for primary and secondary children) started in the Education Act 1988, along with the National Curriculum.

Section 3—Overview: The final section of this chapter highlights additional ideas during this discursive moment, including the 'other' or 'dangerous outsider' that is an embedded part of normalization and a critique of these inclusions and exclusions. I include textual examples from the policies and handbooks that relate to this 'other' child. I critique this 'othering' and the effect on teachers, families and children. Also in this final section I explore international curricular influences (Reggio Emilia, Denmark, USA) in the formulation of the foundation stage curriculum guidance, governmentality and the policing of families.

Section 1: Normalization and "scientific", "universal" reasoning in the late 20th and early 21st centuries

As brain research in pre-verbal infants and even in babies before birth showed them to be active individuals and learners, beings with "potential" that can be enhanced or expanded through the application of the "correct" methods, the caregiver(s) of young children have increasingly become redefined as needing, and even desiring, more direction from psychologists and legislators.

> Over the past three decades, the rate of generation of new knowledge about early childhood development has been staggering. It has led to a number of advances in both concepts and methods—and it promises to increase even further in the near future. This scientific explosion has been fueled by multiple contributions, ranging from theoretical and conceptual advances to dramatic leaps in both the measurement technology and the computer-based analytic capacity available to the behavioral and biological sciences. (Shonkoff 2000, p. 20)

Specific practices were prescribed to ensure a child who would be a normal, or super-normal, citizen who could enhance the nation-state (be of 'benefit' to the nation), rather than be part of its 'cost' in the globalized neoliberal society of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The large push for enlarging early education in many countries has come specifically from what are known as 'cost-benefit' economic analyses (e.g., Barnett & Schweinhart, et al. or others) while the brain research suggesting a critical period of development when children are stimulated (shown through neurological studies of brain activity in, generally, 0-3 year old children) has been used by many to focus on the importance of funding early education (from 0-5 years) (e.g., see Shonkoff, *Neurons to Neighborhoods*, 2000).

> [I]ncreasing interest in the developmental significance of early life experiences has been fueled by extensive media coverage of research on the developing brain. From governors and state legislators to business leaders and entertainers, virtually everyone is talking about the importance of the early childhood period [which] has fueled a proliferation of media campaigns and policy activities focused on infants and toddlers, as well as a host of entrepreneurial efforts to capitalize on the demand for materials and experiences to enhance early competence. (Shonkoff 2000, p. 20, brackets added)

An increased push for scientific rigorous data on young children's development and learning, including the development of country and regional standards as well as national curricula for young children, emerged in relation to the increased 'truth' value given to this research. As children came to be seen as universally knowable, following scientifically 'proven' and 'evidence based' normed steps through the stages of development, the privileging of these normed stages of development and their measurement was enhanced.

> Scientific research was a critical strategy used to construct truth about who was normal and which children or families were perceived as abnormal and in need of different social interventions. (Bloch, 2003, p. 206)

As the standards movement increased in the early 21st century in England and the USA and in many other countries (see further discussion below), these shifts in reasoning created a tension between the changes advocated for, even required by, these reforms and the child-centered or multicultural education that was part of "best practice" before this break in ideas about what constituted an educated young citizen. The reforms of the early 21st century formally articulated new ideas about normality in young children and the universal, scientific norms of child development of the reforms in policy and curriculum became heightened, with many legislators,

caregivers, and families shifting from diversity education to concerns with standards established in literacy and numeracy, among others (again, further discussion is below.)

The discourses embedded in research and policy texts played a role in reshaping the child who was to be acted upon by the recent early years education policies and curricula in England and in many other nations. To explore these discourses I analyzed the texts of two handbooks published to guide practitioners in England through two policies that were part of the shift in the grid of reasoning about young children. Before this analysis of the texts, I talk about why I chose these two policies and about how I see them at play in the shift and rupture of the subjectivity of child in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

Creating a foundation stage child. A scaffolding of events and practices intertwined to create these movements in discursive understandings of children and education in England in the late 20th and early 21st century so that the new early years foundation stage child was an effect of these events. Although changes and reforms in the English policies have involved all age groups, for the purpose of this study I focus primarily on this new (in 2000) category, the *early years foundation stage child*.

The *foundation stage child* was added to the key stage system in 2000. The key stages were part of the 1988 Education Reform Act which also included a national curriculum. The four key stages divided the years of compulsory schooling as defined in table 1 on the next page.

Table 1: Key Stages pre-2000

Key Stage 1	Key Stage 2	Key Stage 3	Key Stage 4
Starts with the child becoming of compulsory school age and ending at the school year that the majority of students attain the age of **seven**	Begins at the school year in which the majority of pupils attain the age of **eight** and ends at the school year in which the majority of pupils attain the age of **eleven**	Begins at the school year in which the majority of pupils attain the age of **twelve** and ends at the school year in which the majority of pupils attain the age of **fourteen**	Begins at the school year in which the majority of pupils attain the age of **fifteen** and ends at the school year in which the majority of pupils cease to be of compulsory school age

After 2000 the foundation stage child was added at the beginning of the key, including younger children in this grid of the school-aged or child of age to be included in the category of 'schooled'. The Education Act 2002 further shaped this re-definition of foundation stage children as it "gives this very important stage of education a distinct identity." (QCA 2000, p. 3) See section 2 of this chapter for more details on the legislation and the effects on the education available for young children.

In order to make the reading of this section easier and clearer, I included some of the information about the ages of children and the reinscription of the child in the legislation; the second section of this chapter includes more discussion of the foundation stage child and the discursive shifts and ruptures around this 'new' child. This is *not* a linear, progressive, exclusionary list; early childhood professionals, legislators, practitioners and parents were trying out the ideas in these policies before and after the statutes were written. For the sake of clarity, here are the main apparent ruptures in the positions that young children held in the English school systems. See table 2 on the following page.

Table 2: Acts and Programs relating to Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) children

Year	**Name**	**Inclusions or limitations**	**Ages included**	**Application to young children**
1988	Education Act 1988	Under-fives **not** included; divided the years of compulsory schooling into four Key Stages (see table on p. 7)	Start of compulsory schooling (ages 4 or 5) through the end of compulsory schooling	None at the time. Established national curriculum which later included younger children.
1999	SureStart	Program for "at risk" young children and their families; in 2002, received funding from Education Act 2002	Children under the age of four; later, foundation stage children who were "at risk"	Extensive programs for getting children ready for school and supporting parents with health, learning English, navigating various government programs
2000 & 2001	QCA hand-book	Handbook for practitioners, guide to foundation stage	4-5 year-olds	Defines 'foundation stage' as part of the Key Stages
2002	Education Act 2002		4-5 year-olds at first; later included 3-5 year-olds and still later birth to five	Foundation stage children included in national curriculum, included in Key Stages, and funded for program start-ups, teacher training, and tuition
2006	Childcare Act 2006		Child from birth to the age of compulsory schooling (the 1st of September following 5th birthday)	Support the well-being of young children, make provision for childcare, provide information, regulation and inspection of childcare in England
2008	EYFS hand-book	69 Early Learning Goals (standards)		
2012 & 2013	EYFS hand-book update	17 Early Learning Goals (standards)		

The handbooks published by the government education department following the passage of two of the legislative acts in the above table, the Education Act 2002 and the Childcare Act 2006, were to provide information about the changes and requirements of these acts in early years practice. I analyzed the role of the standards or areas of learning from both of these texts, and then looked at these standards or areas of learning in relationship to the discourse of

normalization. The first is the *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority [QCA] 2000, QCA 2001) which was written to provide "practical guidance…and examples of curriculum plans" (QCA 2001, p. 2) related to the Education Act 2002. In the publication titled *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage,* also published by QCA, was directed towards "Early years practitioners: Early years settings which receive nursery grant funding and schools with children in the foundation stage" (QCA 2001). In this publication early years teachers are seen as a varied group, some having been trained extensively, and some with little formal training. This publication describes, in everyday language, the expectations that the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) have of early years teachers. This reflects a commitment to making this publication accessible. It is in the form of a loose-leaf binder and is provided free of charge to anyone working in an early years setting.

The second is the *2013Early Years Foundation Stage Handbook* (Department for Education, 2012):

> [This handbook] has been developed to support practitioners in making accurate judgements about each child's attainment. It also provides exemplification to enable effective moderation of judgements so that EYFS Profile outcomes are accurate and consistent across all settings. (Department for Education, 2012 p. 5, brackets added)

Each of these guides is sub-divided into different publications. The 2001 document includes "Planning for learning in the foundation stage" (21 pages) and "Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage" (129 pages). The 2013 document contains "The 2013 EYEFS profile handbook" (62 pages), the 2013 EYFS assessment and reporting arrangements (ARA)" (20

pages), and "EYFS Profile exemplification materials" (20 pages).[4] The 2001 document was published by the Qualification and Curriculum Authority, and the 2013 document was published by the Department for Education.

Both documents state prominently and early in the handbook that they are published to support implementation of the pertinent early childhood education legislation, Education Act 2002 for the earlier curriculum guidance document and Childcare Act 2006 for the later. The EYFS [early years foundation stage] statutory framework published in 2012 then updated in 2013 [5] states that it "sets the standards that *all Early Years providers* must meet to ensure that children learn and develop well and are kept healthy and safe" (2013, italics added), respectively.

In addition to this practitioner audience, the EYFS handbook states that it "contains important information for local authorities, head teachers and *all Early Years professionals*". (2013, italics added) The intended audiences are similar, although the EYFS includes local authorities as well as practitioners, and "*all Early Years professionals"* (italics added) which broadens the planned effects of the 2012 handbook. The 2001 document states on the cover that it is intended for "early years practitioners" in larger and bold letters, then adding that it applies to early years programs which receive "nursery grant funding and schools with nursery and reception aged children" (QCA 2001, front cover). I posit that this change in intended audience is part of an apparent break that occurred as the Education Act 2002 was being implemented, and I argue next that the apparent rupture in language from "child-centered" to "standards-based" are *both* linked to the discourse of normalization.

[4] The earlier publication was by the Department for Education and Employment, which has been replaced by the Department for Education.

[5] The Early Years Foundation Stage handbook and additional documents were published on 27 March 2012 for implementation from 1 September 2012. They were updated 07 February 2013 and that date is in the titles.

The 2001 publication directed practitioners to "plan for learning" (p. 2) which includes information on long, medium and short-range planning. The long-term planning is recommended to follow the six areas of learning:

> For example, 'Personal, social and emotional development' is made up of dispositions and attitudes, self-confidence and self-esteem, making relationships, behaviour and self-control, self-care and sense of community. (QCA 2001 p. 3, brackets added)

The reader is then referred to a grid containing the six areas of learning and the "make up" of each of these six areas of learning at the end of the publication on page 20. They are: personal, social and emotional development (PSED); communication, language and literacy (CLL); mathematical development (MD); knowledge and understanding of the world (KUW); physical development (PD); and creative development (CD). (2001, p. 20) I posit that the six areas of learning are one place in which the discourse of normalization appears most obviously in this 2001 document, and that the standards have this function in the 2012 handbook. The normalization discourse appears to have changed between the 2001 guidance and the 2012 handbook enough that it could be called a completely different way of seeing – and evaluating – the child. In spite of this apparent change, a closer examination of the two documents shows marked discursive similarities. These two ways of viewing children through a normalizing lens are the subject of the next part of this section.

In the 2001 guidance the learning goals are stated in a grid of six areas of learning and the aspects of learning which are recommended for practitioners to address as the basis for long-term and short-term planning. The grid appears on the following page.

Table 3: Areas and aspects of learning for the foundation stage (2001)

PSED: Personal, social and emotional development 1. Dispositions and attitudes 2. Self-confidence and self-esteem 3. Making relationships 4. Behaviour and self-control 5. Self-care 6. Sense of community	CLL: Communication, language and literacy 1. Language for communication 2. Language for thinking 3. Linking sounds and letters 4. Reading 5. Writing 6. Handwriting	MD: Mathematical Development 1. Numbers as labels and for counting 2. Calculating 3. Shape, space and measures
KUW: Knowledge and understanding of the world 1. Exploration and investigation 2. Designing and making skills 3. Information and communication technology 4. A sense of time 5. A sense of place 6. Cultures and beliefs	PD: Physical Development 1. Movement 2. A sense of place 3. Health and bodily awareness 4. Using equipment 5. Using tools and materials	CD: Creative Development 1. Exploring media and materials 2. Music 3. Imagination 4. Responding to experiences and expressing and communicating ideas

P. 20, Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage, QCA 2001

Note the use of the term ‘development’ in four of the six areas, a possible support of child development theory that does not appear in the 2013 standards. Child development is included in this document as ‘stepping stones’ which “show the knowledge, skills, understanding and attitudes that children need to learn during the foundation stage in order to achieve early learning goals” (QCA 2000, p. 5). The document continues by clarifying that the “stepping stones” are not linked to age, but that the earlier stepping stones will be more frequently found in younger children. Also of note is that standards are not yet part of the language. By 2012 that has changed.

By 2012 the grid had been replaced by a list of standards which are called "early learning goals" (ELGs). The 2008 version of the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) had included sixty-nine early learning goals; by 2012 these were reduced to seventeen. They are:

ELG 1 – Listening and attention

ELG 2 – Understanding

ELG 3 – Speaking

ELG 4 – Moving and handling

ELG 5 – Health and self-care

ELG 6 – Self-confidence and self-awareness

ELG 7 – Managing feelings and behavior

ELG 8 – Making relationships

ELG 9 – Reading

ELG 10 – Writing

ELG 11 – Numbers

ELG 12 – Shape, space and measures

ELG 13 – People and communities

ELG 14 – The world

ELG 15 – Technology

ELG 16 – Exploring and using media and materials

ELG 17 – Being imaginative

(EYFS exemplification materials, retrieved on April 1, 2013 from http://www.education.gov.England/schools/teachingandlearning/assessment/eyfs/b00217443/eyfs-exemplification)

There are many similarities between the language used in both the 2012 early learning goals (ELGs) and in the 2001 areas and aspects for learning in the foundation stage. The changes in text between the 2001 and the 2012 goals showed a different grouping of similar developmental tasks, and through this grouping, giving different "weight" to some areas. For example, in 2001 "Mathematical Development" was an area for learning, and "shapes, space and measures" was one part of this area. In the 2012 list, they both appeared and were given equal prominence.

In spite of these differences in the language of normalization, the most marked change between the two handbooks was in the use of the learning goals or learning areas. In 2001 these learning areas were presented at the end of the portion of the handbook and were mentioned as the guidelines for lesson planning. By 2012 they had moved to the assessment area of the guidance for practitioners, to form part of a list of items upon which each child was to be assessed regularly:

> A completed EYFS Profile consists of 20 items of information: the attainment of each child assessed in relation to the 17 ELG descriptors, together with a short narrative describing the child's three learning characteristics. (p. 5, Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Handbook, Standards & Testing Agency, 2012)

The Handbook later states the purpose of the Profile:

> The primary uses of the EYFS Profile data are…to inform parents about their child's development[,]…to support a smooth transition to Key Stage 1 by informing the professional dialogue between EYFS and Key Stage 1 teachers [and] to help Year 1 teachers plan an effective, responsive and appropriate curriculum. (p. 7, Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Handbook, brackets added)

Learning goals may appear to differ from the idea of normalization in that they seem to be simply "stepping stones" (as quoted earlier from the 2012 EYFS handbook) in child growth and development. They become problematic when situated within the "normal" child who is "developed" in order to reach potential for the family and nation, and to ensure that the child is not part of the world of abnormality or the dangerous outsider. A child who does not fit within the parameters of "normal" is often looked at from a deficit model rather than as a child who has differing strengths. The problematics of the child development and normalization discourses are further discussed later in this chapter

An emphasis upon universal standards, including high-stakes test results in late 20th and early 21st century educational reforms, perpetuated the myth that the scientific transcended the cultural, the social, and the individual. The privileging of test results was part of varying reforms throughout the time of "contemporary" or "modern" schooling for all children (late 19th century to present early 21st century) and reached one of several peaks at the time of England's Education Act 2002. What was different about later reforms that included standardized testing is that they lowered the age of testing and standards *into* the younger children (by mandate as well as bodily), including children under the age of five. The discourse of normalization inscribed the "normal" child through standards, national curricula and high-stakes testing. A scientific gaze was embedded within standards and national curricula for young children; children were characterized as universally knowable, all following normed steps and stages of development. I talk more about the abnormality/normality ideas in section three of this chapter.

This subjectivity of the child which was a key feature in the early 21st century education policies was that of a diverse group of individuals finding common ground in a shared or "universal" task, working together with varying degrees of acceptance and persecution of each

other's cultural differences. This transcendent universalization of the curriculum and the goals of learning is a shift from the prior curricular emphasis on diversity and cultural inclusion as the end goal of curriculum (which had been emphasized in earlier 2000-2001 documents) This acknowledgement of diversity that is unified into a single goal is a new, or rather recycled, discourse that produced the cultural assimilation in the early 20th century (and many times historically) that resulted in the systems of universal governmentally-funded education. This system was prevalent throughout the 20th century and is still the norm in the early 21st century although this system of universal schooling is the target of several political challenges such as voucher systems and charter schools which have gained in popularity (following another set of discourses of privatization, autonomy, and school/parental choice, as well as anti-government "standardized for all" schooling.) This recycling of cultural assimilation and universal curriculum, with a new emphasis on inclusion (or nod to diversity, at least) is reflected in the turn towards standards in teaching and standardized tests that swept education reforms in the early 21st century as exemplified by the United States' No Child Left Behind, and also in the multiple levels of testing and in Key Stage standards that were implemented in England as part of the National Curriculum. Before a more in-depth look at the Key Stages that were introduced as part of the National Curriculum, the education policies that were instrumental in shaping late 20th and early 21st century schooling comprise the topic of the next subsection.

The use of statistics and populational reasoning is one way in which "scientific" and "universal" replaced the earlier imaginaries of child. The role of parent as protector and nurturer, rescuer from germs and immorality, now becomes that of administrator of stimulation prescribed by the scientific experts. This "universal" learning prescribes a way in which all children may be educated, through literacy or numeracy training, which transcends the messiness

of cultural compatibility or individual learning differences. It structures the teacher as the applicator of the scientifically determined learning process, and the child as the recipient. The learning is orderly, predictable, and can be measured by standardized tests, administered at regular intervals in the child's school years, and measuring the "progress" that the child has made toward reaching his/her "potential" but offers the illusory promise of protection from uncertainty.

> Is Reason comforted, then, does that giantess, metaphysical chance, no longer threaten or offer untold delights? Do we live in a world made safe by statistical laws, the laws of averages writ small upon *the tiniest particles of matter?* Of course not. (Hacking, 1990, p. 215, italics added)

We could also read Hacking's statement as "the tiniest of children". The "scientific" and "universal" research, including brain research, being used by policy-makers to support their interest in early learning not only ignores inequities and cultural differences, it uses norms that are presumed generalizable to *all* but that have been created from research done on a selected cultural population…often white, male, from university-educated families. (Bloch, 1987; Mallory & New, 1994) The emphasis upon "universal" standards, including high-stakes test results, in the new reforms perpetuates the myth that "scientific" transcends all differences. These 'universal' scientifically-derived standards are used to create discourses of 'normal' and 'at-risk' that assume child and teacher are universal, knowable, and governable if the standards are followed.

Section 2: Foundation Stage Child and Normalization.

The Chief Executive of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), Nick Tate, provided the following introduction to the QCA's 2000 publication *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage:*

> The introduction in September 2000 of a foundation stage for children aged three to the end of reception year … is a significant landmark in funded education in England. For the first time it gives this very important stage of education a distinct identity. (QCA 2000, p. 3)

The ways in which the child was positioned by social discourses, curriculum, and educational policies, as well as how that grid of reasoning about the child was to be prepared for the conduct and positioning she/he was to inhabit within these varied reasonings are relevant and recurring themes of this study. The different 'eras' and ways of reasoning are related to the construction of normal, abnormal, at-risk, and not at-risk child in today's curricula and policy documents. They do not provide a foundation for today's reasoning but flow through the discourses that come together within policy texts describing childhood, the child as a knowable and known object.

> Discourses help to position us -- they speak to us rather than us speaking them. Policy texts and policy ensembles then are framed by discourses that we need to understand in order to better grasp the actual policy text…we use the notion of 'social imaginary' to suggest that policies are not only located within discourses, but also in imaginaries that shape thinking about how things might be 'otherwise' – different from the way they are now. It is in this way that policies direct or steer practice towards a particular normative state of affairs. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, p. 15)

The Education Act 2002 was the first of a series of policy changes by Prime Minister Blair early

in his newly-established Labour government. During Blair's candidacy and time as Prime Minister the theme of a 'Third Way', invented and popularized by sociologist Baron Anthony Giddens

, offered an alternative to the traditional political positions of conservative and liberal. Giddens "has been accepted as the key intellectual figure of Tony Blair's New Labour government." (Giddens & Pierson, 1999) The Third Way became associated with neoliberalism, the economic policy of globalization, the same complex of trajectories that produced, and were produced by, the shift to a market-based education in England and in many other nations, and that they were a prominent part of the grid of discourses which produced the Education Act 2002. The "Third Way was developed above all as a critique of the neoliberal right" (Giddens, 2003, p. 6) when it propelled England's Prime Minister Tony Blair into office after years of conservative government in the United Kingdom, uttering his now-famous promise to focus on "education, education, education" (Curtis, 2003). In 2002 Prime Minister Blair and his government acted on their campaign promise on education made six years earlier, and the Education Act 2002 was written and passed as the result of several years of studies and white papers. The Education Act 2002 accompanied and supported the newly-imagined foundation stage child by legislating national curriculum, financing, and inspection criteria for the under-fives for the first time. In this section I discuss the discursive construction of the foundation stage, using analysis of the texts of the 2002 Act and the subsequent Childcare Act 2006 that built on the changes made in the education and care of young children in England by the Education Act 2002. For a summary of the Acts and papers in table form, see Appendix 1.

In earlier policies the inclusion of young children (under the age of five) was at the discretion of the local education authority and there were no specific national guidelines or

funding for early childhood programs. In 1999, this was the state of the profession, according to one study:

> ECEC in the UK has evolved as separate systems of "education" and "care," with often competing interpretations of the aim and purpose of services and differing definitions of the child. (Bertram & Pascal, 1999).

The result was uneven "quality" (also see critiques of the discourse of quality by Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1997, 2007) and availability of care and education for young children in England. Under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the Tory government attempted to ease the financial struggles when the number of working mothers increased by issuing vouchers for tuition, only to discover that many families had no available caregiver or early childhood education facility in which to use the vouchers. This supported popular perception of the Tory government as out of touch with the needs and realities of young families while spending large amounts of taxpayer money on vouchers which were worthless to some families.

While all of this was going on with early childhood education in England, major changes were also being implemented in primary and secondary education policy. Prime Minister Thatcher's Conservative government passed the 1988 Education Reform Act which implemented two highly regulatory practices: a national curriculum and key stages. The key stages divided the years of compulsory schooling into four stages, identified in the table on page 9 of this chapter. The key stages continue to the present time; in 2000 the *foundation stage* was added to the key stage system, covering the ages four through five years old, and later from birth to five. The Education Act 2002 (Education Act 2002, [ch. 32]) begins with the statement that it is: "An Act to make provision about education, training and childcare" (p. 1). This legislation then defines the foundation stage, under the National Curriculum for England sub-section:

(1) For the purposes of this Part, the foundation stage in relation to a pupil is the period beginning with the relevant time (as defined by subsection (2)) and ending at the same time as the school year in which he attains the age of five.

(2) In subsection (1) "the relevant time" means—

a. In the case of a child who is provided with funded nursery education before he attains the age of three, his third birthday,

b. In the case of a child who is provided with funded nursery education after he attains that age, the time when he is first provided with such education, and

c. In the case of a child who is not provided with any funded nursery education, the time when he first receives primary education other than nursery education. (p. 55)

In the QCA binder from 2001 analyzed in section one of this chapter, in the *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* section, the foundation stage is defined more specifically:

> The foundation stage begins when children reach the age of three. Many children first attend some form of pre-school or nursery soon after their third birthday. Children may go to a number of settings during the foundation stage, attending part-time or full-time. A few will stay at home until they begin primary school. (QCA 2000, p. 6)

This paragraph is followed, on the next page, by a table which shows different scenarios for children with differing birthdates. For example, a December-born girl might join nursery centre soon after her second birthday, remain in that centre until September when she is 4.8 years old. At that time she "Joins reception class—moves to mixed-age (reception and year 1) class in January" and remains in that mixed-age class for the following year. (QCA 2000, p. 7) The

multiple scenarios include children who stayed at home until the reception year, and children who had in-home care until the reception year.

The definition of the foundation stage reflects a shift in the imaginary of the young child, dividing what was previously a more general "pre-primary" grouping of children from infancy to school-agers, with infancy defined as not yet ready for school and therefore not old enough for "real" education. The foundation stage now defines a new child, one upon which the foundation for school learning will be built and for which schools will be built (governmentally-funded, directed by their own standards, and inspected). This Act moves the three-to-five year-old into the realm of "schooled", with schooling that is included as an important part of the national Education Act 2002. The act also includes as Foundation Stage the 'preschooled' which includes for the first time those under age 3 (as a defined category) as well as those who don't go to school but stay at home (is this 'non schooled' or 'home schooled? This is unclear, though it certainly allows for diversity in provision, either because of lack of funds and accessibility or for parental choice.)

Section 3--Critiques of normalization and the dangerous outsider. The discursive construction of a child as "normal"—or not "normal"— includes an assumption that if the proper instruction is applied to the child by the teacher (not necessarily the parent), the result will be the child's good performance on the standardized test. The standards movement has this in common with the "professionalization" directive, and a child who does not perform according to the projected "scientific" criteria is labeled "at risk", therefore abnormal, ungovernable and marginalized, while at the same time needing more intervention, policing, surveillance, and regulation. Social inequities and cultural differences are ignored in this discourse of "at risk", and blame may be placed upon the child who is designated as "at risk", the child's family, the teacher, or the school. Ignoring social issues such as unequal access to economic and social resources, and giving only a nod to the impact of cultural differences on schooling issues such as ways of learning (i.e. cooperative vs. competitive), social groupings, standardized test performance, language use results in an ongoing "problem" and economy of "reform" for children who are marginalized in a monolithic society.

These supposedly universal scientifically-derived standards that are used to create the normal/at risk binaries have been frequently critiqued (Lubeck, 1994; Swadener & Lubeck, 1995; New, 1995; Tabachnick & Bloch, 1995); in the very production of developmental standards, some knowledge(s) and types of thinking are highly privileged over others, though this is often not taken into consideration. Standardized tests of universal skills attempt to measure how closely a child resembles the normal of an assessed sample.

"Normalization" and the *Dangerous Outsider*. Though the norm is regarded by both professionals and the general public as value-free and universal, "scientific" samples have historically helped to fabricate constructions of who is part of the norming sample, and who is

"different" and "abnormal". The prevalence of statistics, a certain science represented as "truth," and populational reasoning created the "normal" (and thus the abnormal) child:

> The normal was one of a pair. Its opposite was the *pathological* [italics added] and for a short time its domain was chiefly medical. Then it moved into the sphere of – almost everything. (Hacking, 1990, pp. 160)

Linking normality with pathology as Hacking does nuances the designation of "not normal". Non-normality was not only linked with disease, it moved into a prediction about the future of the child who was at risk. The designation of diseased/at risk loses the rich depth of experience and strength of diverse lives into the flattened categorization of not normal, suspect, or diseased; as Foucault says: "Disease is perceived fundamentally in a space of projection without depth, of coincidence without development. There is only one plane and one moment" (Foucault, 1973a, p. 6). The centering of the normal/diseased binary was linked to the scientific:

> [Psychology] based its claims for recognition entirely on its affiliation with the natural sciences. In this it was greatly encouraged by a swelling tide of scientism during the closing years of the 19th century. The triumphal progress of the natural sciences helped to promote the belief that their methods were the *only* methods for securing useful and reliable knowledge about anything…There were two major themes in this surge of scientism…Both themes were of course normative in the sense that they did not simply register what science was but prescribed what good or real science ought to be. (Danziger 1990, p. 41, italics original)

Rose (1999) offers the following ideas about the normalization discourse:

> The notion of the normal child and family has an ambiguous status in these technologies of subjectivity. Normality appears in three guises: as that which is natural and hence healthy; as that against which the actual is judged and found unhealthy; and as that which is to be produced by rationalized social programmes. (Rose 1999, p. 133)

In the guides for practitioners and early childhood professionals cited earlier in this chapter, both have sections that could be seen as dedicated to prevention and treatment for the "dangerous outsider" who does not meet the "stepping stones" or Early Learning Goals. In both the 2001 QCA *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* and the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) handbook of 2012 there are sections dedicated to inclusion and differentiation. While these two terms are not identical to the idea of "dangerous outsider", they mark a place in curriculum and policy language in the late 20th, early 21st century. In the following analysis of the text I posit that these place markers are part of the "management" of the unspoken dangerous outsider, a child (or entire family—or national imaginary) who does not fall within the normalization guidelines from child development and early learning goals.

We now return to the *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* (2001) binder discussed in sections one and two. This guide contains advice for teachers about planning for diverse children and children with special needs.

> The *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* contains advice about the requirements of providing equal opportunities for all children. This includes planning to meet the needs of *both boys and girls, children with special educational needs (SEN), children who are more able, children with disabilities, children from all social, cultural and religious backgrounds, children of different ethnic groups including travellers,*

> *refugees and asylum seekers, and children from diverse linguistic backgrounds*. (QCA 2001, p. 5, italics added).

The guidance is quite specific: "Increasingly, programs serve children and families from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, requiring that all programs demonstrate understanding of and responsiveness to cultural and linguistic diversity." (QCA 2001) This may reflect wording of relevant national laws regarding diversity in education, or may reflect a difference between national imaginaries about teachers of young children and/or who is targeted at being most 'at-risk" and in need of specific interventions. Alternatively, the more specific guidance may imply that the teachers are not to be assumed to be capable of distinguishing all the specific types of diversity which are to be included in the classroom, or it may indicate greater emphasis on the importance of each and every cultural and social group. There may be other histories of language that lie behind the words or discourses that are included/excluded in the policy statements, also. This invites new research to see how these documents appear to arrive on the 'scene' at the same time, but have distinct differences in language, inclusions and exclusions. On one page in the 2001 document, after four pages on short-term, medium-term and long-term planning, is a page in the "Planning for learning in the foundation stage" section of the guidebook that contains the following bold headlines:

> How do I plan for play?
>
> How do I plan to meet the diverse needs of children?
>
> How do I plan for children with special educational needs and disabilities?
>
> How do I plan for the national literacy and numeracy strategies in a reception class? (QCA, 2001, p. 5)

This is the last page of this guide before a thirteen page section of examples of curriculum plans and one page with the "Areas and aspects of learning for the foundation stage" (the previously mentioned grid of six areas and their accompanying aspects within that area which in 2012 became the Early Learning Goals or ELGs) which then completes the planning guide.

In the section "How do I plan to meet the diverse needs of children?", the guide lists many groups that need to be "provid[ed] a safe environment, free from harassment and discrimination, in which children's contributions are valued and where racial, religious, disability and gender stereotypes are challenged" (2001, p. 5) This section refers the reader to two pages in the *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* which is the second publication within the same binder, also published by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) but a year earlier, in 2000. This second document is 116 pages long and the text describes the "non-normal" children from a deficit model, not from a perspective of cultural hybridity or cosmopolitanism. Another area of inclusion emphasized by the 2001 handbook is gender inclusion.

The emphasis on gender inclusiveness in the English document is, for example, not mentioned specifically in other education policies, such as the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 from the US. The England early years policy included visits to Denmark by members of the sub-committee of the House of Commons. Denmark, on 30th May 2003 passed the Act on Gender Equality which states:

> The purpose of this Act is to promote gender equality, including equal integration, equal influence and Gender Equality in **all functions in society on the basis of women's and men's equal status.** This purpose of the Act is also to counteract direct and indirect discrimination on the ground of gender and to counteract sexual harassment…Ministries,

> state institutions and state enterprises shall every second year before 1 September give a report on gender equality…The reports shall include information about: 1) whether the Ministry, institution or enterprise has formulated a policy for gender equality, and if so, the content of this policy...3) any other matters considered to be of importance for an evaluation of the activities in the field of gender equality of the Ministry, institution or enterprise. (**Social- og Integrationsministeriet 2003,** p. 2-3**,** bold added)

Although this Act was passed after the visits by the England sub-committee, nevertheless the passage of such a specific act within that overall time could arguably have supported the inclusion of specific information in England's early years policy concerning gender equity in the classrooms. The possibility of traveling discourses and the ways they settle into different national imaginaries of and about young children and their education now extends to the relationships between England's and the Scandinavian countries' policies about young children, and those of the European Union (at least). Following are several examples of this relationship and ways that it was part of the grid of reasoning that produced the foundation stage in England.

In their 1996 book, *Transforming nursery education,* early childhood scholars Peter Moss and Helen Penn talked about the varying influences on the formulation of a national education policy that resulted in the foundation stage child and Education Act 2002. In the chapter, *It has been done abroad* (Moss & Penn, p. 120-130) which follows the chapter titled with the question, *Can it be done in Britain?,* the influence of the Nordic states is discussed. The first section of two, *The Danish experience*, is allotted the bulk of the chapter (p. 120-126); the remainder of the chapter (p. 127-130) is entitled *The Spanish experience*. In the Danish section the authors trace the problematics that they had previously identified with the education available for young children in England (not comprehensive, integrated or coherent, not funded) and cited

Denmark's solutions to these problems. The authors mentioned, under a sub-section on comprehensive early childhood service, that in Denmark, "Despite only partial success in meeting the government guarantee [guaranteeing spaces for all children over the age of 12 months], the level of coverage of services is impressive, putting Britain to shame" (Moss & Penn, p. 122, brackets added). In the chapter conclusion, after providing the caveat that these solutions are not presented in order to be copied and cannot be read in isolation from other national and cultural factors, they say that these examples from Denmark and Spain are to be used as ideas, not copied:

> They show that a comprehensive, integrated and coherent early childhood service can be turned from vision into practice, given sufficient commitment and will. They illustrate that there are different ways of putting vision into practice—there is no one right solution. Finally, they make clear the critical importance of sustained, reflective and inclusive debate about ends and means, values and principles, structures and relationships. (Moss & Penn 1996, p, 130)

Another comparison between England's ideas about early childhood education and care and those of other countries is in the *Quality matters in early childhood education and care: England (England)* OECD publication by Miho Taguma, Ineke Litjens and Kelly Makowiecki. In the section *Possible alternative strategies: Lessons from New Zealand, Nordic countries and the United States* (Downloaded on June 2, 2013 from http://www.oecd.org/edu/school/50165861.pdf, p. 69-73) Finland, Norway and Sweden are cited much more frequently (26 times) than New Zealand (3 times) or the United States (5 times) as having innovations worthy of emulation and consideration when formulating England's policy.

In the early 21st century, the complexity of the ways in which different ideas and policies traveled coincided with political, economic, defensive or militaristic, and historical/philosophical movements. England, and the UK more generally, were both allied as special partners of historical and political/economic importance with the USA, as well as looking toward and working within their growing alliances and partners in the European Union. New ideas and developments related to 'quality' early educational programs were emerging, with somewhat less attention paid to policies and practices in the USA compared with OECD and other international documents' interest in Scandinavian, French, and Italian Early Education and Child Care (EECD) systems, policies, and provisions. (OECD 2006)

Children 'at risk'—SureStart. Another program that has been in place since 1999 but that has been reinvented under the EA2002 is the SureStart Programme. SureStart is a governmental program under the Department for Education and Skills, as well as the Department for Work and Pensions. It is described on the SureStart website as

> the Government's programme to deliver the best start in life for every child by bringing together:
>
> - Early education
> - Childcare
> - Health and family support (Downloaded on May 23, 2010 from http://www.surestart.gov.uk/).

SureStart has, as its goals, to work with Ofsted on early education program inspections, to provide start-up grants to increase the number of new places for foundation stage children by 250,000 by March 2006 (funded by the Education Act 2002), and to provide services to under-four-year-olds who are "at risk" (Downloaded on May 23, 2010 from

http://www.surestart.gov.uk/aboutsurestart/thesurestartprogramme2/). The last goal, providing services to "at-risk" children under the age of four, was the initial purpose of the program. The landscape of the care and education of young children in England continues to move as the result of the Education Act 2002 and SureStart.

Other curricular influences: Next is a brief comment on the influence of Reggio Emilia and other curriculum ideas on English early years reforms.

Early years curriculum in England. Short-term planning is described in the QCA handbook from 2001 in very different ways from the long-term planning. Short-term planning is described as "based on the long-term plan [while being] largely informed by ongoing observations and informal assessments of the children and by discussions with other practitioners and parents" (p. 4) The document recommends that short-term curriculum planning have elements that are similar to the Reggio Emilia (Edwards et. al., 1998) approach. Here are some examples of wording that reflects some Reggio ideas:

An effective short-term plan for the foundation stage child is likely to include:

- clear learning intentions for individual or groups of children informed by observations and based on the stepping-stones/early learning goals;
- a brief description of the range of experiences and activities
  - --adult-directed and child-initiated;
  - --indoors and outdoors;
- how experiences and activities can be adapted for individual or groups of children (QCA 2001 p. 4)

The Reggio Emilia approach is an education innovation that was started in the town of Reggio Emilia in Italy by Louis Malagucci. It spread internationally; in 2001 Lesley Abbott and Cathy

Nutbrown, two prominent early childhood educators in England, edited a book titled *Experiencing Reggio Emilia: Implications for preschool provision* (Abbott, L. & Nutbrown, C.). In the introduction, *"Narratives of the possible"* the two editors state that:

> In April 1999, over 100 early childhood educators from the UK visited Reggio Emilia. The study tour included: visits to infant-toddler centres and preschools; lectures from leading educationalists in Reggio; workshops run by Reggio staff; and the opportunity to talk with some staff and parents. This book is not an account of the first UK study tour experience, but an attempt to consider the pedaegogic and philosophical implications of the Reggio approach for early childhood education and care in various parts of the UK. (Abbott & Nutbrown, 2001)

On November 10, 2004 Lisa Harker, chair of the Daycare Trust, published an article in *The Guardian,* a popular newspaper with wide distribution. The title of this article was *Lessons from Reggio Emilia.* In the article she cites strengths of the approach, stating that:

> Attempts to define good-quality childcare usually rely on quantifiable indicators…However, [Reggio Emilia's] approach is informed by an image of the child, not as an empty vessel into which the right ingredients must be poured, but as a being with extraordinary potential. (Harker, 2004, The Guardian)

Harker adds a discussion about the financial side of funding early childhood education as it was in England at the time and offering examples from other countries including Sweden, Denmark, and New Zealand.

Harker started the article with the following statement:

> The government is preparing to publish a 10-year strategy for childcare in which – for the first time – a proposal for its longterm direction will be spelt out. New Labour has made

> no secret of the fact that the destination should be good-quality, affordable childcare for all who want it. (Harker, 2004).

The strategy she referred to was the 10-year Childcare Strategy, published in 2004 and evaluated in 2009.

Governmentality and policing the family. Shifting ideas about governmentality and the policing of families in the early 21st century produced shifts in the imaginary of "the (post)modern child":

> The ordering of knowledge is not about representation but about the production of historical truths that govern and guide the conduct of the child…Knowledge became the essential intellectual technology in this social administration of the self, as it inscribed the prevailing national imaginaries and the liberal mentalities about human conduct through schools and in the other institutions and practices of childhood. Early childhood thought emerged within these new parameters of political thought and it spoke the new language of power when reasoning about the child. (Hultqvist & Dahlberg, 2001, p. 4)

This recent shift, the "new parameters of political thought" within the national imaginaries of young children, occurred in part because of research in the area of brain research in infants, in part because of new policies and legislation providing early years learning which have arisen in the global discourse about the importance of early years education for young children, and partly as part of discourses of concern about "Englishness" in diverse populations.

> Along this maze of pathways, the child—as an idea and a target—has become inextricably connected to the aspirations of authorities. The environment of the growing child is regulated financially…pedagogically…[and] legislative obligations are imposed upon parents, requiring them to carry out social duties from the registration of their

> children at birth to ensuring that they receive adequate education up into their teens. (Rose 1999, p. 123, brackets added)

Although the primary responsibility for the well-being of young pre-primary (or Infant Stage) children was on the parents, and as late as 1988 this was still the government policy, the Education Act 2002 made sweeping changes which included education and care of young children part of a governmentally-funded program, inspected and governed by legislated standards.

Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed and analyzed texts from policy and curriculum documents from the late 1980's through the 2013 Education Policy and Curriculum texts cited within the body of the chapter. I focused on "normalization" and the construction of the Foundation Stage Child in England during this period. I highlighted ruptures in reasoning as the Foundation Stage Child discourses emerged, pushed onward by the standards movement, the push for recognition of the brain development in the young child, and by discourses of "risk" and "abnormality" that pushed the importance of earlier and earlier schooling prior to traditional compulsory schooling age. In the next chapter, I highlight the different ways of reasoning about childhood in the early 19th century in reference to the same theme "Normalization" to emphasize the diversity of discourses that are present at different moments that form a sense or logic or truth about how we come to see young children.

Chapter3: Normalization of child as worker, child as student: Breaks and slippages in the early 19th century

> The promise of enlightenment recognized and inscribed difference. The "wretched refuse" of the immigrant also embodied the "poor" as a marker of the late 19th century, the "cause" of poverty had shifted focus from individual sinfulness and idleness to the environmental conditions in which the poor lived and worked. **The solution to the problem of poverty in the early 19th century was also individual**…By the later part of the century, the focus was on **changes in the circumstances that would prevent sinfulness and enable the poor to succeed.** (Popkewitz 2008, p. 52, bold added)

In the late 20th to early 21st century, this was very different. The grid of reasoning around the 'normalization' of young children appeared in the policies and curricula in the 19th century as well as in the late 20th and early 21st (as discussed in the previous chapter), but there were breaks and slippages between these two sets of reasonings about the 'normal' child. There were also breaks in the grid of reasoning about poverty and its solutions, the management of the 'non-normal' or dangerous outsider, between the early 19th and late 20th centuries. In the quotation from Popkewitz in the above epigram poverty was seen as something to be solved on an individual level; this later changed to a late 19th century idea of a child who needed "changes in circumstances…[to]enable the poor to succeed". (Popkewitz 2008, p. 52) This is related to ideas in late 20th-century terminology of normalization about a child 'with potential' and in another (further problematized in chapter 4 of this dissertation), 'at risk/at promise', who could succeed and become 'normal' with the application of the recommended curricular and ethical interventions. In the early 19th century one of the ideas about how to manage poor children and keep them from crime and sinfulness was to engage them as workers in the newly-emerging

industries, frequently as factory workers and miners.

Two of the ideas about children that shifted during the 19th century were child as a worker (or employee), and as a student (or learner). Movement within the worker/student continuum was complex and accompanied by movements between children as serving adults/being served by adults, strong/weak, and so on. The policies during this time increasingly limited children's availability as workers while they were being redefined as students; by the end of the century an act of Parliament in 1899 defined children as both workers and students, but the role of workers was still listed first. By the late 19th century the first national education acts were passed, and circulating international ideas about curricula for young children including those from Fredrick Froebel, Maria Montessori, Robert Owen, and Margaret McMillan's nursery school movement brought young children as students into a new national prominence.

Section 1 overview-- In the early part of the 19th century and just before the beginning of that century breaks and slippages occurred in Acts of Parliament that legislated children in differing roles; the texts of these acts are some of the subjects of analysis in this section. Also in this first section is a discussion of some of the reasoning that moved through England at the time of these acts. This section traces the movement of the child as worker through the child as student/learner. In addition, the importance of work (or schooling, in a different way) to police children and to keep them from temptation, to provide limits to their activities or at the very least to minimize their free time to get into trouble, had a moral undercurrent. I link this to the discourse of the 'dangerous outsider' as mentioned in the previous chapter which is the hidden but simultaneously created dark side of normalization as I discuss the workhouses and prisons as two means of surveillance and discipline/punishment.

Section 2 overview—Shifting beliefs about children in the early 19th century are also

reflected in the work of social and educational reformers. From the prior ideas of Locke and Rousseau about the 'natural' child, reformers worked to create schools and learning environments for young children that reflected their shifting reasoning about childhood. Pestalozzi, Owen, Froebel and Montessori were innovators in early learning during this period of rapid social and economic change, imagining ways to counteract the ills that accompanied the industrial growth of the time, to protect children and to shape them morally and socially. In addition, charity (or 'ragged') schools, schooling during breaks from work, tutors and governesses, and even parallels between workhouses and prisons featuring Bentham's work are included. This section covers the complex sea of curricular experiments and changing grids of reasoning about the young child during the early 19th century, with later discussions of some curriculum philosophers and their reasoning in the 19th and early 20th century in England.

Section 1: Grids of reasoning about child as worker, student, and dangerous outsider

> Up to 1870, apart from certain educational provisions in the Factory Acts and in the Mines Acts[6], which only applied to children workings (SIC) in factories and mines, there was no general legal compulsion on parents to send their children to school… As before 1870 the provision of Primary Schools was left wholly to the voluntary efforts of different bodies, mostly denominational, aided by grants from the Treasury between 1833 and 1839 and from the Education Department as from 1839. (Hadow, 1931)

A series of Acts of Parliament in the early 1800s regulated child labor, moving children from the role of unregulated worker negotiated between parent and mine or mill owner under the 'laissez-faire' economic policies established under Smith, Maltheus and Ricardo the previous century. In 1802 a small group of reformers got the first act through Parliament, the Factory Act of 1802, limiting the hours and minimum ages but not working conditions for children. Factories were defined as any workplaces that employed more than 50 people; workshops employed fewer than 50 and got their own Act soon after. These Acts and an additional Act of 1819 which regulated cotton mills, prohibiting children under the age of nine from working there and limiting children aged nine to sixteen to twelve hours a day of work, shared a limitation—none had any provision to ensure that they were obeyed by the employers. A prominent reformer, Lord Shaftesbury, was a leader in the efforts to pass Acts that were more effective but while a rapidly increasing population was causing many social problems, "he got fierce opposition from those who thought the 'lower orders' must not be mollycoddled" (Rooke, 1968, pg. 13). Parliament was dominated by the nobility and by landowners at the time, with a stringent property requirement attached to voting rights (and of course, all voters had to be male), and the

[6] Factory Acts 1833 to 1867; Mines Act 1860.

House of Lords had veto power over any Act until the Parliament Act 1911 changed the balance of power in favor of the House of Commons. In early Victorian England, employment was thought to be good for poor young children to support them as moral beings because it taught them obedience, kept them occupied and thus too busy to pursue a life of crime, and maintained the social hierarchy (Roberts, 1979). This sovereign relationship between the privileged landowner/noble/mine owner/king who knew best and the childlike poor who relied on the charity and goodwill of the wealthy for survival (or their parents and/or 'the streets') created an atmosphere of lukewarm support for the reform efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and others.

One challenge to the early 21st century reader is to separate this grid of reasoning about young children as workers from current ideas about the inhumanity of the working conditions (which were certainly prevalent, but not the only important consideration). The use of this challenge is to attempt, as much as possible, to see the legislation through the eyes of contemporaries. Granted, contemporaries had, in the early 19th century, many varying opinions (as is the case in the early 21st century as well) but considerations that have since condemned these choices were not part of the thinking of people at the time. In the same way, future educators may view early 21st century schools as cruel and barbaric in their confinement or in their limitations, missing our pride in the orderly, clean, standardized world that we have sought to create for children and their teachers. Here is an excerpt from an interview in 1807 in the words of one gentleman of the early 19th century that gives some ideas about the benefits he saw in the movement to employ children:

> Mr. -------- remarked that nothing could be so beneficial to a country as manufacture.
>
> 'You see these children, sir,' said he. 'In most parts of England poor children are a burthen to their parents and to the parish; here the parish, which would else have to support them,

> is rid of all expense; they get their bread almost as soon as they can run about, and by the time they are seven or eight years old bring in money. There is no idleness among us: they come at five in the morning; we allow them half an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner; they leave work at six, and another set relieves them for the night; the wheels never stand still. (Southey, 1807)

The beneficial effect on the parish and the poor families of having young children who can become wage earners for the family from the ages of seven or eight years, and not only is the work ridding England of a "burthen to their parents and to the parish" but the children are apparently tireless (working from five in the morning until six at night with two breaks for meals) and morally protected from the sin of idleness by this grueling schedule, producing goods for a rapidly-industrializing country. The implication of this gentleman's statement is that the children are expendable and replaceable, possibly akin to the parts on the machinery they keep in motion, since "another set relieves them for the night". Compare this to the language describing a child in the same age group, now called the Key Stage 1, from the UK National Curriculum webpage in 2009:

> As a parent or carer, you have a very important role to play in helping your child learn. Some parents are afraid of doing the wrong thing. (If you are unsure about how to help, you can always ask your child's teacher.) The most important things you can do are:

- take an interest in what your child is learning at school, and encourage them to tell you about it
- praise them when they have done well.

> There are other things you can do, too: this book also gives ideas and tips for each subject. Don't feel you have to do all of them, but any you can do will support your child's learning at school. (Department for Children, Schools and Families)

The shift between the child as a worker, as Mr. _____ viewed the children working in manufacturing in Southey in 1807 (see quote on previous page) and the children that the Department for Children, Schools and Families described as the focus of the National Curriculum in 2009 show two extremes of the worker/student binary, encompassing child as strong/vulnerable, child as serving the adult/being served by the adult. Yet, as I posit later in this chapter, even in the language of the 2009 website, there is the embedded language of the parent and teacher serving the child so that the child may become a resource, a child with 'potential', for the nation. Therefore the binary is not a simple play of opposites but a complex hybridity while also a striking change in language. How did that change in language about children in national policies in England come about?

Until 1833, the schooling or learning of the child was not part of policy language in England (and in many other countries as well, including the US). To trace the breaks in this movement, the popular literature of the time of these policy changes gives us some ideas of stories that Victorians heard that convinced a population, some of who viewed poor young children as Mr. _____ did (quoted from Southey, p. 19 of this section) to allow laws to be passed by reformers that gave inspectors the job of enforcing limitations on the ages of children who worked, the number of hours they worked, required some schooling every day, and safe working conditions.

There were several notable exceptions to the prevalent attitude towards poor children. Robert Owen, an early contributor to what became called utopian socialism, believed that:

> According to the last returns under the Population Act, the poor and working classes of Great Britain and Ireland have been found to exceed fifteen millions of persons, or nearly three-fourths of the population of the British Islands. **The character of these persons are now permitted to be very generally formed without proper guidance or direction, and, in many cases, under circumstances which directly impel them to a course of extreme vice and misery;** thus rendering them the ***worst and most dangerous*** subjects in the empire. (Owen 1813-1814, in Harrison 1968, p. 41-42, bold and italics added)

This excerpt is from his "first and most important work" (Owen, 1857-1858), *A New View of Society*. Owen's thoughts showed a discursive shift in thinking about poor children from others (i.e. see citation from Rooke, p. 14-15 and Southey, p. 19, both in this section) that laid the foundation for his New Lanark School, the first "infant school" for children under the age of five in Great Britain, founded in the early 1800s. I describe Owen's work and that of other reformers in more detail in the last section of this chapter.

> **[**S]ince the earliest struggles over the length of the working day and the conditions of employment, the worker has come to be seen as something more than an expendable and endlessly replaceable commodity. Initially it appeared that it was the strength, the health, the virtue, and the moral rectitude of the worker that required conservation, and that such considerations would have to be imposed upon the employer by law. Some see the imposition of such obligations on employers through the 19th century Factory Acts as

> the outcome of campaigns by enlightened philanthropists; others regard them as the product of labour militancy. (Rose 1999, p. 61)

This quotation from Rose exemplifies the complex, hybrid responses to what seems today to be long-overdue and unquestionably necessary legislation to protect children's health and survival rates. Not everyone agreed that it was right, or even good for children. Not everyone agreed that, even if the limitations on child labor hours and work environments were good for children, what was good for children was also good for their families and for society.

Between 1833 and 1842 several events took place that started major changes in public policy and public opinion with regard to child employment—which apart from experiments such as Owen's—dominated the daily lives and labour of most poor children. One of these was led by Lord Shaftesbury, the Factory Act of 1833, which added enforcement to child labor laws in the form of factory inspections and added two hours of schooling each day for children by the foreman or other adult in the mine. Obviously the quality of the education varied considerably. Inspectors were appointed by the government to ensure that factory owners were complying with the limitations in working hours and worker ages, but not working conditions. One of the inspectors, Leonard Horner, advocated for the half-time system in which children worked for either the morning or for the afternoon and attended school for the other half day. This was considered quite radical at the time but became part of an Act in 1844 but just for children working in mines.

As an outcome of these government inspections, work by Lord Shaftesbury and other reformers including social scientists Jeremy Bentham (also the inventor of the panopticon [see section 2 of this chapter] and colleague of Robert Owen [also in section 2 of this chapter]), Edwin Chadwick and Dr. Southwood Smith (Rooke, 1968, pg. 13), was the formation of the

Royal Commission on Children's Employment to study working conditions and hours of employment. Before 1840 the Acts regulated hours and ages of employment, not working conditions. One of the things that the Commission did was to take illustrators to the mines to document working conditions for children in the mines. See Figure 2 below for an example. Parents who had no other means to support their children sometimes gave them to mine owners who used them in lieu of horses to pull carts and do other tasks in mines in part because they were cheaper; drawings of these children harnessed like animals in tunnels too shallow to allow them to stand up, or working on the floors of weaving mills, caught the public conscience and overrode the prevailing paternalism and laissez-faire. The resulting Mines Bill 1842 banned women and girls from working below ground in mines, as well as boys below ten years of age. This Bill also appointed mine inspectors and in eight years the inspectors would also report on safety conditions.

Figure 2 © Bettmann/CORBIS --Children working in English coal mine (ProCorbis 2009)

Discipline and Punishment: Dickens, Foucault and dangerous outsiders

> Pointless work, work for work's sake, was intended to shape individuals into the image of the ideal labourer. It was a chimera, perhaps, but one which had been perfectly worked out and defined by the American Quakers with the founding of the workhouses, and by the Dutch. But then, from the late 1830s, it became clear that in fact the aim was not to retrain delinquents, to make them virtuous, but to regroup them within a clearly demarcated, card-indexed milieu which could serve as a tool for economic or political ends. The problem thereafter was not to teach the "prisoners" something, but rather to teach them nothing, so as to make sure that they could do nothing when they came out of "prison". (Foucault 1995, p. 42) (here, we can interpret Foucault to include what is not said specifically—but the mines, the workhouses, and schools, which he does refer to explicitly in the volume.)

In addition to reformers, an additional contributor to the public shift in opinion of children as workers came from the work of Charles Dickens. An iconic writer on social issues of Victorian England, Dickens published *Oliver Twist* in a weekly London magazine throughout 1837, overlapping with *The Pickwick Papers.* These two serialized works caught the imagination of the Victorian readers and between the publications of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment, in particular the drawings, and the writing of Dickens and others, the child as worker increased as an object of discussion and curiosity, and, some claim, added to policy reforms, including new provisions for schooling that foreshadow a shift from child labor to child education as the way that a child can contribute to the nation.

Problematizing Dickens' works from a Foucauldian perspective in *The Novel and the Police,* D. A. Miller (1989) uses *Discipline and Punish* to argue that *Bleak House* and *Oliver Twist* "participate in a general economy of policing power", stating that their "manner of passing off the regulation of everyday life is the best manner of passing it on." I discuss this in more detail later in this section. While both of these perspectives on Dickens are important and Dickens has been used in many ways in multiple contexts, in this section I draw from his writing examples of the shift in discourse of the Victorian child, particularly the poor child, from worker to student in need of protection.

Dickens portrayed David Copperfield as intelligent and sensitive, and Oliver as a noble victim. Both were in striking contrast to the assertion cited a few pages ago by Mr. ____ in 1807 that all poor children who worked were mindless, tireless and grateful to be employed. In *Oliver Twist* Dickens included children's deaths from treatment by adults who claimed to be looking out for their welfare by preventing them from eating too much or being lazy. Combined with the drawings of factory conditions, Dickens' writings began to move the trajectory of child as worker to child who hungered to learn and deserved to learn, childhood from a time to labor to childhood as a time to learn. A third Dickens character, Tiny Tim in *Christmas Carol* (1983), was the most vulnerable of all the three boys in the three Dickens characters. While he was not an orphan, Tim's physical weakness and his family's poverty placed him in a tenuous position in opposition to the harshness of Scrooge before his transformation through visions. The three boys together form a discourse of child who is cast by social/economic necessity into a harsh role but is eventually able to emerge into a being with potential to be humanistic and rational, relieved of the harsh burden of an adult role of worker. Another role that the writings of Dickens and others had at the time was to provide guidance to the large number of orphans created at the time by the

high maternal mortality rate. The orphan was not solely a trope to stir the Victorian sympathy; orphans were struggling to find a role in Victorian society and stories of the noble orphan, the lawless orphan who reformed, the adventuresome orphan, and the orphan who found a home were prevalent.

Dickens appeared to weave a social critique of villainous oppressors with innocent yet resourceful poor children. Using the characters in these tales, Dickens highlighted various ideas about the working conditions and attitudes towards poverty and poor children.

> As the child hero of a melodramatic novel of social protest…Dickens uses Oliver's character to challenge the Victorian idea that paupers and criminals are already evil at birth, arguing instead that a corrupt environment is the source of vice. At the same time, Oliver's incorruptibility undermines some of Dickens's assertions…Oliver's moral scruples about the sanctity of property seem inborn in him, just as Dickens's opponents thought that corruption is inborn in poor people. Furthermore, other pauper children use rough Cockney slang, but Oliver, oddly enough, speaks in proper King's English. (Jaffee & Ward)

The opinions of the poor that Dickens attributed to his characters may seem outrageous to 21st century readers but according to one review "Dickens's Victorian middle-class readers were likely to hold opinions on the poor that were only a little less extreme than those expressed by Mr. Bumble, the beadle who treats paupers with great cruelty" (Jaffee & Ward).

The dramatic role that Dickens gave Oliver of innocent victim who nobly bore the insults of cruel and morally lesser creatures provided a brightly-lit guilt-inducing backdrop to highlight the Victorian attitudes towards the poor and may have related to the policies that constructed young child as a worker in the few years before and after the publication of Dickens's work.

Next I analyze one binary in depth, that of police/delinquent, which was prominent in Dickens's writings and that Foucault identified as productive of shifts in the apparatuses of power in the early parts of the 19th century.

The following excerpt from *Discipline and Punish* complicates the discourse of prisons as a means of reforming criminals:

> In 1820 it was already understood that the prisons, far from transforming criminals into honest citizens, serve only to manufacture new criminals and to drive existing criminals even deeper into criminality. It was then that there took place, as always in the mechanics of power, a strategic utilization of what had been experienced as a drawback. Prisons manufactured delinquents, but delinquents turned out to be useful, in the economic domain as much as the political. Criminals come in handy. (Foucault 1995, p. 40)

The binary of police/delinquent and parish/poor embedded in paternalism is problematized throughout the novels by Dickens, with many of the enforcers of the laws or institutions created to dispense charity to the poor via the workhouse or the parish depicted as villains who exploit the poor for personal gain rather than to "uplift" them.

Policing and the delinquency that supports and is supported by policing is a recurring theme in Foucault's writing about the shifting apparatuses of power in the early 19th century in *Discipline and Punish* and in the *In Prisons* chapter of *Power/Knowledge* (Foucault, in Gordon 1980). He also touched upon the theme of punishment that I posit as central to the general public opposition to the child labor laws that reformers were attempting to pass at the time. Punishment is not entirely separate from disciplining bodies, but is the punishment administered in order to discipline, or is the discipline administered in order to punish? They are inseparable and

intertwined, two sides of the apparatus of control, but the device of punishment plays a heightened role in this particular moment in the early 1830s when toothless child labor laws had been passed. Nearly thirty years previously, the Royal Commission on Child Labor was publishing reports and drawings that were shocking the Victorian populace with graphic depictions of the horrors of working conditions for children (and adults) in the newly industrializing England, and the population was urbanizing rapidly. Into this mix, the relatively recent French revolution and Maltheus' writings about the dangers of uncontrolled poor supported fears of the "dangerous outsider" and the ungovernable other.

The workhouse and the panopticon. One method of control that is a presence in the child labor laws (and literally an apparatus of power) is the workhouse. Initially the panopticon's design, according to Foucault in *Discipline and Punish,* was disciplinary in its intention, patterned after monasteries and intended to provide an environment where the dark corners of the prison were opened up, eliminating the locations in which disease had festered and revolt had fomented in the previous century. The design added the possibility of surveillance so that the prisoner could be seen at any time by the guard but was never sure when. The purpose of this continual visibility was to create an environment in which the prisoner was limited to contemplation and a prayerful disciplined life in which the social was strictly and hierarchically controlled. Foucault does not include the workhouse in his discussion, but the following observation and floor plan indicate that they featured a "supervisory hub" that defines the panopticon designed by social reformer Jeremy Bentham see Figures 3 and 4): "The early 19th century saw architectural developments that were to become significant in workhouse design. One of these was the supervisory hub whose position and shape provided views over all the inmates' exercise yards" (Higginbotham, 2009). Figure 4 contains a floor plan for a workhouse

from the early 1800's; note the central hub design, the "Master's Parlor" or supervisory octagonal hub on the floor plan.

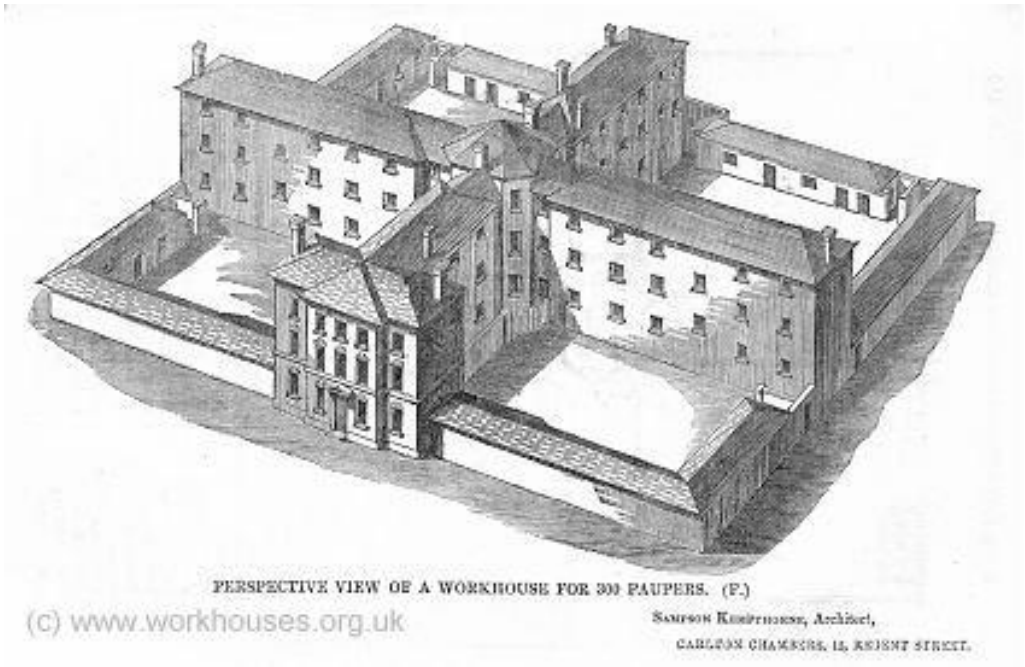
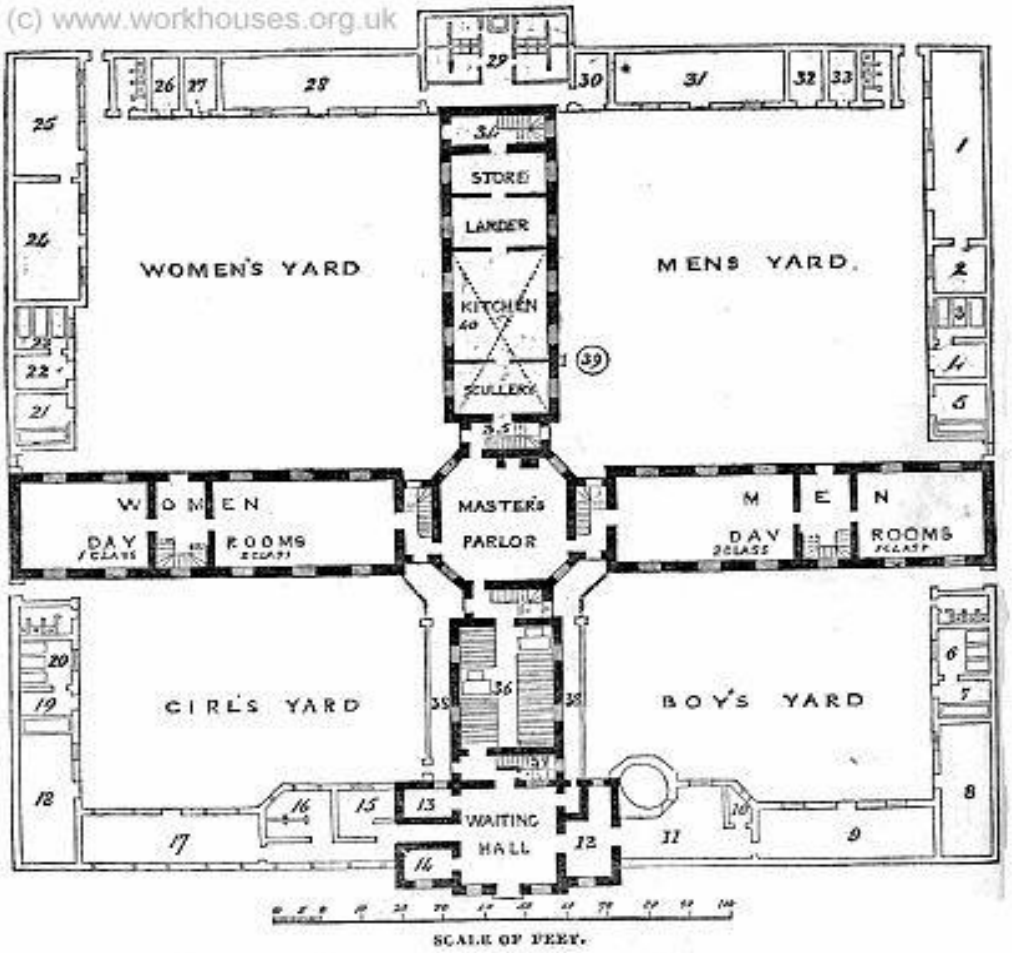


Figure 3

The Square Plan

The most widely adopted of the model plans were those produced by the architect Sampson Kempthorne. His cruciform or "square" design featured an administrative block at the front containing a porter's room and waiting-room on the ground floor, with Guardians' board-room above. At the rear, a children's block linked to the supervisory octagonal hub where the Master's quarters lay. Male and female quarters emanated to the left and right of the hub, while kitchens and stores with dining-hall above stood in the wing at the rear. The square perimeter of the building comprised single storey workshop and utility blocks which also served to enclose the various inmates' exercise yards. Each of the four areas was often divided by walls into two, allowing up to eight segregated exercise areas. Square-plan workhouse typically accommodated between 300 and 500 inmates. Kempthorne's 1835 "square" plan, ground floor. (Higginbotham 2009)



1 Work Room.
2 Store.
3 Receiving Wards, 3 beds.
4 Bath.
5 Washing Room.
6 Receiving Ward, 3 beds.
7 Washing Room.
8 Work Room.
9 Flour and Mill Room.
10 Coals.
11 Bakehouse.
12 Bread Room.
13 Searching Room.
14 Porter's Room.
15 Store.
16 Potatoes.
17 Coals.
18 Work Room.
19 Washing Room.
20 Receiving Ward, 3 beds.
21 Washing Room.
22 Bath.
23 Receiving Ward, 3 beds.
24 Laundry.
25 Wash-house.
26 Dead House.
27 Refractory Ward.
28 Work Room.
29 Piggery.
30 Slaughter House.
31 Work Room.
32 Refractory Ward.
33 Dead House.
34 Women's Stairs to Dining Hall.
35 Men's Stairs to ditto.
36 Boys' and Girls' School and Dining Room.
37 Delivery.
38 Passage.
39 Well.
40 Cellar under ground.

Figure 4 © Peter Higginbotham

In *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* Foucault made panopticism the topic of a chapter, historicizing Bentham's design for prisons and for other buildings (1995, p. 195-228, especially p. 200-209).

> The celebrated, transparent, circular cage, with its high tower, powerful and knowing, may have been for Bentham a project of a perfect disciplinary institution; but he also set out to show how one may 'unlock' the disciplines and get them to function in a diffused, multiple, polyvalent way throughout the whole social body. (Foucault 1995, p. 208-209)

From the portrayal of life in the workhouse and in the prisons in the mid-1830s by Dickens and by others, the result was far from a "prayerful disciplined life", serving the purpose of supporting delinquency through the "manufacture [of] new criminals" and through "drive[ing] existing criminals even deeper into criminality" (Foucault, 1995, p. 40). This function of the prisons, I argue, could be described as punitive rather than as disciplinary when considered within the discourse of moral judgment that I described earlier in this section that inexplicably blamed the orphan for the loss of his parents.

In multiple instances Dickens' characters were representatives of Victorian society expressly given the task of managing the destitute the opportunity to tell Oliver and the other poor children how the evils of their natures and their ways caused their own suffering, suffering that was enhanced by the actions of these stalwart citizens who appropriated money designated for the poor children in their care. Disciplining the poor child through hard labor and privation was not sufficient; he must in addition be punished *for being poor,* since it must be due to some innate character fault or moral transgression that caused this miserable condition.

> [O]nce capitalism had physically entrusted wealth, in the form of raw materials and means of production, to popular hands, it became absolutely essential to protect this wealth…How was this wealth to be protected? By *a rigorous morality*, of course: hence the formidable layer of moralization deposited on the 19th -century population…It was absolutely necessary to constitute the populace as a moral subject and to break its commerce with criminality, and hence to segregate the delinquents and to show them to be dangerous not only for the rich but for the poor as well, vice-ridden instigators of the gravest social perils. (Foucault 1995, p. 41, italics added)

The outcome of this harsh punishment for the "dangerous outsiders", the uncontrolled and uncontrollable delinquents, was often death since children who had been working in dangerous conditions from the age of five rarely lived past age twenty-five (Cody, 2004), but the slippage between *disciplinary* and *punitive* actions is great, so I forego my argument with Foucault and acknowledge the discipline/punish duality, the blended tissue of the two as on the hide of our chimera, and allow the two to re-join into the whole of the policing/delinquency apparatus of power.

Dickens and other writers, the publications of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment, and undoubtedly many other factors contributed to the shift that resulted in a relatively rapid series of Acts that regulated child labor: the 1833 Factory Act and the 1842 Mines Bill that limited the ages of workers and numbers of hours they could work in these two industries. The 1844 Act providing schooling for all children between the ages of five and fifteen (Cody, 2004) who were working in mines for half days, enforced by government inspectors, and regulated working conditions. Dickens continued to write throughout the century

about social conditions until posthumous publication in 1870, and by that time children in England's policies had shifted from being primarily workers to worker/students.

Section 2: Child as learner and curricular innovations

While Dickens, the Royal Commission on Children's Employment, Lord Shaftesbury and others were working for reforms and regulations to protect children through legislation and through attempts to shift public opinion through literature and drawings, several notable people were doing other things to help deal with the problems of poor children created by a rapidly-industrializing economy. One was Robert Owen, a "cooperator, secularist, and utopian socialist" (Harrison, 1968) who critiqued capitalism and its factories for their impact on workers and subsequently founded the first "infant school" in Great Britain. He was a colleague of English utilitarian philosopher and social reformer Jeremy Bentham (see p. 92-95 of this dissertation).

> The first infant school was established by Robert Owen (1771-1858) in New Lanark, Scotland, in 1816. Children were admitted at the age of two and cared for while their parents were at work in the local cotton mills. The instruction of children under six was to consist of 'whatever might be supposed useful that they could understand, and much attention was devoted to singing, dancing, and playing' (Hadow 1931, p. 3). Infant schools were thus at first partly 'minding schools' for young children in industrial areas; but they also sought to…provide some elementary instruction in the 3Rs so that the children could make more rapid progress when they entered the monitorial school. (Gillard 2001, p. 4)

The 1931 report cited by Gillard was titled as "The History of the Development of the Conception of Primary Education above the Infant Stage from the Beginning of the 19th Century to the Present Time" and was one of three volumes produced as part of the Report of the Consultative Committee. Part I (p. 1-10) of this volume is "The development of Infant Schools and Elementary Schools up to 1870". (Hadow, 1931, p. 1) In this report, Owen's New Lanark

school receives a significant portion of one sub-section (p. 3-4) of Part I, which starts by saying: "In tracing the development of Primary Schools for children above the infant stage, it is impossible to ignore the influence of the Infants' Schools which gradually came into existence in the early decades of the last century, partly as 'minding schools' for young children in industrial areas". (p. 3) This sub-section of the report continues a few paragraphs later with the claim that: "The Infant School established in 1816 by Robert Owen (1771-1858) at New Lanark in Scotland had a great influence on the development of infant education". (p. 3) After mentioning that in many areas there was only one school and that one tended to be for older children, relying on Dame schools for the younger ones, the report completed this sub-section by an intriguing comment about curricula of the time:

> It is impossible not to be struck by the contrast between the rather arid and narrow conception of education as conducted in the monitorial schools, in which the instruction was almost limited to the three R's, with needlework for girls, and in some instances a little gardening and other occupation for the boys, and the comparatively rich tradition underlying the curriculum provided in the better Infant Schools, which was largely based on ideas deriving from Oberlin, Owen and Pestalozzi[7]. (Hadow, 1931, p. 4)

The curriculum in Owen's Infant School not only provided practice in the three R's "but they also sought to promote the children's physical well-being and to offer opportunities for their moral and social training" as well as "whatever might be supposed useful that they could understand" (Gillard 2001, p. 4) including music, dancing and nature study (Robert Owen Museum, 2008).

[7] The influence of Froebel was not felt in Infant Schools in England till about 1851. Cf. J and B Ronge *A Practical Guide to the English Kindergarten* (1855) Preface, and B Ronge *Kindergarten* (1854) p. 3.

Robert Owen gained his place in the history of Infant Schools in Great Britain and worldwide through his response to both social and economic experiences as well as to educational theories of the time; some even claimed that his visionary and philanthropic ideas were rooted in his phrenological structures, since "phrenologists agreed that Owen's bump of benevolence was unusually large". (Harrison, 1968, p. 15) He was born in 1771, apprenticed to a draper at the age of ten, and by early adulthood had been promoted to manager and partner in a cotton mill in Manchester, England. He married and then bought a large cotton mill from his new father-in-law in New Lanark, Scotland. (Robert Owen Museum, 2008) This was where he was first able to carry out his visionary plan to educate poor children, not as they were trained in charity schools to fit into the current social order, but to create a new society:

> The spectacular nature of the experiment at New Lanark, the advocacy of a nonviolent and widely acceptable method of social change, and Owen's repeated emphasis on the importance of education in character formation, all contributed to a focusing of attention on [his ideas about education]…In Britain, Owen has been accorded a niche in the standard histories of British Labor and socialism, and the usual treatment of Owenism in recent years has been as a phase in the history of the British working-class movement[8]. (Harrison, 1968, p. 2-3)

During his time as a mill owner and manager in Manchester he observed the suffering caused to poor children and families due to dire working conditions; since he believed that "character was formed by experience" and that "the dreadful environment of child workers would inevitably lead to damaged and dehumanized adults" (Robert Owen Museum, 2008 and also see pages 156-158 of this dissertation, chapter 5, for a quotation from Robert Owen's writing), his ideas were

[8] For example, G. D. H. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement, 1789-1947* (London, revised ed., 1948).

formulated to protect and remold the workers, mostly women and children, at the New Lanark mill. Owen later participated in the founding of a similar utopian community called New Harmony in Indiana in the United States. Robert Owen was one of several innovators who influenced the lives of young children in the 19th century. Pestalozzi in Switzerland and Oberlin in France also responded to the effects of industrialization and poverty on children. According to an entry in the Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society by the European Primary School Association, "A History of Preschool Education in Europe":

> A similar process took place in other industrializing countries, such as France, where the first preschools had been opened by Jean-Frédéric Oberlin (1740–1826). There, schools for young children were called *salles d'asile*, literally, "rooms of the asylum," or refuges for working-class children.
>
> The realization that young children in infant schools needed specialized treatment adapted to their age did not take hold until the ideas and practices of JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI (1745–1827) attracted the attention of a small number of educational reformers in England. Schools run on Pestalozzian lines attempted to recognize the specific requirements of young children rather than treating them as being no different than older pupils. In 1836, the Pestalozzian Home and Colonial Infant School Society began training teachers for infant schools in its college in London…Further impetus for the idea that the education of young children should be different from that provided for older ones was provided by the international spread of the KINDERGARTEN and the theories of its founder, FRIEDRICH FROEBEL (1782–1852). The first kindergarten in England was opened in 1851 and was followed by the opening of one in the United States in 1856. (Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society webpage, capitals original)

These innovators in the education of young children gained global influence while also legislation to limit the hours per day and days per week, as well as the starting ages, that children could work was beginning to take hold in England. The discursive language in novels and in pedagogical practices contributed to images of poor children as innocent and in need of care and protection (one governing discourse) and at the same time as in need of moral disciplining and policing (along with their families who were also deemed abnormal to require external care or education for their children while 'normal' richer children were tutored at home.)

In 1899 the "[a]ct to amend the Law respecting the *Employment* and *Education* of Young Children" (Elementary Education Act 1899, p. 20) listed the role of the child as employee first, while the Act governed the roles of children as both employees and as students, raised the age of minimum age to 12 for work and 13 for work in agriculture. Several Education Acts followed rapidly, mostly "bricks and mortar" Acts, establishing a national system of public education. I posit that the listing of the child as employee first, then as student, in the early education acts was part of the shift in the grid of reasoning about children from workers to students. This is not a progressive, linear movement towards an improved 'modern' role for young children, but it is part of the language of a shift in ideas about the ways in which children are normalized, created as future citizens 'with potential'. It is also part of the language about ways to control the 'dangerous outsider' which I also claim is included in the discourse of normalization.

Summary: In this chapter I have moved the discussion of the 'normal' child and the 'dangerous outsider' from the late 20th and early 21st centuries of the previous chapter into the early 19th century. I have again focused on the language of national legislation and curricular reforms aimed at younger children. This discussion is in response to the first sub-question of my research questions, *What were the social, political and educational discourses and conditions*

that made public schooling possible for early years (birth to five) children, particularly during times of shift and disconnect such as national education policy legislation in 1870 and 2002? The discourses and conditions around the child are exemplified by the grid of reasoning about the 'correct' occupation for children that will guide them away from (or make impossible, due to time constraints) immorality and crime while providing them (voluntarily or involuntarily) with the means to relieve the financial constraints of their families.

Another research sub-question that this chapter applies to is *In what ways are early years education and care constructed and reconstructed as discursive practices that discipline and regulate the child, differently and at the same at different cultural/historical moments?* The regulation of young children is one of the discursive currents underlying the practice of both child labor and schooling of children. In addition to ideas about disciplining and regulating the child, these institutions of control both included ideas about amelioration of poverty. Referring again to the quotation from Popkewitz that is the epigram to the introduction of this chapter, in the early 19th century poverty was to be ameliorated on an individual basis. By the end of the 19th century this had changed to a goal of changing "the circumstances that would prevent sinfulness and enable the poor to succeed" (Popkewitz 2008, p. 52) and in part this is embedded in ideas about the child as a student, the recipient of schooling, as a way to rescue society from the dangerous outsider to redirect the dangerous outsider to becoming a 'normal' citizen 'with potential' but still policed, and under surveillance, despite changing institutions.

Chapter 4: Child as Citizen with Potential—Late 20th & Early 21st Centuries

> [T]he English weather is to invoke, at once, the most changeable and immanent signs of national difference. It encourages memories of the 'deep' nation crafted in chalk and limestone; the quilted downs; the moors menaced by the wind; the quiet cathedral towns; that corner of a foreign field that is forever England. The English weather also revives memories of its daemonic double: the heat and dust of India; the dark emptiness of Africa; the tropical chaos that was deemed despotic and ungovernable and therefore worthy of the civilizing mission. These imaginative geographies that spanned countries and empires are changing; those imagined communities that played on the unisonant boundaries of the nation are singing with different voices. (Bhabha, 1990, p. 319)

Bhabha's description of the "'deep' nation" and its "daemonic double" in the above epigraph reflects the hybridity of the imagined nation that is at different times home to the builders of the Victorian English empire in the 19th century (and their children) and later to citizens from former colonies who have relocated to the metropole in the late 20th to early 21st. The 21st century education policies were part of this complex national imaginary of multiple Englishness, better said as Englishness(es), and multiple Britishness(es) as well, which are not the same as we will see in this chapter.

In the previous two chapters I analyzed the theme of 'normalization' as part of a grid of reasoning about young children during two discursive moments—the early 19th century and the late 20th to early 21st centuries. Also in those two chapters I touched on another part of the grid of reasoning that constructs a 'normal' child, but may be more difficult to discern, the child who is not of the norm and who is the subject of many reform and curricular efforts. In the next two chapters I look more deeply at the discursive constructions within early years policies, belief

systems, and curricula in England during the same two moments, and additionally I analyze the idea of 'citizen with potential' within these same texts.

Section 1 overview-- The discourses of "immigrant", "Englishness" and "British citizen" are intertwined in a way that is fraught with emotional, political, social and personal meanings. This intersection is complex: for example, a man born in England whose parents emigrated from India made a distinction between "English" and "British". He felt that he was British but could never be English, although he had lived his entire life in England and was a citizen. He defined being "English" as similar to ethnicity, rather than a nationality (personal communication, Saj Malhi, August 2004). This was not something that I had been aware of until this conversation. Others have wondered if Britishness or "'British' values and history" are defined by "Curry addiction? Football hooliganism? Cornish nationalism?" (Alibhai-Brown, 2001). An older definition of "English" may be distinct from "British" in that Irish, Welsh and Scottish citizens are British but not English, although this is also currently negotiated terrain. Strong national identity movements in these three areas of Great Britain have brought new complexity to the British/English binary. For a resident of Ireland it may currently be more acceptable to assume an Irish cultural identity than a British or European one. This older definition rehashes identities that have been being redefined through wars and political maneuvering for hundreds of years and does not include the relatively new immigrants.

The education policies of the early 21st century are funding a large-scale effort to educate young children in Englishness through the national curriculum. Concerns about who is English and who is not, who is British and who is not--and who decides--appeared in multiple places and in education policies alike in the early part of the 21st century. I analyzed these texts and others to explore the complexity of ideas about Britishness(es) and Englishness(es) within the grid of

reasoning at the time of these large-scale efforts to transform early childhood schooling and care.

Section 2 overview--I continue to explore the theme of Englishness(es) and Britishness(es), moving into an analysis of the texts of speeches by national figures about religious education in the early 21st century, a comparison of national education policies during this time period in regard to Religious Education, and an analysis of the texts of three Religious Education curricula written after a non-statutory curriculum handbook written by a member of Tony Blair's cabinet.

The main purpose of the section is to revisit questions of Englishness(es) and Britishness(es) and the national imaginaries of immigrants who moved from the colonies to the metropole in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. I focus on the shift engendered by a relatively large number of non-Christian, particularly Muslim, new citizens who found varying ways to be British. In this section I analyze texts about religious education, situated in the late 20th and early 21st century, including statutory and non-statutory national guidelines, looking at the ways in which this apparent mirror image of the relationships between citizens of the metropole and the colonies in the 19th century shape discourses of schooling in the 20th and late 21st centuries. In this chapter I provide a discussion of the third research sub-question, *how do the discourses and discursive practices change over time? What are the different ways of reasoning, and points of rupture or breaks?*

Section 1: The child as future 'citizen' with 'potential': Englishness(es) and Britishness(es)

The specificity of English and British colonial relations played a part in presenting who and what should be included in policy statements, curricular guidelines, and the ways in which funding was targeted. The intersections between "Englishness" and "early years learning" within England's national imaginary at the start of the 21st century and conversations around Englishness, who is English and who is not, what it means to be English and/or British, all are part of conceptualizing the "English/*British* child" who is the discursive subject of the education policies which is a complex, slippery task. Homi Bhabha, a British citizen with roots in India, challenged the linear, "horizontal, homogeneous empty time of the nation's narrative" (Bhabha, 1999, pg. 303) and invited a definition of "culture" and of "Englishness" which created space for English citizens of color, English citizens who are "other", and for Englishness to be defined in a way that re-inscribes "citizen" with "its own ambivalent narrative". Bhabha's invitation for a more hybrid definition of culture and citizenship is one of ongoing debates about national identity in England.

Imaginaries about Englishness(es)/Britishness(es) of the 20th and 21st century children who are the recipients of the allocations of power and resources in the modern education policies in the England are slippery and complex; at this time when the empire has dissolved and large imagined communities of immigrants from former colonies have formed in Great Britain at the heart of the metropolitan center of the past Empire, new technologies of power are entwining, separating, defining and challenging ideas about nation, citizenship, and Englishness(es). Understanding these changing ideas and complex circulations of power/knowledge in this moment is key to an analysis of the discourses formulated in and around the policies. Foucault's ideas about the shift from sovereign power to a localized "capillary" power, or new forms of

governmentality (governing of self and other), add contradictions and needed complexity to the entire idea of empire:

> The 18th century invented, so to speak, a synaptic regime of power, a regime of exercise *within* the social body rather than from *above* it…It was the instituting of this new local, capillary form of power which impelled society to eliminate certain elements such as the court and king. The mythology of sovereign was no longer possible once a certain kind of power was being exercised within the social body. The sovereign then became a fantastic personage, at once archaic and monstrous…In England the same capillary modification of power occurred as in France. But there the person of the King, for example, was displaced within the system of political representations, rather than eliminated. (cited in Gordon, 1980, p. 39)

Finding that "it was more efficient and profitable in terms of the economy of power to place people under surveillance than to subject them to some exemplary penalty" (Foucault, p. 38) this shift in the exercise of power from sovereign to capillary resulted in a "formidable layer of morality deposited on the 19th -century population (Foucault, p. 41) to constitute the populace "as agents of surveillance and infiltration" (p. 40) to uphold the rule of law and, in part, to protect the definition of the social as well as the means and strategies underpinning national economies. During the time of European empire-building in the late 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, according to Foucault, the heads of these empires were part of the capillary system of power, positioned within the network of circulating power rather than at the pinnacle. This means that the empress, in the case of England, was part of but not the only colonizing force. In addition, Foucault sees an analysis of the power/knowledge relationships after the 18th-century shift as necessarily including the idea that "power is not to be taken to be a phenomenon of one

individual's consolidated and homogeneous domination over others" (p. 98) but a circulation of power. This capillary system of power continues in the grid of reasoning found in late 20th and early 21st century reform and curricular language in England. The ideas are included in language of surveillance and of discipline of the families and children, directly through legislated inspections of all funded schools (including those for young children) with the results posted online for anyone to read, required compliance with national curriculum goals and guidelines, as well as designation of *dangerous outsider* children as 'with potential' and 'at risk'. I analyze ideas about the dangerous outsider, specifically the terms *inclusion* and *disability*, in the texts of a practitioner handbook and on a website of a national non-profit that advocates for inclusion in the next sub-section.

Capillary power in the policies and curricula: Inclusion as a locus of control. As noted in the previous chapter on normalization in policies from the late 20th to early 21st centuries (chapter 2 of this dissertation), the disciplinary language of early years education policies and curricular guidance particularly focused on the *dangerous outsider* or child who is designated as 'at risk' and therefore in need of greater discipline and corrective action. Inclusion is an important part of many educational agendas during the discursive moment of this chapter (late 20th to early 21st centuries), in England as well as in many nations in response to the desire to make schooling accessible and culturally welcoming to children who are in groups that comprise the 'other'. What is problematic about these intentions and ideas about inclusion is that they are embedded in grids of reasoning about 'normalization' and disciplining the *dangerous outsider.* The discursive framing of children as 'other' and in need of inclusive practices has been problematized by several scholars (for some examples, see Baker, 2002; Sleeter, 1995; Slee, 1996; Ware, 2001; Allen, 1996 & 2003). As Roger Slee said, in 1996:

> Posing the question 'what is the purpose?' in respect of inclusion, participation, and democracy might seem like a futile gesture...There has been increasing recognition that this is a complex process and that in order to understand inclusion, it is necessary also to attend to the exclusionary pressures within institutions (Booth & Ainscow, 1995)…Furthermore, there is widespread acceptance of the need…to pathologise schools as the source of exclusion and failure, rather than the young people within them (Slee, 1996).

In the intriguing and challenging book, *Inclusion, Participation and Democracy: What is the point?* (2003) the editor Julie Allan draws upon the International Colloquium on Inclusion held at the University of Stirling, Scotland in June 2001 and had met regularly since 1994 (Allan

2003, p. 2). The following questions had been formulated at an earlier time and were discussed both at the Stirling Colloquium and by the contributors to the Allan book from 2003:

- What are the goals/ambitions for inclusion and what forms of participation are necessary to achieve these? What changes in culture and politics are implied?
- What is the nature of the interaction between inclusion and identity (both individual and collective)?
- Is it possible to specify an ethical framework for inclusion?
- What kinds of consequences can be specified in relation to inclusion?

(Allan 1996, p. 3)

This critical look at inclusion and the grid of reasoning in which it is embedded opens the way to important new ideas about the production of the *dangerous outsider* and normalization implicit in the language about disability studies.

> Disability Studies presents convoluted and productive liaisons with and departures from existing curriculum planning in some ways, demonstrating similar ethical commitments and theoretical tools to curriculum history and Reconceptualist theorizing in others, and contributing unique insights based on the specificity of the focus that have not arisen within the domains of curriculum history, curriculum theory, or curriculum planning (Baker, 2001 p. 3).

This circulation of power in the language of inclusion, disability, normalization, and diversity contains problematic ideas that constrain profound innovations that would make the goals of inclusive education more possible. The 'standards agenda' is problematized by Cummings, Dyson and Millward in a chapter of Allan's 2003 book, which "[t]he authors report on the different conceptualizations of the role of schools arising within different social and economic

contexts and in response to the 'standards agenda' and the education market place". (p. 5)

In Part Three of the Allan book, the Stirling Colloquium members share their experiences as they attempt to bring change to the national dialogue about inclusion. Ainscow and Tweddle "examine the implications of the erosion of power Local Education Authorities (LEAs) in England and Wales [as they attempted] to foster collaborative inquiry among students, parents, teachers and Local Authority staff" (Allan, p. 6) in formulating ways to increase participation and learning.

Scott Danforth and Susan Gabel are authors and editors of the 2008 book *Disability and the Politics of Education: An international reader.* In this book the 1990 Education for All (EFA) is revisited and the focus is on the "understanding of disability and the international politics of education." (p. 1) A chapter of Danforth and Gabel's book by Linda Graham and Roger Slee contains a discussion of Foucault's ideas about circulation of power in relation to inclusion and diversity. They cite Popkewitz' and Lindblad's 2000 work about "normalisation and reification of schooling performances under the rubric of urban/rural normativities" (Graham & Slee, p. 93). The authors state that: "This chapter aims to pick up the conversation from Bernadette Baker when she questions the 'hunt for disability'" (p. 94) and quote Baker's question, "And finally, whether intended or not, is labeling a way of morphing 'disability' into the assumptions of an ableist normativity, with all its racial-cultural overtones, rather than questioning certain privileged ontologies and epistemologies to begin with? (Baker, 2002, p. 689) Yet in spite of these discussions, in books and in colloquia, the following texts appeared in prominent positions about curriculum goals at the same discursive moment, around the publication of the Education Act 2002 and related handbooks for practitioners.

As a reminder, the following quotation from the *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* (2001) handbook that I used earlier in the second chapter of this dissertation contains advice for teachers about planning for diverse children and children with special needs.

> Increasingly, programs serve children and families from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, requiring that all programs demonstrate understanding of and responsiveness to cultural and linguistic diversity…The *Curriculum guidance for the foundation stage* contains advice about the requirements of providing equal opportunities for all children. This includes planning to meet the needs of *both boys and girls, children with special educational needs (SEN), children who are more able, children with disabilities, children from all social, cultural and religious backgrounds, children of different ethnic groups including travellers, refugees and asylum seekers, and children from diverse linguistic backgrounds*. (QCA 2001, p. 5, italics added).

Another source for information on inclusive curricula comes from the website of an organization, a non-profit called *Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education* (CSIE), founded in 1982. The website has this to say about inclusion in education:

> Arguments for inclusive education are well documented and rest on notions of equality and *human rights*. Much more than a policy requirement, inclusion is founded upon a *moral position* which values and respects every individual and which welcomes diversity as a rich learning resource. At a time when the educational landscape is rapidly changing, with increasingly diverse abilities and family, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, respect and equal commitment to all learners seem more important than ever. The education system is called upon to cater for, among others, black and minority ethnic learners, children of migrant workers and of gypsies, travelers and showpeople as well as

> for disabled learners. CSIE works towards the restructuring of mainstream provision so that all schools are willing and able to include, value, and respect all children. (CSIE, italics added)

This statement by the CSIE group includes the ideas of inclusion as a 'moral position' and related to 'human rights' (see italicized words in quotation). These two pieces of text do not show a troubling of the 'certainty' of the grid of reasoning around normalization, standards, inclusion, and the dangerous outsider that is so strongly advocated by critics (quoted earlier in this sub-section) who offer very salient problematization of these very ideas. The next sub-section includes further problematization of the technologies of power in these reasonings.

Englishness(es) and Britishness(es) as technology of power: Control and the *dangerous outsider.*

> The invention of a range of technologies enabled the family to inscribe the norms of public duty while not destroying its private authority…The school had a particular place in the new governing that related the family, childhood, and communities…The school was narrated in the image of the family yet had to supersede its norms and cultural values in order to produce the citizen who would guarantee the future of American progress…The family was a way to deal with the threat to cultural production and dissemination tied up with the American identity. Some early political scientists, for example, spoke about 'race suicide' as a national problem produced through immigration (Popkewitz , in Baker & Heyning 2004, p. 198-199)

The 2001 Census of England showed the following information: Two areas of Britain have a larger non-white than white population for the first time ever, newly-released results of the 2001 census for England and Wales have revealed (Ethnic groups, 2003). These findings

resulted in extended media coverage about diversity and immigration and the "Englishness" of English children. Popular media has reflected these concerns, as shown in this example from BBC:

> Fifty years after the start of mass immigration to the UK questions are still being asked about whether or not the UKcan become a multi-ethnic society at ease with itself - or whether there is still a long road to be travelled. The growth of asylum seeker applications contributed to a new growth of immigration to the UK. Between 1998 and 2000, some 45,000 people arrived from Africa, 22,700 from the Indian sub-continent, 25,000 from Asia and almost 12,000 from the Americas. Some 125,000 people were allowed to settle in the UK in 2000. (BBC News, 2002)

However, second-generation immigrants who have made England their home, children of immigrant parents who may be confused with new immigrants due to religion or appearance, are outraged when considered "non-English".

> The nation fills the void left in the uprooting of communities and kin, and turns that loss into the language of metaphor. Metaphor, as the etymology of the word suggests, transfers the meaning of home and belonging, across the 'middle passage', or the central European steppes, across those distances, and cultural differences, that span the imagined community of the nation-people. (Bhabha, 1990, p. 291)

The discourse of culture has been the topic of study by several scholars, not solely Homi Bhabha. Chris Jenks made culture the topic of his 1993 book, appropriately titled *Culture.* As mentioned in Chapter 1 (pg. 8), he distinguished a "four-fold typology" of the genesis of culture:

1. Culture as a cerebral or certainly cognitive category: culture becomes intelligible as a general state of mind. It carries with it the idea of perfection, a goal or an aspiration of individual human achievement or emancipation…

2. Culture as a more embodied and collective category: culture invokes a state of intellectual and/or moral development in society. This is a position linking culture with the idea of civilization and one that is informed by the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin…

3. Culture as a descriptive and concrete category; culture viewed as the collective body of arts and intellectual work within any one society: this is very much an everyday language usage of the term…

4. Culture as a social category; culture regarded as the whole way of life of a people: this is the pluralist and potentially democratic sense of the concept that has come to be the zone of concern within sociology and anthropology and latterly, within a more localized sense, cultural studies. (p. 11-12)

Jenks ended with an analysis of "mainstream culture" as the embedded discourse of "normal", the goal of compensatory education and implied source of capital for children of all ethnicities and linguistic origins, religions, etc. Jenks problematizes this expectation of children gauging themselves against the assimilative "norm" as do many others while some, Lisa Delpit being one of them, posits the benefits to children who learn the "culture of power" (1988) of mainstream culture. The use of standard English speech and usage is one area of concern to both Jenks and Delpit, among others.

Prout and James also wrote about the complexity of culture. In their 1990 book, *Constructing and reconstructing childhood* their chapter "A new paradigm for the sociology of

childhood? Provenance, promise and problems" (this chapter also appeared in Jenks, 2005) the authors posited six ideas about children and culture:

> 1. Childhood is understood as a social construction. As such it provides an interpretive frame for contextualizing the early years of human life. Childhood, as distinct from biological immaturity, is neither a natural nor universal feature of human groups but appears as a specific structural and cultural component of many societies.
>
> 2. Childhood is a variable of social analysis. It can never be entirely divorced from other variables such as class, gender, or ethnicity. Comparative and cross-cultural analysis reveals a variety of childhoods rather than a single and universal phenomenon.
>
> 3. Children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspective and concerns of adults.
>
> 4. Children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. Children are not just passive subjects of social structures and processes.
>
> 5. Ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for the study of childhood. It allows children a more direct voice and participation in the production of sociological data than is usually possible through experimental or survey styles of research.
>
> 6. Childhood is a phenomenon in relation to which the double hermeneutic of the social sciences is acutely present (see Giddens, 1976). That is to say, to proclaim a new paradigm of childhood sociology is also to engage in and respond to the process of reconstructing childhood in society. (p. 57)

James, Jenks and Prout (1997) identified childhood culture from four main theoretical positions: the socially constructed child; the tribal child; the minority group child; the social structural

child. In 1998, Woodhead, Faulkner, and Littleton edited a book called *Cultural worlds of early childhood.* The first paragraph of the introduction follows:

> Chapters in this selection are united by the view that child development is a cultural process, in two senses. Firstly, children's development is cultural, in so far as they inhabit an environment constructed through centuries of human endeavour, and they are encouraged to participate in culturally defined ways of talking, behaving, thinking and feeling, mediated through their relationships with other, generally more experienced cultural actors. Secondly, 'Child Development' is itself culturally constructed. As a body of theoretical knowledge and research descriptions, Child Development reflects a minority of world childhoods, based mainly on North American and European children as studied from the perspective of North American and European researchers. In this selection, we aim to offer a more balanced account, setting dominant images of the goals and processes of early development within a broader cultural framework. (Woodhead, Faulkner & Littleton 1998, p. 1)

Studying culture as a discourse and looking at historical and theoretical differences opened up a new area for critiquing education practices and policies. It also brought learning about a greater overlap of anthropology with education. One area of critique opened up by this new (or renewed) interest in culture in education and in the construction of childhood is as a critique of education policies and practices that are based on an assumption of a "universal child". One example of this is the *Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Programs Serving Children from Birth Through Age 8* (Bredekamp, 1987 and revised edition in 1997 by Bredekamp and Copple, and again in 2009 (edited by Copple and Bredekamp); see section 2.3 of this chapter for details) and another is standardized testing. The first two of these major early

childhood documents from the USA dismiss cultural differences in children as irrelevant to the standard or norm, while the 2009 version pays some attention to cultural differences, while also maintaining notions of the standard and standardizable child While the documents were developed in the USA, these norms, as suggested above, were developed based on research data from Western Europe, England and the USA during the early 20th century. Researchers often created or constructed the truth of child development drawing from studies done in university based child development laboratory nursery schools, using privileged children from middle-to-upper upper income "Euro-Anglo-American cultures" (see Bloch, 1987; Danzinger, *Constructing the Child, 1990*; Rose, *Governing the Soul*, 1989/1999) The inequity of this skewing is multiplied when the results of a child's performance against these categories or representations of normative or normal development are used by teachers to choose reading levels, math groups, etc., or to describe children as abnormal or "at risk", as they are currently in the early 21st century in both the USA and in England. Next, I link the cultural studies of the late 1990s with the concerns of the early 2000s about immigrants and Englishness(es) and Britishness(es).

Sweeping reforms, such as the universal funding of early years education by the Education Act 2002, reflect responses to perceived public concerns massive enough that smaller adjustments to current policy would appear insufficient. The public funding of compulsory, universal primary education in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century has been linked to public concerns about the impacts of a large wave of immigrants on American language, dress, practices, and culture; there are similarities to the current situation in England which resulted in universal funding of Foundation Stage programs. Public concerns about the loss of "Englishness" have been demonstrated through media coverage, television

documentaries, popular books, and the rise of political themes of "keeping England for English people", listening to the same fears expressed within other European Union countries about "immigrants," while at the same time distancing themselves from the EU and trying to keep immigration low. Discourses of globalization have also been part of changing ideas about Englishness(es) and Britishness(es).

Globalization is a discourse which arose frequently in my reading of the implementation of early learning programs in England at this time and the postcolonial relationships with the citizens of former colonies whose economic, social, religious, and educational systems were disrupted by English occupation, some of whose citizens now migrate to England in their efforts to find ways to survive and thrive by reconstructing themselves as English citizens. Globalization refers to the globalized state that does not correspond to national identity or national boundaries, yet is part of them.

> But one should not speak of globalization as a phenomenon that is outside and divided from local production and the national imaginaries in which the cosmopolitan self is produced (Popkewitz, 2000b). While there are universalizing characteristics of the cosmopolitan individuality that seem to cross nations, these universals are not universal but particular normalizations and divisions that move with anxieties and displacements that include unequal playing fields. The universalized norms of the cosmopolitan self that seemed inclusive of all individuals are not. The normalizations embody differentiations and divisions that are historically worked through in the relation of the global and the local, with continual slippages (Popkewitz & Bloch 2001, p. 110).

The inclusion of standardized testing for children is one of the ways that normalization has become embodied in conjunction with the policies of England, the US (see preceding section

from this chapter) and many other countries as well. Standardized tests currently start at age seven in England although an assessment based on "early learning goals" as discussed in chapter 2 of this dissertation. This "EYFS Profile" will accompany the child into the reception year, or Key Stage 1. (Retrieved on June 5, 2013 from http://media.education.gov.uk/assets/files/pdf/2/sta136242e_2013_eyfs_ara2.pdf)

The boundaries of the national imaginary have become blurred through global interactions and exchanges, including more accessible international travel, a proliferation of multi-national corporations, the Internet, the disintegration of political definitions such as the communist/Western division and increasingly inter-related political and economic relationships and dependencies between formerly autonomous and less-connected nation-states.

> The challenges posed to the idea of the nation state by the themes of globalization and localization are too familiar to require much elaboration: the globalization of flows of money, communications, products, persons, ideas and cultures, and the localization of local economic regions, world cities, regional identities, lifestyle sectors and so forth. These challenges disrupt the images of spatialization and communication that underpinned conventional notions of nation states, their territorial unity and governability. (Rose 1999, pg. 2)

The exchange of information, particularly the sharing of "expertise", has contributed to the weaving of a national imaginary as a more fluid and permeable boundary between groups of people, complicated and less-definite. The sharing of scientific and business discoveries, for example, creates an identity more complex and fluid than simply that of nationality; ideas that could not have been shaped, or if shaped, were not taken seriously, become possible when a break and shift in the national imaginary occurs.

Section 2: Circularity of Englishness(es) at the metropole: Religious Education, Britishness(es) and Englishness(es)

> They articulate the death-in-life of the idea of the 'imagined community' of the nation; the worn-out metaphors of the resplendent national life now circulate in another narrative of entry permits and passports and work permits that at once preserve and proliferate, bind and breach the human rights of the nation. (Bhabha 1990, p. 315)

This chapter analyzes national identities at the postcolonial heart of the former center of the empire in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Within this heart is the passionate and sometimes difficult matter of religion. Great Britain, at the time of this chapter in the late 20th and very early 21st centuries, was in a time of rapid emergence of new "Britishness(es)" and "Englishness(es)" as imagined communities formed and changed within the globalized nation. In this chapter we move into another area with a somewhat different trajectory through this terrain of a shifting society, and that is religious education in a diverse post-colonial metropole during this time of globalized movement.

Sweeping reforms, such as the universal funding of early years education by the Education Act 2002, reflect responses to perceived public concerns about the impacts of a large wave of immigrants on language, dress, practices, and culture. Public concerns about the loss of "Englishness" have been demonstrated through media coverage, television documentaries, popular books, and the rise of new political parties including the UKIP, the England Independence Party, which is based upon supporting "keeping England for English people", distancing from the EU and keeping immigration low.

In early 2005 the head of Ofsted (Office for Students, Teachers and Education) David Bell gave a speech at the Hansard Society on citizenship that caused a flurry in the media. He

criticized schools segregated by religion, mentioning Muslim schools in particular, saying that they "put our coherence at risk". (Bell, in *The Guardian*, 17 January 2005) The most rapidly-growing group of religious schools in England, Muslim schools were going to figure in his upcoming annual report, according to Bell, and in this report said he would advise that "many Muslim schools must adapt their curriculum to help pupils 'acquire an appreciation of and respect for other cultures in a way that promotes tolerance and harmony'". (Curtis, 2005, Guardian) The Secretary-General of the Muslim Council of Britain replied that he was offended at the assumption that Muslim schools had a negative effect on coherence, saying that it was "highly irresponsible to suggest that the growth of Muslim faith schools poses a threat to 'our coherence as a nation'" and added that concerns about the schools "not adequately fulfilling their responsibility for preparing children for their wider responsibility" was "a generic issue affecting all poorly-funded schools". (Sacranie, in *The Guardian*, 17 January 2005) Other Muslim education officials, including the principal of a 700-student Islamic academy, responded as well. The chairman of Birmingham's central mosque said "Muslim schools do not harm social cohesion and neither do Jewish or Christian schools" (Naseem, in *The Guardian*, 17 January 2005.) This article had many responses from readers.

The next day the *Guardian's* education editor, Rebecca Smithers, wrote a follow-up article that included much more information from David Bell's speech and much less from Muslim educational leaders. Smithers summarized all of the arguments and added the information that there were approximately 100 Muslim, 100 evangelical Christian, and 50 Jewish schools in the England at the time. Smithers pointed out that in the national league tables, Feversham College in Bradford (the first all girls' Islamic state secondary school) came out at the top of the league in the GCSE tests. One issue that Smithers cited from Bell's Ofsted report

was the differences in attitudes towards women that might be held in different religious groups. She added more from his report:

> I would go further and say that an awareness of our common heritage as British citizens, equal under the law, should enable us to assert with confidence that we are intolerant of intolerance, illiberalism and attitudes and values that demean the place of certain sections of our community, be they women or people living in non-traditional relationships. (Bell, in *The Guardian*, 18 January 2005)

Muslim leaders were cited as calling Bell "Islamophobic" and claimed that due to institutional racism, their request to have more Muslim schools fast-tracked into the state system was denied. At that time in 2005, 3% of Muslim children attended the 100 Muslim schools in the country, counting both state and privately funded schools.

In 2007, BBC posted a "Q&A: Muslim Schools" sheet and reported 126 full-time Muslim schools, with only eight being state-funded and the rest independent. There were also "many children" attending Madrassa schools attached to mosques after schools to learn about the Koran in Arabic. The fact sheet reports that the state-funded Muslim schools are regulated like all faith schools, with Ofsted ensuring that they follow the national curriculum and meet national standards. The private schools are inspected by Ofsted officials but do not have to follow the national curriculum; but the fact sheets quotes the Association of Muslim schools as claiming that most do so, and that all of the private schools enter pupils for GCSEs. The Madrassas are not regulated by Ofsted. The fact sheet ends with the assurance that Muslim schools and all faith schools include education about other religions in their curriculum, to promote the understanding necessary to live in a multi-cultural society.

Religious Education, Britishness(es) and Englishness(es): The metropole/province

binary is part of the discourse about and within the policies that I have analyzed and in this chapter I posit that this binary is central to them. In the previous section, I have chosen to illustrate this through multiple discursive texts related to religious education, and I have several reasons for this decision. Although it is one illustration among many, it points to the complexity of discourses of community, identities, exclusions/inclusions, and educational policy and curriculum. While important also in other countries, it is important to remember the distinction between global/local that have been highlighted earlier in this chapter.

Therefore, within the context of both global discourses of identity and religion, and the ways in which these travel and are enacted or enunciated 'locally,' here we look at England in the late 20th and early 21st century. Here then, religion is an area that is sometimes included in discussions about imagined communities and identities about "Englishness" or "Britishness". Englishness has traditionally contained an assumed alignment with the Church of England since the Reformation. The Church of England has historically had a dominant role in schooling in Great Britain and that history will be discussed in chapter 5. Later in this chapter I further analyze 21st century ideas about religious education in the national curriculum and the role of religion in educating a diverse population. The French government's ban on all the wearing of all religious symbols in schools, sparked by objections to the headscarves of Muslim girls, was one response to this tension:

> France is the first country in Europe to publicly ban a form of dress some Muslims regard as a religious duty…Under the law, any woman - French or foreign - walking on the street or in a park in France and wearing a face-concealing veil such as the niqab or burka can be stopped by police and given a fine… People forcing women to wear the veil face a much larger fine and a prison sentence of up to two years…What is more open to

> question… is whether an out-and-out legal ban is necessary when, on most estimates, only 2,000-or-so women in France actually wear the niqab or burka. (BBC News Europe, 11 April 2011)

Great Britain took a different direction in handling the fraught issue of religious expression in the schools, while grappling with national questions about appropriate national curriculum for religious education in light of many immigrants who are not Christian.

How do the ideas in these laws compare to the ones from the 2004 Religious Education "non-statutory" curriculum handbook? (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority [QCA] 2004 *Religious education: The non-statutory national framework)* Could the more inclusive language in the religious education curriculum, in response to the think tank recommendations, have encouraged a newly cosmopolitan attitude towards Britishness(es) that includes an 'educated, *reasonable* Muslim' who is also clearly defined as such? A comprehensive answer to this question is beyond the scope of this dissertation, although the Minister of State for Schools, Nick Gibb,

> asked the Religious Education Council for England and Wales (REC) to consider excellent practice in RE teaching and present its findings in a report….The minister has also offered support to help shape a revised RE teaching framework that ensures RE retains its academic rigour and is in step with the design and style of a National Curriculum. (Hallmark & Johnson, 2012)

The QCA published a new set of non-statutory guidelines in 2009 as a result of a two-year review. The 2004 and 2009 non-statutory guidelines involve a balance between efforts to standardize Religious Education and also to allow local education authorities the ability to create a syllabus that works in each area. Clive Erricker has written a book that addresses the play of

curricular ideas in the RE area entitled *Religious education: A conceptual and interdisciplinary approach for secondary level.* (2010) There is a website for teachers to use called "Better RE…for teachers, advisers and professionals" at http://betterre.reonline.org.England/. This site has resources that support the commitment to diversify the curriculum from its former Christian focus. It has links and suggestions for ways to "Retell a story" with archives of various religious stories, "Update a story" which includes Buddhist, Hindu, Islamist and Hasidic links. There are 11 suggested areas, and one of the most intriguing was "Preparing research-use of documentary evidence" to make a presentation on topics such as "soul of Britain, religious tolerance, Holocaust Memorial Day, ethical and moral issues, and the faith zone. This is a way to bring a thoughtful and critical approach to faith and belief.

Another source of information that is available now is that the Ofsted inspections that I critiqued in chapter two of this dissertation seldom mention religious education in their evaluations of programs, while extensively commenting on literacy, numeracy, and teaching quality. This was true even for Church of England schools.

The third and possibly richest resource is the local education authority (LEA) websites that have published their current religious education syllabi on them. These varied from a few pages to a 62-page pamphlet, larger than the original religious education handbook and resembling it closely. For this section I discuss three of them, one quite brief from Bristol, the 62-page syllabus from Birmingham, and a medium-sized 25-page syllabus from Warwickshire. The first one of the three that I discuss in the following pages is the shorter one from the LEA that covers Bristol, Avon, Somerset, and South Gloucestershire.

This simple document consists of black text on white paper with no cover page. It begins with the heading "RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: the statutory requirements" (capitals original)

and has three bulleted pages reviewing the policy changes since 1944 from this local education authority's (LEA) perspective. The first sentence states: "The key legislation relating to R. E. dates from the 1944 Act, although some goes back to 1870!" Note that the RE national framework from 2004 emphasized that it was "non-statutory" and this syllabus is spending three of its five pages on the "statutory" portion, followed by two pages on the legislation about "Collective Worship". This does not bode well for this LEA's agreement with the recommendations made by the 2004 non-statutory inclusive framework. In fact, the final statement on this syllabus is: "There have been various rumors, particularly when Charles Clarke was Secretary of State for Education, that the legislation applying to Collective Worship was to be amended, but no action has been forthcoming! Imagine trying to get that through the Commons!" Charles Clarke was the Secretary of State who signed the Forward of the 2004 RE handbook. The point is made under Collective Worship that the 1988 Act separates RE and Collective Worship, and that they must be provided separately for all pupils every day. The final bulleted point states that "Collective Worship must be concerned with a reverence to a divine power of being. It must give special status to Jesus Christ. It must be broadly Christian on the majority of occasions." On the earlier section, in bold, it states that RE must "**reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian whilst taking account of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain."** This portion says that the "relevant legislation" is the 1988 Act, even though "these have been superseded by the QCA non-statutory framework for the RE", that is, the 2004 RE national framework.

One other point from this guideline for writing a syllabus is that the Standing Advisory Councils for RE (SACREs) advise the LEAs on the RE for the authority. The SACREs are "representative bodies made up of four committees – Church of England, the local authority

(elected members), teachers (nominated through unions), other religious denominations as represented in the area. Each committee has one vote! (93-proportionality added)". This document does not appear to be a syllabus as much as a review of the letter of the law about RE, even though it is on the website as the syllabus. I include excerpts from it because of its historical summary in Appendix 2.

The next syllabus is from Birmingham. The second largest city in England, Birmingham also has the largest Muslim population so it has a unique position with respect to the religious education program. Written in 2007, this pamphlet is the same color of blue as the 2004 National Framework, and has the logo of the Birmingham City Council on the cover. The next page contains a box with a blue outline with first a quote from Her Majesty the Queen encouraging people of various religious faiths to remember what they have in common, and how "people of different faiths are bound together", followed by a statement from the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus Conference, 2006: "In Religious Education the deepest values of human life are shared and discussed." Following is a foreword from a Cabinet member and the Chair of the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus Conference, a statement of the legal requirement, then several pages on the contribution of religious education to the curriculum, the specific aims, and factors to be used in identifying the religious traditions to be studied. Following are nearly twenty pages of Programmes of Study for each Key Stage, including the Foundation Stage. After that is the part I found most interesting, which is twenty-seven pages of overviews of religious traditions. In this section, nine religious traditions are each given several-page summaries, each fairly equal, about their beliefs, practices, deities, concerns, and places of worship. The religious traditions covered are: Baha'i, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Judaism, Rastafarianism, and Sikhism. None are given more space than the others, implying that none are more strange

(needing more explanation) nor more important (deserving of more detail) than the others. The descriptions were also quite interesting and the language was rich, not dry, but accessible. The pamphlet ends with a list of the many people who were members of the Agreed Syllabus Conference, and the community they represented. This included the Jewish Community, Church of England, Council of Black-Led Churches, Jain Community, Muslim Community, Smaller Free Churches, Rastafarian Community, Roman Catholic Church, Hindu Community, Buddhist Community, Baha'i Community, and several groups of teachers and Birmingham city groups. This was clearly a lengthy and thorough collaboration for a complicated community and it will be interesting to see how it works for teachers, students, families and communities.

The final document is for the Warwickshire schools. It is black and white, with a cover page and a foreword from the co-chairs of the Warwickshire SACRE. In the foreword the co-chairs say that "This Agreed Syllabus meets the legal requirements, whilst taking into account current changes within the educational world." They go on to say that it "reflects our inclusive practice" and is directed toward the "diversity of the school population" with the goal of "help[ing] our young people interact positively in an ever-changing global setting." After the foreword are the statutory requirements for the provision of religious education, presented in a much more orderly manner than the Bristol syllabus did, and at the end is the statement "The principal religious traditions to be taught are the Buddhist tradition, the Christian tradition, the Hindu tradition, the Jewish tradition, the Muslim tradition, and the Sikh tradition, as reflected in the Non-statutory national framework on religious education, 2004". In the sections detailing the program by key stage, the Foundation Stage (aged three to five), the syllabus directs that educators "teach the above through inclusion of explicit religious material from the Christian tradition and two other principal traditions (Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh). This should

not exceed two traditions at any one time. By Key stage 1 (early primary), under statutory requirements, "Schools are required to: select content from the Christian and Muslim traditions and one other (Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Sikh) of the school's choice for more in-depth study." (p. 8) then to "**'encounter'** each of the remaining three principal religious traditions on one occasion" (p. 10, bold original). Key stage 2 (late primary) requires students to study Christian, Hindu and Sikh traditions and one other; Key stage 3 (middle school) covers Christian and each of the other five (Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim and Sikh) "to ensure that all are studied in-depth over the course of Key stages 3 & 4" (p. 14). Key stages 4 & 5 require Christian tradition and at least one other principal religion. Even though all of the six major religions are featured at some Key stage, only Christianity is required at all of them.

These three syllabi show three very different interpretations of the statutory and non-statutory RE requirements and framework. The Birmingham Key stage curricula are the same as Warwickshire, but in smaller letters, light gray, and in the upper left-hand corner, while in the center in black with bright blue headlines are recommendations taken from the 2004 non-statutory RE framework that are more inclusive. A more thorough study of the current syllabi is beyond the scope of this dissertation but would be a fruitful area for future work, along with the changing discourses of Britishness(es) and Muslimness(es) that produced and are produced by the 2004 framework, the many articles in newspapers, and the RE syllabi for the various local education authorities. When the review of the RE non-statutory guidelines promised by the Minister of State for Schools, Nick Gibb, becomes available it will be interesting to see what, if any, changes the coalition government between conservative Prime Minister David Cameron and liberal democrat deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg make up the new RE guidelines of 2012 or beyond.

Summary

In this chapter, I have focused on the imagined communities in the heart of the former empire and the complex intersections between the discourses of Britishness(es) and Englishness(es), in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. These imagined communities include (among other discourses that were also used to illustrate such as those about immigration, diversity in language, cultural custom, etc.) ideas about religion, embedded differently in curriculum as well as policy documents. The analysis of discourses of religion illustrates especially the questions related to what constitutes the "correct" relationship(s) between the National Curriculum taught in the England and the diverse religious beliefs of immigrants from former colonies. The nation grappled with new ideas about Britishness(es) and Englishness(es) in the last years of the 20th and first years of the 21st centuries as Great Britain absorbed an increasingly diverse population through immigration and globalization, many people coming from former colonies. Part of these new ways of being a citizen of the nation circulated around questions of religion, and the traditional role of religious education in the national curriculum was a crucial topic of debate, but also embodied more general anxieties about how to incorporate, assimilate, and maintain difference. The continued differentiation of inclusion and exclusion and attempts to fix things in an inclusionary way, without recognition of the complexities and relationships between inclusion/exclusion are highlighted in the texts analyzed.

As a concrete illustration of these points, I analyzed ideas about inclusion, culture and Religious Education (RE) syllabi from three diverse parts of the England that were written in response to the non-statutory RE guidelines written during then-Prime Minister Tony Blair's Labour regime. A non-statutory framework for religious education was published in 2004 that encouraged a new balance between the inclusion of local "religious traditions" and the (statutory) focus on Christianity. To explore this, in the earlier section (prior to this summary) I

analyzed three religious education syllabi that resulted from the recommendations of the non-statutory framework and seven newspaper articles during the years from 2005 to 2009 that were part of this national imagining/re-imagining of Britishness(es) around religion. The complex constructions of "otherness" and the "dangerous outsider" in the late 20th and early 21st century education policies, implemented through discourses on religion and culture, are the subjects of my discussion which was used to highlight the shifts in cultural reasoning and imaginaries that formed what was considered normal/outside normality to provide a context for the ways in which the Foundation Stage child and his/her education might be constructed as subjectivities, and externalized discourses of 'others.'

I also analyzed the 21st century education policies and their efforts to "normalize" the "dangerous outsiders" by creating a universal national curriculum and learning goals that apply to all, while at the same time promoting and implementing policies from a deficit model that requires that the non-normal child exist in order to define the normal. The next chapter moves the discussion of normalization, the control of the dangerous outsider, and capillary power in the idea of 'other' into the earlier discursive moment of the early 19th century.

Chapter 5—Discursive construction of child with "potential"—Englishness(es) and Britishness(es) in the 19th century

> The blood relation long remained an important element in the mechanisms of power, its manifestations, and its rituals. For a society in which the systems of alliance, the political form of the sovereign, the differentiation into orders and castes, and the value of descent lines were predominant; for a society in which famine, epidemics, and violence made death imminent, *blood* constituted one of the fundamental values. (Foucault 1978/1990, p. 147, italics added)

In this chapter I traced the shifting subjectivities of "Englishness(es)" and "Britishness(es)" in children during the 19th century. One important idea was of the centrality of blood, as "one of the fundamental values. It owed its high value at the same time to its instrumental role (the ability to shed blood), to the way it functioned in the order of signs (to have a certain blood, to be of the same blood, to be prepared to risk one's blood), and also to its precariousness (easily spilled, subject to drying up, too readily mixed, capable of being quickly corrupted)." (Foucault 1978/1990, p. 147) Related to this is the idea of children 'with potential', who are not of the 'norm' or who do not have the same 'blood' but who are the intended recipients of reforms and curricular innovations to produce the desired citizens for the nation. Another purpose of this chapter is to explore culture and the 'dangerous outsider' , and an analysis of these ideas within the texts of legislation and of curricula.

This chapter explores the theme of 'dangerous outsider' and the child who is not of the 'norm' but who is thought of as having 'potential' that must be developed. However, these are late 20th-century ideas, coming from a grid of reasoning derived from scientific, psychological, child developmental, and brain research findings as discussed in chapter 2. Baker cautions us in

applying this kind of analysis to earlier ideas:

> What are more distinctive in regard to recent studies are the different strategies and methods for producing knowledge about the child that were not available in Dewey's timespace…Dewey could not use phrases such as "the normalization of child development." Dewey could not claim to unknow or defer the child through the play of language…This is not due to a lack of Deweyan imagination but to a shift in the discursive conditions and strategies for positing truth that have opened over the latter half of the 20th century. (Baker 2001, p. 5)

This is part of the work of this chapter, to discover how, or if, the grids of reasoning around the young child in the 19th century (and just before) include ideas that are related to the 'dangerous outsider' and the child with 'potential' that we see in 20th and early 21st century educational language.

Three types of texts were used in this analysis. One was from the legislation that was passed during the 19th century to regulate children and schools; another was the text of the curriculum reforms that were implemented as children were constructed as part of the 'potential' of the nation in differing ways; and the third was fiction, including juvenile fiction that was written to shape the child to be the desired citizen. The purpose of this chapter is to reintroduce, in an earlier moment, continuities as well as ruptures in ways of reasoning about population, childhood, Englishness/Britishness, and children as 'resources' for the imagined nation. By moving to these earlier moments, we can see how current reasoning stays the same, and at the same time is new, how different moments use different ways to govern population and its welfare through various technologies of power.

Section 1 overview—In section 2 of the previous chapter I talked about some of the ways

that former colonists are creating new Britishness(es) in the 21st century; in this section I look at some of the discourses of Britishness(es) and Englishness(es) from the time of empire, both in the metropole and in the colonies. I start by discussing the role of Elementary Education Act 1870, a pivotal Act that attempted to distance the emerging national school system from the Church of England. This effort proved to be controversial and short-lived. Rather than distancing national education from the Church of England, subsequent education policies expressly *included* the Church of England in religious education curriculum. The place of the Church of England in Britishness(es)/Englishness(es), as exemplified by its role in the national curriculum, was part of the empire/colony assumption that to be English/British, one must also be Christian. This assumption was problematic and had widespread socio-economic implications.[9]

Religion is an area that is sometimes included in discussions about imagined communities and identities about "Englishness" or "Britishness". Englishness has traditionally contained an assumed alignment with the Church of England since the Reformation. The Church of England has historically had a dominant role in schooling in Great Britain and that history will be covered in Section 5.2. In Chapter 4 I started the discussion of Britishness(es) and Englishness(es) into the 20th and early 21st centuries when I analyzed 21st century ideas about religious education in the national curriculum and the role of religion in educating a diverse population. In the first section of this chapter I analyzed the curricular ideas that were part of the changing role of religious education in the policy texts of the 19th century and early 20th as the

[9] For example, see Huggins: However, in 1815 the Church of England was the dominant state religion. In order to hold public office a man had to be a communicating member of the Church of England. This angered many non-conformists and Roman Catholics who were excluded from participating in local or national government or from sitting as MPs in Parliament. (Huggins 2011) Also see Cody: The public schools (private pay or tuition-based) and the universities, even after they were freed of religious restrictions, remained bastions of Anglicanism. (Cody, 2011)

place for religion in the subjectivities of the child and the grids of reasoning about religion and Englishness(es) and Britishness(es) became part of the national legislation about curriculum for the young citizens.

***Section 2 overview*—**This section of this chapter moves to the early and pre-19th century portion of British history as I analyze the varying types of schooling and learning that were intended to shape the citizen 'with potential' during the time of empire. In this section I also talk about Foucault's idea of *blood* and how these ideas relate to the 'dangerous outsider' and child 'with potential'. These include the long-established public schools run by religious organizations, governesses and tutors, Ragged Schools, and the innovations of Pestalozzi, McMillan, Owens, Montessori, and others. Included is an analysis of a few of the books that were written to shape female readers through a genre called "juvenile domestic fiction" (Kutzer, 2006, pg. 47). These tales had the role of educating young people into Victorian mores to be citizens of a society (which, among other things, was rapidly growing an empire) including commentary on the imaginaries of the colonies.

Englishness(es), Britishness(es) and the Church of England in the 19th century

> [I]f there really is a relationship between religion and politics in modern Western societies, it may be that the essential aspect of this relationship is *not* found in the interplay between *Church and state,* but rather between the *pastorate and government*…this set of techniques and procedures typical of the pastorate were given a name by the Greeks…that is to say, the economy of souls. (Foucault, cited in Sennellart, 2009/1978, p.191-192, italics added).

Foucault brings the taken-for-granted thinking about 'Church and state' into question in his lectures about the pastoral relationships that place the government as responsible for the 'economy of souls', or the souls of the pastorate. Historically religion was entwined with schooling in Great Britain (along with apprenticeships in the trades), although Foucault complicates this simplistic idea:

> [T]he fundamental point is that despite these conjunctions [of pastoral and political power], this intertwining, and these supports and relays, I think pastoral power…remains absolutely specific and different from political power…even with every imaginable kind of alliance between Church and state, Church and political power. (Foucault, cited in Senellart, 1978/2009, pp. 154-155)

The capillaries of power between/among the pastoral and the political are complex. To say that the Church dominated the national education prior to the changes in the 19th century in England (and in many other nations as well) is an obvious position since the classical schools established during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in England were predominantly run by religious personnel and funding. However, 'the Church' was far from one institution with one unified perspective. In addition to the 'classical' Latin-based schools, early 'Ragged Schools' or charity schools were run by some parishes, and early Sunday schools started before the 19th century, but

these both were controversial because of the teaching of liturgy and concerns about teachers working on Sunday to teach the Sunday schools. In spite of these innovations that began during the early part of the industrial revolution, the "public" schools, some of which had been established since early in the rule of William the Conqueror, were by far the predominant form of education available before the 19th century in England.

The headmaster of Harrow spoke from a belief in the centrality of the Church in as the heart of the public schools (i.e. private pay or tuition-based) that preceded the establishment of a national school system during the latter part of the 19th century:

> The religious tone of public schools is what is essential to them. A school in which religion does not play the highest part would not be in the present sense a public school…In every great public boarding-school the chapel is the centre of the school life. (J. E. C. Welldon, 1898)

Although the church had a complex relationship with schooling for hundreds of years in England, and pastoral and sovereign power in England was entwined, Foucault cautions that "[t]his does not mean that pastoral power has remained an invariant and fixed structure throughout fifteen, eighteen or twenty centuries of Christian history" (p. 148, cited in Senellart, 1978/2009).

> After all, all or a great part of the struggles that permeated not only the Christian Church but the Christian world, that is to say the entire Western world from the thirteenth to the seventeenth and 18th century, were struggles around and concerning pastoral power…fundamentally struggles over who would actually have the right to govern men, and to govern them in their daily life and in the details and materiality of their existence; they were struggles over who has this power, from whom it derives, how it is exercised,

> the margin of autonomy for each, the qualification of those who exercise it, the limits of their jurisdiction…ultimately without [the West] ever really getting rid of the pastorate. (Foucault, cited in Senellart, 1978/2009, p. 149)

Foucault's argument about the centrality of the struggle over the exercise of pastoral power is apparent in arguments during the 19th century about control over schools in the England. The Church of England (C of E) was historically in control of public schools, some of which had been in place since the Normans established schools soon after William the Conqueror arrived in 1086. The Reformation and Counter Reformation, or Wars of Religion, were contextualized as less than pivotal by Foucault in that they altered the *form* in which the pastoral power was exercised, not the fact that it *was* exercised:

> This great battle of pastorship traversed the West from the thirteenth to the 18th century, and ultimately without ever getting rid of the pastorate. For if it is true that the Reformation was undoubtedly much more a great pastoral battle than a great doctrinal battle, if it is true that what was at issue with the Reformation was actually the way in which pastoral power was exercised, then the two worlds or series of worlds that issue from the Reformation, that is to say, a Protestant world, or a world of Protestant churches and the Counter Reformation, were not worlds without a pastorate. (Foucault, in Senellart, p. 149)

Concerns regarding the role of the Church of England were part of public debates during the 19th century about legislation of children and how this legislation would be implemented as education policies started to shape the nascent national system of schools. The level of control to be given to Church of England for the sweeping national system now being considered was the locus of debate. School inspectors were one arena in which this was overtly demonstrated.

In January 1840 Lord Lansdowne appointed the first inspectors for English schools. The first two were the Reverend John Allen and Hugh Seymour Tremenheere. Allen's duty was to inspect the Church of England schools. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London had both chosen Allen because he was an "ideal Anglican", orthodox and loyal to the Church, and they "wanted no importunate bureaucrat telling its National Society schools how to teach the children of the poor" (Roberts, 1960, p. 185-6). Both Allen and Tremenheere were Anglicans and Whigs, agreed on many social ideals, and agreed on the moral value of education. John Allen nearly rejected the appointment because his fear of the secular power of the state becoming involved in Church of England schools, and he was convinced that "it is the duty and by consequence the right and privilege of the Church to be the teacher of the nation" (p. 187). The Bishop of London convinced him to accept. From 1840 to 1854 twelve more Anglican clergymen, all but one university graduates and most of those from Cambridge, were appointed to inspect Church of England schools. Eight laymen, six dissenters and two Catholics worked at the education office.

> All the inspectors were sharply critical of rote learning, harsh discipline, and a narrow curriculum; as already noted, they also embraced in varying degrees the ideas of the Swiss educators Pestalozzi and de Fellenberg. The clerical inspectors tended to draw their method from practical observations while the secular inspectors were more ardently Pestalozzian." (Roberts, 1960, pp. 196-197)

Pestalozzi advocated for wide-spread innovations in educating children, derived from a Rousseauvian world view of the 'natural' child and the affinity of children with nature. Here is a sampling of his ideas:

> I would take school instruction out of the hands of the old order of decrepit, stammering, journeymen-teachers as well as from the new weak ones, who are generally no better for popular instruction, and entrust it to the undivided powers of Nature herself, to the light that God kindles and ever keeps alive in the hearts of fathers and mothers, to the interest of parents who desire that their children should grow up in favour with God and man. (Pestalozzi, 1894)

I talk more about Pestalozzi's ideas, and those of Rousseau as well, about the education of children during the early years of the industrial revolution in the second section of this chapter. Related to Pestalozzi's ideas, inspector Tremenheere believed that educating poor and working class children in "industrial arts, political economy and morals" would "end pauperism, trade unions, and immorality" and that "Norfolk laborers could be lured from the delights of the pub to the rational enjoyment of ecclesiastical architecture (p. 188.) In 1870 that all changed when W. E. Forster, the vice-president of the Education Department, introduced the Elementary Education Act of 1870 which legislated a new role for school inspectors in regards to teaching religion in schools in a way that would have dismayed Reverend Allen.

The landmark Elementary Education Act (Forster Act) of 1870, the first education act, created a dual system of voluntary denominational schools and nondenominational state schools. The Act required that the local school district provide enough public elementary schools for all of the children resident in the district where there weren't any, gave school boards the power to forgive all or part of school fees for children who are unable to pay since schools were not free of charge to families in the district, directed the school boards to provide land and buildings for sufficient public school accommodation for their district. Instruction before this time was partially state-funded but mostly voluntary, privately-funded schools, including the charity

schools (or "ragged schools) founded earlier in the century in the 1840s. It was not systematic and it was not nationwide until the 1870 Act. That was part of the controversy, and part of the social innovation put into this Act by the Labour party. The controversial part was in section 14 (2.):

> 14. Every school provided by a school board shall be conducted under the control and management of such board in accordance with the following regulations:
>
> (1) The school shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act:
>
> **(2) No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.** (Elementary Education Act 1870, p. 6, bold added)

The other section of this Act that caused controversy was section 7 (1) through (3), which regulated religious education in the school:

> (1) It shall **not** be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs. (Elementary Education Act 1870, p. 3, bold added).

Section 7 (2) specified that religious observance and instruction in religious education will be at the beginning or at the end of the school meeting and that the time will be put in a time table that will be posted "conspicuously" in every schoolroom, and that parents may withdraw their

children without forfeiting any benefits of the school. Section 7 (3) relates to school inspections, saying that "The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty's inspectors" but that "it shall be **no part** of the duties of such inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects" or to check any student's knowledge of religious subjects. From the appointment of twelve Anglican clergymen between 1840 and 1854 as school inspectors to this Act which specifically said that religious education could not be required and school inspectors did not oversee religious education in 1870 was a relatively rapid change. Here is one description of the change brought by the 1870 Act when he was a schoolboy:

> After the passing of Mr. Forster's Education Act, a few progressive persons in the village started an agitation for the adoption of the Act. The Act was adopted, and the school I attended was taken over by the newly formed School Board. Steps were taken at once to build new school premises. A trained master was appointed, and a new era in child education in the village was opened up. I was between ten and eleven years old when this change took place. It brought me into a new world of learning. We were taught in a new schoolroom, which by comparison with the dingy old place we left seemed like a palace to us. The walls were covered with maps and pictures. Our curriculum was extended to include grammar, geography, history, elementary mathematics, and the simple sciences. We were not troubled with the religious question, for, in order to avoid all controversy, the Board from the beginning banished the Bible from the school, not because they were irreligious, but because they believed that the teaching of religion was best carried out by the sects in their own Sunday Schools. (Snowden, 1934)

As an adult Philip Snowden served as a Labour MP, protested Britain's involvement in World War I, slashed taxes for the poor while raising them for the wealthy as exchequer and served in

the House of Lords. In 1902 the Conservatives came into power and passed the Education Act 1902 which dismantled the popular School Boards, established local control through the local education authorities, and gave some funding to the voluntary denominational schools. This took some control from the secular schools and gave it to the church schools, and control over the religious education from the national to the local authorities.

In researching responses to the religious education controversy, what I found in *The Hansard Report* was particularly telling. The *Hansard Report* is the official edited verbatim report of proceedings in both Houses of Parliament, and debates are available from 1870. The concerns brought to Parliament in response to the 1870 Elementary Education Act were not about the religious education portion of the Act, although there were people who contested this part. The ones who appealed to Parliament were the parents who did not know how they could send their children to school when the child was taking care of a sick parent, or parents who could not afford the few pence for school fees. Another source for responses to the act came from a history of Birmingham public schools, where the biggest concern was how to get as many children literate as fast as possible. These three responses contextualized the act and led to the topic of section 3.2 of this dissertation on child labor laws. The social conditions of the children who were being brought into schooling by the Elementary Education Act 1870 were frequently at a subsistence level, as the main character in *A Little Princess* was for a period of time, a book I analyze in the following section. The shift in the dominance of the church over education was fragmented by the Education Act 1902 and further Acts in the 1900s, as demonstrated in the analysis of religious education in the 21st century in section 4.2 (still fragmented and decided locally) and in appendix 2 (a table of the Education Acts since the 1870 Act and their legislation on religious education). This *fragmentation* and *localization* is part of the shift from sovereign

power administered by the king through technologies of control such as prisons, the military, the church, deportation, execution, and so on, to a "capillary" power or to *a network of control administered through surveillance*. Even the movement between the two political parties is within the larger trajectory to greater governmentality as the 19th century moved to a close and the empire took its first steps towards decolonialization and becoming the metropole at the center of a group of postcolonial societies, working with a new relationship and a new circulation of power between church and state, or to return to the quotation from Foucault at the beginning of this section, *a new circulation of power between the pastoral and the political*. It is important to note the arbitrary division between colonial/postcolonial, and between religious and secular or religious/secular schooling. In both cases the circulation of discourses about these divisions, separations, and embedded assumptions of more or less good or normal, is part of the knowledge/power complex that is so important to interrogate here, and as we move into the late 20th/early 21st centuries, where these constructions of division and hierarchy remain, albeit in a different discursive complex.

In the next part of this section, I analyze curricula that were implemented as part of the movements to educate young children.

Section 2—Curricula to develop 'potential'

> We have no right to withhold from any one the opportunities for developing all their faculties. It may be judicious to treat some of them with marked attention, and to give up the idea of bringing others to high perfection. The diversity of talent and inclination, of plans and pursuits, is a sufficient proof of the necessity for such a distinction. But I repeat that we have no right to shut out the child from the development of those faculties also, which we may not for the present conceive to be very essential for his future calling or station in life. (Pestalozzi, 1827)

In this section I discuss Englishness(es) and Britishness(es) in the 19th century and pre-19th century in the age of the English empire, using an analysis of the texts of curricular ideas from the time as a way to uncover discourses of empire/colony, culture, and trajectories of power/knowledge within them. I chose these ideas from educators for several reasons. The first is that they reflect a protected status of childhood that is a discursive shift from earlier constructions of children. Donzelot identifies this shift as beginning in the middle of the 18th century in literature (1977, p. 9) partially as a response to concerns about high levels of mortality among infants and children attributed to poor hygiene, dangerous working conditions, inadequate feeding by wet nurses. Orphaned or abandoned children without relatives to care for them were a particular concern since "ninety percent of these 'forces' died before having been 'made useful to the state,' in spite of the great cost incurred by the state in their upkeep during childhood and adolescence". (Donzelot 1977, p. 10) This statement reflects the ideas about children as potential or future resources for the state. In addition to concerns about the state getting a return on their investment in caring for foundling children, their possible future use as fighters or sailors in the military or to populate the colonies was greater than of other children because "Being

without parents, with no other support than that obtained for them by wise government, they hold to nothing and have nothing to lose. Could death itself appear as something to be feared by men such as these?" (Chamousset, 1787, in Donzelot, p. 10) ##

These include the long-established public schools run by religious organizations, governesses and tutors, Ragged Schools, and the innovations of Pestalozzi, Owens, Montessori, Dewey, and others. I start with a section on the grids of reasoning of the pre-19th century and early 19th century about education, then move into curricular innovations of the early 19th century.

Pre-19th century & early 19th century curricula

> In England, the Latin Schools became affiliated to the universities; the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were markedly different from the other, non-university Latin schools [in the Middle Ages]. It became customary to begin the study of the arts at the nearest Latin school…[which] later would be called 'grammar schools'…the grammar schools prepared pupils for the universities, and the universities had the monopoly of the instruction in philosophy which was regarded as the necessary complement of the ordinary studies, before admission to the specialties of law, theology or education in the modern sense. (Ariès 1962, p. 142-143, brackets added)

As mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, particularly on page 6, the public schools focused on Latin and classical learning, were entwined with religious education, and were only available to the very few. While the tuition fees and the restrictive admission process created a system of training for gentlemen, there were a few positions funded by scholarships for less-privileged boys who showed ability or whose parents had sufficient social ambition to break into the network. One fictional book, *Tom Brown's School Days,* was written by Thomas

Hughes for his eight year-old son. It is an account of the central character, Tom Brown, as he moved from a local school to a public school at Rugby in the early 1800s. Based on the author's own experiences as a boarding student at Rugby, this book is a lively account spanning Tom's entire time as a student.

Reading this book for a glimpse into a description of the curriculum through which Tom Brown and his fellow students were pushed, pulled and escorted, was a surprising experience. While learning Latin and memorization of classical writings in this language were mentioned, they were a very brief part of the story. One testing session was the focus of a chapter:

> The object of all schools is not to ram Latin and Greek into boys, but to make them good English boys, good future citizens; and by far the most important part of that work must be done, or not done, out of school hours. (Hughes 1834, p. 49)

Given that the book was written to appeal to eight year-olds this might be a way to engage the audience with tales of sporting contests, interpersonal dynamics (particularly between forms or age groups) and other tales of boarding school life. Also emphasized were the decisions and beliefs that Tom drew on and re-examined as he encountered challenges and matured. From this widely-read example of literature written to prepare boys for boarding school, the implication is that the curriculum consisted not only of Latin and Greek literature and language, but also of interpersonal relationships and moral development. Moral development is a theme in other curricular innovations in the next sub-section.

Into this world of education defined as classical, came several ideas that shifted ways of thinking about schooling, children, learning, and the outcomes of education. John Locke, Rousseau, and other philosophers were influential in these changes, as the child became differentiated from the adult, and also trained for adulthood/citizenship (e.g. see Baker, 2001.)

In the middle ages, normalization was not part of the gaze, but rather relationship with the divine, according to Foucault.

In *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* Foucault identified several major eras in Western culture and, at the same time, cautioned that "establishing discontinuities is not an easy task even for history in general. And it is certainly even less so for the history of thought" (1973b, p. 50). Within this framing, he distinguished an era, at the end of the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century, that named and classified things through resemblance. An example he gave was the dark spherical aconite seed with a white skin-like coating used by herbalists to treat eye diseases due to its resemblance to the eye (p. 27). As the era drew to a close the resemblances that had echoed between nature and the divine, creating the relationships that made sense of the world to the early medieval thinkers, began to dissipate from a solid known reality into illusions as discursive constructions shifted.

As the shift into the following discursive period, approximately overlapping with the Renaissance, solidified when writers critiqued resemblances as fantastic illusions that seduced the mind from reason. This gave birth to the emerging privileging of empiricism, science and reasoning based on observation. Comparison, measurement, observation, analysis, ordering, classification and calculation organized human thought and "as a result the entire *episteme* of Western culture found its fundamental arrangements modified" (Foucault, 1973b, p. 54). Empirical representation replaced resemblance. A smaller shift in the late 1700s moved from the use of reason to create static classifications into an interest in evolution, reflecting a march towards perfection "not [as] a matter of progressive hierarchialization, but of the constant and total force exerted by an already established hierarchy" (p. 152). The relationship between

humanity and the divine was now distinct from the earlier relationship of mirroring networks, becoming instead a linear progressive movement towards the ideal.

The third era contained a dramatic movement:

> The space of Western knowledge is about to topple: the *taxinomia*...is now about to order itself in accordance with an obscure verticality...European culture is inventing for itself a depth in which what matters is...great hidden forces developed on the basis of their primitive and inaccessible nucleus, origin, causality and history. (Foucault, 1973b, p. 251)

This movement into modernity, from the end of the 18th to the 19th centuries, "was knowledge itself as an anterior and indivisible mode of being between the knowing subject and the object of knowledge" (ibid., p. 252) and "sciences advancing towards their own rationality" (ibid. p. 253). In this era, discourse lost its link with classical thinking; language, "once detached from representation...has existed, right up to our present day...like so many objects formed and deposited by history" (ibid. p. 304). Rather than acting as an interface between humanity and the divine, language became propelled by reason.

The young child in the middle ages was embedded in the relationship of resemblance, "in emulation of the reflection and the mirror...just as man's intellect is an imperfect reflection of God's wisdom..." (Foucault, 1973b, p. 19). Later in the Renaissance human beings were defined by taxonomic classification and discursively created as evolving towards the divine. In the modern era, newly constructed by science,

> for man did not exist (any more than life, or language, or labour); and the human sciences did not appear when, as a result of some pressing rationalism, some unresolved scientific problem, some practical concern, it was decided to include man (willy-nilly, and with a

> greater or lesser degree of success) among the objects of science...they appeared when man constituted himself in Western culture as both that which must be conceived of and that which is to be known (ibid. p. 344-5).

The ways in which the child was positioned by social discourses and educational policies, as well as how that child was to be prepared for the conduct and positioning she/he was to inhabit within these varied reasonings, following Foucault's ideas above, are relevant and recurring themes of this study. The different 'eras' and ways of reasoning described above are related to the construction of normal/abnormal at-risk, not at-risk child in today's policy documents. They do not provide a foundation for today's reasoning but flow through the discourses that come together within policy texts describing childhood, the child as a knowable and known object.

The individual child emerged from the sea of resemblances of the middle ages [according to Foucault], and the classical Latin-based education from a church-governed institution became challenged:

> The relaxation of the old scholastic discipline [flogging] corresponded to something else: to a new orientation of the concept of childhood, which was no longer associated with the idea of the weakness of childhood and no longer recognized the need for its humiliation. Henceforth it was a question of awakening in the child an adult sense of responsibility and dignity. The child was not so much opposed to the adult (although he was clearly distinguished from the adult in everyday life) as prepared for adult life. This preparation could not be carried out brutally and at one stroke. It called for careful, gradual conditioning. This was the new concept of education which would triumph in the 19th century. (Ariès 1962, p. 264, bracket added)

Rousseauian ideas in the Romantic tradition were part of a longing for the pastoral amid the emerging industrial revolution. These ideas led to a privileging of learning from nature, sensory rather than linguistic curricula, and an emphasis on play and experiential education. In this tradition, a Swiss reformer, Jonathan Pestalozzi, recommended the following:

> Lead your child by the hand to the great scenes of nature; teach him on the mountain and in the valley…it should be nature that teaches rather than you…Let him completely realise that it is nature that teaches, and that you, with your art, do nothing more than walk quietly at her side. When he hears a bird warble or an insect hum on a leaf, then cease your talk; the bird and the insect are teaching; your business is then to be silent. (Pestalozzi, 1774)

Pestalozzi's work was embraced in early industrial England , most notably by Robert Owen, who started the first school for young children in New Lanark, Scotland (see chapter 3).

Childhood protection: In the following statement by Robert Owen, his evaluation of the types of education available was not hopeful:

> It is a vain anticipation to expect a rational being to be formed in any of the existing establishments for education, in this or in any other country. *These are now admirably adapted to force humanity to become insane, and to train all individuals to act the parts of fools or knaves, or both,* and to oppose their own happiness and the happiness of their fellow-beings, throughout the whole extent of animal life. (Owen 1836-1844, in Harrison 1968 p. 120, italics added)

Owen's opinion of the schooling available to young citizens of England (or anywhere in the world at the time) as more likely to make the child "insane", to cause them to act as "fools or knaves "was a strong contrast to the ideals of the public school education described in *Tom*

Brown's School Days. Following Rousseau's earlier ideas of the 'natural', 'innocent' child who would be 'steered' gently by a tutor under natural conditions to become responsible autonomous (male) leaders for a new type of republic were Pestalozzi's response of taking poor children from manufacturing cities to live, learn and work in the country and also the ideas of Robert Owen, who visited Pestalozzi's schools. Owen is mentioned extensively in chapter 3 of this dissertation in relation to the role of children as workers and students but in this chapter where I look at his curricular ideas. Here is what he had to say about the environment of his proposed villages:

> (*In the proposed Villages)* They will be surrounded by gardens—have abundance of space in all directions to keep the air healthy and pleasant; they will have walks and plantations before them…and well cultivated ground kept in good order around, as far as the eye can reach.
>
> (*In the Manufacturing Towns)* They are surrounded with dirt, enveloped in smoke, and they seldom have a pleasant object on which to fix their eye. (Owen, in Harrison 1968)

The contrast between the two environments contains ideas about health, aesthetics, and moral guidance as well. These images of the ideal learning and living situation for young citizens (English, or Scottish in Owen's case) are part of the shift described by Ariès:

> The idea of childish innocence resulted in two kinds of attitude and behavior towards childhood: firstly, safeguarding it against pollution by life, and particularly by the sexuality tolerated if not approved of among adults; and secondly, strengthening it by developing character and reason. (Ariès 1962, p. 119)

Ariès' statement about "safeguarding childhood against pollution by life" shows ideas similar to those of Owen in his description of the villages he proposed to build (and did build, in Scotland and later in the United States). The marked contrast between this ideal of education for children

and that described in *Tom Brown's School Days* highlights the apparently different ideas about childhood. In *Tom Brown's School Days* flogging and verbal scolds were common and children were shown as being in need of punishment for wrongdoing rather than protection from pollution by life.

> A shudder ran through the whole form [after a student made a mistake in construing Latin], and the Doctor's wrath fairly boiled over; he made three steps up to the construer and gave him a good box on the ear. The blow was not a hard one, but the boy was so taken by surprise that he started back…and over he went onto the floor behind. There was a dead silence over the whole school. (Hughes 1830 p. 129-130)

The incident described above was part of a monthly examination of each child in the form in front of them. Although this appears to be a marked contrast to the protective ideas in Owen's description, the punishment in the public schools was framed as a protection from immorality and wrong decisions, so it could be seen as very similar but as a protection from inner pollution rather than external.

Ideas about the appropriate curriculum for young children in the early 19th century, in addition to the environment of a naturalistic, pastoral setting or a classical school, often long-established with many traditions, were varied. What were young children taught, once placed within these learning environments? Robert Owen had the following instructions for two of his new teachers:

> That they should tell the infants and children (for they had all from one to six years old under their charge) that they must on all occasions do all they could to make their play-fellows happy…The schoolroom was furnished with paintings, chiefly of animals, with

> maps, and often supplied with natural objects from the gardens, fields and woods. (Whitbread 1972, p. 10)

The New Lanark schools run by Robert Owen included "Singing, dancing, marching to music, fife-playing and geography…books were excluded, and the children spent three hours in the open playground." (Owen, quoted in Whitbread 1972, p. 11)

Other options for education and care of young children in the early 19th century included charity schools or "Ragged Schools", in-home tutoring or use of a governess, and dame schools. Ragged schools earned their name because of the extreme variation in the education and housing available to students whose parents used these charity schools because they could not afford other options. Dame schools provided care for children of working parents but the learning was limited to the educational level of the woman in whose home the children were placed, which was often minimal. Not only the educational level but also the sobriety of the dame school women was in question. (Whitbread 1972) All of these options varied widely as to the content of the learning offered to children, based upon the abilities of their instructors and their philosophies about education. Some objected to children being taught anything other than reading (in order to read the Bible, particularly found in Sunday Schools). For example, "The Sunday schools taught the poor—booth children and adults—to read the Bible, but not to do writing or arithmetic or any of the 'more dangerous subjects' which were 'less necessary or even harmful' (Williams 1961, p. 16).

The Home and Colonial School Society, or the Home and Colonial Infant School Society, was another innovation of the time of Robert Owen. Founded in 1836, siblings Elizabeth and Charles Mayo who were advocates of Pestalozzi, was "concerned with systematic infant education at a time when this was not seen as important" and "was against catechisms, and rote-

learning of all kinds". (Home and Colonial School Society webpage) This institution also was innovative in that it had formal teacher training as well as teaching for children. They incorporated Froebelian ideas in the mid-1800s and were early advocates for education for girls. (Whitbread 1972) Another way of educating girls and preparing them to be 'good citizens' was through juvenile literature. In the case of Hodgson Burnett's characters in the juvenile literature, the children were ejected from upper-class status into unprotected territory and then reabsorbed into protected society as part of a trajectory of tragedy resolved. In the case of Dickens' Oliver Twist analyzed in Chapter 3, the characters were part of the unresolved tragedy of children who were not part of the protected class. The fact that the protagonists of both of Hodgson Burnett's books *The Little Princess* and *The Secret Garden,* were born into wealthy colonial families in India hints at, but does not yet develop, a binary between colonizing children who need and/or deserve protection and colonials who may not. Homi Bhabha's idea of *mimicry* and *metonymy* from *The Location of Culture* as a way to envision the slippage in the "reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same but not quite.* (1994, p. 86, italics original) It is interesting to note that in these 19th century tales, those who are returning from the colonies are ethnically English. In contrast, *brick lane: a novel* by Monica Ali, which is analyzed in Chapter 5, shows Britain in a post-imperial era, where those 'returning' from the colonies are not "English" in the same way." (Lightfoot 2012)

The efforts of later innovators including Froebel, Montessori, MacMillan, and others had a dynamic impact on schooling for young children; however, these later innovators were not available to early 19th century children and their educators.

Nursery education has had its articulate advocates in the UK for nearly 180 years.

However, views about the form it should take have varied according to social and

> economic conditions, and have reflected the views of the time about the roles of men and women and the nature of childhood. (Moss & Penn 1996, p. 52)

The curriculum was a conglomeration of ideas, that of the classical Latin-based learning, and that of the nature-based learning environment. Different children had different options and a great variety in educational experiences; all had forms of education that were meant to 'govern their souls' (Rose, 1989) Thus religion, morality, training for citizenship (however constructed), while appearing to become decentralized and quite different from limited and stricter religious training from earlier years actually led to greater supervision and state control over the curriculum to be offered by the early 20th century, but a continuous relation between the child/adult, and the child/citizen to become. In addition, as Valerie Walkerdine (1984, with Henriques et. al.), Cannella (1997), and Bloch and Popkewitz (2001) have suggested, the 'child centered curriculum' of the 19th and early 20th century was simply a new way of governing from afar, despite the newness of discursive language---including that of child-centered education. The National Curriculum of the late 20th century is one of the eventual results of the ideas of standardization of the child, combined with discursive construction of the 'normal' child and control of the 'dangerous outsider' within and around everyone.

Summary: In this final analysis chapter I have visited the early 19th century again, this time to discover a grid of reasoning about education for young children at the time. This complements the discussion in chapter 3 about legislative innovations that were part of the ambiguity about children as workers or as students, in the early years of the industrial revolution in England (and in many other countries). It was a complex time of rupture during which individual reformers and educators, many influenced by Rousseau and Pestalozzi, implemented single programs for young children as an alternative to work, that often had little appeal due to

the loss of wages to the families when the child was in school rather than working. This was the case even for children as young as four since some work was more easily done by a smaller child. Later, concerns about the irregularity and lack of supervision of these individual programs led to legislation such as the Elementary Education [Forster's Act] Act of 1870 and the movement to a governmentally-supervised educational program of universal schooling. Both the schooling and the legislation of working conditions were part of a regulatory discourse that included ideas that young children were in need of protection, whether from their internal impulses (such as in the classical Latin-based schools) or from external pollution and dangers (Owens, Pestalozzi and other reformers). This discussion is part of the response to the research question, *In what ways are early years education and care constructed and reconstructed as discursive practices that discipline and regulate the child, differently and at the same at different cultural/historical moments?* and to *What were the social, political and educational discourses and conditions that made public schooling possible for early years (birth to five) children, particularly during times of shift and disconnect such as national education policy legislation in 1870, 1918 and 2002?* The grid of reasoning that included young children as not only in need of protection but also as in need of control was an important part of the breaks and ruptures that led to national education policy legislation.

Chapter Six—Summary

> I have not studied and do not want to study the way in which governors really governed. I have not studied and do not want to study the development of real governmental practice by determining the particular situations it deals with, the problems raised, the tactics chosen, the instruments employed, forged, or remodeled, and so forth. *I wanted to study the art of governing.* (Foucault 1979, in Senellart 2004. p. 2, italics added)

In this dissertation I identified two themes through which I claimed that the grid of reasoning about the young child in England was reconstructed and reshaped during points of rupture in two cultural/historical moments, the late 20th to early 21st centuries; and pre-19th to early 19th century. In doing so, I intended to 'study the art of governing' rather than the 'particular situations it deals with, the problems raised, the tactics chosen, the instruments employed, forged, or remodeled' as Foucault said in the above epigram. The two themes of the study, 'normalization' and the 'normal child' as created by circulating discourses within curricula and policy language during these two moments of rupture was a way to move beyond the realm of situations, problems, tactics and instruments to look at the art of governing through schooling.

The extensive use of the idea of 'normal' and the many implications of a child being constructed as 'normal'—or as 'not normal'—has been influential in the formation of a grid of reasoning about the young child. The analysis of this reasoning about the child as a scientifically defined 'normal', or 'not normal' (sometimes further defined as 'at risk', 'a dangerous outsider' or disabled) is a key part of my response to the research questions and sub-questions, which I further discuss below. England's Education Act 2002 was part of a reconstitution of young children that brought a new kind of 'normal child' into existence in England, the early years *foundation stage* child in the late 20th and early 21st century

The second theme of this dissertation is that of the child as a citizen with 'potential', who is situated as an outsider, often as a 'dangerous outsider', by the grid of reasoning about what constitutes a 'normal' child and what does not. This includes ideas about "Englishness(es)" and "Britishness(es)" and the complexities of national imaginaries that are part of the circulation of power/knowledge that produced the curricular decisions and the legislation. The capillaries of power/knowledge that run through these two times of rupture discursively create a young child through legislative and curricular language that, looked at in a nuanced way, creates and perpetuates the very 'problems' it was designed to solve. Analysis of these capillaries of power brings new ideas to the long-term discussion about standards, the 'universal child', surveillance and the child with 'potential'.

Next I continue this summary chapter with the main points that I want readers to take away from my dissertation. After that, a brief revisit of the chapters and their contents. Third, a summary of my responses to the research questions and sub-questions. The final section contains recommendations, limitations and ideas for future research.

Three main points: The three main points that I'd like readers to take away from this dissertation are:

1. While the foundation stage and Education Act 2002 bring new attention and resources to young children, a goal of early childhood professionals for years, the reforms are not unproblematic. This dissertation looks at these reforms in a nuanced way, situating them within circulating discourses such as normalization and standardization while tracing ideas about value and potential that are part of the "new" foundation age child.

2. Legislation in the early 19th, late 20th and early 21st centuries regarding children is located within discourses about "child", "learning", and "schooling". The legislation is reflective, as well as productive, of the young citizen. These discourses are also reflected in curricula, both traditional and innovative or associated with a particular reform. An analysis which includes both legislation and curriculum makes possible a more nuanced view of ideas about young children and their place in the formulation of the nation within certain discursive moments.

3. There are multiple ways of being English and British that are part of circulating national discourses. These ideas result in legislation written in order to control and to shape young citizens (through employment and/or through education are the highlighted areas of this dissertation) to be 'normal', and to manage children constructed as "dangerous outsiders", "at risk" and not of the "norm". These socio-cultural assumptions about who is the "norm" and who is not are enfolded into ideas about "Englishness(es)" and "Britishness(es). These slippery and complex ideas about citizenship and the national subjectivities of ethnic or cultural belonging include ideas from the national imaginary that are linked to the varying perceived valuation of differing children to the nation.

Brief review of the chapters:

Ch. 1 contained an introduction, identifying the two themes of 'normalization' and the 'dangerous outsider' who is also a child with 'potential'. Those two themes were the topics of the following chapters as I analyzed the legislation and curricular traditions and innovations during times of shifting ideas about young children and their positioning within national imaginaries in England. The rationale for the dissertation looked at the question of "Why critique something that looks so good?"; next were sections on the methodology and theoretical

framing, the research questions, and an overview of the chapters comprised the remainder of the chapter.

In chapter 2 I introduced the first of the two themes of the study: 'normalization' and the 'normal child' as a grid of reasoning that governed young children through the language in policies and curricula. I focused on the discursive moment of the late 20th to early 21st century in England in this chapter, analyzing policy and curriculum texts from the late 1980s to 2013. I introduced the circulating discourses that constructed young children as learners and made public schooling possible for early years children by identifying them as 'normal' or 'at risk', in need of intervention then highlighted ruptures in reasoning as the foundation stage child emerged, pushed by the research on brain development in the young child and by the standards movement. The discourses of 'risk' and 'abnormality' that were part of this reasoning pushed the importance of earlier and earlier schooling prior to traditional compulsory schooling age. In the next chapter, I look at different rays of reasoning during the early 19th century in reference to the same theme of 'normalization'.

In chapter 3 I moved into the early 19th century to discuss the 'normal' child and the 'dangerous outsider', again in the language of national legislation and curricular reforms and innovations aimed at younger children. Part of the discursive construction of 'normal' young children was as workers, then as workers in need of protection through regulation of work time and conditions, then as learners and finally as students to be schooled. This discussion touches on all of the ways that children under five were discursively constructed in the legislation and curricula, the ways that this grid of reasoning disciplined and regulated the child, formulating the 'correct' occupation for children that will guide them away from immorality and crime while

providing them (voluntarily or involuntarily) with the means to ameliorate the financial constraints of their families during the early industrialization of England.

Ch. 4: This chapter moved to the second theme, that of the 'other' or 'not-of the norm' child, the child with 'potential' to be saved by the correct interventions by educators and legislators. This chapter moved back to the late 20th and early 21st century policies and curricula. The first section of the 4th chapter looked at political, social, and educational discourses and conditions that made public schooling possible for early years (birth to five) children, particularly during times of shift and disconnect. Concerns about the role of religious education in the nation's schooling that were highlighted in the 1870 act's attempt to move the Church of England out of the government school curriculum and the backlash to that act that reinstalled religious education as mandated by all subsequent acts institutionalized the concerns about religion as a necessary part of school curriculum. Ideas about Britishness(es) and Englishness(es) were part of this grid of reasoning and these ideas were also part of the later discursive moment that I analyzed, in the last years of the 20th and first years of the 21st centuries as England absorbed an increasingly diverse population through immigration and globalization, many people coming from former colonies. Part of these new ways of being a citizen of the nation circulated around questions of religion, and the traditional role of religious education in the national curriculum was the topic of debate. A non-statutory framework for religious education was published in 2004 that encouraged a new balance between the inclusion of local "religious traditions" and the (statutory) focus on Christianity. To explore this I analyzed three religious education syllabi that resulted from the recommendations of the non-statutory framework and seven newspaper articles during the years from 2004 to 2009 that were part of this national imagining/re-imagining of Britishness(es) around religion.

Chapter 5 moved the analyses into the discursive moment of the pre-19th and early 19th centuries again, this time looking at the theme of child with 'potential', the 'dangerous outsider' in need of intervention. In this final analysis chapter I looked at a grid of reasoning about education for young children at the time that complements the discussion in chapter 3 about legislative innovations that were part of the ambiguity about children as workers or as students early in the industrial revolution in England and in many other countries. During this complex time of rupture, individual reformers and educators, many influenced by the ideas of Locke, Rousseau and Pestalozzi (among others) implemented programs for young children as an alternative to, or as part of, work. I analyzed the curricula available to young children, which were widely varied and of limited availability. In this grid of reasoning, young children were seen as in need of protection but also of control, and this was an important rupture that led to national education policy legislation.

Research Questions Revisited

In this section I discuss the contents of each chapter in response to the research question and the three sub-questions. To review, following are the research questions:

How were children under the age of five discursively constructed in the English Acts of Parliament during the time of "modern" schooling, early 19th century to the present?

i. What were the social, political and educational discourses and conditions that made public schooling possible for early years (birth to five) children, particularly during times of shift and disconnect such as national education policy legislation in 1870, 1918 and 2002?

ii. In what ways are early years education and care constructed and reconstructed as discursive practices that discipline and regulate the child, differently and the same at different cultural/historical moments?

iii. How do the discourses and discursive practices change over time? What are the different ways of reasoning, and points of rupture or breaks?

The two themes of 'normalization' and of child with 'potential' are part of a grid of reasoning that brought young children into increasing prominence through several ruptures and breaks during the time of 'modern' schooling. The early classical Latin public schools, some of which had been in place in England since the time of William the Conqueror, were part of complex iterations of ideas about the child, the educated child, the correct discipline and guidance for the child during their extensive history. These religiously affiliated schools (largely Church of England schools after the reformation, but also included Jewish and Catholic schools in varying numbers at various times) were the predominant formal schooling available at the beginning of the time of 'modern' schooling during the pre-19th and early 19th centuries. By the early 19th century the grid of reasoning about children contained social relationships among children privileged enough (economically and/or socially) to gain admission to these schools as one of the primary areas of learning that was important to produce the educated citizen. The knowledge of Latin was another important skill, being a cultural and social mark that was sought after by elite families for their children's advancement. Pronunciation and language use were another mark to be gained by children in public schools. Possibly the most important idea about the 'normal' child within the public school was that of a child in need of moral guidance and protection, not from external but from internal dangers. I posit that this grid of reasoning about children was also part of the practice that defined children as young as four years old as workers early in the industrial revolution in England.

Within the ideas about young children as workers was a concern about the temptation they would have to crime and immorality if not working. This was also a concern about children as in need of protection from internal temptations as well as external opportunities for misbehavior and ways of being in society that were antithetical to the goals of an emerging

prosperity through factories and production. The work of Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and later Froebel, Montessori, Robert Owens, Dewey, and MacMillan was part of the reimagining of young children as innocent and in need of protection, moving young children into the realm of students as well as, and later instead of, workers as legislation limited their availability to employers and developed ideas about schooling as a disciplinary practice to replace that of employment. Curricular innovations, often directly inspired by Pestalozzi's work, were part of this but were isolated and individualized in the early part of the 19th century.

The 1870 Elementary Education Act was a rupture in terms of redefining schooling for all English children, including young ones, into a nation-wide expectation. It had specific curricular guidelines and attempted to disengage schooling from religion which was, in a few years, revised to include religious education as an important statutory and non-statutory curriculum element. This relationship between the idea of creating an educated child for England and educating that child in religion was complex and

In 1918 an innovative education reform included schooling for under-five year-old children but the funding and administration of this was never put in place. This 1918 act was seminal in implementing compulsory and universal schooling for primary and secondary children but individual and isolated programs of uneven quality continued for under-fives until the end of the 20th century.

The Education Act 2002 legislated funding for tuition, school start-up, teacher training, and materials for new programs for children under the age of five. In addition to this funding, the Education Act 2002 provided surveillance in the form of regulated inspections of early childhood programs. In 2000 the *foundation stage* child was created and given a place in the key stage system of primary and secondary schooling, as well as in the national curriculum.

Throughout the early 21st century, ideas about standardization, learning goals, and curriculum shovedown increased the emphasis on academic attainment for young children to a degree formerly reserved for older children. My analysis indicated that this reflected a rupture in the grid of reasoning about young children that moved them into the arena of schooled, important and with 'potential' to be developed resources of the nation.

Concluding thoughts and future work.

The analysis of the grid of reasoning and ruptures in this grid through legislation and curriculum texts has provided a nuanced and complex view of the language in them and the taken-for-granted ideas that limit and shape innovations and reforms. The construction of the 'normal' child and the 'dangerous outsider' are a problematic part of the 'scientific, 'universal' discourses that frame late 20th and early 21st century education, including that for young children. In the words of Erica Burman, quoted previously on page 19 of this dissertation, "How can we help in ways that do not require those whom we help to occupy a position of gratitude, or even to be or become more like 'us'?" (Burman 2008, p. 217). These provocative questions, along with a taking-apart of the language of disability, dangerous outsider, and 'other' in both education policies and curricular ideas construct children who will never succeed while claiming that every child *should* be 'above average' or they are the problem. One of the purposes of this dissertation was to trouble this language in hope of opening new spaces for discussion and then for thinking about learning and schooling in new ways.

Limitations were many, including my 'outsider' status in England. This was supplemented by the generosity of family and early childhood professionals but there is a great deal that I do not presume to understand about education for young children in England. The more I learned,

the greater was my understanding of this. Cultural limitations also played a role, in shaping my understanding of what I read, saw, heard and accessed. Possibly the greatest limitation was geographical, having the excellent sources of primary documents from the British Library and National Archives a sizable and expensive trip away from my home in the US. I was able to access these resources for a limited time but could spend many hours very profitably looking at texts and legislation, plus commentaries about both, to deepen my analysis of young children and their learning.

This brings me to the area of ideas for future work. Obtaining primary documents about early 19th century curriculum is a direction that I believe could provide material for fruitful analysis. The early 19th century curricular innovations in England and in other countries, including Scotland (Robert Owen) are important artifacts of the rupture in reasoning about young children and worthy of much more attention. In addition to these curricular innovations, ideas about the learning environment (classroom, work site, outdoors, rural, urban) are important and I believe I could find more information about these with an extended stay in England.

Other ideas for future work include a similar analysis of early 19th century curriculum and policies in the United States, which would provide an interesting counterpoint to the one I have already done of England. The two countries have a complex and nuanced relationship, and I am even more confident about saying that after my time in England. This circulation of ideas about children, schooling, learning, and the citizen to be produced is an area worthy of analysis and a comparative analysis of each would, I believe, shed light on the other. But the most important area for future work is to continue to critique, to ask questions, to look at capillaries of power that run through the 'new' solutions, searching for the embedded discourses which continue the problems that the 'new' solutions are proclaimed to solve.

Appendix 1: List of Acts

Date	Name of Act	Summary of Act [Ages of children it applies to and highlights]	# pgs	Prime Minister & party
1841	School Sites Act			Peel, Tory 1834-5 & 1841-6
1844	School Sites Act	An Act to secure the Terms on which Grants are made by Her Majesty out of the Parliamentary Grant for the Education of the Poor, and to explain the Act of the Fifth Year of the Reign of Her present Majesty, for the Conveyance of Sites for Schools.	3	Peel, Tory 1834-5 & 1841-6
1849	School Sites Act			Russell, Liberal, 1846-51 & 1865-6
1851	School Sites Act			Russell, Liberal, 1846-51 & 1865-6
1852	School Sites Act			Earl of Derby, Conservative, 1852, 1858-9 & 1866-8
1855	School Grants Act			Earl of Aberdeen, Tory, 1952-5
1867	Reform Act			Earl of Derby, Conservative, 1852, 1858-9 & 1866-8
1870	Elementary Education (Forester) Act	7(1)It shall **not** be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on		Gladstone, Liberal, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94

		any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs 14. Every school provided by a school board shall be conducted under the control and management of such board in accordance with the following regulations: (1) The school shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act: **(2) No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.** Children aged five to 13.		
1874	Infants Relief Act			Disraeli, Conservative, 1868 & 1874-80
1876	Elementary Education Act (Sandon's Act)	Placed a duty on parents to ensure that children got elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, created school attendance committees which could compel attendance, poor law guardians could help with school fees.		
1880	Elementary Education Act (Mundella's Act)	Extended provisions of 1876 Act, compulsory school attendance for children aged five to ten years.		
1885	Housing of the Working Classes Act			Gladstone, Liberal, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94
1889	Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection [52 & 53 Vict.] of Children Act	An Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to, and better Protection of, Children. [Boys under the age of fourteen and girls under the age of sixteen.]	10	Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1891	Custody of Children Act			Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902

1891	Education Act	Board schools created in 1870 Act became effectively free.		Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1899	Board of Education Act	An Act to provide for the Establishment of a Board of Education for England and Wales, and for matters connected therewith. [Board of Education replaces the Education Department including the Department of Science and Art. Repeals the entire Education Department Act 1856 and section seven of the Public Health Act 1858.]	4	Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1899	(Title not available) Act Ch. 13	An Act to amend the Law respecting the Employment and Education of Young Children. [Amends Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act 1893, substituting "twelve" for "eleven" for exemption from school attendance over two hundred and fifty times in one year in order to work. The local authority may fix thirteen years of age as the minimum age for exemption from school attendance in the case of children to be employed in agriculture. And amends the Elementary Education Acts 1870 & 1876.]		Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1899	Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act Ch. 32, 33			Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1900	Elementary Education Act	An Act to amend the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1893. [Amended Elementary Education Acts 1870, 1876, 1891, 1893 (Blind and Deaf Children Act), 1880,1893.]	2	Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1900	Mines (Prohibition of Child Labour Underground) Act	An Act to prohibit Child Labour Underground in Mines [Boys under the age of thirteen will not be allowed to work in any mine below ground. This amends the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1887, changing the minimum age from twelve to thirteen.]	1	Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1901	Education	An Act to regulate the Employment and	3	Gascoyne-

	(Scotland) Act	Attendance of Children at School in Scotland. [Children between five and fourteen years of age.]		Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1901	Education Act	An Act for enabling local authorities to empower School Boards temporarily to carry on certain schools; and for sanctioning certain School Board expenses. [School finance.]	1	Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1902	Education Act	An Act to make further provision with respect to Education in England and Wales. [The council of every county and of every county borough shall be the local education authority. Financing. "A council, in the application of money under this Part of this Act, shall not require that any particular form of religious instruction or worship or any religious catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall or shall not be taught, used or practiced in any school, college or hostel aided but not provided by the council". Abolished school boards, started Education Committees.		Gascoyne-Cecil, Conservative, 1885-6, 1886-92, & 1895-1902
1906	Education (Provision of Meals) Act	An Act to make provision for Meals for Children attending Public Elementary Schools in England and Wales. [Provides land, buildings, furniture, and apparatus and such officers and servants as may be necessary but not purchase of food.]	3	Campbell-Bannerman 1905-8 Liberal
1908	Children Act	An Act to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Protection of Children and Young Persons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Juvenile Offenders, and otherwise to amend the Law with respect to Children and Young Persons. ["Where a person undertakes for reward the **nursing and maintenance of one or more infants under the age of seven years apart from their parents or having no parents,** he shall, within forty-eight hours from the reception of any such infant, give notice in writing thereof to the local authority: Provided that this section shall not apply, as respects any infant, where the period for which it is received is forty-eight hours or less." This Act regulates this relationship and amends the Infant Life	9+	Campbell-Bannerman 1905-8 Liberal; Asquith 1908-16, Liberal

		Protection Act 1897. "The local authority may fix the number of infants under the age of seven years which may be kept in any dwelling in respect of which a notice has been received under this Part of this Act, and any person keeping any infant in excess of the number so fixed shall be guilty of an offence." The Act also regulates the conditions of the premises and the fitness of the carer for these infants. Also gives punishment for cruelty to any child or young person under the age of sixteen.]		
1918	Education Act	An Act to make further provision with respect to Education in England and Wales and for purposes connected therewith. ["With a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby". School leaving age is raised to 14.	32	Lloyd George, Liberal, 1916-22,
1918	Maternity & Child Welfare Act	An Act to make further provision for the Health of Mothers and Young Children [Children under the age of five and not educated in schools recognized by the Board of Education. Establishes maternity and child welfare committee. Expenses will be defrayed in the same manner as under the Notification of Births Acts 1907 and 1915 concerning mother and child welfare.]	3	Lloyd George, Liberal, 1916-22
1921	Children Act	An Act to amend the Children Act 1908, in respect of the Expenses of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. [School financing for industrial and reform schools.]	2	Lloyd George, Liberal, 1916-22
1921	Education Act	An Act to consolidate the enactments relating to Education and certain enactments relating to the Employment of children and Young Persons. [Keeps Board of Education and establishes Local Education Authorities. [Governance, general duties of LEAs, "**Nursery Schools. The powers of a local education authority for elementary education shall include power to make arrangements for supplying or aiding the supply of nursery schools (which expression shall include nursery classes) for children over two and under five years of age, or such later age as may be approved by the Board of Education, whose attendance at such a school is necessary or desirable for their healthy,**	111	Lloyd George, Liberal, 1916-22

		physical, and mental development; and attending to the health, nourishment, and physical welfare of children attending nursery schools" plus the LEA may arrange for children with no school close enough to board, either permanently or temporarily. Scholarships for children from the age of twelve up. No child exceeding twelve years of age may take part in entertainment in premises licensed for public entertainments, circus, or other public place of amusement without a license from the LEA. Children between the ages of twelve and sixteen being trained as acrobats also need a license. "The provisions for this section, so far as they relate to grants to local education authorities in respect of medical inspection and treatment, shall have effect as if the Minister of Health were substituted for the Board of Education." **"Notwithstanding the provisions of any Act of Parliament the Board of Education may, out of moneys provided by Parliament, pay grants in aid of nursery schools, provided that such grants shall not be paid in respect of any school unless it is open to inspection by the local education authority, and unless that authority are enabled to appoint representatives on the body of managers to the extent of at least one-third of the total number of managers, and before recognizing any nursery school the Board shall consult the local education authority."** Repeals all of the Elementary Education Act 1870 that is unrepealed, the Elementary Education Act 1873 (all), The Elementary Education Act 1876 (all), The Canal Boats Act 1877 (with respect to the definition of "parent"), The Elementary Education Act 1880 (all), etc. All prior acts, either the whole act or portions, are repealed by this one. Great list of all preceding Acts.]		
1944	Education Act (Butler's Education Act)	An Act to reform the law relating to education in England and Wales. [Minister in charge of education, establishment of Ministry of Education. Governance. Local Administration. **Providing primary and secondary education in separate schools. "In fulfilling their duties under this section, a local education authority**	85	Churchill, Conservative, 1940-5 & 1951-5 Conservative

		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" and to providing for pupils with any disabilities and to providing boarding for students who live too far from schools. LEAs submit development plans to the Minister of Ed for their areas. Compulsory school age is between five years and fifteen years, with provision for the Minister to raise the upper limit of compulsory school age to sixteen when it becomes practicable. Employers of school aged children who are registered pupils must ensure that "the child is (not) being employed in such a manner as to render him unfit to obtain the full benefit of the education provided for him". "The LEA may, with consent of the proprietor of any school in their area which is not a school maintained by the authority, and upon such financial and other terms, if any…make arrangements for securing the provision of milk, meals and other refreshment for pupils in attendance at the school." Selection is decided by an exam taken at age of 11. School leaving is raised to 15.		
1951		General Certificate of Education (GCE) O-levels and A-levels are introduced, replacing School Certificate and Higher School Certificate. These were primarily grammar school exams. Some education authorities had their own leaving exams for those not taking the GCEs.		
1962	Education Act	An Act to make further provision with respect to awards and grants by local education authorities and the Minister of Education in England and Wales, and by education authorities and the Secretary of State in Scotland, and to enable the General Grant Order, 1960, to be varied so as to take account of additional or reduced expenditure resulting from action (including anticipatory action) taken in accordance with that provision; to make further provision as to school leaving dates; and for purposes connected with the	14	Macmillan, Conservative, 1957-63

		matters aforesaid. [University first degree courses, further education, grants for training of teachers, awards for postgraduate course; over age for compulsory school leaving]		
1963	Children & Young Persons Act	An Act to amend the law relating to children and young persons; and for purposes connected there with. [In this section "child" means a person under the age of eighteen.		Macmillan, Conservative, 1957-63
1964	Education Act	An Act to enable county schools and voluntary schools to be established for providing full-time education by reference to age-limits differing from those specified in the Education Act 1944, as amended by the Education (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1948; to enable maintenance allowances to be granted in respect of pupils at special schools who would be over compulsory school age, or, in Scotland, over school age, but for section 38(1) of the said Act of 1944 or section 32 (4) of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1962; and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid. [Proposals may, if the authority or persons submitting the proposals think fit, specify an age which is below the age of ten years and six months and an age which is above the age of twelve years.		Douglas-Home, Conservative, 1963-4
1965	Education Act (Scotland)	An Act to amend paragraph 20 of Schedule 3 to the Education (Scotland) Act of 1962 to enable provision to be made for the payment of pensions to the widows or other dependants of teachers who die without having completed ten years' service.		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1965	Education Act	The Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) is introduced for secondary modern pupils, to cater for those not sitting O-levels.		
1967	Education Act	An Act to enlarge the powers of the Secretary of State to make contributions, grants, and loans in respect of aided schools and special agreement schools and to direct local education authorities to pay the expenses of establishing or enlarging controlled schools; and to provide for loans for capital expenditure incurred for purposes of colleges of education by persons other than the local education authorities. [governance]		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1968	Education Act	An Act to amend the law as to the effect of and procedure for making changes in the character, size or situation of county schools or voluntary		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 &

		schools to enable special age limits to be adopted for existing as well as for new schools, and to make certain other amendments as to the approval or provision of school premises; and for purposes connected therewith. [Bricks and mortar—Shall not be read as applying by reason of any change which is made to an existing school by education beginning or ceasing to be provided for pupils above or below a particular age; or by education beginning or ceasing to be provided for girls as well as boys, or for boys as well as girls; or by any enlargement or alteration of the school premises or transfer of the school to a new site.]		1974-6
1969	Children & Young Persons Act	An Act to amend the law relating to children and young persons; and for purposes connected therewith. [Care through juvenile courts; does not apply if over sixteen or married.]		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1970	Education (School Milk) Act	An Act to include among the children for whom school milk is to be provided junior pupils at schools designated as secondary schools under section 1 of the Education Act 1964. ["middle schools"]		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1971	Education (Milk) Act	An Act to restrict the duty of education authorities to provide milk for pupils at educational establishments maintained by them or under their management and make further provision with respect to their power to do so; to restrict their power to secure provision of milk for pupils at other educational establishments; and for purposes connected therewith. [Not required for child to be provided milk after the summer term ending after the date on which he attains the age of seven unless he is at a special school or has a certificate given by a medical officer stating that he needs to be provided with milk at school.]		Heath, Conservative, 1970-4
1972	Children Act	An Act to secure that the minimum age at which children may be employed is not affected by any further change in the school-leaving age. [Notwithstanding any change in the age governing the time when children may leave school, the minimum age at which, under section 18 (1) of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 or section 28 (1) of the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937, it is lawful for a	2	Heath, Conservative, 1970-4

		child to be employed shall remain the age of 13 years.]		
1973	Education Act	An Act to make provision for terminating and in part replacing the powers possessed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales under the Charities Act 1960 concurrently with the Charity Commissioners or under the Endowed Schools Acts 1869 to 1948, and enlarging certain other powers of modifying educational trusts, and for supplementing awards under section 2 of the Education Act 1962, and for purposes connected therewith. [Financing] School leaving age raised to 16.		Heath, Conservative, 1970-4
1975	Education Act	An Act to make further provision with respect to awards and grants by local education authorities; to enable the Secretary of State to bestow awards on students in respect of their attendance at adult education colleges; and to increase the proportion of the expenditure incurred in the maintenance or provision of aided and special agreement schools that can be met by contributions or grants from Secretary of State. [Financing higher education and teacher training.]		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1975	Child Benefit Act	An Act to replace family allowances with a new benefit to be known as child benefit and, pending the introduction of that benefit, to provide an interim benefit for unmarried or separated parents with children' to amend the Family Allowances Act 1965 as respects children entitled to non-contributory invalidity pension; to repeal paragraph 5 of Schedule 2 to the Supplementary Benefit Act of 1966; and for purposes connected with those matters. [Part of welfare system.]		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1975	Children Act	An Act to make further provision for children. [Adoption.]		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1976	Education Act	An Act to amend the law relating to education. [Based on Education Act 1944, to stop discrimination based on disability for admission to schools.]		Wilson, Labour, 1964-70 & 1974-6
1979	Education Act	An Act to repeal sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Education Act 1976 and to make provision as to	2	Thatcher, Conservative,

		certain proposals submitted or transmitted to the Secretary of State under the said section 2. [County school or voluntary school admissions.]		1979-90
1980	Education (Scotland) Act	An Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to education in Scotland with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Scottish Law Commission. [The duty of the education authority to provide schools "shall not include the provision of school education in nursery schools and nursery classes" but they have the power to do so, just not the duty. Nursery schools refer to under school aged.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1980	Child Care Act	And Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to the care of children by local authorities or voluntary organizations and certain other enactments relating to the care of children. [Local authority has the duty to provide "advice, guidance and assistance as may promote the welfare of children by diminishing the need to receive children into ro keep them in care under this Act or to bring children before a juvenile court".] {Weickart Study??"		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1980	Foster Children Act	An Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to foster children as they have effect in England and Wales. [Child not in the care of a local authority or voluntary organization or in premises with parent or any adult relative or guardian, or in a voluntary home within Child Care Act 1980, or in any school within the meaning of Education Act 1944.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1981	Education Act	An Act to make provision with respect to children with special educational needs. [Child who is at least two years old or school-aged.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1982	Children's Homes Act	An Act to provide for the registration, inspection and conduct of certain homes and other institutions for the accommodation of children in the care of local authorities; and for connected purposes. [A Children's home providing accommodation and maintenance for children not in community homes from the Child Care Act 1980 or voluntary homes defined by that Act, homes registered under the Nursing Homes Act 1975 or the Residential Homes Act 1980, or any hospital within the National Health Service Act 1977.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1983	Education (Fees	An Act to make provision with respect to the fees		Thatcher,

	and Awards) Act	charged by universities and other institutions to students not having the requisite connection with the England, the Channel Islands or the Isle of Man and the exclusion of such students from elegibility for certain discretionary awards. [Higher education, post-compulsory.]		Conservative, 1979-90
1984	Education (Grants and Awards) Act	An Act to make provision for the payment of education support grants to local education authorities in England and Wales; and to amend section 1 (3)(d) of the Education Act 1962 so as to refer to the higher national diploma of the Business & Technician Education Council instead of to the corresponding diplomas of the Councils there mentioned. [Higher education, post-compulsory,]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1984	Child Abduction Act	An Act to amend the criminal law relating to the abduction of children. [Child under the age of sixteen.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1985	Child Abduction & Custody Act	An Act to enable the England to ratify two international Conventions relating respectively to the civil aspects of international child abduction and to the recognition and enforcement of custody decisions. [Based on the Convention of the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction signed at The Hague on 25th October 1980.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1986	Education Act	An Act to provide for the making of grants by the Secretary of State to the Fellowship of Engineering and the Further Education Unit to make further provision in relation to the arrangements under Part VI of the Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980 for the pooling of expenditure by local authorities on education and for connected purposes. [Higher education, post-compulsory.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1986	Education (No. 2) Act	An Act to amend the law relating to education. [Instrument of governance for every county, voluntary and maintained special school.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1986	Children and Young Persons Amendment Act	An Act to amend the law in relation to children and young persons in care and to proceedings connected therewith. [Under sixteen. Amends Child Care Act 1980, to do with children in the care of the local authority. Repealed in 1991.]		Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1986	Education (Amendment) Act	An Act to increase the limit in section 2(1) of the Education (Grants and Awards) Act 1984 on expenditure approved for education support grant	2	Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90

		purposes, and to exclude remuneration for midday supervision from the Remuneration of Teachers Act 1965. [Funding.]		
1988	Education Reform Act	An Act to amend the law relating to education. [Balanced curriculum in every maintained school, starting with religious education. National Curriculum. Delineates subject areas and key stages "beginning with his becoming of compulsory school age and ending at the same time as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age of seven (Key Stage 1); and the period beginning at the same time as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age of eight and ending at the same time as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age of eleven (Key Stage 2); the period beginning at the same time as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age of twelve and ending at the same time as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age of fourteen (Key Stage 3); and the period beginning at the same time as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age of fifteen and ending with the majority of pupils in his class ceasing to be of compulsory school age (Key Stage 4). The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) replaces O-levels and CSEs. National Curriculum, stipulating subjects to be studied until the age of 16, is introduced.	302	Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90
1989	Children Act	An Act to reform the law relating to children; to provide for local authority services for children in need and others; to amend the law with respect to children's homes, community homes, voluntary homes and voluntary organizations; to make provision with respect to fostering, child minding and day care for young children and adoption; and for connected purposes. [Child's general welfare, parental responsibility, guardianship; residence and family proceedings (child visitation); financial relief and family assistance; **"Every local authority shall provide such day care for children in need within their area who are aged five and under and not yet attending schools as is appropriate. A local**	170	Thatcher, Conservative, 1979-90

		authority may provide day care for children within their area who satisfy the conditions mentioned in subsection (1)(a) and (b) even though they are <u>not</u> in need. In this section 'day care' means any form of care or supervised activity provided for children during the day (whether or not it is provided on a regular basis). Every local authority shall provide for children in need within their area who are attending any school such care or supervised activities as is appropriate outside school hours or during school holidays. A local authority may provide such care or supervised activities for children within their area who are attending any school even though those children are not in need." Every local authority shall review availability of child minders for children under eight and the provision of child care for children under eight. This Act goes on to talk about guardianship and police protection or detention and responsibilities of LEA's towards children looked after by them.**]**		
1992	Education (Schools) Act	An Act to make provision with respect to the inspection of schools and with respect to information about schools and their pupils. [The Queen may appoint a Chief Inspector of Schools for England, and appoint persons as Inspectors. Inspections by registered inspectors, power of the Secretary of State to require information about schools.	28	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997
1993	Education Act	An Act to amend the law about education. [Role of Secretary of State in administration. Funding and establishment of new grant-maintained schools.]	312	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997
1994	Education Act	An Act to make provision about teacher training and related matters; to make provision with respect to the conduct of students' unions; and for connected purposes. [Teacher training]. An A* grade is added to the GCSEs to differentiate between top and lower A grades.	28	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997
1995	Child Support Act	An Act to make provision with respect to child support maintenance and other maintenance; and to provide for a child maintenance bonus. [Minor children.]	40	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997
1995		The government introduces National Curriculum Tests, called Sats, for all children aged seven, 11		

		and 14. Tests for seven year olds were first tried in 1991.		
1996	Education Act	An Act to consolidate the Education Act 1944 and certain other enactments relating to education, with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Law Commission. [Primary, secondary and further education students. Includes **nursery schools** to a limited degree.] General National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQs) are offered as a more work-based alternative for non-academic students.	69	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997
1996	School Inspection Act	An Act to consolidate provisions of the Education (Schools) Act 1992 and Part V of the Education Act 1993, with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Law Commission. [	58	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997
1996	Nursery Education & Grant-Maintained Schools Act	An Act to provide for the making of grants in respect of nursery education and to permit borrowing by grant-maintained schools. ["Nursery education" is education provided for children (whether at schools or other premises) before their first school term starting after they have attained the age of five years but after such earlier time as may be prescribed; [This Act shall be construed as one with the Education Act 1944 and shall be included among the Acts which may be cited as the Education Acts 1944 to 1996]	13	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997
1997	Education Act	An Act to amend the law relating to education in schools and further education in England and Wales; to make provision for the supervision of the awarding of external academic and vocational qualifications in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland; and for connected purposes. [School discipline, excluding students for behavioral problems, school inspections amendments, exceptional education provision. The National Literacy Strategy is introduced to primary schools in England to raise standards to ENGLAND's competitors.	76	Major, Conservative, 1990-1997; Blair, Labour, 1997-2007
1998	Education (Student Loans) Act	An Act to make further provision with respect to public sector student loans. [Higher education.]	8	Blair, Labour, 1997-2007
2000	Children (Leaving Care) Act	An Act to make provision about children and young persons who are being, or have been, looked after by a local authority; to replace		Blair, Labour, 1997-2007

		section 24 of the Children Act of 1989; and for connected purposes. ["eligible child" means 16 or 17 years old]		
2000		Advanced Subsidiary (AS-level) exams for 17 year olds start. These are qualifications and they are also a halfway mark towards the A-levels, unlike the Advanced Supplementary exams that they replace. Plans are also revealed to replace the lower tiers of GNVQ with vocational GCSEs, with the stated aim of putting academic and vocational education on a par.		
2001	Special Educational Needs & Disability Act	An Act to amend Part 4 of the Education Act 1996; to make further provision against discrimination, on grounds of disability, in schools and other educational establishments; and for connected purposes. [applies to a child with special educational needs who should be educated in school]		Blair, Labour, 1997-2007
2002	Education Act 2002	An Act to make provision about education, training, and childcare. [Highlights children aged three to five; names them as Foundation stage; provides funding, training and inspections.]	231	Blair, Labour, 1997-2007
2002		Several hundred A-level papers are regarded amid fears the reforms have been rushed through.		
2004		Mike Tomlinson, the former inspector of schools in England, proposes replacing GCSEs, A-levels and the "soup" of vocational qualifications with a four-part diploma for 14 to 19 year olds. It calls for "core skills", such as numeracy and literacy, to be compulsory before pupils can qualify. The plans would alter the English education system more radically than any others since 1944. However, Mr. Tomlinson says the changes will be "evolutionary, not revolutionary", taking around 10 years to implement.		
2004	Children Act 2004	An Act to make provision for the establishment of a Children's Commissioner; to make provision about services provided to and for children and young people by local authorities and other persons; to make provision in relation to Wales about advisory and support services relating to family proceedings; to make provision about private fostering, child minding and day care, adoption review panels, the defense of reasonable punishment, the making of grants as respects children and families, child safety	57	Blair, Labour, 1997-2007

		orders, the Children's Commissioner for Wales, the publication of material relating to children involved in certain legal proceedings and the disclosure by the Inland Revenue of information relating to children. [Any reference to a child includes, in addition to a person under the age of 18, a person aged 18, 19, or 20 who has been looked after by a local authority or who has a learning disability (means a state of arrested or incomplete development of mind which induces significant impairment of intelligence and social functioning.]		
2006	Childcare Act 2006	An Act to make provision about the powers and duties of local authorities and other bodies in England in relation to the improvement of the well-being of young children; to make provision about the powers and duties of local authorities in England and Wales in relation to the provision of information to parents and other persons; to make provision about the regulation and inspection of childcare provision in England; to amend Part 10A of the Children Act 1989 in relation to Wales; and for connected purposes. ["Early childhood services" means early years provision, young children; each young child who has attained such age as may be prescribed but is under compulsory school age; beginning with birth and ending immediately before the 1st September next following the date on which he attains the age of five.]	72	Blair, Labour, 1997-2007

Appendix 2 Education Acts on Religious Education

Name of Act	**Provisions on religious instruction**
Elementary Education Act 1870	7(1) It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, of withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs: (2) The time or times during which any religious observance is practiced or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school shall be either at the beginning or at the end of such meeting, and shall be inserted in a time table to be approved by the Education Department, and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every school-room; and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school: (3) The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty's inspectors, so, however, that it shall be no part of the duties of such inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book: (4) The school shall be conducted in accordance with the conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual parliamentary grant.
Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act 1899	12 The provisions regulating religious instruction in certified schools for defective and epileptic children shall be the same as those enacted by section eight of the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893.
Education Act 1902	7 (6) Religious instruction given in a public elementary school not provided by the local education authority shall, as regards its character, be in accordance with the provisions (if any) of the trust deed pertaining thereto, and shall be under the control of the managers: Provided that nothing in this subsection shall affect any provision in a trust deed for reference to the bishop or superior ecclesiastical or other denominational authority, so far as such provision gives to the bishop or authority the power of deciding whether the character of the religious instruction is or is not in accordance with the provisions of the trust deed.

Education Act 1918	8 (6) The power of a local education authority under section seven of the Education Act, 1902, to give directions as to secular instruction shall include the power to direct that any child in attendance at a public elementary school shall attend during such hours as may be directed by the authority at any class, whether conducted on the school premises or not, for the purpose of practical or special instruction or demonstration, and attendance at such a class shall, where the local education authority so direct, be deemed for the purpose of any enactment or byelaw relating to school attendance to be attendance at a public elementary school; Provided that, if by reason of any such direction a child is prevented on any day from receiving religious instruction in the school at the ordinary time mentioned in the time-table, reasonable facilities shall be afforded, subject to the provisions of section seven of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, for enabling such child to receive religious instruction in the school at some other time. 10 (7) The local education authority shall not require any young person to attend a continuation school on a Sunday, or on any day or part of a day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which he belongs.
Education Act 1921	120 Sixth Schedule: Provisions with respect to Parliamentary grants to elementary schools (3) The conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual parliamentary grant shall be those contained in the education code, and shall amongst other things provide— (a) that such grant shall not be made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects; and (b) that the income of the school shall be applied only for the purpose of public elementary schools; but such conditions shall not require that the school shall be in connection with a religious denomination or that religious instruction shall be given in the school, and shall not give any preference or advantage to any school on the ground that it is or is not provided by a local education authority.
Education Act 1944	Sections 25-30 Religious Education in County and Voluntary schools (to do with funding); (six pages) starts: Subject to the provisions of this section, the school day in every county school and in every voluntary school shall begin with collective worship on the part of all pupils in attendance at the school, and the arrangements made therefor shall provide for a single act of worship attended by all such pupils unless, in the opinion of the local education authority or, in the case of a voluntary school, the managers or

	governors thereof, the school premises are such as to make it impracticable to assemble them for that purpose… (4) If the parent of any pupil in attendance at any county school or any voluntary school requests that he be wholly or partly excused from attendance at religious worship in the school, or from attendance at religious instruction in the school, or from attendance at both religious worship and religious instruction in the school, then, until the request is withdrawn, the pupil shall be excused from such attendance accordingly… (6) No directions shall be given by the local education authority as to the secular instruction to be given to pupils in attendance at a voluntary school so as to interfere with the provision of reasonable facilities for religious instruction in the school during school hours; and no such direction shall be given so as to prevent a pupil from receiving religious instruction in accordance with the provisions of this section during the hours normally set apart for that purpose, unless arrangements are made whereby the pupil shall receive such instruction in the school at some other time. Section 77 (5) Subject as hereinafter provided, the religious instruction given in any school maintained by a local education authority shall not be subject to inspection except by one of His Majesty's Inspectors or by a person ordinarily employed for the purpose of inspecting secular instruction either as an additional inspector appointed by the Minister or as an officer in the whole-time employment of a local education authority; Provided that the religious instruction given in a voluntary school otherwise than in accordance with an agreed syllabus shall not be subject to such inspection as aforesaid, but may be inspected under arrangements made for that purpose by the managers or governors of the school, or, in the case of a controlled school, by the foundation managers or foundation governors thereof so, however, that such inspections shall not be made on more than two days in any year and not less than fourteen days' notice of the dates fixed thereof shall be given to the local education authority. 114 (1)… "Agreed syllabus" means, subject to the provisions of subsection (4) of this section, an agreed syllabus of religious instruction prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Fifth schedule of this Act and adopted or deemed to be adopted thereunder.
Education Reform Act 1988	Part I—2. (1) The curriculum for every maintained school shall comprise a basic curriculum which includes—

	(a) provision for religious education for all registered pupils at the school; and (b) a curriculum for all registered pupils at the school of compulsory school age (to be known as "the National Curriculum") which meets the requirements of subsection (2) below.
Education Act 1996	Chapter III Religious Education and Worship Agreed syllabuses of religious education (375) Required provision for religious education (376-384) Religious worship (385-388) Exceptions and special arrangements (389) Constitutions of standing advisory councils on religious education (390-393) Determinations by standing advisory councils (394-396) Access to meetings and documents (397) Miscellaneous (398-399)
Education Act 2002	78 General requirements in relation to curriculum (1) The curriculum for a maintained school or a maintained nursery school satisfies the requirements of this section if it is a balanced and broadly based curriculum which— (a) promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society, and (b) prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life. (2) The curriculum for any funded nursery education provided otherwise than at a maintained school or maintained nursery school satisfies the requirements of this section if it is a balanced and broadly based curriculum which— (c) promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society, and (d) prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life… 80 Basic curriculum for every maintained school in England (1) The curriculum for every maintained school in England shall comprise a basic curriculum which includes— (a) provision for religious education for all registered pupils at the school (in accordance with such of the provisions of Schedule 19 to the School

	Standards and Framework Act 1998 (c. 31) as apply in relation to the school), (b) a curriculum for all registered pupils at the school who have attained the age of three but are not over compulsory school age (known as "the National Curriculum for England"), (c) in the case of a secondary school, provision for sex education for all registered pupils at the school, and (d) in the case of a special school, provision for sex education for all registered pupils at the school who are provided with secondary education. (2) Subsection (1)(a) does not apply— (a) in relation to a nursery class in a primary school, or (b) in the case of a maintained special school (provision as to religious education in special schools being made by regulations under section 71 (7) of the School Standards and Framework Act 1998).

Appendix 3: Data Citations from newspaper articles

Britishness(es)		Muslimness(es)	Source
Discriminatory and obtuse -"Labelled 'highly irresponsible' and accused of Islamophobia -"accused independent faith schools of threatening to undermine social cohesion"	Vs.	**Reasonable** -"Iqbal Sacranie, secretary-general of the Muslim Council of Britain, said Mr. Bell's remarks were 'highly irresponsible'. 'The issue of community cohesion and coherence is of paramount importance for the whole nation' he said." -"If you look at the statistics of those young people who come to British Muslim schools and compare them to state schools you will find a far higher proportion of them are going on to further and higher education to fulfil their role fully towards society." -"Muslim schools do not harm social cohesion and neither do Jewish or Christian schools"	Guardian, 17 Jan 2005 (Curtis)
Reasonable -"Ofsted annual report" -"Education watchdog" -"Deliberate intervention" -"Carefully but sensitively monitored"	Vs.	**Emotional/Inflamatory** -"angry reaction" -"Criticised as 'irresponsible' and 'derogatory'" -"Claiming institutional racism" -"Accused Bell of Islamophobia and challenged him to public debate" -"Muslim children…were asked if they hated Jews…many put up their hands…the assembly was led by a Asgher Mohammed, a parent"	Guardian, 18 Jan 2005 (Smithers) Daily Record, 14 Jan 2009 (Drury)
Inclusive -"wider responsibilities and obligations to British society" -Broad general knowledge…appreciation and respect…tolerance and harmony" -"His lesson was to preach religious tolerance and to show, despite what is going on in the Middle East, that Muslims and Jews in the ENGLAND can live in peace"	Vs.	**Exclusive** -"Traditional Muslim education does not entirely fit pupils for their lives as Muslims in modern Britain."	Guardian, 17 (Curtis) & 18 Jan 2005 (Smithers) Daily Record, 14 Jan 2009 (Drury)
Exclusive -"A teacher was barred from joining students on a visit to a Roman Catholic sixth-form college because she refused a request to remove her Muslim veil…The town is in the constituency of Jack	Vs.	**Inclusive** -"The first bid from a Muslim charity to run a state school with places guaranteed for non-Muslim pupils is now being considered by the schools adjucator" -"The vast majority of independent	Times Ed Sup, 19 Dec 2008 (Marley) Times 30 June 2009 (Jenkins)

Straw, the Justice Secretary, who once said that he preferred Muslim women not to wear veils that covered their faces…The college had a policy that people entering the site did not have their faces covered."		Muslim schools teach citizenship to fulfil Ofsted. Increasingly, they are looking at how to maintain faith but be an active, contributing member of society too. This is a very important element in a multi-cultural society."	
Ineffective with Muslim children -"The results for Muslim schools are also impressive considering that children from Pakistani and Muslim-Indian homes generally achieve lower exam results than national averages. In primaries, the picture is more mixed.	Vs.	**Effective with Muslim children** -First all girls' Islamic state secondary school got top of the league tables for GCSE 'value-added' performance -"If you look at the statistics of those young people who come to British Muslim schools and compare them to state schools you will find a far higher proportion of them are going on further and higher education to fulfil their role fully towards society." -"Muslim state schools are among the most successful in the country in terms of both value-added scores and raw exam results…Pupils make more progress at Muslim secondary schools than in any other type of school, including faith schools and non-religious comprehensives" -"Happy and confident children being taught the Koran at the Jamia Chistia mosque in Rochdale (with photo)"	Guardian, 17 (Curtis) & 18 Jan 2005 (Smithers) Times Ed Sup, 19 Dec 2008 (Marley) Times, 10 Dec 2008 (Kerbaj)
		Innovative -"The key thing is that we work with the parents and the community to drive up standards" -"We make sure we go the extra mile with parents and send them lots of information. We also inculcate pupils with traditional values of discipline and hard work" -"More private Islamic schools are expected to join the state sector. Plans for new schools in London and Kirklees in West Yorkshire are being developed." -"The Minister for Community Cohesion, Sadiq Khan, urged his fellow Muslims to turn in those responsible for violence against children" "The Mosques and Imama National Advisory Board(Minab)…has set up	Times Ed Sup, 19 Dec 2008 (Marley) Times, 10 Dec 2008 (Kerbaj)

		a minimum standard for mosques which includes guidelines to safeguard child welfare. However, membership is purely voluntary and Minab has yet to recruit a single mosque."	
Prejudiced -"I am very surprised to hear Mr. Bell's comments and I challenge him to come up with evidence that Muslim schools are not preparing young people for life in British society. For a person in his position to make such a generalized comment beggars belief."	Vs.	**Persecuted** -"It' a misconception of Muslim schools and a further example of Islamophobia" -"Why he is picking on Muslim schools I don't understand" -"St. Mary's Catholic College turns away Muslim teacher wearing veil (headline)	Guardian, 17 (Curtis) & 18 Jan 2005 (Smithers) Times 30 June 2009 (Jenkins)
In favor of community -"Coherence as a nation	And	**In favor of community** -"Community cohesion and coherence is of paramount importance for the whole nation" -"Mohamed MEnglandadam, the chairman of the Association of Muslim Schools, which represents almost 130 state and private Islamic schools, said much of the success in developing pupils could be attributed to strong community involvement.	Guardian, 17 (Curtis) & 18 Jan 2005 (Smithers) Times Ed Sup, 19 Dec 2008 (Marley)
Protector from Danger -"Madrassas and similar religious classes are not subject to any regulation nor are their teachers required to be vetted by the Criminal Records Bureau…Ms. Cryer called for the authorities to be given powers to perform 'spot checks' on madrassas and shut down any in which children are being abused."		**Dangerous** -"Some Muslim schools 'make children despise the West': Ban on cricket and Harry Potter" -"Some Islamic schools are promoting fundamentalist views and encouraging children to despise Western society…spreading extreme teachings, while a handful had links to sites promoting jihad, or holy war." -"(Headline) Teachers 'beat and abuse' Muslim children in British Koran classes -"Muslim children are being beaten and abused regularly by teachers at some British madrassas" -"Hiba, 7, was slapped across the face so hard by her madrassa teacher that her ear was cut. It later became inflamed and she had to have emergency medical treatment"	Daily Mail, 20 Feb 2009 (Hickley) Times, 10 Dec 2008 (Kerbaj)

Cosmopolitan		**Provincial** "There is of course a minority of madrassas which have a village mindset who may be practicing it (physical disciplining of children)"	Times, 10 Dec 2008 (Kerbaj)

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