Scottish Council for Research in Education: 1928-1993

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PhD Thesis
University of Edinburgh

1994
This Thesis was composed by me

John G. Morris
March 1994
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Acknowledgements

Many people have been helpful. First my supervisors Noel Entwistle and Andrew McPherson were consistently encouraging. Next Phil Odor gave advice on computing and diagnosed and rectified over the telephone hitches which arose in my inept application of it.

The listed individuals who were interviewed, and those who discussed specific issues also gave of their time and knowledge generously.

Librarians and archivists at Scottish Record Office, National Library of Scotland, SCRE, New St Andrews House, Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities, Moray House College, Jordanhill College, Association of Directors of Education Scotland, Educational Institute of Scotland and General Teaching Council were patient, positive and perceptive in my seeking information.

Ian Flett, Tom Henderson, Alex Young, Maeve Rusk and John A Smith corresponded with me by letter or telephone. John Nisbet and David Walker as long time associates of SCRE entered into many discussions with me.

Glynn Davies and Martin Kender, long-serving officers of SSRC/ESRC, currently Secretary of Council and Head of Corporate Services, respectively, made available valuable papers relating to Scotland.

I spent an enjoyable and profitable day in London with Clare Burstall, Director of NFER and Freddy Yates, the former Director, after which they provided useful papers and a late draft of the history of NFER written by Freddy.

Inevitably among the older group there have been losses in the last two years. Douglas McIntosh, was hospitalised permanently, two weeks after our interview. He was sent, as requested, a full transcript, but was not in a position to respond.
John A Smith and Hugh Fairlie have died, before they had the opportunity to read what I had written about our discussion and interviews. Thus I have been more limited in my use of their material.

Finally I record my appreciation of the support and understanding of Catherine, my long time ‘education widow.’
Abstract

Generations of teachers had striven to find a way of participating in educational development. They saw an opportunity through the Education Act of 1918 authorising national and local advisory councils and directors of education. The councils did not meet their expectations and after years of frustration the main teacher union (EIS) made common cause with the Association of Directors of Education to found a new body which would be independent, the Scottish Council for Research in Education.

This Council composed predominantly of volunteers from schools, colleges, universities and the directorate was rebuffed by the Scottish Education Department, but was financed by its founders until it found favour and additional finance in international circles, especially America. It created a reputation for quality research and its core finance came wholly from the EIS and the local authorities. At the end of the war it sought to rehabilitate itself, but found that it had to seek some financial support from the Department, although still guarding its independence. This, together with the new finance it received from the population investigations and from international evaluations on curriculum enabled it to function successfully, until 1972.

In that year the Department wished to support the Council because the climate of opinion in favour of research had built up through the 1960s in the United Kingdom. An accommodation was reached, satisfactory for most people but considered by a few to herald the end of independence. The move to full time research workers which began in the 1960s became the norm.

After some ten years of valuable research, especially in curricular and assessment matters, a new government administration led to a sustained drive on management and organisational reviews. Council sustained its research output despite this drain on its resources both human and financial, emerging in 1990 as a leaner and fitter body. The downside of this development was that it became an agent of the Department, with central funding against a contract of specific services, coupled with the opportunity to bid for a range of research projects identified by others.

In 1993 changes in control of educational finance, already proposed, leading to expenditure being determined at a multiplicity of local points will put at risk the funding of all non-governmental public bodies, including SCRE. The Council’s history shows adaptability and flexibility to meet changing situations on the part of dedicated men and women who have served it and believe in it, and the value of its products. These attributes should enable it to continue to uphold its slogan: Research in the Service of Education.
Noo some like you wha've learnt a little
For ither folk don't care a spittle.
Their friendship's unco wake and kittle
When at its best.
An' aft by frien' is faun gae brittle
When put to test.

But you ma mate ha'e alang
Just kept the same tae weak and strang
An' ne'er by word or act would wrang
Your dullest brither.
You'd rather gie him help alang,
His faults tae smother.¹

¹ Poem written in honour of Sir John Adams, Rusk's tutor, by fellow students at Free Church Training College, 1884. Adams, president of EIS 1896-97, became Professor of Education at the University of London in 1902. Quoted in SEJ October 1934, p.1270.
## Time Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Director</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
<th>Secretary</th>
<th>Main Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928-36</td>
<td>R R Rusk</td>
<td>B Talbot</td>
<td>G Macdonald</td>
<td>Individual projects, 1932 Survey, IEI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D Frew</td>
<td>W W McKechnie</td>
<td>1932 Survey, IEI</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finance: EIS, EAs, Carnegie (USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-40</td>
<td>R R Rusk</td>
<td>D Frew</td>
<td>J W Peck</td>
<td>Primary &amp; Secondary Curriculun War selectionr</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finance: no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-50</td>
<td>R R Rusk</td>
<td>J Chambers</td>
<td>J Mackay Thomson</td>
<td>Secondary Selection, Evacuation, local history</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J Drever Snr</td>
<td>Finance: EIS, EAs, SED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W S Murrie</td>
<td>Finance: EIS, EAs, SED</td>
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<td>PIC.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1 year)</td>
<td>W F Arbuckle</td>
<td>IEA 'Heyworth'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D M McIntosh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Finance: no change</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N Graham</td>
<td>'Rothschild'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Acting)</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Rothschild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>W B Dockrell</td>
<td>R B Forbes</td>
<td>N Graham M Fearn</td>
<td>Activity and Finance</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972-75</td>
<td>W B Dockrell</td>
<td>R B Forbes</td>
<td>N Graham M Fearn</td>
<td>Selection for university. Further education</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finance: EIS, EAs SED(major-conditional) RIU established.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975-78</td>
<td>W B Dockrell</td>
<td>J Nisbet</td>
<td>M Fearn A Mitchell</td>
<td>Profiling, Illuminative evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finance: no change</td>
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<td></td>
<td>G Kirk</td>
<td>J Scott</td>
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Note: The chart is diagrammatic and indicates the flow of events. The choice of date blocks and main events is arbitrary. Precise dates when individuals were in post are given in Appendices 4 and 8.
Chapter One
INTRODUCTION

Background.

In 1928 the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) was established in Scotland, and has continued its existence until the present day. It has never been a statutory body, a state which gives an organisation more authority and causes officialdom to have greater regard for its views. It was once offered and refused to accept statutory status, and once asked for and was refused it, by the then Scottish Education Department (SED).

The argument of the thesis is:

After World War 1 (WWI) and the 1918 Act\(^1\) the leaders of the educational community (teachers, the newly created directors of education, and certain academics with humane and liberal instincts) made common cause to establish a national body which would enable them to have an independent role in developing education in Scotland. To this end they established the Scottish Council for Research in Education in 1928. The Council continues in existence, and over its lifespan it has made useful contributions to educational development, initially as the only national body, but subsequently making relationships with more recently created bodies, such as the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC), and the Scottish Examination Board (SEB). It has struggled to maintain its equilibrium between being wholly independent yet side-lined, and ignored, and being accepted by local authorities, teachers and the central authority in Scotland as an authentic voice of quality research which makes an impact on issues of the day. The one over-arching feature throughout its lifespan has been that it cherished its independence and regularly found that independence had a price which some members were willing to pay and which others believed was too high.

Independence is the central theme of the thesis. I am concerned with what it has meant to the parties involved; with how these meanings have changed;

\(^1\) Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, 8 & 9 Geo 5, ch 48.
and with the repercussions on the nature and level of research conducted by SCRE itself.

In seeking to understand independence, I draw on three inter-related themes and their associated literatures. The first is the idea of education for independence, as commonly understood in progressive educational thinking, typified by the work of A. S. Neill and also of the New Education Fellowship. Eric Fromm in his introduction to *Summerhill* writes that the 18th century concepts of freedom, democracy and self-determination were motivating forces in education by the first half of the 20th century and that Neill took this forward by striving to change the attitude towards children, where authority was replaced by freedom. For him noise in a child was an attempt to gain power over his environment, and essential to his growth as an individual. The writings of this insignificant dominie and his small school led to bitter ripostes, collected and published by Max Rafferty, California State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Few other writers could have had such an effect. The argument is between individualism and the collectivist rights of society and the state. This can be seen in other areas such as individual rights, examined by philosophy and enshrined in law.

William Boyd, head of the Education department at Glasgow University, and long time Council member, believed that his New Education Fellowship should consider the personality of the child as fundamental and that education would create 'The New Era', human betterment. The accent on the individual in the writings of Neill and Boyd led to the initial work by SCRE on intelligence tests, (ch 3). Freedom of spirit in the individual was for both men a pre-condition of independence in an organisation or in society.

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5 Boyd's ideas are developed in chapter 3. Appendix 2 gives biographical details of key individuals.

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8
A second theme is the fundamental importance of education in Scotland as an aspect of cultural and national identity, and as an enduring element in arguments about political independence and reform. It arose because of the church involvement in it in 1707, and weathered the Disruption, (ch 2) being strengthened by it, until today education is seen as a bulwark against undesirable changes occurring in England, being imported to Scotland.

The third, and most prominent, relates to the increasingly pervasive role of government in civil or social affairs, and the implications of this change for the independence of thought and action enjoyed, both by individuals and by associations, of which SCRE is one example. There are recent discussions on this theme in relation to education.

These three aspects of independence were evident in the considerations which led to the launching of SCRE, and have remained important since then. How they enabled and constrained the research conducted by SCRE and the impact of that research on education itself is a recurrent theme of this thesis. In particular, I am concerned with the relationship between SCRE itself, and the various organs of government, principally the SED, but also the local authorities and other bodies and agencies.

These themes are important, because, throughout the 20th century, the prominence of public education both in the activities of the government and in the life of society has steadily increased. At the same time, knowledge, information and expertise has become a more important part, both of the conduct of public affairs and of education itself. SCRE both contributed to these changes and was influenced by them. They shaped the context in which the Council operated, the types of research it was enabled to conduct

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and the access it enjoyed, both to the education system itself and to those areas of government responsible for education.

In part therefore this thesis may contribute to more general understanding of why it is that government takes advice, in what ways and to what effect. These are issues which received extended attention in Scotland in the years leading up to the foundation of SCRE, and to which I come later. The first sustained academic attention given to them in the British literature, however, is to be found in the work of Kogan. He contends that:

Central Advisory Councils enhance the process of social discovery and criticism by taking issues that are already prominent in the educational establishment by collating the data which make or criticise the case for change .... and presenting government (with a basis for making change)

He writes of a 'weak intelligentsia whose professional interest lies in and around the disciplines that feed educational research, development and training,' equating them with educational journalists, a theme to which I return in chapter 11.

Kogan quotes Herbert Andrew, Permanent Secretary at Department of Education and Science (DES) in reply to a Select Committee:

We do consult all the people who we do think are interested, all the time

Elsewhere, Kogan sees educational policy as affecting millions of individuals, and in a multiplicity of settings. Thus associations and organisations working on policy and developmental matters, are cautious in assuming consensus in their members. He writes that:

The pluralism of the system does not

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8 See chapters 2 and 3.
11 ibid p. 78.
extend to many of the main actors in the processes of education\textsuperscript{12}

He later claims that:

In theory, parliament exists to promote pluralism. It should help to articulate and aggregate attitudes and beliefs\textsuperscript{13}

These aspects must be considered in chapters 10 and 11 when discussing policy and conclusions.

In Scotland too, the creation of a National Advisory Council in 1918 was a critical event. Young\textsuperscript{14} argues that the Council had little direct influence on educational policy making. Initially it fulfilled a need of interest groups, but after its first report, which was not well received by the Department, its power to affect the system was constrained.

McPherson & Raab\textsuperscript{15} instance cases where administrators in SED rejected the idea of an organisation similar to the Schools Council, when considering a CCC, Brunton, (p 92) because it would be rejected and hinder progress towards pre-determined goals, and Graham (p 328) because policy was for the Secretary of State to decide. The difference in the attitude of Brunton, Her Majesty's Senior Chief Inspector of Schools, (HMSCI) and Graham, Secretary of SED is illuminating. The origins of SCRE (ch. 2) must be understood against this backdrop. SCRE was eventually to become a Quasi Non-governmental Organisation (QUANGO) a type of body which has been variously interpreted by writers on government and politics.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} ibid p.233
\textsuperscript{16} There is no fixed date for this change because there is no agreed definition of the term. SCRE first took financial support from SED in a substantial amount in 1972 with the Secretary of State appointing some members. (ch. 7). This is in contra-distinction to assessors who associated with the Council from the early 1960s.
Executive, advisory and ad hoc expert bodies arose in UK and in Scotland to deal with specific issues. Quite how membership was decided was difficult to determine. (see ch 11) Keating and Midwinter quote seven categories of agencies.\(^{17}\) They choose Scottish Development Agency (SDA), established in 1974, as a major quango, charged with the regeneration of the Scottish economy, a requirement almost certain to fail, so that it was not government at arm's length, but an already identified scapegoat for subsequent failure. Most agencies had to do with industry.

Quango, as a term, arose in 1979, and was immediately changed to Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB). The change was ignored by journalists, political activists and the public, with the original acronym persisting.

Raab\(^{18}\) comments on the performance of government bodies relating specifically to education, where he considers the inspectorate as a pervasive network, yet one able to balance between being an independent voice and one reflecting the policies of the government of the day. A later paper\(^{19}\) reinterprets the data 'or the specification of the game and its rules' (p.76) where there are 'interdependent organisation actors in their networks.' He advocates; "...examining participants' behaviour and values - always however constrained and contextualised - (so that) wider policy-related action and outcomes become fully intelligible."\(^{20}\) That part of the thesis structure headed 'educational and social climate' meets this need. The major work on interpersonal relations as a network in Scottish education, and how such determines policy, is that of McPherson & Raab.\(^{21}\)

Raab also discusses partnership. In the present climate partnership may be a division of labour, a demarcation system or an accepted but resented

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\(^{20}\) op. cit. 1992 pp 77-78

\(^{21}\) op. cit.
imposition of the will of the stronger upon the weaker partner. Marker and Raab\(^{22}\) describe how agreement was reached about founding new colleges of education in the early 1960s. Data here, which Raab agreed in an earlier paper is an 'intractable world' (p 82 of 'Networks') are incomplete. This is relevant to chs 10 and 11.

The Scottish Office had used non-governmental organisations before WWII, but their use multiplied in the 1960s principally in the field of economic development.\(^{23}\) Tom Johnston, a strong Secretary of State (S of S) used Boards; William Ross another strong S of S was suspicious of them. In the education field too, new structures of non-departmental bodies were created by SED, such as the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB) in 1964, taking over those duties from the Inspectorate in 1965 and the CCC in 1964, uniquely chaired by the Secretary of SED, but, as mentioned, the change in SCRE’s status was to come later.

It is necessary to say something about the changing structure of government in Scotland both to understand the significance of this change in SCRE’s status, but also to grasp the implications for SCRE of the way in which government itself internally organised its use of knowledge and expertise. (See ch. 8, and 'Rothschild' and the establishment of Research and Intelligence Unit [RIU]). Relevant developments here are the increasing absorption of SED into the procedures and expectations of an increasingly corporate Scottish Office, thereby exposing SED to the winds of change in wider government thinking on its own organisation; the consequences of this integration for senior administrators in their relations with Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools (HMI) in particular; and the use of outside bodies to do


\(^{23}\) A Scottish Council on Industry (formerly Scottish Industrial Council) and a Scottish Development Council, both subsequently merged to the Scottish Council Development and Industry began in 1942 with Tom Johnston a powerful S of S. A successor, Woodburn set up the Highland Panel in 1947 which shaded into the Highland and Islands Consultative Council in 1966 then the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) and in recent years Highland and Islands Enterprise (HIE) matching Scottish Enterprise (SE) which had developed from the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) of 1974. One man, Sir David Nickson, has held successively chairmanship of 10 different Boards and Councils in recent years.
government's work, to protect and legitimate it, and to supply knowledge and expertise.24

In addition to SCRE as a quango, there is a more specialist literature on the organisation of educational research. Books consulted on policy related to education are listed.25 Policy is discussed primarily in chapter 10 because it is a theme running through the whole period and essentially relates to the relationship between SCRE and SED/SOED.

Because this account of SCRE is social history the first 'knowledge' literature consulted was that of Trevelyan, where there is an uncompromising statement that, "Truth is the criterion of historical study," followed by, "Politics are the outcome rather than the cause of social change."26 The first is a challenge and the second a warning about interpreting cause and effect.

More specific, in that it deals with education in Scotland is 'Governing Education'.27 The authors in the Preface and Introduction make the case for the interacting historical and theoretical basis of their social theory, which underpins their empirical study of the development of educational policy in Scotland, and provide a further warning:

A history that is driven solely by the methodological assertion of serendipity and human idiosyncracy is clearly unsatisfactory. No explanation of human events can avoid assumptions and generalisations that function

24 McPherson & Raab op. cit. pt 4 and ch 11.
27 op. cit.
They continue by quoting Harold Silver from 1983, who gives a further warning of the "dangerous moments when theory claims to be history and when policy claims to be experience." By 1991 Silver has developed his thinking, or at least expressed it differently. He accepts that education is one of several social action strategies and questions how they relate to one another with particular relevance to programmes such as Educational Priority Areas (EPA). His postulated answer was that:

(participants) were simply caught up in entusiasms, critical moments, opportunisms and opportunities in order to take next steps in vaguely conceived directions. ... How much more or less than they knew, were participants aiming to achieve? The serendipity and the entusiasms above tend to be associated with good fortune, and a tolerant approach to considerations of government policy.

The three strands in the argument about independence also have an important corollary for the approach and treatment which I have adopted.

First, this is not a comparative study of research councils or research organisations, and the issues of interest to me do not require that it should be so. SCRE, was the first research council in education in Europe, and the fact that its history has not been recorded is an unfortunate omission. It is important that it is the Scottish Council. Australia, New Zealand and England all with Councils originating after SCRE had been established, each commissioned its own history. The Scottishness of the Council, within a United Kingdom framework, poses peculiar difficulties in that a small country within the larger group of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern

28 op. cit. p. 9.
29 In 1968 five areas throughout Britain were selected against a range of criteria, as being underprivileged and efforts were made by positive discrimination i.e. providing a disproportionately large amount of resources, to improve their educational performance. The Scottish area was the Hilltown sector of Dundee.(see ch 10)
Ireland had the right, enshrined in law, to have its own education system. A majority of its people cherished that right, but a minority, mainly drawn from the policy community, had less regard for it. The seeds of an independence culture lie here, and the weight given to independence by SCRE is a specific reflection of that culture.

An independence culture needs an identity, which is rather more than a generalised nationalism, and history is a major component therein. Mitchison, expresses it:

Human beings are the product and embodiment of their own past. The same is true for societies: their history is the main component of their present identity.

I do discuss the history of other research councils, only where required by the need for ecological validity (see below). The history of the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) does not mention the existence of SCRE, and the history of the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) mentions it as a footnote, only to assert that SCRE had no part or pattern in its own founding. Milne, in writing about the Scottish Office, chooses to explain the Scottish educational system in terms of English education. Perhaps it is a sense of inferiority in the Scot which leads to such actions. I would reject a criticism that my policy is parochial.

Second, although I have drawn on insights from several academic literatures, principally on government, but also on professionalism and knowledge, this is an historical essay, chronicling an institution, the Scottish Council for Research in Education and is not a sociological account nor a political and policy treatise. This defines some boundaries, yet these

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disciplines are not mutually exclusive, it does raise the issue of what is history. I have taken history to be more than 'acts and facts'. It is interpretative and analytic, the latter putting great pressure on space to develop in.

**Sources and Methods.**

Important choices have been made whereby relevant data are selected from a mass of stored unstructured material, where the dross to nuggets ratio is high. I have accessed those materials which I judge to be most important, based on my long experience of the Council, identifying ideas, accepting their power, but concentrating on those individuals who chose to act on them.

At the institutional level there are four groups. The first is the Scottish Education Department, which established and controlled the playing field. The second is the organisation which represents the majority of teachers, the Educational Institute of Scotland. The third is the Association of Directors of Education, Scotland. The fourth is an indeterminate, individualistic group subsumed under the name 'Academics', primarily based in universities but at a later date, also in training colleges / colleges of education and in central institutions.

The archives of SCRE for the pre-foundation years, are retained in the Council, and referenced by me as the "Rusk collection". All subsequent documents are housed in Scottish Record Office (SRO).³⁵ They are on open access and the thirty year rule does not apply to them. They are incomplete. There are reservations about the SED material also lodged in the Record Office. Files in any civil service department have a priority assigned to them

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³⁵ Located at West Register House, Edinburgh. The English 'Thirty year rule' which prohibits access to a file until 30 years after the date of the last document on that file, has been applied to Scottish Records by 'administrative decision'. It does not apply to the SCRE records which are housed there but does apply to Scottish Office files which relate to SED's dealings with SCRE.
using local discretion within nationwide regulations. What can be asserted is how some files from SED were processed during a period of over twenty years, when I was a member of the Department staff. They were retained in a registry, booked in and out against dates on the file cover when they were active, reviewed, usually on a five year cycle, and destroyed, or given a stay of execution, for another fixed period before a further review. A registry may have as much as 70% of 'dead' files. Ministerial folders and parliamentary questions had priority status with separate colour-coded files but these, allegedly more important documents, ran a greater risk of being lost while out of the system, a serious matter for the historian.

Reviewing was conducted at a relatively low level, that of EO or HEO, who may destroy material because (s)he has not appreciated its worth at the time. Some would be retained, because it seemed of importance initially, but was judged to be ephemeral subsequently. In the period when the Department made Annual Reports (Blue Books), to parliament, divisions opened annual files where material appropriate for the report for that year, for that division was retained. The criterion here would be highlight features, useful for improving the quality of Annual Reports, which were often dull and repetitive. This collection too was more likely to be mislaid at a later date because it was supplementary to the system. Finally, in keeping with human frailty, individuals kept private files for a variety of reasons. All of this brings an element of chance to what eventually reaches an archive.

36 Public Record Office Acts in the modern era date from 1838, with Domesday Book for parts of England. The Public Record Act of 1958 gave responsibility to individual departments with regard to their records. Prior to that the Public Records (Scotland) Act, 1937 had given a dispensation to Scotland. A Guide for Departmental Record Officers (Revised) (1962), London, HMSO, provides the executive guidelines. For the present purpose the Act and the Guide determine what is available. All may be subject to the Lord Chancellor making a determination.

37 Executive Officer and Higher Executive Officer.

38 The 'Blue Books', were discontinued in 1979.

39 A unit with a specific block of work, in the organisational structure of a department under the control of an Assistant Secretary, renamed as a Grade 5, from 1985 onwards. SOED and DES/DFE use the term differently.
Post war, and increasingly thereafter, a process known as ‘weeding’\textsuperscript{40} has taken place by which some material is lost (euphemistically) to the public domain. The application of the thirty year rule ensured that, for the purpose of this thesis, nothing was available later than 1962 from the Scottish Record Office. I wrote to the Education Minister, Lord James Douglas Hamilton, seeking access to relevant Departmental files from 1962 onwards. He did not give it.

EIS archives are housed in their headquarters,\textsuperscript{41} again on open access to interested and accredited parties. They are by far the most comprehensive, because the Institute published weekly, the Scottish Educational Journal\textsuperscript{42} over the period under review, a document of record in bound volumes. The EIS archive records are edited versions of what people had discussed or written, unlike some SED archive material which gives verbatim exchanges of views leading to decisions being taken.

ADES files are located in the offices of Lothian Region Education Department,\textsuperscript{43} and are available to interested parties who can show good cause. The documents are grouped by themes and years, primarily to allow the executive committee to find material with a view to responding to requests for information or with a view to determining policy based on precedent. It would be possible to trace the changing views on (say) transfer to secondary education, but not possible to link it to advanced division work in the past or to environmental studies in the present. Few non-computerised systems anywhere have that degree of flexibility.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[40] Some activities during World War II (WWII) were such that they were secretly removed from official files after 1946. From the mid1960s onwards Ministers had less faith in total security. ‘Moles’ were now acknowledged and ‘weeding’ was conducted by more senior officials. Ministers also saved some material for their memoirs.
\item[41] At 46, Moray Place, Edinburgh.
\item[42] The Journal had a chequered history with abortive attempts to begin one in 1852 and again in late 1856. The main difficulty was finance. In 1876, Scottish Educational News was launched, supported by the Institute but not owned by it until a later date, by the gradual purchase of shares. It failed to survive WWI, but was rescued by the Institute and changed into Scottish Educational Journal in 1918, continuing as the main source of educational information in Scotland until John Pollock, general secretary of the Union, changed its character into a house journal in the late 1970s.
\item[43] The offices are in Torphichen Street Edinburgh, because the current honorary secretary was Director of Education for Lothian Region, until July 1993. They are relocated when the office of secretary changes.
\end{footnotes}
Daily broadsheet papers were used very sparingly. Editorial freedom in such papers often resulted in the editor alone having freedom. For many years 'The Scotsman' was ill-disposed to schools and teachers in its comment pages, and education, and especially research within it, barely rated a mention. Access to its indexed library of cuttings is jealously guarded. The 'Glasgow Herald', relaunched in 1992 as 'The Herald', was more neutral but has given negligible space to research. In more recent years government reports on aspects of education have been competently summarised but with little evaluative comment. The practice by the various education correspondents of contacting a standard list of people, for an immediate quote about an issue, tends to get a predictable result. Most daily news is ephemeral, and educational news especially so. A weekly paper devoted to educational matters could not survive alone with a catchment area for readership as small as that of Scotland. Over the past 25 years the Times Educational Supplement has successfully produced a Scottish edition (TESS) but only as a five to ten page element, substituted for that number of pages in the English edition. There is editorial control in Scotland for the Scottish pages, but with limited space for comment.44 Within these bounds it is very successful and probably carries research information to more teachers than any other source.

A source which is both primary and secondary was also available, that of interviews with a wide range of people who, over the years had been associated with the Council.45 It is a primary source because those interviewed were party to the events, but it becomes secondary when being recollected. When drawing on my own experience of the Council, I am interviewing myself.

I also believe that history is personal so that there is value in anecdotal evidence. The word 'anecdote' has been debased and has changed from its derivative meaning of 'unpublished', to one of 'unreliable' and even

44Newspapers require advertisements to produce income. The biggest group of educational advertisements is for teaching posts. Certain Regions in Scotland do not use this source, preferring national daily papers or internally circulated documents. This loss of finance limits the space available for news and comment in purely educational journals.

45Appendix 1 lists all those interviewed.
'unworthy'. I do not subscribe to the latter meaning. Mitchison's view, which I endorse, is

For an individual the destruction of memory means the destruction of personality.

The age range of those interviewed was from the mid 30s to the late 80s, and the time per interview ranged from just over an hour to about six hours. No one refused to be interviewed, and no one refused to be taped, but two people said they would be more comfortable without the tape-recorder, and their preferences were met. Certain people were interviewed in a number of brief sessions where I was seeking confirmation for specific points. These were not taped. With two exceptions those interviewed were already known to me. The interviewee made the decision when to terminate the meeting, and in only two cases did it seem to me unnecessarily prolonged. To have terminated these interviews would have been discourteous, and researchers must ensure that they do not put at risk the stock of goodwill for subsequent researchers.

Two leaders of the early generation of researchers in Scotland, long dead, left records, Rusk in the form of an 'obituary' written by himself in the third person, and Boyd in the form of an unpublished autobiography, both of which provided useful insights. I checked Rusk's 'obituary' with Margaret Clark, Professor emeritus at Birmingham University, who had a long association with him as student and research worker. She considered it to be substantially correct.

Any archive is the subject of interpretation, none more so than the final source, Scottish Film Archive of the Scottish Film Council in Glasgow where

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47 Rusk wrote notes for his obituary, in the third person, when he was about 90 years old, and sent copies to Stanley Nisbet, Colin Maclean, editor of TESS, and to me. The first two were lodged in SCRE. I retain mine.

48 Archive at Glasgow University. Catalogue number: DC. 130.
silent film supported by captions may be viewed.49 Here the eye sees what it brings the power to see. Film captures the living and working conditions of children and their parents more effectively than the written word does. There is film of school trips to the country or seaside, sports days, marches and demonstrations and material on transport, especially ships and steam engines.

Archive material from academics is available in several locations, specific to the individual who produced it, and who chose to house it in his or her main place of work.

A symbiotic relationship is necessary with archives. They can become addictive and are best accessed after the analytic framework of a thesis has been determined.

Finally there is my personal experience of SCRE which I first encountered as a pupil in the 1921-born group which was the subject of the 1932 Survey, eventually becoming a voluntary research worker for it, later becoming an SED assessor to it, and holding that role for longer than any other person in its history. This experience has made me well-placed to record and interpret that history.

There are two earlier histories relating to SCRE, that by Craigie,50 a vice-chairman of Council, which is a brief monograph, with no attempt at evaluation. He was punctilious about accuracy, and his outline of the period has been useful. The second by Wake,51 is an account of the years up to 1928, and valuable because it is a period where there is considerable doubt

49The Scottish Film Council is a constituent body of the Scottish Council for Educational Technology housed in the former Notre Dame College at Dowanhill, Glasgow. Its film archive is under the control of Janet McBain. For many years it has been transferring its records both amateur and professional from flammable to non-flammable based film thus ensuring the availability of valuable material over a greatly increased life span.


as to why certain events occurred. She, as Head of Information Services at SCRE, has access to as much information as exists. It is improbable that any new information will be found. What I add is first-hand knowledge of participants, such as Robert Rusk, James Craige and William Boyd, chairman of the original Research Committee of the Educational Institute of Scotland. Also the thesis covers the whole period from 1928 to 1993.

Some Methodological Considerations

Writing about an existing organisation, and commenting upon its present position, affects individuals still in service, so that a balance has to be struck between being fair and being honest, both highly subjective concepts.

I have been away from SED for more than ten years, and although a signatory to the Official Secrets Act, subsequently altered, understand that it is relaxed after the individual has been out of the service for two years. My phrasing is vague, intentionally because the rules are vague, intentionally. My paramount consideration is to ensure that no one who was helpful to me, either in interview or in directing me to sources, or in some cases supplying documents, is disadvantaged.

I gave an assurance to those who were interviewed on tape that the tapes were for my sole use. That assurance has been and will be kept, and the tapes remain in my possession. There is a literature on taped interviews which is not specific to these circumstances. I did not use a check list, but did use a conversational mode with leading questions. Interviewees were contacted by letter, or face-to-face, beforehand explaining the circumstances, and the area for discussion, so that they may have time for reflection, with a follow-up telephone call. McIntosh asked for, and was given, a full transcript; Fairlie asked for those statements which came from his interview to be shown to him at the final draft; Johnston put conditions on interviewing which could not be met. No one else made any conditions.

I decided that Walker, Dockrell and Brown as former directors of SCRE should see the total chapters which referred to them, and that McIntosh,
Fairlie, Nisbet, Kirk, Freeman and Ewing should see the sections in which they were involved. In Nisbet’s case this meant reading most of the thesis in its first draft. The others have not been quoted, but the information which they provided was important in confirming facts and my interpretation of them, or in providing new leads. All responded, agreeing that I had neither misquoted nor misrepresented them, but making further suggestions for changes, some of which have been incorporated.

There is a problem in asking a serving civil servant to read and agree copy. Strictly speaking he should have it agreed by Establishment division, which may enter into an open ended discussion on the content, and may never reach agreement. Walter Humes spoke at a Scottish Educational Research Association (SERA) conference after his book52 was published, to the effect that he had great difficulty in getting anything other than temporising responses from SED, to his requests for information and his attempt to have a dialogue. Much secrecy is frustrating and leads to anger. The safest position is not to ask. Another difficulty lies in when to pass drafts to individuals. Several of the individuals involved interact, so that there could be a continuing exchange of drafts, perhaps putting a restriction on the writer, which would prevent him from altering late drafts.

Finally there is the justification or rejection of the use of 'I', and the current state of thinking is in the journal 'Sociology'. While not disapproving, the various authors had dire warnings, with which I agree, one being:

The use of 'I' explicitly recognises that such knowledge is contextual, situational and specific, and that it will differ systematically according to the social location... of the particular knowledge producer53

Questions for Consideration.

It is relatively easy to ask questions but much more difficult to answer them,

yet formulating the question is crucial, especially in educational research. Einstein, on the issue of whether a problem was capable of resolution wrote:

The formulation of a problem is often more essential than its solution, which may be merely a matter of mathematical or experimental skill. To raise new questions, new possibilities, to regard old questions from a new angle, requires imagination and marks real advance in science⁵⁴

The framework within which the questions have been put and answered, is exemplified by what is now a slogan for SCRE, 'Research in the Service of Education'. They relate to the argument on SCRE's purpose, value, effect and independence, and may be asked by Ministers, administrators in the civil service, professionals in education and those workers in the media who take on to their own shoulders the responsibility for enunciating the concerns of the community. Such people are part of the policy community. The questions are acceptable in an open democratic society, but have implicit value judgements within them.

1. What were the views and motivation of the founders of SCRE on educational research in 1928, how did these views develop over its lifespan and what is the current position?
2. Who sets the research agenda and how is it set?
3. Has the cherished goal of maintaining independence been achieved?
4. Are there answers to problems in education which are transferable between countries and educational systems so that research could be left to England and U.S.A. and the findings simply transferred to the Scottish scene?

Popper argues that in the social sciences, the validity of generalisations is not confined to that historical period in which the relevant observations were made. For him theories precede observation and experiment and:

we must have a question before we can hope that observation or experiment may help us in

any way to provide an answer\textsuperscript{55}

The standpoint of the psychologist, Bronfenbrenner, on human development advises that scientific method must also have 'ecological validity',\textsuperscript{56} by which he means that the individual has to be considered in the environment in which he lives. He also distinguishes between a purely associative and a causal hypothesis, the latter being one where a change in one variable by itself will produce a given effect on another variable.

These are views of academics. Wilson, a practitioner gives a perspective that educational thinking should not take place in a vacuum of time or space, but must have regard to history and theory, describing the paradigm of the educator as polymath, having wisdom, breadth of knowledge and common sense, that last attribute being seen in the Education Act of 1944 which he claims is, '".. the most comprehensive and complete measure of educational reform in our history,"\textsuperscript{57} because it avoids 'pettifogging detail' and is comprehensive within just one hundred and twenty two clauses. Serendipity would certainly appeal to him, because he gives the impression that there are no real problems, and his world of education in England is in good shape, especially for those taking a broad view.

The two perspectives of the academic, who may also be the researcher, and the man constrained by the restrictions of office, recur throughout SCRE's history, leading at times to a failure of communication, and at others to a complete breakdown in relationships. Examples are in the interviews which were not taped, and in the comparison between the attitudes of James and Young, against that of Clegg and Russell, on the Educational Research Board (ERB). (See ch 11 and appendix 1)


\textsuperscript{57} Wilson, Percy. (1961) \textit{Views and Prospects from Curzon Street}. Oxford, Blackwell. p.15. Wilson was HM Senior Chief Inspector in England and Wales and enjoyed the patronage of the then Minister of Education, Sir David Eccles, to the extent that he was permitted to publish his book while still a serving civil servant. 'Curzon Street' was a block of grace and favour houses which served as the headquarters of the Ministry of Education in England and Wales until the mid 1960s when it moved to purpose built accommodation in Elizabeth House, London.
Organisation of Material

Themes have been chosen because they are the most effective way in which to present the activities of an organisation over a long time scale. They are: Research agenda, Outreach and Policy.

The founding members of the Council\textsuperscript{58} had certain preconceived ideas of appropriate areas of research endeavour which were, methods of teaching for Hepburn, learning by group discussion for Boyd, rigour stemming from a reliable knowledge base for the curriculum, especially English and self expression for Steel, and cooperation with teachers' unions and training colleges for Burnett. They managed to pursue those interests, but quickly realised that a national organisation becomes subject to a range of pressures, not least that of ensuring that it is financially sustainable.

The initial research agenda focussed on the demography of 'Intelligence', leading to national data collection by survey, (ch. 3) on that and other facets of education and later for international comparisons (ch.5). It also concerned itself with mundane matters, but its international work generated funding, and gave it a status which it had not achieved at home. After about thirty years there was a slow change into selecting research topics advised by its original founding bodies through their representatives on Council, and later to bidding for topics required by government departments.

Outreach fell into two parts, the first being a method of reaching those for whom the research was conducted so that they may learn about findings and be helped to implement them, while providing feedback to the Council on their practical application. The second related to overseas work which enabled interested parties in Scotland to make comparisons with other countries. This was done more often in terms of pupil performance than in methods of teaching and learning.

Policy is the most difficult of the three themes to encapsulate. For central government at the beginning of a term of office, it stems from the Manifesto on which the party was elected, but later becomes more pragmatic. For local
government, research is more likely to provide it with management information regarding a policy for teaching reading, or for making provision, as required by law, for handicapped pupils. For the Council, policy may be in what it chooses to do for a variety of reasons but predicated upon its ability to find, retain and support workers, whether volunteers or permanent or contract staff. It too has often drawn up forward plans, subsequently designated as management plans, and more recently as corporate plans, which are required by government. There is a low probability of following them in detail, so that they tend to be in as general a form as will be accepted when put to Council by its officials, and when put to the Department by Council. Despite these reservations Council has tried to identify current educational issues, or accept those of others in order to produce research results relevant to the issues. It must have regard to the work of other non-governmental public bodies such as, initially the Advisory Council, SEB and the CCC, so that SCRE's contribution will continue to be seen as valuable in relative as well as absolute terms.\textsuperscript{59} Finally it must take account of that shadowy but important body, the policy community.

Each of the three themes is considered against four aspects:
1. Management style of director, chairman and members of Council.
2. Educational and social climate of the times- the ecological validity.
3. Relations with SED/SOED and other funding bodies.
4. Relations with teachers and other sectors of education.

This provides a twelve cell matrix, but every cell is not filled in every chapter, and the order in which aspects are considered rotates where appropriate. To do other would be mechanistic. Essentially it provides a framework for the analysis and for the reader. The matrix is not appropriate for chapters one and two, nor for chapters ten and eleven.

Synopsis of Chapters

The thesis follows a historical time sequence against which there is

\textsuperscript{59} Organisations change their names, sometimes in recognition of a change of function. SEB changed from SCEEB recognising its wider role. CCC changed to SCCC (Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum) recognising a degree of separation from SED.

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development and interaction of the themes. The boundaries of the eleven chapters could be based on national developments such as: the 1930s; the post-war years: the expansion of the 1960s. Another possibility could be in encapsulations such as: starting up; consolidating; the 'measurement' era.

I have chosen events for chapters two to five within which the influence of Robert Rusk, the first and only part-time director is seen. The periods of service of the directors have been used for chapters six to nine, with allowance for the overlap of continuing work in hand, against the immediacy of a new director taking up office. Chapter ten deals with policy, a major concern for independence, and chapter eleven reviews the Council's activities over its lifespan, and answers the questions raised in chapter one. This format is most easily understood by the reader, and has a logic to it, in that throughout the life of the Council it has been heavily influenced by the style of the directors and chairmen, who had disparate lengths of service ranging from 29 years for Rusk, to 22 years for McIntosh as chairman of the Executive committee, and retaining that and adding the chairmanship of the Council for his last 12 years, to four years for Brown, the fourth director, and other chairmen serving for three or six years.

Chapter One, "Introduction" presents the argument of the thesis, indicating that its core is the maintenance of independence for SCRE, gives a rationale for the treatment of the data, describing the sources, the people involved and the structure of the document. The themes are selected, explained and set in a framework, and the questions arising from them, which are addressed throughout the thesis are listed. A range of reference works is introduced and chapters are summarised.

Chapter Two, "The Origins of SCRE", considers the founding bodies which were, Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS),60 and Association of Directors

60 Established in 1847 by teachers in order to give them a voice as professionals in the development of education. It became affiliated to the Scottish Trade Union Congress in the early 1970s under its General Secretary, John Pollock, himself an office bearer in that body. Many members had reservations about this move at the time, but for the last 20 years its professional and union activities have co-existed.
of Education, Scotland (ADES). They worked within a framework for education, determined by the Scottish Education Department, which itself is described. The events are set against a background of the social reality of the time. The motives, and even the machinations of the founders, lead in a somewhat confused way to the appointment of the first 'spare time director' of a new Council.

Chapter Three, "The Early Years: 1927-1939" considers the composition and management style of the first Council, with special reference to the character and role of the first director. The unsatisfactory relations with SED are examined, as are relations with those in education who, by their support, would make the Council viable. The research agenda became dominated by a national survey of intelligence, disguising the greater issue of how universal primary education could and should be taken forward into secondary education for all.

Chapter Four, "Prelude, War and Aftermath" begins around 1935 when the finance from American related projects ended, and there was a considerable yet unsuccessful effort to raise funds. The uncertainty was reflected in a range of petty restrictive decisions on individuals. Patriotic efforts to help the war effort by testing service men, were rejected by government. Yet, work on a seminal report on secondary education was completed. Discussions with SED regarding financial support were frustrating but eventually led to Grant Regulations (1946) (appendix 5), which ensured support, at some cost to independence. The climate of the times led to a shift in influence upon the Council from SED.

Chapter Five, "The Post War Era until the 1960s", examines the continuing arguments between SCRE and SED, but the post war spirit is one of hope, based on an ability to improve the human race. The main research work was the second survey of intelligence, with a heavy eugenic overlay. Doubts about intelligence followed with a long term argument on what came to be called the nature-nurture controversy, which is examined in some detail.

61 Directors of Education were advocated in the 1918 Act. They formed an association in 1920.
Chapter Six, "From Rusk to Walker, and the Walker Years", deals with the retiral of the first director, to be replaced by a full time director, resulting in a change from voluntary workers to permanent and contract staff. Power moved into the hands of the chairman and director. Major efforts were directed to the Scholastic Survey, and to work on comparative educational standards internationally, with the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). There were sponsored and supported research projects, as befits a national body. Relations with the Department remained strained, yet SED realised that it must become less bureaucratic, more cooperative and seek outside support, for developments in education.

Chapter Seven, "From Walker to Dockrell", considers changes in Council membership, with the loss of the old guard, and a new climate of opinion. Tentative steps were taken to effect a better relationship with the Department. New organisations dealing with education came on stream, requiring SCRE to reach a working accommodation with them, and research developments in England were helpful to Scottish aspirations.

Chapter Eight, "The Dockrell Years: 1971-1986", deals with effecting a new relationship with SED, whereby the Department took greater direct interest, and now gave substantial financial support. The concept of educational research was widened, and opportunities were taken to diversify the finance base. There was a considerable increase in staff, which resulted in the need for new accommodation. Research blossomed for the first ten years, to be followed by several frustrating years of reorganisation, in keeping with the policy towards the public sector, associated with the new Thatcher administration. Independence became a fading vision.

Chapter Nine, "The Brown and Harlen Years", deals with efforts at healing wounds from the loss of staff by termination of contracts, at relaunching SCRE, establishing new sources for funding, to give some degree of independence from SED, and formalising outreach through a Forum.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{62} See appendix 9
was a short sharp shock spell of four years when Brown and her chairman, Kirk, changed SCRE managerially, organisationally and intellectually. Harlen became director to face the new dispensation consequent upon a further review, and together with a new chairman, shaped the Council for an agency role required of it by the Department.

Chapter Ten, "Policy", considers this concept, and indicates how government pressure for policy-oriented research, and negotiated customer/contractor research can lead to difficulties. To help make a judgement it provides a backcloth of relevant work on the topic from outside sources.

Chapter Eleven, "Questions and Answers", examines the original questions in the light of SCRE's history, concluding the argument, and providing a tentative view of future development.

The appendices are chosen on two criteria, the first being whether an appendix contributes to the understanding of the thesis, and the second whether it may enable a specialist reader to have access to detail which would be inappropriate in the text.

Procedural Note
Indented text is quotation. Quotation within the body of the text is marked traditionally. "Council" as SCRE and "Department" as SED always have initial capitals.
Chapter Two
THE ORIGINS OF SCRE

Background
The Introduction identified the groups and their associates who became the founders of SCRE, and the SED, with whom some accommodation had to be found, because it represented authority in education. With few exceptions there was greater respect shown to 'Authority' at the early part of the 20th century than there is today. A factor common to the various parties was dissatisfaction with education in Scotland, coupled with a belief that they would be able to improve it, given the opportunity to do so, by having a measure of influence over its development. They had a common aim, but differing beliefs on how they may and why they should achieve that aim. Teachers sought status and better conditions of service; the local authority administrators sought control; the central authority sought to establish itself in a rather hostile environment, that of Westminster, and at the same time develop education in Scotland, some hundreds of miles distant. The teachers and directors of education had common aims but the central authority was effectively in two parts, Ministers of the Crown and parliamentarians being one, and officials of the Department the other. The Liberal party, in power for much of the period, even when part of a coalition government, showed limited interest in education, yet the senior officials wished to effect improvements. The chapter traces the development of the three parties over different periods of time, because their antecedents varied, but converging in the founding of SCRE in 1928. One further common feature about the members of the groups was that all those involved were professionals.1

Teachers and Their Organisations.2
Adversity either crushes those exposed to it, or causes them to band together for mutual support. Throughout the 18th and early 19th century those practising as school teachers in a wide range of institutions, made efforts to

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1 The word 'professional' has been so abused today that it lacks clear meaning. In the early part of the century it meant educated men in identified occupations which earned respect in the community.

found organisations which would enable them to withstand psychologically the contempt in which they were held by the powerful, and the indifference of many others in the community, provide financial support for old age and, modest easement for widows and orphans.

Two of the earliest were The Edinburgh Society of Teachers (1737), and the Glasgow Schoolmasters' Society for Mutual Help (1771). The Aberdeen Society of Teachers (1838) created an educational library, and held regular discussion groups on educational topics. In 1828, in Glasgow, David Stow began his Drygate school, leading in 1837 to the Dundas Vale Training College for teachers. The Disruptions in 1843 resulted in Dundas Vale being taken over by the Church of Scotland, and David Stow setting up a Free Church College in 1845. A similar pattern in Edinburgh led the Free Church to acquire its own college at Moray House in 1848. In a period of just over one hundred years there were attempts to create organisations which would benefit teachers, but they had a variety of aims and were without sharp focus.

In 1847 the rectors and staff of the high schools and academies, especially those of the High School of Edinburgh and Edinburgh Academy, decided to set up a new organisation, the Educational Institute of Scotland, initially with restricted membership but quickly opened to burgh and parochial schoolmasters, because the founders realised that unity was vital. An excellent recruiting ploy was eligibility for a diploma, for those who joined immediately in 1847. Religious, financial and level-of-education differences did not disappear, but were now contained within the Institute. Sex differences did not exist, because women were not eligible for membership until 25 years later.

The motivation for the Institute is made clear in the presidential address of Dr Leonard Schmitz, rector of the High School of Edinburgh, leader of the founders and first president of the new Institute:

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3 A dispute about who had the right to appoint the minister in a church, the congregation or the patrons (landlords), led to a walk-out from the General Assembly of two-fifths of the ministers to form a Free church. The action had a continuing effect on education.

4 Belford, ibid. ch. 4.
while other professions - the clergy, the lawyers, physicians and surgeons - had gained a certain position and influence in society, and were entrusted with the management of their own affairs, the teachers of Great Britain, a body of men in no way inferior in intelligence to the members of other professions, and certainly not less important to the well-being of the community, stood alone, disregarded by their fellow men - nay in some cases were treated little better than servants or menials...... parents accordingly looked upon Schoolmasters as a sort of nurses for naughty children\(^5\)

This stresses professions, comparisons with other professions, intelligence, and annoyance at lack of regard in the community at large, and at the attitude of parents, but there was no sudden change. Many battles were fought in this arena among groups willing similar ends but believing that they could be achieved by different means. Teachers now had a common voice, yet made little impression on the central authority.

During the 1860's various regulations were formed into a Code, that of 1860 pertaining to grants and allowances, revised in 1862 to the Revised Code. A Royal Commission, convened by the Duke of Argyll, on Scottish education, was set up in 1864 reporting in 1867. Teachers criticised the Code, and were impatient at the length of time taken by the Commission to report, both actions having little effect. The Institute, during the period, initiated various programmes of educational reform usually seeking to promote improved conditions for themselves, but also trying to combat the evil of child labour.

At the time of the Act of 1872\(^6\) the Institute put forward suggestions at the committee stage of the Bill, most of which were ignored, and the Act was seen by teachers as a serious curtailment of their freedom to teach effectively. In 1897 the EIS appointed a Commission:

\[ \text{to devise means for obtaining a copious and} \]

\(^5\) Belford. ibid. pp. 81-82.
\(^6\) Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. 35 &36 Vict, ch 62.
The remit was called an "inquiry", a term used regularly by the research council when it began to function. Also it realised the value of evidence and is one of the earliest requests for "more resources." It was in contradistinction to the evidence of philanthropists, who might visit a factory school and shock the public (briefly) by a description of pupils under the tutelage of an illiterate ex-soldier or a crippled mill worker.8

Not until 1917 could it be claimed that there was one union representing Scottish teachers, the Educational Institute of Scotland. That unity reverted to schisms again, as groups of teachers believed that their specific interests could be catered for more adequately in other separate organisations. At the union meeting of 1917 in Moray House, distinguished guests were Robert Munro (later Lord Alness), Secretary for Scotland, Sir Lorne MacLeod, Lord Provost of Edinburgh and Sir Alfred Ewing, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, all representatives who would be unlikely to grace such a meeting today. The conclusion must be that teachers, at least at this time had achieved some of the status which they had sought initially.

The policy of teachers collecting evidence and issuing reports continued in the Scottish Education Reform Committee of 1917 under Alexander Morgan, Principal of Edinburgh Provincial Training College. The reports sought advantage for teachers, but were also far-sighted educational documents. 

7 Belford ibid. P 227
8 Longmate, Norman. (1975) Milestones in Working Class History. London, BBC pubins. It gives impressions of the last part of the 19th and early part of the 20th century, supported by television programmes, was created by a group of educationists and drew on the standard works of authorities such as E.P. Thompson and G. D. H. Cole. Although a British series yet it used many Scottish examples.
Butt, John, et al. (1968) Industrial History in Pictures: Scotland. Newton Abbot, David & Charles. It is a useful Scottish source showing the working conditions and opportunities of the times.
One report, said to have influenced the 1918 Education Act, sought direct teacher representation on the proposed education committees of local authorities, and the setting up of a National Education Council with representatives from:

the Scotch Education Department, Local Education authorities, Universities, Provincial Committees,9 Central Institutions,10 (a range of) teachers, Chambers of Commerce, and Trade Unions11

The Church is conspicuously absent from the list.

This proposed Council was to have far-reaching powers, such as control of entry to the profession of teaching, be a court of appeal against dismissal of teachers and control the Leaving Certificate Examination.12 It also advocated training colleges becoming affiliated with the universities, and that inspectors should be drawn only from the ranks of teachers.

The overall picture is one of teachers as a body being energetic, reasonably enlightened, yet having regard to self-interest.

In society at large, teachers had little power or authority. The Reform Act of June 1918 gave the vote to men over 21 and women over 30, subject to property qualification. The last General Election had been in 1910 and the vast majority of workers did not have unemployment benefit. Also women teachers, who outnumbered men by about three to one, were required to

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9 Many institutions trained teachers, yet there was often a shortfall in numbers. An early act of Struthers in taking over as Secretary of the Department in 1904, was to set up, by a Minute of 30 January 1905, four Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers, based on the four ancient universities as the provinces. There was provision for a fifth province based on Inverness which never materialised.
10 Post school institutions for further education, centrally funded.
11 Belford. ibid. p.236.
12 This examination had been instituted in 1888 by Henry Craik, Secretary of the Scotch Education Department at the time. He persuaded the Scottish Universities to accept the certificate as an entry qualification for university.
resign on marriage. They were then denied unemployment benefit, being judged to have left work voluntarily. In this atmosphere of insecurity and fear, it took considerable courage to criticise "Authority" in the form of the Scotch Education Department.

Teachers wished to take the initiative and control change in their own affairs, yet there were certain inherent risks in such activities. Status was associated with respectability, and the latter came from showing support for the government of the day, the Liberals. Morgan's committee met in Edinburgh but was associated with teachers in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, where men like school-master John Maclean preached revolution seeking and obtaining support from Lenin. Harvie gives a balanced account from a formidable literature on Maclean. When Maclean and others came up for trial at the High Court in Edinburgh, there was sizeable support for them from the general public. When Lloyd George as Liberal Prime Minister visited Glasgow in June 1917 to be given the freedom of the city it required a large turn-out of police and troops to ensure that he could exercise that freedom.

There are problems in determining retrospectively the ethos of a particular time. Smout depicts an ethos, quoting educational historians:

to aim firstly at providing, as cheaply as possible the bulk of the population with the bare minimum of elementary education, combined with adequate social discipline, and secondly, at giving a small number of children of all classes, but especially of the higher classes, a more respectable academic education, to qualify them for their role as a

14 MacLean as a school teacher epitomised what was said to be a revolutionary trend in Glasgow leading to the epithet 'Red Clydeside'. Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland, advised the coalition cabinet of Lloyd George that the Strike of January 1919 for a 40 hour week was a Bolshevik rising. This seems alarmist. The aim was to ensure that ex-service men would have a better opportunity of employment.
controlling elite

At this distance it is a matter of judgement, and mine is that over the period 1917 to 1928 there was a considerable body of teachers who cared about their job, their pupils, and about the development of Scottish education. They were frustrated at their inability to translate their concerns into positive action.

Other evidence spread over a longer period of time can be found in the writings of Douglas and Jones the former an MP with, unusually for such, a distinguished scientific background, and the latter Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University. The teachers’ standpoint can be read in Clarke’s book where present and past presidents of the EIS review education, and where men and women from public and fee-paying schools state their case.

In a parliamentary democracy Ministers must "have regard to" the wishes of the people, especially the political activists, as opposed to the apathetic, who are clothed in respectability by being named the "Silent Majority", a body which can be prayed in aid of any political stance, with little fear of contradiction. In cognizance of that regard the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 did provide the national Council requested by the Scottish Education Reform Committee, but added the word "Advisory", effectively minimising its influence. Young's thesis bears testimony to the idealism, energy and eventual frustration of Advisory Council members. The Act also amalgamated the 947 School Boards into 38 Education Authorities, each of which was to have a Local Advisory Council, but these never materialised.

In 1919 the EIS set up a research committee with William Boyd, as its first convener. It trained teachers in research methods at weekend schools, and

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19 Young, op. cit.
20 Its work is reported in EIS Annual Reports, beginning with Volume 74 for 1920.
disseminated the results of research conducted elsewhere. Its interests were split between historical research and classroom research. Boyd, later, used the committee to spread information about the work of his Child Guidance Clinic in Glasgow University. Such clinics had not yet been encouraged or financed by the new Education Authorities. Two subsequent conveners of the research committee were Peter Lawson of the Training College in Dundee, and Robert Comline, later to become Director of Education for Roxburghshire.

Robert Rusk, who was subsequently appointed the first Director of the Scottish Council for Research in Education was, at this time, on the staff of the Training College in Dundee and would have known Lowson. He certainly knew Boyd, and at a later time knew Comline, though from what date it is difficult to determine. Rusk, who could be acerbic, said that the trouble with the EIS research committee was that no one on it knew anything about research.

Boyd was President of the Institute in 1920-21, an honour testifying to the esteem in which he and his research committee were held. The system of working for most EIS committees of the time, was for the convener to produce a paper which committee members would then discuss. There were eight committee members, excluding those in ex officis capacity, and they began a programme of work which up until 1927 included:

- Instructions and questions for proposed tests.
- A spelling list.
- A plan for simplified spelling.
- Work on reading, mainly speed and comprehension.
- A survey of school subjects.

This last was divided into:

21 This opened in 1925 but he had been planning it for some years earlier in association with the Psychology Department.
22 Cutting in the Rusk collection at SCRE.
23 Boyd had already been working on this.
24 This was a favourite topic for James Steel, headmaster of Allan Glen’s school, Glasgow and first chairman of the Executive committee of SCRE.
(a) "Arithmetic for after-life", an unfortunate title, but referring to life after school. It included examples related to warehousing, agriculture, engineering, railways, shop-keeping but strangely not to shipbuilding or mining.
(b) The most useful elements in the present curriculum.
(c) Alternative methods of teaching and using subtraction, factors and decimals.

The growth of one of the founding bodies of SCRE has now been outlined from its antecedents up to 1847, its foundation in that year, and its development up to 1927. In summary its officials and members consistently sought close involvement with Scottish education, and believed that this would best be achieved by some form of National Education Council which they apparently achieved in the form of an Advisory Council, through the 1918 Act and the requisite Order. At no time before the 1918 Act had teachers' representatives, nor their apologists in the universities, sought anything other than a Council which would be consulted, and which would subsequently offer advice to SED. They seemed to have a rather naive belief that they would have a leading role in any such Council, and that their advice would be seen to have merit, and be acted upon. Within the first year of the existence of the new Advisory Council, the Department stated its position with Circular 44 (untitled) of 1921, and preempted any subsequent suggestions on the organisation of schools. The Council, and with it the hopes of teachers, had been upstaged by a Department which was committed to financial retrenchment, and which was vastly more experienced in presenting its case and in securing prior support from Ministers. There was the further advantage of being based like those Ministers in London, and not, like the Council, in Edinburgh. Probably the desire for a Council had persisted for so long that teachers, when it was offered, seized the opportunity uncritically. Such educational writings as there are of the times are fulsome in their praise of the first two Secretaries of SED, Sir Henry Craik and Sir John Struthers, yet giving a hint that they

25 Ibid. Section 20.
were autocratic, and almost immediately condoning such behaviour. Few, if
any, teachers would have met these men, and could be excused in letting
their enthusiasm for a Council raise unsustainable expectations.

Association of Directors of Education and its Antecedents
The bloodlines of this second body to act as founders of SCRE, are more
difficult to identify. Certainly before the 1872 Act the substantial landowners
in every parish (known as 'heritors'), maintained a school and paid for a
schoolmaster. The Church through its individual ministers, their sessions
and the presbyteries, exercised control over the activities which were
essentially based on passing on a religious faith and observance. This was
best achieved by requiring that the pupils could read and write. The towns
had burgh schools which purported to provide secondary education.
Suitable pupils could proceed from either type of school to university. To the
extent that there was a ladder of opportunity for advancement it could be
called a national system, and the Church through its ministers could be
compared with a local education authority.

Duncan McGillivray,28 one of the twelve educationists who contributed to
Clarke's29 book claimed, from evidence to the Argyll Commission, that
Scotland had had a national education system for about two hundred years.
Quality of education varied. Areas around Aberdeen, where schoolmasters
could obtain additional salary from the Dick bequest, a general endowment,
by sitting an examination, did create a better educated class of teacher.
Other areas had shortcomings which were eased by the setting up of
parliamentary schools.30 Responsibility for standards fell upon the Church,
private organisations, benefactors and inspectors (from 1840). The 1872 Act
established 987 school boards charged with all aspects of their schools,
administering the finance, which was a compound of government grants,
local rates and fees, and appointing the teachers. This last function had
been taken over from the churches by the universities in 1861, and now
passed to the boards which represented local authority. The boards in turn

28 President of EIS in 1919, and Headmaster of Hillhead High School Glasgow.
29 Clarke. op. cit.
30 Created by an Act of 1838. Later called 'Side' schools.
were replaced by 38 county and city authorities, *ad hoc* bodies elected expressly for the administration of education, and said to be able to attract a higher quality of member. In 1929 they were replaced by general purpose councils, as county councils and councils of cities, which appointed education committees to take responsibility for education in their areas, becoming by far the largest spending committees of local government, and continuing in office until the present day, but under threat from a Bill on Local Authority Reorganisation, currently before parliament.(1994).

Accounts of all these activities vary. Douglas and Jones\(^{31}\) deploy a long and rather repetitive argument about the need for larger units, and for some type of national forum. Lord Haldane of Cloan,\(^{32}\) formerly a Scottish member of parliament was adamant that education should be administered from Edinburgh and not Dover House in London. These writers were all educationists or parliamentarians, but historians such as Anderson\(^{33}\) point to inconsistencies, in that the myth\(^{34}\) of a democratic tradition in Scotland is belied by the neglect of Scottish literature and history in the schools. He traces social harmony coming from a common schooling, established before there was a fear of the factory proletariat, and characterises the nineteenth century as a time of establishing a meritocracy by being able to remove inequalities. The educational historians, Humes and Paterson\(^{35}\) are also dispellers of myths and believe that writers of educational history are over well-disposed to the central authorities. What can be asserted is that up until 1918 there was a multiplicity of provision for education within Scotland.

The second group of founders of SCRE came into existence through the 1918 Act. It is unusual for England and Scotland to have Education Acts in the same year. It is almost unique to have that, and to have a professional

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\(^{31}\) op. cit.


\(^{33}\) Anderson, (1983) op. cit.

\(^{34}\) *ibid*. p.1, defines the word '... to indicate not something false but an idealisation and distillation of a complex reality, a belief which influences history by interacting with other forces and pressures...'.

historian as President of the Board of Education. H. A. L. Fisher held this post in the 1916 coalition government of Lloyd George\textsuperscript{36} and extracted from him a promise that:

\begin{quote}
(if the nation) really wants a good system of education this country, war or no war, is perfectly rich enough to pay for it\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

Few Prime Ministers have been noble or rash enough to make such a promise, but it was kept and the provisions of the Act were made possible, initially by joint funding, whereby the exchequer paid 50% of the cost of education, the balance being made up from local authorities and in a very few cases from fees. Within a year of its enactment, Munro, Secretary for Scotland was fighting to defend the Act in parliament because it was proving unpopular with the local authorities, where the voluntary schools had been taken over and were now a charge on the rates, and also because about 70% of those schools were Roman Catholic, where the salaries of the teachers had to be raised to the new minimum national scales. Within a further year the exchequer was demanding financial retrenchment, on a scale which put the whole concept of the Act in jeopardy.

In pursuance of the Act, the Department issued a circular which stated:

\begin{quote}
it is clear that the appointment of a whole time executive officer will be one of the first steps that the new authority must take. This officer will be responsible to the Authority for the smooth and efficient working of the whole of the machinery which the Authority controls. The members will have to look to him for expert advice upon a great variety of technical questions, and for that reason, if for no other, it will probably be found desirable that he should be a man who combines wide educational experience with a proved capacity for organisation. In virtue of the latter, he ought to be able to supervise the more or less routine work
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{37}Public Record Office (1917). ED 24/1384.
of the ordinary office staff including finance

As a job description the circular lacks the crispness which would be expected of a directive, and an advertisement for a post today. It was safe, because there had been considerable opposition in parliament to the whole concept of ad hoc authorities, and the wording is couched in such a way that civil servants could claim to be giving wise and impartial advice, loyally putting into effect the will of parliament.

These 'executive officers' became the first representatives of a new breed, "Directors of Education", not without some difficulty, because most elected representatives had been used to a "Clerk to the School Board", with a more comfortable relationship, of the clerk as their servant. Those appointed were mainly headmasters and teachers, but four already held positions of Clerk to School Boards. Two had held local authority posts and two were subinspectors, escapees from a grade which had caused, and continued to cause, bitterness in HM Inspectorate until long after World War II. Only one was from furth of Scotland, a chief inspector from Croydon. One ad hoc committee, that of Renfrewshire, avoided appointing a Director of Education until compelled to do so by the Education Act of 1945.

The man appointed to be Director in Wigtown in 1919 was William McClelland. Within six years he moved via Aberdeen and Edinburgh, to become Professor of Education at St Andrews University, and Director of Studies of the Teacher Training College at Dundee. He had a major effect on the Scottish Council for Research in Education over a number of years, and could be classified as a "professional thorn in the flesh" to the Scottish Education Department. McClelland in association with John Morrison Director for Kirkcudbright, called a meeting in Glasgow, and formed the ADES. The organisation from its Minutes was formal to the point of being prosaic in its early years, and for the first 15 years it swithered between being large and widely representative of those with administrative authority.

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38 SED Circular No 1, 5 April 1919.
39 op. cit. Section 48.
40 September 17, 1920.
in Education, such as Directors of Studies in Training Colleges, and remaining a tight authoritative body of actual Directors of Education, a name which they adopted from a similar body in England. As confidence in their ability and authority grew they admitted depute and assistant directors, grades which were uncommon in the early years, together with former members who moved to other posts within Scottish education. The post of secretary of the Association was important and onerous, held for two years each by Gregor McGregor of Fife and John Morrison of Roxburgh (formerly of Kirkcudbright) and subsequently Aberdeenshire, each of whom had important roles in the early SCRE.

In October 1928 Gregor McGregor became chairman of the Executive committee of the Association. The Minutes of this committee from 19 May 1926 to 12 November 1933 are missing from the ADES archive, an unfortunate gap because it covers the setting up of SCRE. The three ex-directors most likely to be able to explain the missing link are Alexander Young, Aberdeenshire, Tom Henderson, Midlothian and Ian Flett, Fife, all of whom have been contacted and responded helpfully. The first two were convener and secretary of the editorial board which produced their history for the first twenty-five years. The third wrote the history of the next thirty years. Their considered view is that in the years when there were assistant secretaries, files were moved around in car boots to various locations, and may simply have been lost. They do not discount the possibility of mis-filing so that the files may still exist somewhere.

The frustrations endured by the EIS, leading up to the formation of SCRE, in being unable to change the mind of the Scottish Education Department once it had issued an edict, were mirrored in ADES. Circular 44 is one example issued on 13 December 1921. It had three main parts:

(a) Abolish the Qualifying examination on a national basis and have education authorities make their own arrangements for transfer to secondary

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41 Young, Alexander (Convener) (1972) The First Twenty-five Years: 1920-1945. Edinburgh, ADES.
education;
(b) secondary schools would offer five and six year courses for pupils deemed able to benefit after elementary school, but the overwhelming majority of pupils would have post-elementary education under the current, and to be revised, Primary Code. This provision was called "Advanced Division";
(c) the intermediate national examination at the end of the third year of secondary education would be abolished in favour of a certificate awarded by individual authorities at the completion of four years of secondary (post primary) education, to be taken at school until the leaving age, and thereafter at continuation classes. The self-satisfaction of the Department was written into the Circular with:

Despite defects and imperfections which experience is gradually remedying, the present organisation of Secondary education in Scotland may be regarded as fairly satisfactory.

Deputations to the Department where George McDonald\(^{43}\) was Secretary and lobbying of the local education authorities, by the EIS and groups of Headmasters brought mixed results. The educators outside the Department did not have a common view, but most common ground was found with the EIS. ADES sought to have three major changes to Circular 44 which had been put into effect by the Department, with a revised Day Schools Code and revised Secondary Schools Regulations virtually unchanged, in 1923. These were:
(a) there should be one combined Code for all schools;
(b) the designation "Advanced Division" should be discontinued;
(c) the Department should retain and validate the Intermediate Certificate for pupils who had completed satisfactorily a three year post primary course. (Later known as the "Day School Higher").

\(^{43}\)Macdonald did not become Secretary of the Department until 1922. He had been interviewed earlier for the Inspectorate but not selected. Until 1908 there was no real representation of the Department in Scotland. In that year an office was opened at 14 Queen Street Edinburgh, with Macdonald in charge. The deputation from ADES which met him would be dealing with him as an Assistant Secretary, but one with unique authority as the senior man in Scotland, and one who by then would have been reasonably sure that he would succeed Sir John Struthers as Secretary of the Department.
The EIS favoured the first two, accepting "advanced division" if it led to their policy of secondary education for all. They wished to abolish the Intermediate Certificate however on the grounds that this would enable teachers to plan courses more effectively. By the Act 193644 all post-primary schools were given the designation "secondary"45 and the Revised Code (consolidated) came into effect in 1939.

It is possible to postulate a relationship between members of the EIS who held senior office, such as James Steel, headmaster of Allan Glen's School, Glasgow and Peter Comrie, rector of Leith Academy and their counterparts in ADES, such as John Stewart of Edinburgh and John Clark of Glasgow, each of whom had been clerk and treasurer of their respective school boards, before being appointed as directors of education. They also all served jointly on bodies, such as the Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers. The probability is that they discussed Circular 44 and that ADES and the EIS had a common interest in opposing it.

There was a camaraderie among former pupil-teachers, at least those who had subsequently been successful, as had Steel and Comrie. Rusk was a member of this group, and was intensely proud of it. It was another link between members of the Association and of the Institute in the 1920s, where both groups were frustrated by the Department and made common cause.

Others in ADES who could contribute a different perspective were the director for Dumbarton, Andrew Burdon, and the director for Inverness, Murdo Morrison. Both had spent about 17 years in the Inspectorate graded as "Sub-Inspectors second class", and never as HMI. The Inspectorate was intensely hierarchical with ten different grades, some of which continued until 1957. Their grade was ninth from the top. They may never have met Macdonald, but would have seen files indicating how decisions were reached within the Department, and would have been able to contribute their views as former insiders, however lowly.

44 Education (Scotland) Act 1936. Geo. 5 and 1 Edw. 8. ch 42
45 The word 'secondary' was given official meaning now. It had been used at earlier stages but not necessarily as a technical term.
The first deputation of ADES called upon the Department in December 1921 to discuss Circular 44, and received standard treatment of civility plus intransigence. Macdonald indicated verbally how the Circular may operate in practice, with equal educational value, and a large common element applying to both secondary courses. He also said, "The Department never explain."

Common elements may give a semblance of equality, but the missing factor is "prestige", which comes from what those with power think of a situation, a course or a person. As an Oxford man Macdonald would have moved in circles which included public school men who attended Sandhurst to become army officers. A much quoted phrase there, almost a code of conduct, and rather more than the stiff upper lip was:

"Never explain; never complain".

He may not have been as discourteous as the ADES members appeared to have thought, but was following a code which was alien to the deputation. He may also have graded their status by reference to two of their members being drawn from the ranks of sub-inspectors.

The first four Secretaries of the Department in the twentieth century were Oxford men having read Greats. Their value system was at variance with that of their contemporaries in education in Scotland. Their classical background caused them to rate physics, chemistry and biology as unsuited to being represented by HMI far less subjects like art, commercial studies and needlework. Thus in the Inspectorate, men like Gray and Strachan and women like Lucy Boyd with degrees and even doctorates in physics, chemistry and biology were graded as sub-inspectors until after World War II. Those examples show groups of men with few common elements, and consequently difficulty in understanding one another.

The purpose of Circular 44 was the segregation of secondary pupils according to demonstrated achievement and expected potential. The

46 It was not until 1936 that Peck, 'a mere mathematician', became Secretary, but he had other attributes, being related by marriage to Monsignor Ronald Knox. Peck in addressing the Annual Congress of the EIS in 1938, said of himself "I happen to have been a sort of mathematical person" Scottish Educational Journal (SEJ) January 6, 1939
Association and the Institute resisted these, because they put at risk the democratic principle of equal opportunity, but for the Department it was probably just an obvious way of saving money at a time of financial stringency, in keeping with the belief that it was improvident to spend money on the education of pupils who were incapable of benefiting from it.

On 15 September 1922 ADES and EIS representatives met regarding Circular 44. Both parties wished to have examination boards for the three stages identified in the Circular, of qualifying, intermediate and leaving certificate. The main issue was still that of selective examinations, and the EIS research committee busied itself on these matters for the next few years.\(^{47}\) Curriculum and assessment was an issue for the whole Institute rather than merely for its research committee.

The Association meeting of 13 October 1926 heard a report from the Director of Kirkcudbright, now W. A. F. Hepburn, about a meeting he had attended at Moray House on 5 June 1926 at the invitation of the EIS. There he had spoken on 'Retardation and the Qualifying Examination' and made a plea for "skilled, elaborate and scientific, statistical investigation of all the problems raised by the Qualifying Examination." He also proposed that a body of research workers be set up. It had taken four months for a report of the June meeting to be made to ADES, partly caused by the mid-summer vacation. At the October meeting it was decided to appoint a committee to deal with research, and co-operate with others involved in appropriate research. T. R. Burnett of Dumfries convened the committee and they immediately sought the help of McClelland, who was now in St Andrews University. The drive for research came from Kirkcudbright, Dumfries and Wigtown shires. From the beginning they chose to cooperate with the training colleges, the education authorities and the teachers through the EIS. The ADES committee was interested in the curriculum, referring to 'that all-important educational laboratory, the classroom'.

Comline, now convener of the research committee of the EIS, reported their discussions with ADES where they had agreed to try to establish a research

\(^{47}\) See Annual Reports of EIS (1922 to 1927) in Volumes 76 to 81.
council. He referred to a series of conferences:

between representatives of the Association of Education Authorities, the Association of Directors of Education, the education departments of universities and training colleges and the research committee of the Institute.

The Leader in SEJ indicated the intention of EIS to cooperate with ADES in research and stated, "the help of the Department would be invaluable." ADES met in Glasgow 18 March 1927, agreed to cooperate with the EIS and drew up a list of topics for research. The papers for this meeting are among those missing from the ADES archive. On 6 May 1927 ADES and the EIS met in Glasgow, represented by their research committees with Burnett in the chair. Significantly ADES wished to demonstrate that they were in control. The minute read:

There were present:
from the Association of Directors; Dr Burnett (chair), Messrs Hepburn, MacGregor and Morrison;
from the Educational Institute; Dr Boyd, Dr Shephard Dawson, Dr Steel, Messrs Comline, Henderson, Lowson, Milne and Wishart.

From the opening statements of Dr Burnett and Mr Milne it was evident that the two committees, working independently, had arrived at very similar conclusions. Thus contact was easily gained, and after full and general discussion the two committees undertook to recommend to their respective parent bodies:

1. That there should be formed a Scottish Educational Research Council.

2. That the Research Council should be composed of fifteen members, the following bodies to elect five each, viz

(a) The Association of Education Authorities;
(b) The Association of Directors of Education in Scotland; and
(c) The Educational Institute of Scotland

3. That the Research Council so constituted should:

48 Proceedings of Research Committee, 1927-1928.
49 21 January 1927.
(a) Organise and aid the work of research in Scottish Schools;
(b) make grants in aid of research work done by approved individuals working on approved problems;
(c) publish reports

4. That the constituent bodies be asked to consider the question of adequate financial provision for the scheme.

It was further agreed to write to the Executive of the Association of Education Authorities, (in view of their meeting on 18th instant), asking them to appoint representatives to confer with a joint meeting of the Committee to be held on 27 May or 3 June.

A Sub-Committee consisting of Dr Burnett, Mr Morrison, Mr Milne and Mr Henderson was instructed to arrange an early interview with the Secretary of the Scottish Education Department so as to inform the Department of what is proposed and to ask for sympathetic consideration. An enthusiastic and harmonious meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.\(^5\)

The seniority of the ADES and EIS representatives was an indication that they took the matter seriously.

The proposed meeting with the Association of Education Authorities for May or June 1927 did not take place but there were certain informal meeting. The failure to meet was probably occasioned by the EIS and ADES having differing views about the ad hoc authorities. The former wished their responsibility for education to be transferred to the county councils, and the directors wished to maintain the status quo.

The ADES and EIS representatives (not those involved in research council discussions) met on 7 November 1928 regarding transfer of responsibility from the ad hoc bodies, stood adjourned until the Local Government (Scotland) Bill\(^5\) was published that month, and re-convened on 24 November 1928, agreeing to set up a joint committee to monitor the Bill through Parliament.

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50 'Proceedings' op. cit.
51 Enacted as Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929, which wound up the ad hoc committees.
The first meeting of the Executive committee of SCRE was held at 47 Moray Place (EIS offices) on 21 September 1928, with Steel, Headmaster of Allan Glen's School, Glasgow in the chair. Those present were:

Dr Burnett, Mr Hepburn from ADES; Miss Maclarty, Mr Milne and Mr Henderson (EIS Secretary) from EIS; Dr Drever and Professor McClelland from Universities; Mr Rusk from Training Colleges; Mr Bertram Talbot from Association of Education Committees; Dr John Hunter Chief Medical Officer (West Lothian Education Authority). Apologies were given from Mr Gregor McGregor (Director of Education, Fife), Professor Godfrey Thomson (Edinburgh University and Moray House) Dr John Macintyre (Chief Medical Officer, Lanarkshire) and Mr C. W. Sleigh (Association of Education Committees).

The earlier meeting of 6 May 1927 (above) had agreed to have 15 members, five each from EIS, ADES and Association of Education Authorities. It is possible that Drs Hunter and Macintyre were appointed by their education authorities.

The meeting under Steel apportioned jobs. He, Henderson and Sir Henry Keith became a sub-group to contact the Education Authorities for financial support. Henderson also arranged for office, clerical and library facilities. A third group, convened by Drever Sr, with McClelland and Rusk provided duplicates of indexes of appropriate publications to help teachers, and every member of the research committee was given a copy of two books on research and the latest Annual Report of National Institute of Industrial Psychology (NIIP).

John Morrison, now with Aberdeen County, wrote to SED asking that a deputation of six persons, two each from ADES, EIS and Association of Education Authorities may wait upon the Secretary.

The Scotch/Scottish Education Department
A Scotch Education Department had been advocated in the 1869 Education
Bill which was not enacted. The Scotch Education Department was formed by the 1872 Act, developing from a committee of the Privy Council, and its civil servants, and called "nothing but a sham" by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the first Secretary for Scotland in 1885-86, officiating from the House of Lords. For its first six years it had a Board of Education, based in Edinburgh, with very little influence, and shared its president and vice-president, and for some time its permanent secretary with the English committee of the Privy Council, making that vice-president de facto Minister for Education for Scotland as well as England. Between 1872 and 1885, when it became independent, there were numerous protests about the workings of this department mainly based on its ignorance of and indifference to Scottish affairs, and that its base was in England. A brief account of the early years is given in James Scotland's history. The Education Department, when it took over the powers of the temporary Board of Education in 1878, declared that the school boards had responsibility for the administration of education and the Department wished to offer minimal interference.

Douglas and Jones writing in 1903 claimed:

The Scottish Education Department comes as near being free from all public control and exposed to all the accidents of merely personal administration as it is possible in a democratically governed country

continuing:

The Department goes its own way uncontrolled by anyone. There is not in England or Scotland any parallel to the autocratic position of the Scottish Education Department

Morgan (1929) writes of Craik the first Secretary of SED, praising him for

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52 op. cit.
53 Secretary for Scotland was elevated to a Secretary of State in 1926. The Secretary for Scotland took responsibility for Education by virtue of his being vice-president of the Privy Council Committee which fell into disuse prior to World War I. He was paid at a lower rate than Cabinet Ministers. In 1920 it was declared that the post should have parity of rank and salary. English Members resisted this. Salary was not equalised until 1937.
55 op. cit. p. 61 and following.
abolishing the unpopular 'payment by results' system, for taking an interest in the secondary schools which had been neglected in the 1872 Act, for abolishing fees in elementary schools and by amending the Day Schools Code to allow for a new type of school, the Higher Grade school, virtually making secondary education free. He did however require the Training Colleges to submit their curricula to the Department for approval, and also chaired the committee which led to minimum national salary scales for teachers in 1919, long after he had left the Department to become one of the Scottish Universities' members of parliament. These last two actions were seen as autocratic by teachers, the former because professionals tend to doubt the ability of others to make sound judgments about their work, and the latter because teachers were suspicious of a department which appointed its former Secretary to chair a committee on their salaries.

Craik's successor from 1904 until 1921 was Sir John Struthers, mainly associated in the eyes of teachers and directors of education with Circular 44, which was considered to be autocratic. Some contemporary writing about Department officials is sycophantic, but few people in Scotland can have had any first hand experience of them. Bone56 quotes a view of Craik which appears to be credible. Struthers was different in that he had trained as a teacher and had spent twelve years as HMI going directly into that rank, to the consternation at least of the General Auditor and probably of his future colleagues. He followed Craik as Senior Examiner based in Dover House,57 succeeding him as Secretary in 1904.

In the years from 1872 until at least 1928 there is little information about government Ministers in the education field. They do not appear to have taken much interest, and most commentators of the time concentrated on the activities of the officials of the Department. Such educational speeches as are extant have come principally from Robert Munro who was Secretary for

57. p.119 'Craik was typical of senior civil servants of his day, punctiliously correct at all times, aloof, authoritarian and ruthless when necessary. Once he had made a decision he would not reconsider the question, and it was said he never admitted to making a mistake.'
57 Dover House in Whitehall was and is, the Office of the Secretary of State for Scotland in London.
Scotland from 1916 to 1922. Munro did address the first Advisory Council on 13 December 1921 on Circular 44:

We in Scotland are justly proud of our high educational traditions. We must of course hold fast to what we have inherited, and must improve it if we can. But the 'lad o' pairts' was always an exception, and too often his talents were cultivated at the expense of his less fortunate companions of only average ability... The Department have felt bound at this critical juncture to put the interests of the majority in the foreground, and to regard them as paramount. It is in the light of this attitude that the contents of the Circular must be looked at.

It is a resounding testament, telling teachers and administrators that Circular 44 will be put into effect, despite their reservations. The central authority which became SED had a concern for the people whom they governed no less than that of other government departments, but partly by the dictates of geography and partly by an autocratic tradition, which was vested in two men, Craik and Struthers over a period of 36 years, they appeared to be and were aloof.

Struthers was succeeded by George Macdonald, through the usual line of succession, of Senior Examiner. He served in the Department throughout much of the period when Struthers was Secretary, absorbing the paternalism of the times, and devoting himself to archaeology and numismatics, while holding the line on Circular 44 especially the section:

only a relatively small percentage of the population will be endowed by nature with the mental equipment which they must possess if they are to profit by secondary school or university study. A frank recognition of this truth is essential if a proper organisation is to be established.

Wade 58 provides a trenchant critique of Circular 44, and SCRE's support for the publication of his book can not have improved its relations with SED. The results of the survey of standards in primary school conducted by Gregor

58 Wade, Newman. (1939) Post Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland 1872-1936. ULP. pp 121-123.
McGregor, as soon as the Council was in being, cast doubt on Macdonald's concept of biological capital.

**Discussions with SED on a Research Council**

The letter from Morrison to SED⁵⁹ must be considered against the background related above, indicating that Departmental officials were aloof and autocratic. SED was not used to receiving deputations, and it is possible that MacDonald's decision to keep his office in Edinburgh⁶⁰ made it easier for the members of the delegation to seek an audience. A visit to London would have been costly. Macdonald's private secretary, (R D Hawkins) put the letter forward with a covering Minute which stated, "... the prospect of another self-appointed committee is not alluring", and then wrote to Morrison signing himself "Yours very truly."⁶¹ The actual meeting took place on 30 November 1927. Both Morrison for the deputation and Peck, then an Assistant Secretary who became Secretary of the Department in 1936, wrote position papers, the former freely available; the latter an internal paper. Morrison identified the aims of the deputation as being to have research sanctioned, to obtain authority to initiate and control investigations, and coordinate results through committees of experts. He cited curricular matters as of major importance, and stressed that all three parties to the deputation were in agreement.

Peck produced an administrative paper for the Secretary, stating:

'**Educational Research**' sounds impressive but what exactly does it mean? One does not see if there is anything on the level of research on physical sciences⁶²

Morrison used the word "movement"⁶³ in his letter which offended Peck who continued:

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⁵⁹ Ed 35/1, 17.11.27
⁶⁰ He had set up office at 14 Queen Street when he was Senior Examiner and chose to remain there.
⁶¹ Ed 35/1 SRO.
⁶² Ed 35/2, Confidential Memo.
⁶³ At this time Labour activists referred to "this great movement of ours" as they do today although perhaps more satirically.
The school is the analogue of the factory, not of the laboratory; and assuming educational research has a substantial meaning, the analogue of the laboratory is the Training College with its model school, the armchair in the study of the Professor of Education, the thoughtfulness of practising teachers and the observation of methods in other countries.

For him physical sciences work by:

an imaginative effort to determine in the light of present knowledge a possible line of advance, repeated experiments so guided, an induction, a comparison of the inductive results within already known laws, possibly an upset and re-statement of these laws. Are the Professors of Education not doing all that can be done in this way? And if not, may they not be expected to do so?

After three pages of scepticism in the paper, Peck continued:

I do not want to be sceptical and am willing to be convinced

On the practical point of finance, Peck advises that the Education Authorities could make a financial contribution to the Council under Section 9(4) of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, or by "a small but not unreasonable stretch" Section 3(7) of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908.

Another long Minute probably from W W McKechnie64 to the Secretary is also sceptical. McKechnie had entered the Department as a Junior Inspector, progressed to HMI and moved into Administration in 1922.

It is all to the good that the word 'psychology' does not appear so far ... The first question should be Cui bono?

He continued to the effect that 20% of pupils had not passed the Qualifying examination by the age of 14 (Leaving Age) and cited Whitehill School, Glasgow with 1417 pupils and 70 teachers, yet only 19 pupils gained Leaving Certificates in 1926. His view was that we know about all these

64 The initials are indistinct.
points and research can do nothing about it. He then criticises teachers for claiming that the standards in Latin are too high because the teachers' standards are too low, and finally wrote:

and we must be very careful about collaboration in the way of statistics

At least 12 HMI were asked for views and no doubt they also sought views of colleagues. McKechnie summarised them as:

Mr Clark doubts the outcome. Mr Menary asks whether real benefit will accrue. Dr Thomson is not very happy about it. There are many committees and associations which spend money without adequate return and the Council may get into the hands of a few extremists

Peck received this summary and digested it for the Secretary as:

There is so much variety in these replies that I do not think they help us to any conclusion on the principle of the proposal

Then in manuscript there is inserted "very definite" between "any" and "conclusion". He states his opposition to the Department and the Education Authorities becoming involved and suggests that voluntary funds would be adequate and:

a shilling a year contributed by each teacher in Scotland would go far to meet the necessary expenditure

McKechnie then gives a view of a possible director of the Council, despite the fact that he is opposing a Council:

..the right kind of man as a Director. He would have to be a mixture of the psychologist and the educationist with some knowledge of scientific method and a good dose of commonsense. Such a man could no doubt be got for, say, £800 a year and the position would be a suitable stepping-stone to the university chairs of education

65 Only about 3000 Group Leaving Certificates were awarded in that year. Whitehill was at least average
There is a hand-written addition that:

the university departments of education should do all
the research that is of real value. Professors who are
supporting the EIS scheme should tell us why they can't

To evaluate this internal discussion it is necessary to understand how the
Civil Service works. Outside material whether letters, papers or pamphlets
goes to the head of the Division or the Branch dealing with that aspect of the
work. This person may write "Please consider" at the top of any paper and
pass it down the line. It probably stops at Higher Executive Officer (HEO)
level, where this officer will identify files within the Branch or get an
Executive Officer or Higher Clerical Officer to obtain relevant files from the
Registry, from which he will produce a paper in the form of a minute, to be
passed up the line. On this occasion the paper with "Please consider"
stopped at Miss Miller (a person lost to history) who wrote a factual minute in
terms of what the Department was empowered to do, and how it may finance
it. The Civil Service was in three relatively exclusive blocks at this time:
Administrative, Executive and Clerical, with little movement among them and
"Administrative" was of the blood royal, being called First Division, a name
still retained in the title of the union for top civil servants, 'First Division
Association'. The weak point of the system was that the content of papers
passed up to be worked on, was determined at a relatively low level that of
HEO, and in the subsequent passage of hands what was most likely to
happen was corrections to grammar and some more felicitous expression
but little new content.

Also HMI were a Departmental Grade, which meant they had a relationship
to civil service grades for salary which helped to determine their place in the
pecking order of decision-making. Some of them would "move across" to the
Administration, and one or two would be marked men who would ultimately
become Secretary of the Department. Secretaryship tended to alternate
between an Administrator and an HMI throughout the 20th century, until the
appointment of (Sir) Norman Graham in 1964. After this the post was de
facto one for administrators only.
Peck, an administrator who had not been an HMI was writing to Macdonald who had applied unsuccessfully for the Inspectorate at an earlier date, and was now Secretary. Peck, was proud of being "a mathematical person" who could be assumed to know about matters in the physical sciences, especially when addressing classicists. His description of "the scientific method" would today be considered limited. McKechnie would certainly have been in line for Secretary at this time, and is unlikely to have seen Peck as a rival, but may well have thought of him as a successor.

What is of importance is that discussion about the setting up of a proposed Research Council was discussed at a high level, at length and in depth. Thus the Department must have had some worries about how it may in time be a source of power, to challenge that of the Department. Both Peck and McKechnie tried to associate the drive as coming from teachers, and almost dissociating the Education Authorities from it. They chide the universities, but also give passing praise to them as the people who would solve educational problems. Some of the chiding would have been aimed at McClelland according to McIntosh.66 McClelland was his mentor.

Both Peck and McKechnie leave the way open in their minutes to Macdonald in case he decides to support a proposed Council, and Miss Miller is the one who advises that Section 9(4) of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, or 'at a stretch' Section 3(7) of the Education (Scotland) Act 1908 would enable Education Authorities to contribute.

McKechnie had one of his own children educated under the Dalton Plan (probably in Lenzie Academy) and this seems to have annoyed him. He claimed that research had supported, and thus was the cause of the Dalton Plan.

The Department had now clarified its own position, and at the meeting of 30 November 1927 with representatives of the interested parties, Macdonald asked for a statement of the Constitution of the proposed Council, and a list of topics which it might research. There is a draft report of this meeting which

66 Statement made to me by McIntosh in an interview in 1991.
in summary is saying that the Department already knows it all, has done it all already, that there are many reports available and anyway teaching is an art form. They also suggested that at a second meeting, training centres and colleges and the education departments of the universities should be represented. At this subsequent meeting of 12 March 1928 Godfrey Thomson of Edinburgh University and Moray House, and George Burnett of Jordanhill were added to the deputation, but not McClelland.

Macdonald concluded (from the Minute):

... while he approved wholeheartedly of any efforts to place the practice of education on a scientific basis, as far as such might be attainable, he had come to the conclusion that it was not desirable for the Department to be directly represented on the proposed Scottish Council for Research in Education.

He reserved the right of the Department to accept or reject any conclusions of the Council and said that direct representation would not be in the interests of either party. He ensured that he would know what the Council was doing by saying:

that the Department would always be available for consultation and that the assistance of HM Inspectors could be counted upon at all times; and further that in the event of any large scale investigation being contemplated it would be necessary for the Department and for the District Inspector to be kept in close touch with proposals. ... there would be no direct grant but EA's could be supported under Section 9(4) of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918.

ADES and the EIS representatives took the information from this meeting back to their respective parent bodies to have it ratified, and agreement was reached that the Education authorities would provide an annual contribution to the Council of 1/4d per pupil.

The EIS agreed to an annual contribution of between £500 and £750, based on a per capita amount, but like most unions they were unwilling to state the
precise number of members. The initial contribution was £750. When the basis of the EIS contribution was changed in 1938 to 7d per member it claimed the range would be from £690 to £760.

All the preliminaries having taken place, the various bodies having been consulted, finance secured and agreement reached, the Council held its inaugural meeting on 23 June 1928.

The working system of the Department has been described briefly supported by quotations from internal minutes, and departmental officials are not shown in a good light. Those without any inside experience may make too harsh a judgement. Senior staff in any civil service department suffer from living under constraints which they can do nothing about, not even share the problem with outsiders, so that the thinking becomes incestuous and after a time the individuals appear as arrogant, petulant and on occasion stupid. The counterpoint lies in exposure to lay scrutiny but this is difficult to achieve.

The Department had used its influence to render impotent the First Advisory Council,67 a body which Struthers had initially envisaged as "a sort of Departmental cabinet", but which Macdonald determined would do nothing. The Department appointed its chairmen, the first being Sir Arthur Rose, Chairman of Edinburgh Education Authority and President of the Association of Education Authorities, followed by Sir James Irvine, Principal of St Andrews University. Both men favoured masterly inactivity and the inevitability of gradualness. SCRE, having been given guarded agreement to proceed by SED, did so, appointing it own chairman.

67 Young, op. cit.
Chapter Three

THE EARLY YEARS: 1927-1939

Background.
There was now agreement between ADES and the EIS that they would cooperate in a national council for research in education, that they would finance it jointly, that they would enjoy the support of the education committees of the cities and the counties, and that they would reach an accommodation with certain key individuals in the Psychology and Education departments of the universities and colleges, especially Edinburgh and Glasgow. SED would not associate directly with the Council nor would it obstruct its activities in the schools, but it would keep a watching brief, mainly through HM Inspectorate. There was a hint that the Council had best be circumspect in its actions or SED may foreclose on it, but the obverse was that if the Council produced work of value especially with regard to the curriculum for advanced divisions then the Department would wish to be informed. Macdonald was due to retire in late 1928 to be succeeded by McKechnie who, as indicated, had voiced serious doubts about the Council.

This chapter considers the sources of evidence already identified, in the light of the chosen matrix, with special attention given to Robert Rusk, first and only 'spare time director', because he set the seal on how the Council developed for its first 30 years.

The relationship with SED and the research agenda developed, because of the need to tackle long-standing issues, such as subject performance in primary schools and provision for secondary education, which were tacitly, mutually agreed, but eventually SCRE decided to conduct a national survey of intelligence, because that gave the best promise of continuing financial support. All research was conducted by voluntary labour, which was to continue until after World War Two. The educational and social climate of

\[1\text{The term was discontinued after 1936.}\]
part of the inter-war years is outlined, to show the framework within which the research took place.

Management Style of Council
The first meeting of the Council on 23 June 1928, had 32 nominated members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Number of Representatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Association of Education Authorities</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Directors of Education</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Institute of Scotland</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Centres and Colleges</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Committee for Training of Teachers (NCTT)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Psychological Society (Scottish Branch), (BPS)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of School Medical Officers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Council decided on a general aim “to encourage and recognise Research Work in Education in Scotland.” The specific aims were:

1. To initiate and control special investigations making the necessary arrangements with the relative Education Committee.
2. To receive suggestions for research.

The colleges of the four cities Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow were represented, but not Dowanhill Roman Catholic Training College which trained Roman Catholic women teachers.

NCTT was established in 1920 under powers from Section 9(3) of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 by a Departmental Minute of 10 February 1920. It had 45 members and met annually. The day to day work was done by its Central Executive Committee. See Cruickshank, Marjorie. (1970). History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland. SCRE publn 61. University of London Press (ULP). p.161.

Sir Henry Keith of Lanarkshire, chairman of the finance committee of SCRE, was chairman of NCTT in 1928 and also chairman of Dowanhill College, later referred to as Notre Dame. It was not technically managed at the time by the NCTT because it was denominational. Keith’s relationship with Dowanhill may have ensured his vote for Rusk as Director.

One member from each of the four ancient universities. See Appendix 3 p.416 footnote 2.
3. To allocate problems to suitable investigators.
4. Wholly or partly to finance approved investigations
5. To authorise the publication of results and recommendations and to bear the cost (wholly or partly) of such publication.

The Council planned to meet twice a year and delegated considerable powers to its Executive committee of 13 members. A Finance committee of five members was also appointed. Over the years those numbers varied as did the number of meetings and the manner of conducting them, at the pleasure of the chairman. Also the underpinning by sub-committees was idiosyncratic. A Constitution and Articles of Association may satisfy company law, but do not control procedures.

**Spare time Director**

Committees can determine general policy, but in the work of the Council, decisions leading to implementation were taken by the Director, so that this appointment was crucial to its success. The Directorship lay between two men, Boyd and Rusk. Rusk was appointed spare-time director with an honorarium of 200 guineas. He remained in post for 29 years and his effect on how the Council was established and worked can barely be overestimated. Had Boyd been appointed, or had accepted the directorship that he claimed to have been offered, SCRE might have developed as a rather provincial body, with its main interest centring on school subjects, and the best way to teach them. John Nisbet, interviewed in 1991 said that, in retrospect, concentration on school curriculum and methodology might have been the correct course to have followed.

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5 These are an expansion of the recommendations listed by Craigie pursuant to the joint meeting of EIS and ADES in May 1927. Craigie, (1972) op. cit. They are listed in Annual Report Ill for 1930-31, p. 4.

6 Chaired by James Steel, headmaster of Allan Glen's school, Glasgow and member of the earlier EIS research committee. The only woman member was Annie Maclarty of EIS.

7 It obtained £750 from the EIS and agreement of 1/4d per pupil from the Associations (about £700). Both agreements were achieved mainly through the good offices of W. A. F. Hepburn of the Directorate.

8 See Appendix 3.
Because the decision taken had such an effect on the development of the Council, the events surrounding it merit consideration. Rusk had been educated at Cambridge and Jena; his books were on philosophy, the theory of education and experimental education. He spoke what would be considered "educated Scottish tongue" although he could lapse into the Doric when required. He probably had the support of James Steel, a leading member of the Executive committee, representing EIS and, like himself, a former pupil teacher, and of Peter Lowson also representing EIS and a lecturer at Dundee Training College.

The key figure from the Association of Directors of Education was W. A. F. Hepburn, military cross, ex Royal Scots and Gordon Highlanders from WWI and, from 1927, Director of Education for Ayrshire. There is evidence that he and Rusk knew each other from Rusk's work at Jordanhill, but no evidence as to Hepburn's view of Rusk's capabilities.

In so far as there was a "Catholic" vote, Rusk probably got it as he was a strong supporter of the proposed Notre Dame Child Guidance Clinic associated with the College and with the name of Sister Marie Hilda. Keith, chairman of the NCTT and of Dowanhill College, may well have voted for Rusk as might C. W. Sleigh, also a member of NCTT and chairman of Aberdeen Provincial Committee.

Rusk would also get the "Women's" vote, which could be said to have been vested in the redoubtable Annie Maclarty, an infant mistress in Kilmarnock, leading EIS member, and fighter for women's rights before "feminism" had

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9 A system probably begun in Holland whereby competent pupils who were at least 13 years old would be contracted to a teacher to assist him with the younger pupils. The pupil-teacher received £10 in his first year and his teacher £5. It was a system for receiving free secondary education and after five years the probability of continuing to teacher training. Sir John Struthers, had been a pupil teacher and was probably the only Secretary for whom Rusk had respect. The system flourished from about 1843 onwards. The provincial committees set up in 1906 quickly tried to implement a regulation of 1905 abolishing pupil-teachers but the system lingered in some quarters until about 1913 mainly from fear of a shortage of teaching staff.

10 The clinic was established in 1931 to cater for social and emotional needs, rather than the type of help given at Boyd's clinic, usually referred to as 'Hillhead House'. Marie Hilda said, '...the inception of the clinic was not my idea at all. It was Dr Rusk's, for whom I was working for a time in the education department of the university.' Sister Jude. (1981). Freedom to Grow. Glasgow, John Burns. p.16. See also Cruickshank, op. cit. p. 166.
been coined. Rusk claimed membership of the EIS as a primary teacher, through his having been a pupil-teacher, and consistently championed the cause of the three-year trained woman teacher. Whatever other reasons may be adduced, certainly Rusk was well known to the appointing committee. The Executive committee of SCRE, chaired by Steel, nominated Rusk as director of SCRE and the full Council concurred.

Boyd was an Ayrshire man, courteous and a great champion of teachers as the people to do research in education. He consciously chose the Ayrshire dialect rather than RP. He became a lecturer in Education at Glasgow University in 1907, having before that, worked in the University Settlement. Initially he had considered becoming a minister, but settled for Christian Socialism instead. He was a charismatic figure in education with a considerable following among the student body in Glasgow University, among under-graduates as well as those following post-graduate studies in Education. He was not appointed to government bodies in education, but he did serve on SCRE from 1928 to 1951. His encomium on retirement reads:

His unorthodox approach to any of the problems of education made him a stimulating influence in the various committees of which he was a member, and few of the Council's activities remained unaffected by his interventions. The Council regret losing the services of one so devoted to the cause of educational progress.

George Macdonald, who joined the Department in 1904 and was Secretary when SCRE was founded, had been a lecturer in Humanity at Glasgow University for about 12 years, during Boyd's time with the University Settlement. They would have known each other. No doubt in Edinburgh circles Macdonald would have been able to give a view on Boyd.

In Boyd's autobiography written about 1958, in the misplaced hope of

11 My sister, one of his students in the 1930s, was greatly impressed by him and retained his worksheets, which were handed out for seminars for many years. He was far ahead of his time in his system of university teaching.
publication, by the New Education Fellowship\(^{13}\) of which he was a founder member, he wrote:

> On the quiet I was offered the directorship of the new Council (ie SCRE) but I decided that it was not my job and I supported the nomination of Dr Rusk who has just retired after a highly successful period of service and nobody realises that it came out of my work for the Institute Research Committee - which happily does not matter\(^{14}\)

There is no evidence to support or reject this. My difficulty with the statement is in trying to identify who was in a position to have made Boyd such an offer. Apart from the EIS there is no obvious power base for Boyd, and Rusk already had the support of Steel and Maclarty.

Why Rusk was preferred to Boyd will never be known, but there can be some speculation. He was appointed by the Executive committee of SCRE at its meeting in September 1928, but there is no record of how the decision was reached. There is considerable indirect evidence. Discussion within SED, instanced in chapter two, showed that senior civil servants considered the level of this post to be that of one rung below a Professor of Education. These discussions assumed that this would be a full-time post and did not mention a spare time director. It seems that only two men in Scotland could be considered probable candidates for the post, and improbable that the appointment would be from furth of Scotland. Other possible Scottish candidates already had Chairs in Education or Psychology.

In addition to his 'obituary' there is a collection of notes in Rusk's handwriting\(^{15}\) on examination booklets of Jordanhill Training College, showing his long term interest in research. One note reads:

> or if we desire from this country a precedent for successful research production we need only turn to the National Institute of Industrial Psychology founded by Dr Myers and compare the last published report of this Institute with the

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\(^{13}\) Boyd & Rawson op. cit. Boyd died in 1962. Rawson completed the manuscript.

\(^{14}\) op. cit. p. 224.

\(^{15}\) Rusk collection.
reports of the above-mentioned committees on educational research

There are many pages of comments on what a research council must do, and a telling item:

A Scottish Council for Research in Education has recently been instituted; a statement of its aims shows that it is following the rather unfruitful precedents of the head teachers' research committee (England) and the research committee of the British Psychological Society, and if the record of these committees teaches us anything, we can infer that nothing of value will result.

These notes were typical of a rudimentary filing system,16 used by Rusk and advocated for his students, of sets of envelopes on a variety of educational topics into which he inserted cuttings, personal thoughts and items appropriate to that envelope's title.

The note on the Scottish Research Council must have been written after 6 May 1927, when the intention to set up a Council had been agreed, and it appears that Rusk did not believe he would be involved with it. His earlier criticism of the EIS research committee may have arisen because he feared it would be the advisory body for the Council, and the source of the first director.

Rusk was punctilious about keeping records yet, in his notes for his obituary, his account of becoming spare time Director of SCRE is vague. He states:

R. R. was nominated representative of Jordanhill College to the newly formed SCRE. At its first meeting the question of a director was raised. Two difficulties had to be overcome - (1) uncertainty as to the permanence of the Council, and - (2) limitations of funds available, as only £1500 was promised, £750 from EIS and £750

16 Other teaching staff in Higher Education kept notebooks. Godfrey Thomson had one, now in the Archive at Edinburgh University, with one half devoted to 'Personality' and the other half devoted to possible topics for theses. They were like Victorian 'Commonplace' books.
from Authorities.

The decision was that R R should be offered the post as part-time or spare-time appointment, subject to permission of Jordanhill authorities. Two hundred guineas\(^{17}\) was named to compensate for the loss of examinerships which R R agreed to resign.\(^{18}\)

Tom Henderson, honorary secretary of SCRE\(^{19}\) wrote to NCTT and to Burnett, Director of Studies at Jordanhill, who agreed that Rusk could take up a "spare time" appointment, on the terms mentioned. At the time he was head of the department of Education at Jordanhill, having transferred in October 1923 to that post from Dundee Training College at the request of the Executive Officer of NCTT:

... in order to bring Jordanhill up-to-date. One of his early acts was ... to do (there) what he had done for Dundee, viz, replace part-time university assistants by whole-time qualified and trained lecturers\(^{20}\)

On the rubric of his account Rusk has written "Exit Boyd."

The minute of the St Andrews Provincial Committee in 1923 hints that Rusk was transferred because of some difficulty at Dundee,\(^{21}\) which did not concern McClelland, who took over at Dundee as Director of Studies and Professor of Education at St Andrews\(^{22}\) in 1925, and worked well with Rusk on the Council.

\(^{17}\) A guinea was 21 shillings in the earlier currency and £1-05 in the new. It had a certain social cachet, being charged by professional people and not by tradesmen.

\(^{18}\) Rusk 'obituary' pt V. p.1.

\(^{19}\) The general secretary of EIS acted as honorary secretary of the Council for its first 30 years. This plus accommodation and office support was a valuable contribution.

\(^{20}\)Ibid. pt III. p.1.

\(^{21}\) Minute 20 April 19 23, p. 24 reads '... that if possible arrangements be made that Dr R R Rusk, Lecturer in Education be transferred to another Centre and that the Director of Studies become Head of the Education department,'

There can be little doubt that Rusk had been seeking the post of head of a research council for many years, but believed that he would lose it because of Boyd. The surprising feature is that there was no advertisement, no leet and no evidence that Boyd, as chairman of the EIS research committee and a former President of the Institute was considered.

The Dundee connection for Rusk was seen again at a much later date. The EIS gave a luncheon in honour of SCRE for its 21st anniversary in 1949. There, Bailie Lamb, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, stated that the motion to bring the Council into being came from Neil Snodgrass of the EIS.

Boyd knew Annie Maclarty through their common connection with Kilmarnock where her father was police sergeant, and through the EIS, where both were prominent. Boyd was, in the Scottish phrase, "of humbler stock" than Rusk and more of a polymath. He was a disciple of Principal Caird and of Henry Jones, Professor of Philosophy at St Andrews and Glasgow, whereas Rusk's teachers were Robert Adamson, Professor of Logic at Glasgow and John Adams, Rector of the Free Church College in Glasgow and later Professor of Education in London.

On his attitude to women Boyd wrote that Mabel Rankin and Violet McLaren, who were on the university staff, and who had helped him in the clinic at Hillhead House, Glasgow in the 1930s were "not of sufficient weight" to lecture to the honours class in Education at Glasgow University, and that Cathie MacCallum who set up the Glasgow Education Department child guidance service was simply jealous of the work of his clinic. I knew all three women. The first two had considerable intellectual powers and the third had massive drive and determination, in a predominantly male environment. This attitude, if typical of his views on women, would not have found favour with Maclarty. Evidence from Boyd's autobiography, and from Rusk's more sketchy 'obituary', has to be treated with caution. Both claimed to have had greatness thrust upon them in several fields, such as the Chair of Education at Edinburgh University for Boyd, before Godfrey Thomson was appointed

\[21\] Snodgrass worked in Dundee Training College.

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and honorary degrees for Rusk from various universities. Rusk kept letters, and certainly turned down honorary degrees such as LID from Glasgow University.24

Boyd's correspondence did not come to light. Both were remarkable men who did much for Scottish education, and both came from a background in philosophy. At the time in Scottish education there was tension between psychology and education as disciplines, with psychology in the ascendancy, because it was considered to be more scientific. Rusk may have been preferred because he was closer to what may be called a psychological strand than Boyd, who was firmly educational, even though he had set up the Hillhead House clinic.

The question remains as to why Glasgow University did not finance a Chair in Education25 until the 1950s, so that two men either of whom could have filled it with distinction were left to seek advancement leading to personal satisfaction elsewhere, Rusk in SCRE and Boyd in New Education Fellowship. It is possible that Rusk appealed more to the new Council members, with his Cambridge and Jena experience and apparently wider horizons.

The formal activities of the Council in appointing a director are also frustratingly vague. Rusk attended the Council meeting of 23 June 1928, and the first meeting of the Executive committee on 21 September 1928, as a representative of the training colleges. His own notes indicate that the question of the director was raised at the June meeting of Council, but it does not appear to have been discussed at the Executive committee. At a joint meeting of the Executive and the Finance committees of the Council at Moray House College on 16 November 1929, the Minute reads:

It was agreed to try to secure the services of a

24 Letter from Sir Hector Hetherington, Principal of Glasgow University, to Rusk offering the degree. (Rusk collection). There is also correspondence between Rusk and the BPS. Rusk objected to their awarding him a Fellowship without asking if he would accept it.

25 Bell, op. cit. chapter 4, covers the Glasgow position in detail. It could be summarised as lack of belief in Education as a university subject, lack of enthusiasm for a Chair and lack of finance additional to the Bell legacy.
person of established reputation and experience who would be willing to act as a part-time supervisor. It was not considered desirable to advertise, but that informal enquiry be made

and its next meeting, in Glasgow on 19 December 1929 appointed Rusk as part-time Director. That joint committee also agreed that three copies of all Council publications should be sent to every member, an early example of positive outreach.

The Research committee of the EIS continued its existence after the founding of SCRE, but was complementary rather than antagonistic, with Steel as the liaison man. It took responsibility for the Pupil’s Record Card with Steel and Rusk agreeing to help, stating that a teacher would receive, with a child transferred to her school, a card with "all necessary physical, psychological, sociological and scholastic information". The committee was suspended in 1939 because of the pressures on teachers arising from the war, and never reconvened.

Educational and Social Climate.
In 1928 there was not unity in the EIS about a proposed research council. Sir David Brewster, a Scot, had advocated establishing in 1831, a British Association for the Advancement of Science (BA). SEJ reproduced the caricature of this by Charles Dickens:

... the mud fog association for the advancement of everything at which Professors Snore, Doze and Wheezy held forth on Umbugology and Ditchwatersics, assisted by Messrs Muddlebrains, Drawley, Rummun and Pumpkinskull

The following week SEJ reported Drever Sr., Rusk and Steel having addressed that very BA on educational research. The SEJ was balanced in that it gave space to the scornful remarks about educational research, but

26 SEJ. 31 May 1929, p. 606.
27 SEJ. 7 September 1928, p. 928.
28 Professor of Psychology at Edinburgh, and representative of Scottish Branch of BPS on Council.
29 ibid. 14 September 1928, p. 961.
also to the views of those advocating it. The juxtaposition of dates leaves little doubt that the two articles were meant to be read in conjunction, and must be construed as a thinly veiled criticism of the pretentiousness of establishing a research council in education.

In September 1931 there was a teachers’ strike against a 15% salary cut. A photograph from the BBC archive shows a large body of teachers marching through central London wearing white shirts, dark ties, suits, trilbies and bowler hats, complete with neatly folded raincoats and only one set of banners all proclaiming ‘Schoolmasters' Protest!’ correct in both dress and grammar, each being an important social indicator.30

The 15% cut was negotiated down to 10% in England and about 8% in Scotland, with the exception of Glasgow which enforced a cut of 13.75%. For 20 years afterwards tales were told of the duplicity and chicanery of local politicians and of teachers’ leaders on this cut. In this atmosphere, the fact that the 1932 Survey, and other research work involving schools and teachers, was permitted, testifies to the high standing of SCRE in the eyes of teachers and education authorities.

On the wider front there was a mutiny of the Atlantic fleet at Invergordon in 193131 when Philip Snowdon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, cut lower deck naval pay by up to 25%. The mutiny was a mild affair with the sailors playing football ashore to celebrate Invergordon Highland Games, and learning about the pay cut from the local newspapers. They sang the Red Flag and God Save the King, returned to their ships, and sailed for their home ports. Eisenstein’s film in 1925 of "Battleship Potemkin" an earlier Russian naval mutiny, was much in the mind of people in Western Europe and USA where Eisenstein toured and was lionised until 1932, before returning to Russia and oblivion. The Invergordon affair contributed to pushing Britain off the Gold Standard, because of a run on the reserves, the monetary equivalent of Armageddon at that time.

30 Longmate, op.cit. p. 147.
31 The ‘Herald’ supplement 4 July 1992, gives an account of the mutiny, as does, the programme of the late Marinell Ash - School Broadcasting Council, in BBC Radio Archives.
Film archive material of the early 1930s concentrates on workers in field or sea or mine, with children playing games but usually poorly dressed and not particularly clean. Film of the upper classes shows them at country pursuits, often shooting or fishing, with their women folk wandering about rather aimlessly. Their children are well-dressed and playing games with nannies.

A more general perspective on the period is that in 1929 the second Labour administration, under Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister, was established. It resigned in 1931 in favour of a coalition government which functioned in early 1932, but with massive opprobrium, from which he never recovered, heaped on MacDonald for having 'sold out' the Labour government.

From the time of the Industrial Revolution until the outbreak of WWI, unemployment among organised workers had varied from 1% to 12%, the latter only in times of dire straits in trade. Post-War between 1921 and 1927 average unemployment among trade unionists, the only people for whom there were reliable figures, was 14%. The peak was in 1932, with 22.8% unemployment among trade unionists. In that year the Director of Education for Dundee and the convener of the Education Committee, met with Rusk to consider the "inarticulate mass of Continuation School pupils." With little hope of employment, more pupils remained within the education orbit.

Relations with Department

McKechnie continued to show hostility to the Council until he succeeded Macdonald. Drever and Henderson, approached the Department for statistical information which would help with their work on secondary

32 Scottish Film Archive. op. cit.
34 For about the first 30 years of its existence the EIS provided the secretary and treasurer of the Council through its own general secretary. The free office back-up which was part of this was valuable.
education. They requested figures for the number of students who begin a secondary course, those who complete it, and from them, those who fail to obtain the Leaving Certificate, with the spread of the marks in the various subjects.

McKechnie minuted Macdonald:

   This is just the point where I feared the Research Council would first cause us difficulty

The request seems innocuous, but they did not get the information, probably because McKechnie considered that it was an intrusion into Departmental business. Macdonald was about to retire, to be succeeded by McKechnie (1929-1936), but he did ask for sight of curriculum papers for advanced division work. These were 13 separate booklets, reprints from SEJ, published in booklet form in 1931 as SCRE publication III. This early work of the Council and its sub-committees attacked the educational problems of the day, the qualifying examination, the curriculum for advanced division pupils and the justification for such an organisation, all arising from Circular 44.

Within the Department, there was criticism of school performance but no plan of action to improve it. Annual Reports of the Scottish Education Department from 1927-1932 express concern with the qualifying or control examination, the age of the pupil who should be passing it and what to do about retardation and backwardness which were considered to be distinct but related. William Philip, who worked in the Edinburgh and Lothian Districts as a chief inspector, subsequently to become senior chief inspector, wrote:

   Roughly speaking we may say that 60 per cent of the pupils are late in passing the qualifying

35 SRO, Ed 35/1.
36 At the end of primary education many pupils did not proceed to secondary education, for a variety of reasons but mainly from lack of demonstrated ability. They were offered 'supplementary courses' a name which persisted from 1903 till 1923 when it was replaced by the term 'advanced division', advocated in Circular 44, which persisted until 1936. The problem arose initially because the Education Act of 1901 had raised the 'Leaving Age' to 14 years.
37 Senior Chief Inspector was Primus inter pares, until Gilbert Watson succeeded to the job and made it a separate grade.
examination. This is not as it should be. 38

A phrase in common use in these reports is, that pupils fail to clear specific hurdles, "from their lack of native capacity". Some of them were grouped into classes in Edinburgh called "non-passer classes", hardly calculated to encourage members of them.

Despite this concern there is no reference to the Research Council or its work on the curriculum and standards for the Qualifying examination throughout Scotland, nor to the work of Godfrey Thomson on Intelligence tests. The 1929-30 SED Blue Book considers it inappropriate that:

half the children in our primary schools were
'apparently' retarded ......it brought the Qualifying
examination itself under suspicion39

The retarded child was defined as

.. a child whose scholastic age is lower than his mental age, and the problem is concerned generally with children of normal ability who by reason of bad attendance, frequent change of school or the like have fallen out of step. It is advocated that in difficult and doubtful cases the university department of psychology may be consulted.40

There was no attempt to generalise from the work of Drever, who headed such a department, at Edinburgh University, into a policy on retardation for all pupils.

All the arguments in the Blue books were leading up to the need for the "clean cut at twelve", a plea for separating secondary from primary education at a fixed age. The Department did not consult the Council on the matter, or suggest that post primary education was different, but merely wished to have all pupils around 11½ years move out of primary into advanced divisions

38 Annual Report of SED 1927. General Report by H. M. Inspectors of Schools. p.11. It is close to saying that half the pupils are below average, a comment made regularly until the 1950s by political critics.
40 op. cit. p.12.
where more practical work could be given, to fit them "for ordinary life-work."

Department staff could identify problems in education, primarily concerned with pupil performance, but tended to consider the pupils as individuals who should be 'rectified', unless they lacked 'native capacity', but not as groups of pupils for whom there should be a definite policy on provision. Some of this thinking stemmed from work in England, which put the case that the education of adolescent pupils should be different from that of primary pupils, and the 'clean cut' philosophy was being promulgated.41

The Blue Books expressed concern at the failure of many pupils to complete even a two year secondary course, and the difficulty of matching pupils with appropriate courses. In both England and Scotland, policy was determined by wise men, and occasionally wise women, meeting in committee, deliberating and pronouncing. They drew upon pooled experience rather than on research.

The conclusion of the Western Division of HM Inspectorate Report for 1932 states:

... Scottish Education is not effete, still less moribund; pedagogic ideas of today are in violent commotion as at a time preceding a new crystallisation42

This, in a report to parliament, is in contra-distinction to the usual measured tones. Inspectors and Department administrators were aware of serious problems, still had reservations about the Qualifying examination and its consequences, yet did not hail the findings of the 1932 Survey as being enlightening even when their own reports stated that teachers were able to

41 Sir Henry Hadow chaired three Consultative Committees, each of which produced a report: The Education of the Adolescent, 1926; The Primary School, 1931; Infant and Nursery Schools, 1933. The first was based on Stanley Hall’s view of adolescence subsequently discounted by Margaret Mead’s work in Samoa which itself was challenged by Piaget and at an even later date totally discredited. The political thinking and attempts at policy-making are discussed at length in Simon, Brian. (1974) The Politics of Educational Reform: 1920-1940, London, Lawrence & Wishart. The Scottish situation is discussed in Nisbet, John & Entwistle, Noel. (1966) The Age of Transfer to Secondary Education, London, ULP.
42 Blue Book 1933-34, p. 71.
use intelligence tests, because they could not comprehend how the less clever behaved or what their expectations were, and thus could not plan an education suited to them.

SCRE too can be faulted for failing to exploit the potential of its testing programme. If it believed that the differentiation, which was made possible by tests, was speedy and reliable then it should have pressed for more attention to be paid to curricular matters and learning methodology. Different attitudes towards the individual post war are seen in the 1945 and 1946 Education Acts\(^\text{43}\) sloganising, with education according to "age, ability and aptitude," modified by "in so far as is compatible with reasonable public expenditure." Government feared extending the availability of secondary education because it would be too costly and the rationalisation was that pupils were not able to benefit from it.\(^\text{44}\)

Without a competent analysis of the problem, the data available could not be brought to bear to achieve a solution, and the pre-war decade was one of a slow increase in the numbers of pupils in secondary education.

The EIS could be excluded from this criticism. A Leader in SEJ\(^\text{45}\) deplored separate post-primary provision for the two categories of pupils, reiterating its demand of secondary education for all, and again in 1924 with the demand, "all post-qualifying education must be the same for all pupils."\(^\text{46}\) These examples helped to make the EIS case for a separate independent council, which became SCRE.

On outreach related to policy, SCRE, from the beginning, tried to meet the Department on its own ground by publishing curricular material for advanced division work, and by the publication of its first volume, establishing

\(^{43}\) Education (Scotland) Act 1945. 8 & 9 Geo. 6 c.37. Education (Scotland) Act 1946. 9 and 10 Geo VI, ch 72.

\(^{44}\) Euphemisms were used to identify limited potential in the individual. J Arthur Thomson eminent physicist in Aberdeen writing in 1919 (Clarke op. cit. p. 205) uses 'normally constituted minds' and, 'the limit of his intellectual tether.' Later writers use phrases like 'biological capital'.


\(^{46}\) SEJ Vol VII. 11 January 1924. Retrospect and Prospect. p. 39.
University of London Press, as the Council's publisher and becoming the model for future publications. The book cover states that it is a:

contribution ... to the educational ... and social
and economic history of Scotland ... and traces
the evolution of a system of technical education\textsuperscript{47}

This statement stretches credibility, but is in keeping with what the Department hoped advanced divisions were trying to do for technical education. Earlier chapters of the book had already appeared in SEJ, in keeping with the policy of ensuring that teachers had access to research results.

After 1929 when Rusk was in post and when the Council was composed of respected educationists, the Council and Department formally went their separate ways, although professional staff, such as inspectors and some medical officers, associated with the Council by their own choice. They could claim that Macdonald had given them the option of doing this, but it is unlikely to have been considered official duty.

The initial stated aims of the Council, remained as the guidelines until 1945. They were updated in that year and made reference to the Department:

the relations between the Council and the
Department have throughout been most cordial and, it is believed, mutually helpful. The Council provides a platform where the representatives of the various educational bodies in Scotland meet on equal terms; the essentially democratic nature of its proceedings may be judged by the fact that on more than one occasion the director of education of a county has been a member of a committee over which a teacher under the same education authority presided.\textsuperscript{48}

This cordiality was more honoured in the breach.

\textsuperscript{47} Dean, Irene (1929) \textit{Scottish Spinning Schools}. SCRE publn 1. ULP.

\textsuperscript{48} Craigie, op. cit. p. 37.
There are two corroborating sources for the attitude of SED towards those in education outside the Department, Newman Wade and John Young. Wade wrote:

The Educational Institute of Scotland, local education authorities, and others interested in education expressed strong disapproval of the proposal to separate the post-primary school population into two groups: secondary and non-secondary\(^{49}\)

He also cites the evidence, collected by McClelland in 1933, about promotion from primary to secondary education. Finally, writing on the 1936 Education Act which decreed that the name "secondary" should apply to all post-primary education, he quotes a chief inspector:

I anticipate that this change will come to be regarded as a landmark in the history of Scottish Education ...

... in the school commonwealth all citizens are equal\(^{50}\)

Young,\(^{51}\) cites the struggle to get a minimum of three years of secondary education for every child, with evidence from the New Education Fellowship and its journal "New Era" which in 1935 devoted a whole edition to Scottish Education. Rusk, Boyd, and McClelland, members of the Council, and opposed to the Department’s policy on secondary education, provided papers for this edition. The Fellowship boasted among its members prominent Scots, Eric Linklater, Edwin and Willa Muir, Talbot Rice and MPs Tom Johnston and Walter Elliot, who favoured a distinctive Scottish education with a liberal tone. These instances show a Department resisting secondary education for all, against the views of educationists and the articulate, educated middle class who made up Council membership, and call in question the conclusion that relations between the Department and the Council were cordial.

The source closest to Rusk for most of his service as director is Jessie M.

\(^{49}\)op. cit. p. 130.

\(^{50}\)ibid. p. 252.

\(^{51}\)Young, op. cit. p. 149-176.
Gray.52 When interviewed in 1991 she had interesting but mainly gentle memories of her period in office, yet a fierce loyalty to Rusk. She did not consider that there was any requirement to have a close, or even any, relationship with the Department.

Relations with Others

In effect Rusk was the Council, and there are no recorded instances of his not enjoying good professional relations with members. Throughout his 29 years in post there was never a shortage of senior people in Scottish education willing to serve on the Council, and service its research projects, giving of their time and energy in a voluntary capacity.

The first Annual Report, published in April 1930 was sent to all Education Authorities. Also the first of a series of ten papers was published as supplements to the SEJ, nine being concerned with the curriculum and with learning, and one on temperament, by Hepburn. This would be considered unbalanced today but in 1930 was probably representative of thoughts and attitudes.

At local level, branches of the EIS in Dumfries and Kirkcudbright set up research committees. Lanarkshire association asked for an investigation into simplified spelling, and Glasgow Education Committee asked the Council for "a reasoned reply" to the following:

1. What is the nature of objective tests in general?
2. Would they be adequate for the purposes of the present qualifying examination?
3. How far would they affect or determine teaching methods?53

This early request from Glasgow assumed Council expertise in testing especially related to the qualifying examination. The flurry of activity from the two largest and from two mid-sized education authorities, showed the pent-up demand for an outside organisation which would at least actively

52 She succeeded Doreen Gullen in 1946 and remained as secretary to the Council until 1970.
53 Rusk collection.
consider pressing questions. It was not a short-lived phenomenon. Sister Marie Hilda conducted "A Mental Survey of a Scottish Suburban School."\textsuperscript{54} Drever was authorised to test the intelligence of boys entering Borstal; Shephard Dawson, head of the Psychology Department at Jordanhill Training College, conducted an investigation into the effect of better feeding for slum children on their scholastic performance, and largest of all, a public school achievement test used in America was given to 6,000 pupils in Fife to compare their attainment with similar American pupils. The Fife pupils were superior in that the group had a higher arithmetic mean, and also more pupils among the highest scorers. Costs were small, from £10 for Marie Hilda to £75 for Fife. The Council demurred at meeting the cost of the extra diet for Dawson. It was an extra third of a pint of milk per day per pupil.\textsuperscript{55}

The projects of Marie Hilda and Dawson caused the Council to seek personal indemnity for members and voluntary workers both through insurance and status. A Royal Charter which the EIS had, was too expensive but incorporation under the Companies Act as a company limited by guarantee was achieved,\textsuperscript{56} and as a registered charity the Council could omit "Ltd" from its title. It also dropped "National" and became "The Scottish Council for Research in Education."\textsuperscript{57} The Incorporation ensured that all who were associated with the Council had limited liability. It was an early indication of current and future policy intentions, that they should maintain independence without putting voluntary workers at risk.

SCRE was not just a mutually congratulatory oligarchy. There were signs of dissent. In 1930 the Council considered leaving the EIS premises in Moray Place, because they were not being given adequate space. Also Steel, after

\textsuperscript{54} It was in Glasgow but not named because the Council was careful about giving offence.

\textsuperscript{55} Provision of milk in schools has always had emotive significance since it became permitted by Circular as a recoverable expense in 1930. For Dawson it would have cost, per child, \frac{1}{10} of a penny in today's currency with the total cost about £24 over the years of the experiment. After WWII milk was provided at 1\frac{1}{2}d per third of a pint for school children and subsequently was provided free, ending around 1972. There is still discretionary provision for Education Authorities which may be rescinded if the EC subsidy on milk for children is withdrawn in 1993.

\textsuperscript{56} Arranged by Messrs Kirk, Mackie and Elliot, on 30 December 1930 for £70.

\textsuperscript{57} Department of Education and Science (DES), (1965) Report of the Committee on Social Studies (Heyworth Report). London, HMSO. Cmnd 2660 p. 87, gives, incorrectly, 11 April 1932 as the founding date of SCRE.
a joint ADES/EIS meeting on the post-primary curriculum, wished to produce a memorandum on what the various subjects had to offer varying types of pupils. The Council considered this to be outside its remit.\textsuperscript{58}

Other incidents include Ross and Cromarty Education Authority being aggrieved that the relative attainments of native Gaelic-speaking pupils, in comparison with native English-speaking pupils, in its authority could not be pronounced upon forthwith.

The Town Clerk depute of Glasgow had asked Boyd, a universities' representative on the Council, to attend a special sub-committee meeting of Glasgow Corporation on corporal punishment. The Executive committee declined to let an outside body choose who might represent them on a committee.

Finally R. H. Thouless, Reader in Psychology at Glasgow University, and later of Cambridge, was the first individual recorded as rejected for a grant. He had asked for £100 to purchase a mechanical correlator.\textsuperscript{59}

All the incidents were competently resolved.

The Research Agenda.

McGregor and Maclarty led the primary committee, joined by Rusk who was still a training college representative, and conducted a survey to determine whether there was a common standard of performance for the Qualifying examination throughout Scotland, by simply asking all directors of education to respond to the two questions: what was taught and what level of performance was reached. There was no common standard in Scotland and

\textsuperscript{58} The Council did not justify this decision. Probably the teacher union members did not wish to make invidious comparisons between school subjects of the type where the less able would take technical, commercial and domestic subjects while the most able would take classics and mathematics. The new scientific testing was claiming that mathematics was 'saturated with g' to 0.9. The Council wished to maintain solidarity.

\textsuperscript{59} In Council terms this was a great deal of money. Godfrey Thomson had devised his own machine for doing correlations, consisting of wheels and grooves and ivory pegs. It still exists having survived exposure to several grandchildren of subsequent heirs and may one day find its way back to the Council. Thomson was not a petty man, but punctilious about the use of public money. He may have resisted the request.
no agreed curricular content, but the exercise gave the Council confidence that it could conduct nationwide surveys and be assured of cooperation from the various education authorities. Drever Sr and Godfrey Thomson, university members of Council, joined the secondary committee to work on intelligence tests and selection.

By early 1932 the Council had reached a plateau. Finance was critical and the absence rate of members at committees was exceeding 50%. However the Executive committee of 14 January 1932 was asked to deal with a letter from Paul Monroe of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, offering $2500 a year for three years through the Carnegie Corporation, to have Scotland participate in the International Examination Inquiry (IEI). This Corporation provided start-up finance to Australia and New Zealand for their research councils, but was precluded from helping SCRE, because Scotland already had a Carnegie Trust. Monroe, as an intermediary for Carnegie in America, overcame this difficulty, and the Council's acceptance saved it from probable liquidation.

Godfrey Thomson convened a committee with Boyd and Drever to follow up the offer from Monroe, joined by J. C. Smith, senior chief inspector of schools, who retired "in the summer of 1932." No more precise date is available either on when he formally joined the committee, or when he retired, but it is the earliest record of HMI joining a SCRE committee.

The Council through this committee, conducted a Mental Survey, and by including the proposal for it in their submission to the IEI, were able to spend £350 of that money for meetings, and for printing and distributing the test used, and £100 towards the cost of publication. The IEI held international conferences, at Eastbourne in 1931, Folkestone in 1935 and Dinard in 1938 where they ended the inquiry and disbanded the committee. Rusk attended

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60 Minutes of the committee show J. C. Smith to have been a member but his name does not appear in the book, almost certainly because the Department would not allow it. Smith published an anthology of poetry which was widely used in schools, and had been awarded an Honorary D.Litt from Edinburgh University. Hearsay evidence regarding him is that he did not accept Department restrictions easily.

61 SCRE (1933) The Intelligence of Scottish Children. publn V. ULP.
all these conferences and claims to have led the Scottish delegation.

Tests, especially intelligence tests, had a time advantage for teachers and local authority administrators, compared with the qualifying examination which took three hours and fifteen minutes to conduct, against ten minutes' trial run and forty-five minutes for the tests, which were also much easier to score. Yet the overwhelming reason for becoming so heavily involved in testing was the financial inducement from USA. Rusk had always set his heart against the Council being a test-producing agency, because he deplored such councils and bureaux in America. He also claimed that Thomson was keen to conduct a survey of a whole age group of eleven-year-olds in Scotland:62

... to calibrate the Moray House tests coming into general use at the time. This could only be effected by determining the mean of a complete age group; ... this survey disclosed that the mean IQ for Scottish pupils from the Moray House tests (was) slightly under 100.63

The Survey was conducted shortly after the 14th Census (1931) in Scotland, when the preliminary results were known. SED provided on request a breakdown of the number of pupils by education authority who were ten and under eleven, and eleven and under twelve, as at 31 July 1930. McKechnie, now Secretary of the Department, seems to have repented of his earlier attitude towards providing statistics for SCRE.

Lack of money caused the Council to use an adapted Moray House Test 12. It had already been used in Halifax, to select pupils for free places in secondary education, so that further piloting was not necessary. The Survey committee required to have some method of interpreting the Group Test scores against a recognised measure of intelligence. To this end they chose

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62 Although Rusk claimed that he was the person who always set his face against making SCRE a test-producing agency he may have been making a virtue of necessity. Thomson had already cornered the market in Intelligence and Scholastic tests with his Moray House series. It would have been difficult to compete with him as he had a large pool of free labour in the student body. Also the prestige of his name associated with SCRE was valuable.

63 Rusk collection.
a random sample of 1000 pupils all born on 1st June 1921. By comparisons with their scores on the Group Test they believed that they could get a true picture of the actual distribution of intelligence for the whole group.

Inspectors used the findings of the Survey for decisions on the qualifying examination, and on transfer to secondary courses. America, Canada, Australia and England showed considerable interest in the work and the results. SED observed silence. Rusk collected some reviews. The Scotsman, Glasgow Herald, Times Educational Supplement and the Schoolmaster were all eloquent in its favour and Terman, at Stanford University, Myers of NIIP and Lewis, an English expert on mental deficiency spoke well of it.

The report itself is a classic of clear writing, with careful consideration being given to the problems involved and the solutions found. The testing was done on 1st June 1932, and the book published by mid 1933, all by voluntary labour. It is of interest, at least to Freudians, that one of the proverbs making up a test item was:

Many hands make light work.

Certain features are missing from the Survey, the most significant being the absence of any reference to a pupil's home background, health, or parent's employment. It took account of the work of Lewis of the Mental Deficiency committee, but was wary of associating the whole survey with mental deficiency with perhaps adverse reactions. A Council Minute states:

... the Council approved of the decision of its Executive Committee to proceed with a survey of mental deficiency in Scotland on the lines followed in the Report on an Investigation into the Incidence of Mental Deficiency in Six areas,

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64 At a later date this group was referred to as 'The Binet 1000'. The test used was the Binet-Simon Scale of 1905, revised by Terman and called originally 'Stanford Revision and Extension of the Binet-Simon Scale', published in 1916. A full account is given in SCRE publn. V op.cit at p. 33 et seq.
65 The Rusk collection.
This was on the motion of Drever Sr\(^67\) who had given no indication that he had an interest beyond mental defectives, but the remit was widened to take in the intelligence of a complete age group, probably by the decision of Hepburn, the chairman of the committee ultimately charged with the responsibility, and of Godfrey Thomson. It was a vital decision and moved the whole concept of intelligence testing away from the mentally deficient to that of all pupils. The number on the roll of pupils who were 11 but not yet 12 in Scotland was 93,742 and the Survey committee was determined, remarkably successfully to include every pupil, even those classed as "ineducable".

Another activity, supported through IEI, reported on the prognostic value of university entrance examinations in Scotland.\(^68\) It was part of a study planned by the International Institute of Teachers' College. Drever led the project which was sophisticated for its time, being a prospective and a retrospective study, the latter on students in Arts and Pure Science who had entered university in 1928 and should have completed their degree courses by 1932. At a later stage most of the records, other than class examinations were made available for medical students, but this was complicated by the high incidence of foreign students in Medicine.

The Leaving Certificate in Scotland required a minimum of four subject passes, and when used for university entrance, these were garnered from Scottish Leaving Certificate (SLC) passes, or university 'Preliminary' passes, or a mix. The prognostic study was painstaking but more useful for learning sophisticated techniques than for significant findings, being based on one university for one session. The final accounts of the IEI are incomplete but an intriguing entry is, payment to Scottish Education Department of 2/6d (12.5

\(^66\) 16 May 1931.

\(^67\) Drever was at this time particularly interested in mental defect, which is in the pedigree of Intelligence tests.

\(^68\) SCRE, (1937) *The Prognostic Value of University Entrance Examinations in Scotland.* pubIn IX . ULP.
p) per card for 471 cards used in the Inquiry.\textsuperscript{69} There is no further information, but at least one part of the Department was co-operating with the Council - the finance division.

At the IEI London Conference\textsuperscript{70} in June 1933, the Scottish contingent gave notice of their intention to identify and test a new representative sample declaring of the 1921 born group that:

\begin{quote}
In spite of elaborate precautions, the attempt to secure a truly representative sample for individual testing cannot be regarded as wholly successful, too many pupils of high intelligence being included in the sample.\textsuperscript{71}
\end{quote}

The "Binet 1000", selected on the advice of Dawson, had been given the individual test by a variety of testers with varying levels of competence, but there were too many high scorers in the group test. The reasons for dissatisfaction with the nature of the group are given in the report.\textsuperscript{72}

The new "representative group" consisting of those born on the 1st day of February, May, August, and November 1926, were all tested by Macmeeken and Wallace of Edinburgh University, over a two years and two months period, using the Stanford-Binet,1916 Revision, supplemented by a battery of performance tests, with the results published by SCRE.\textsuperscript{73}

Thorndike, senior, of Columbia University had asked at the IEI conference that the pupils be tested twice on the Stanford-Binet test. This could not be done in the time available, but 140 pupils were retested on the next day, with markedly improved results, especially for pupils who scored around the mean. Kennedy-Fraser and McClelland had been added to the IEI Scottish committee and Drever co-opted his colleague, Mary Collins, for the testing.

\textsuperscript{69}The consolidated accounts showed 'Fees for Statistical Work.. £60'. This is probably the payment to SED.
\textsuperscript{70} This was a meeting of the Heads of Delegations.
\textsuperscript{71} Macmeeken, A. M. (1939) The Intelligence of a Representative Group of Scottish Children. SCRE, publn XV. ULP. p. 3.
\textsuperscript{72} SCRE, publn V. op. cit. p. 33 et seq and p. 94 et seq.
\textsuperscript{73} SCRE, publn XV op. cit. p.10.
Kennedy-Fraser who had trained the staff and organised the original 'Binet 1000' testing, had like Drever, a life long interest in mental deficiency.

The whole picture is one of SCRE learning by experience, seeking high standards, drawing conclusions from the evidence and being accommodating to Teachers' College, Columbia, all actions which could enhance independence.

Even at this stage positions were being taken up showing reservations about intelligence tests, especially the practice effect of test, re-test results, and in the significance of skew, ie the amount of deviation from a normal curve of distribution in test scores. It was greater for boys, least observed in rural areas and barely apparent from the performance test battery. Cattell74 had previously suggested that skew was the effect on IQ distributions of the differential birth rate, a phrase given several meanings. For Cattell it meant that the less intelligent parents tended to have more children than the highly intelligent. In later years this argument, which has a "chicken and egg" aspect, acquired greater prominence with added features such as better educated (ie over a longer period) mothers causing the generations to be further apart because they began their families later, when less fecund and had smaller families.

Thomson used factor analysis, a technique credited to Spearman and Burt, to interpret this data, introducing refinements, and strove to bring the mathematical and psychological streams of factorial analysis together, ably supported by William Emmett who recruited Albert Pilliner, a wartime colleague on munitions in England. The three made a formidable team in applying statistical techniques to educational research.75 Pilliner told me in an interview in 1992 that his own interest was mainly in analysis of variance.

75 The 1946 B.Ed class in Edinburgh was a vintage year with 18 students, more than Thomson wished to have. Returned ex-service men like John A. Smith, later vice-principal at Jordanhill College, William Lindsay, later Director of Education for Morayshire, and Hugh Fairlie, later Director of Education for Renfrewshire, were all in the class. Fairlie became chairman of Council from 1978 - 1984. He remembers Emmett taking lectures on statistics, but Thomson took the lectures on factorial analysis.
The researchers associated with Drever and Thomson, devoted most of their time to testing in order to select or predict or identify, whether for secondary education, university entrance or ascertainment of handicap or backwardness. Thomson's work with the Council and his greater work as an educator have to be distinguished. Sharp highlights the paradox whereby Thomson was a believer in comprehensive education yet the creator of Moray House Tests, which were used for selection and differentiation.

The Academics on Council concentrated on intelligence testing. Teachers and directors were more concerned with curricular issues, but there was no question of a split over the choice of activities, which were linked by the problem of the qualifying examination. The IEI committee members who supervised the Macmeeken project were mainly academics, yet Hepburn from ADES and Mackie, rector of Leith Academy, from EIS, functioned comfortably at this level.

A mix of social conscience and desire to influence educational development caused SCRE to become involved with Junior Instruction Centres, (JIC), which the Ministry of Labour was bidding to take over. SCRE met some of the superintendents of those centres to offer support and Rusk produced a draft report on curriculum methods and staffing for the centres, which advocated that those attending should not be "only pupils of the lower types of intelligence" nor restricted to those "who have at least ten contributions to their credit in respect of insurable employment".

The Evening Continuation School Code of 1893, enhanced by the 1908 Act had led to successful voluntary juvenile centres which were made compulsory in 1934-35 as JICs, aimed at taking the unemployed off the streets. The late Jack Smith, a leading teacher member of the committee

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77 JICs were initially called 'Classes for Unemployed Juveniles' and the responsibility of the education authority, but the Ministry of Labour changed the name to 'Junior Instruction Centres' in 1929. In that year Glasgow had 614 people in attendance. In April 1934 an Unemployment Bill was before Parliament.

78 Rusk collection.
which produced the 1965 Primary Memorandum\textsuperscript{79} began his teaching career in JICs in Glasgow. His harrowing experiences there, related vividly to the committee, of which I was a member, some 25 years later, made him determined to advocate a pupil-centred but integrated curriculum for primary education.

Boyd wrote to the Council advising no action on Rusk's memorandum. The Executive committee\textsuperscript{80} accepted this and let it lapse. Perhaps Boyd as a former University Settlement worker in the past, with a fine track record in Clydebank, objected to Rusk's presumption.

The committee also discussed a letter from Dr McLaren, Director of Education for Moray and Nairn, claiming that "about 80% of pupils who enter our schools in Scotland leave without a certificate of any kind." Council decided that it was not a suitable topic for research, because "the majority of pupils... need not necessarily be awarded a certificate of any kind." This from a Council which spent an inordinate amount of its time on intelligence, performance and attainment tests, would suggest that it considered results from such to be part of a diagnostic information system for teachers, and perhaps for researchers, rather than as evidence for a certificate.

It may be unreasonable to expect consistency from a Council of strong-minded individuals who met infrequently and, being unpaid, exercised their right to independence of thought. What is more probable is that the Council had tools but no firm theoretical position on how to use them for the benefit of Scottish education.

Boyd in 1935 asked the Council to consider conducting more historical research as opposed to what he called "Technical Research". It was carried, perhaps because a number of Council members felt overwhelmed by the move towards psychometrics which had taken place after 1933. Historical research was consistently resisted by McIntosh when he came to office.

\textsuperscript{79}SED. (1965) \textit{Primary Education in Scotland}. Edinburgh, HMSO. (The Primary Memorandum)

\textsuperscript{80}27 April 1934.
In 1936 the Qualifying committee changed its name to "Primary School Subjects" committee, with John Morrison, now Director of Education for Aberdeenshire, succeeding Maclarty in the chair. They produced a report, \(^{81}\) with an age grade classification which, for the first time, included the infant school in its age range. It was a study of the amount of acceleration or retardation which existed in primary schools. They defined 'normality' in an arbitrary fashion, by having the lowest class of the primary division (P11I today) take in pupils aged 6+ to 8+. This range ensured retardation/acceleration were improbable in the early years of primary education, and they identified the main level of retardation at the 11 and 12 year age level. The serious retardation, where pupils were in a whole class below their age group, could have been used to support the "clean cut" at 12 but the Department showed no interest.

SCRE was convinced that educational performance was affected by social, physical and mental conditions, and gave examples of them, such as vagrant pupils, the mother tongue being other than English, crowded home conditions, and ill-health. McClelland collecting data for Selection for Secondary Education (see below), was drawing similar conclusions.

In 1939 Glasgow Corporation produced a report which stated:

Most examinations ... are of the pass or fail type.
The Qualifying examination has to divide the candidates into five groups or categories according to ability. It must, therefore, discriminate between pupils at all levels of ability in order to achieve this division effectively.\(^{82}\)

The five categories were: senior secondary, junior secondary, advanced division, retained in primary, non-qualifier. It used the figures from the 1931 census, grouping the 37 Wards in the city into six blocks, based on the number of persons per room, in the houses. The extremes were Kelvinside at 0.78 per room and Dalmarnock at 2.47 persons per room. The average mark in English and in Arithmetic was then plotted (separately) against the

\(^{81}\) SCRE (1936) Scottish Primary School Organisation publn XIV. ULP.

\(^{82}\) Qualifying Examination Board, (May 1939) Statistical Report of Examination. Glasgow Education Department.
average number of persons per room. As this number rose so the attainment marks fell. The conclusion in bold face was:

Attainment in English and Arithmetic at the qualifying stage is related to housing conditions, better housing conditions being associated with higher attainment

The research committee of the Glasgow Local Association of the EIS sent this report to SED who replied:

The question of housing conditions is not, of course, one which is primarily our concern.

The Council concentrated on revenue-producing activities related to the IEI, yet did not neglect other issues, such as producing good curricular material and giving consideration to the needs of the handicapped and the backward, both educationally and socially. It also worked hard at perfecting statistical techniques which could withstand outside hostile scrutiny. Judged in its time it was a humane and caring educational organisation. Its greatest failing in the eyes of the Department was that it dealt with vital issues. It would have been more acceptable if it had busied itself with inconsequential minutiae. The pendulum has swung today in that government-funded research has to be policy-related, although the findings may not necessarily be acceptable.

Outreach

By 1939 the Research Council had produced a solid block of work, heavily biased towards testing, and to the curriculum in primary education, but acceptable to the educational community. They proselytised through SEJ, their own publications and their advocates in ADES and EIS, but they made little impression on the Scottish Education Department.

The move towards association with America and through it to bodies in Europe who were involved with IEI, was not a conscious act of outreach but was determined by the need for financial support. Monroe their subsequent

83McClelland used the Glasgow Report in, McClelland, William. (1945) Selection for Secondary Education. SCRE publn XIX. ULP. ch XXIV.
benefactor was made a Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland in 1925 but the citation for the award has not been found. He may have been proposed by Boyd who was President of the Institute in 1920, but it is more probable that he was put forward by James Steel who was President in 1925. Boyd, on a visit to Teachers' College in 1931, wrote to SCRE about what became the intelligence survey.

Outreach must be appreciated in the context of its time. The 1930s were characterised by recession, unemployment, poverty and all the resultant low level physical, social and aesthetic quality of life. If SCRE provided anything of value in the years of its existence before WWII it was in providing a body of evidence about education which was a counterbalance to the Department. This does not imply that the two always held opposing views. The Department was so secretive that it was not possible for outsiders to know what its views were. A classic example is a communication from the Secretary of SED to the Secretary of State:

We have always attached such importance to the confidential nature of the deliberations of the Council that, even within the office, papers dealing with its business are circulated in a closed cover marked Confidential.\(^8^4\)

The 'Council' here was the Advisory Council but the attitude transferred.

SCRE also provided a forum, a body of work which was helpful to teachers on curricular matters, and a cause for hope that education would be available to all who may benefit from it. There was the assurance that potential beneficiaries would be identified, regardless of their station in life. It was more than an updated version of the lad o' pairs factor, because it depended on an identified professional group as opposed to a lone supportive dominie.

The Council produced reports whose conclusions were based on stated evidence, openly available for scrutiny and with statements of where it had

\(^{8^4}\) McKechnie to Sir Godfrey Collins 24 March 1934 ED 8/14. SRO.
made mistakes and of where it had doubts about the reliability of its findings. The Department's edicts, usually by Circular, were in the nature of fiats.
Chapter Four

THE PRELUDE, THE WAR, THE AFTERMATH

Background.

By 1939 SCRE had been in existence for a decade, with a record of competent research mainly on curriculum and assessment in the primary school, but showing concern for the best age, stage and method of transfer of pupils to post-primary education. It had also conducted a national survey of intelligence of 11-year-olds.

Secondary education was an unresolved problem, because of ‘philosophical’ difficulties. The Department would accept it for those able to benefit from it. For the others it would be too expensive. SCRE members considered it to be a right for all. Roxburgh called secondary education “not merely complex but also obscure,” and lists the aims of the Parker commission of 1887 on secondary education that:

it should be given in schools specially designed for that work, and not in glorified primary schools

showing the long-standing nature of the issue. He describes at length the position in Glasgow, where the five schools with secondary departments were initially called Central schools and later Higher Grade schools, which did not require a test for entrance to them. They differed from Higher Class schools, such as the High School of Glasgow, which did have entry tests. The medium-sized towns and Royal burghs throughout Scotland took a pride in their secondary school, which the Department did little to foster. Senior members of the Department had no first hand experience of such schools, and were content to accept the nomenclature of the 1936 Act and accept that all children over the age of 12 “should receive secondary education” which was what was provided under the Secondary Schools

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2 ibid. p. 127.
3 ibid. chapter 7 unravels the complexity of ‘secondary’ education.
4 Scotland, J. op. cit. Vol. 2 p. 73. It continues with the plan for distinguishing junior and senior secondary schools.
Gray, McPherson and Raffe also deal at length with the concept of secondary education, and quote McClelland’s writing in 1935 to the effect that Scottish people recognise the right of any child regardless of class, to the highest education. SCRE’s experience of testing had convinced members that it was possible to select pupils who would benefit from secondary education, based on their ability. “Selection” at this time had overtones of opportunity, rather than of unfairness and exclusion, a concept which was appropriate for McClelland’s work.

Although not self-satisfied, yet SCRE was content with its performance, encouraged by appreciation of its work by educators in England and America, but greatly exercised about finding a secure source of funding, which would not compromise its independence.

Educational and Social Climate.
The first decade in the life of SCRE was characterised by the great financial depression beginning in 1929, in which most developed countries of the world suffered economic collapse, with large scale unemployment and in many cases crushing poverty, leading to hunger. Germany, economically crippled by reparations after WWI, had instituted a public works programme which was effective, but led on to a policy of re-armament. Italy and Japan had foreign conquests, the former in Abyssinia and the latter in Manchuria. America had the New Deal under Franklin Roosevelt, which was unique in that it offered hope to a depressed nation. Only USSR appeared to prosper economically with its two Five-year Plans carried out at great loss of life, a fact which was not known in detail at the time. The Soviet Union was putting

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5 Day Schools (Scotland) Code, 1939, brought the Day Schools Code and Secondary Regulations together under one Code and the associated Explanatory Memorandum made secondary education a stage in the schooling of every child. The war prevented its full implementation but the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945, op. cit. made more than adequate amends.


7 op. cit.
into effect a form of Keynesian\(^8\) economics, and hope in European terms was becoming linked to communism. For a total of nine of the Depression years, Stanley Baldwin was United Kingdom Prime Minister, to be followed by Neville Chamberlain, both heading Conservative governments. They considered the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany as dangerous, but to be preferred to that other totalitarian system of Stalinism in Russia. They also had to continue repayment of borrowings from America, incurred during the war and the early years of the peace.

The whole climate was one where government departments felt endangered, even beleaguered, and was not one conducive to SED tolerating anything other than acceptance of its authority. The civil war in Spain\(^9\) of itself was not a threat, but the fact that many men from Scotland and elsewhere were willing to answer the appeal from democratic leaders to go to Spain and join the International Brigade, often students and teachers who, as educated men, might have been expected to know better, was cause for alarm.

At a more mundane level the education authorities and their officials now looked on the Council as a reliable source of advice, already evidenced, with rural areas such as Kirkcudbrightshire and Ross and Cromarty and urban areas such as Lanarkshire and Glasgow asking for guidance on specific problems. SCRE’s work on transfer to post-primary education and on Junior Instruction Centres and their courses, was appreciated by local authorities as was its involvement in rescheduling of educational endowments, so that it gained a reputation as a useful organisation in education.

\(^8\) John Maynard Keynes was a British civil servant who had represented Britain at Treaty of Versailles. His writings, *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919) and *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, (1936) (both) London, Macmillan, had a world-wide effect. Briefly the theory was that deficit spending by governments would solve unemployment and poverty problems. Practical implementation of the theory in Scotland was the construction of the Edinburgh-Glasgow road, and certain open air swimming pools such as Arbroath.

\(^9\) A Spanish general, Francisco Franco, led an attack on the Republican government in Spain in 1936, and with Italian and German help overthrew it by 1939, and established a dictatorship.
Its membership of IEI enhanced its reputation furth of Scotland, and the Mental Survey of 1932 had become a classic, although more honoured abroad than in Scotland. From this work the Council began its build up of expertise in survey methods.

The flavour of the times might be encapsulated in three features. The first is of Rusk, lecturing in Glasgow University in 1946 on the Ed.B\textsuperscript{10} course and inspiring people who subsequently made their mark in education, like James Scotland, author of the two volume history of Scottish Education, Margaret Clark, authority on early education, reading skills and left-handedness, and Ranald Macdonald, Director of Education for Highland Region. Rusk was openly contemptuous of the Department, but with quiet anger supported by detailed criticism of its behaviour in the 1920s and 1930s.

The second example is in the staff of Jordanhill Training College, chosen rather than Moray House, to avoid reflected glory from the name of Godfrey Thomson. A personal view is that it is unjustifiable to assert that people like William Kerr, Henry Wood, Shephard Dawson, Robert Rusk, James Lochrie, Jessie Buttberg, and Anne H McAllister who carried the main responsibility for administration, professional subjects, English, French and policy for the handicapped, were of lesser calibre, less qualified and less competent than Departmental staff. The problem for the Department lay in its inability to form relationships of equality based on mutual respect, with others, because it believed this would put its authority at risk. The post war attitude towards authority was no longer that of unchallenged deference.

The colleges were heavily criticised by teachers on institutional grounds, yet at the personal level, Robert A Miller of the Psychology department at Jordanhill lectured to more graduate student teachers and teachers on in-service courses on McClelland’s Selection than anyone else in Scotland, and could easily fill the largest room in the college with an interested

\textsuperscript{10} Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities had post-graduate Ed.B degrees, and Edinburgh had the B.Ed. Former graduates were asked to change the degree titles to M.Ed. in 1966 because England instituted a B.Ed first degree through its Institutes of Education. Most graduates agreed, but a few insisted on remaining as they were.
audience on the most miserable November night. Teachers were interested in Education.

The third example is that of a school in Glasgow. In 1947 I was a teacher in a primary school in a rather rough area of Glasgow, it being Glasgow Education Authority policy to have all teachers regardless of qualification spend time in primary schools. The headmaster and I were the only males on the staff. On pay days the janitor and I went to the bank, withdrew money for staff salaries, brought it back to the school where it was counted out and placed openly in bundles on the head teacher’s table, on top of a card with the specific teacher’s name on it, all adjacent to an open sheet staff list which individuals signed as a receipt. A pupil was then sent round the classrooms with a note advising teachers to come to collect their pay when convenient. The older pupils, privy to the system, joked about it. The system lacked dignity which is a prerequisite of status. Because teachers did not get the status which they sought they were unlikely to confer status on those above them, such as the training college staff and a remote body, called SED.

Some of this sorry state can be put down to the flying Scot but most of it stems from power being held in the Department, not supported by positive leadership, so that drift led to frustration.

One other feature of this time, hard to countenance in the profligate society of today, where recourse to the photocopier is almost a conditioned reflex, was the chronic shortage of everything, including paper. Thus notes and even letters were written on the backs of file copies of material and many paper records which would have been valuable archive material were sent for recycling. Some of this activity may have been psychologically sound, in that it caused people to feel they were contributing to the war effort, and to post-war reconstruction. In practical terms it had little effect because the machinery for pulping and recycling was not available and the files ended up in land-fills. There was a similar situation with scrap iron from garden railings, collected in wartime and left to disintegrate.

11 The statement is from my first hand experience.
Relations with Others

There are difficulties in making judgments in retrospect about decisions of Council which allegedly show attitudes. Three examples are given which taken in isolation could be used to suggest that the Council was indecisive. Dawson's attenuated experiment on more adequate diet, which had been planned over a three year period, showed the instability in housing conditions, where 20% of pupils were members of families which were evicted annually at term time for non-payment of rent. Follow-up contact of individuals would have been difficult.

A second example, again related to Dawson, was where he advised Council that Burt's Graded Word Reading Test, was not what Glasgow teachers thought reading was about. Vernon's test, which the Council had published, is essentially similar to that of Burt. It may have been easier to criticise the work of Burt, who was based in London rather than that of Vernon who worked in Glasgow, as did Dawson.

The third example is where Boyd, who was an inveterate writer of letters to Council, suggested that students should be given half the cost of typing their theses in return for depositing a copy with SCRE. Robbie\textsuperscript{12} disagreed and said that students should deposit a copy of their theses in their university library. Rusk, apparently without authority, effected Boyd's suggestion. Rusk had a limitless belief in the power of knowledge.

Finance from America, provided for testing and examinations, had given a breathing space around 1932, but by 1935 SCRE was again facing financial pressures. Tactful letters were sent out regularly to the education authorities, reminding them that their contribution to the Council's coffers was due. An annual rent of £50 for a room in EIS headquarters was a significant contribution from teachers. There were unsuccessful efforts to raise finance\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} Robbie was an EIS representative, and headmaster of Daniel Stewart's College, Edinburgh, a fee-paying school.
\textsuperscript{13} Rusk wrote to T Grainger Stewart, secretary of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission, asking whether in framing schemes for the future government of educational endowments, educational research may be considered. It was with specific reference to the Marr Trust. He was unsuccessful. Glasgow Herald of 16 March 1932, indicates the lack of appeal of research to this Trust.
or obtain grants from Rockefeller Foundation, Pilgrim Trust and even Carnegie Trust in Scotland despite the known restrictions.

Around 1934 an important event occurred, not fully documented because of the lost ADES files. The EIS wished to have a pupils’ record card. Rusk helped their research committee to produce one.

At a joint meeting of ADES and EIS on 28 March 1934 the EIS put forward a resolution, notice having been given on 17 March:

While pledging itself to do all that is possible to secure the best educational results from the machinery of the pending Unemployment Act, and in particular to guarantee cooperation between directors and teachers in the individual areas, this conference of the EIS, the Executive and the Directors of Education emphatically hold that the only ultimate solution to the problem of the education of young people is to be found in complete continuity of education during the whole period of adolescence as foreshadowed in the Act of 1918.

ADES decided not to support this motion and added:

...future conferences... with the EIS should be held with a view to the exchange of ideas and not for... publicity or the passing of resolutions

At a subsequent meeting on 7 November 1934, ADES rejected the proposed adoption of the EIS Standard Record Card. The best guess is that the initial motion involved ‘Means Testing’ of families which EIS rejected and on which ADES wished to voice no opinion. John Morrison of SCRE was in the chair, as chairman of ADES. This rift between ADES and EIS lasted until after WWII.

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14 ADES, Executive Committee 28 March, 1934, the first one after the ‘lost’ files.
In 1936 Charles Morrison a teacher, later to be a leader in teacher training in Scotland, asked for access to the test scores from the 1932 Survey for a particular Glasgow school. It was granted with the agreement of the Director of Education for Glasgow, and with the proviso that Morrison would show the Council, at proof stage, any proposed publication.\textsuperscript{16}

Intelligence tests had been in use throughout the existence of the Council, whose members believed that they had particular expertise therein, especially with the 1937 Terman-Merrill revision of the Stanford-Binet test material, later known as Form “L”, for British children. The Scottish Child Guidance Council in association with the Scottish Branch of the British Psychological Society had in mind to produce a version of Form L suitable for Scottish children. Council also considered co-operating with NIIP to produce a UK standardisation of the test, whereby SCRE would take responsibility for all the work to be done in Scotland. Such activities helped to establish the Council as a national organisation.

Finally when the Director asked for permission to address the British Association\textsuperscript{17} it was granted, but the Council issued in advance a disclaimer on any views which he might advance.

These activities show a Council which was moderately sure of its position in Scottish education, keen to be seen as useful and necessary but taking care to avoid offending any of its constituents. It saw the advantage of forming alliances with bodies of similar mind in the educational world, through working with them, and also providing a publication and distribution service for tests such as Vernon.\textsuperscript{18}

Any particular point of view of the attitude within Council can be

\textsuperscript{16} Executive committee Minutes 30 September 1936.

\textsuperscript{17} Section L which was the Education section.

\textsuperscript{18} Vernon P. E., (1939) Standardisation of a Graded Word Reading Test. SCRE publn XII, ULP. This booklet provides information about a number of these tests. Vernon began by revising Burt’s Graded Word Vocabulary, for Scottish Children and subsequently produced a new test. Some argued that level of performance would be judged most appropriately by using words common to the vocabulary of pupils. Others rejected what they classed as Scotticisms. It depends on the view held of what language is.
substantiated by judicious selection of incidents. There was some intellectual snobbery whereby university men, such as Drever Sr were accorded greater status than training college men, such as Shephard Dawson and Kennedy-Fraser. Rusk supported the colleges and McClelland and Thomson were in both camps, but at a higher level as professors and heads of institutions. The Council was not so much indecisive as pragmatic, *de rigueur* when the objective is survival. Despite the difficulties, the salary of the secretarial assistant was confirmed.19

In 1946 the Association of County Councils, Scotland (ACCS) and Association of Counties of Cities (ACOC) recommended to their members that the grant to SCRE be increased from 1/4d to 1/2d per pupil, proof positive that SCRE was in good standing with at least one part of the body educational. It eased the financial position, which had always been of major concern, and Councillor representation on SCRE was doubled.20

In the period 1931-1941 Teachers' College Columbia had made £5,157 available mainly earmarked for the IEI programme, which kept SCRE in being, but circumscribed its activities. The "Aims of the Scottish Council for Research in Education" 1947 edition, rewritten and reissued in 1953 states, regarding the Carnegie money through Teachers' College:

> without these generous subsidies the major investigations of the Council could not have been undertaken21

History teaches us that when you are small, weak and under threat you must find allies. To this end SCRE invited heads of university departments in Scotland involved with degrees in Education, to a meeting to discuss

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19 It was £300 by £20 to £400 annually, about that of a Chapter V teacher with a responsibility allowance. Teachers who trained under Chapter V of the "Regulations for the Training of Teachers" for the Special certificate normally had an Honours degree and were employed in secondary schools. The other classes of certificate were General and Technical, the latter including art, music, commercial subjects and domestic science.

20 Their president, Rev John Chambers was also Council president and Andrew Hood, a Council member, was convener of Finance committee of ACOC. A letter dated 11 December, 1946 carried the recommendation to their respective Associations, and their constituents.

research work. The Council produced a booklet\textsuperscript{22} with the approval of those heads, for the use of students, showing the material resources it held, with which students should be acquainted, lists of works which post-graduates would find useful in planning their researches, and a register of topics which research students might pursue.

In England the Foundation for Educational Research which had been operating within London University was reconstituted as the National Foundation for Educational Research, with Ellen Wilkinson, Minister for Education in the Labour government, as its first president, and Sir Fred Clarke, chairman of the Consultative Council on Education in England as its first chairman of Executive committee, a more auspicious beginning than that of SCRE. The group immediately sought a Royal Charter.\textsuperscript{23}

Where there was common ground was in two of its initial projects carried over from the Foundation,\textsuperscript{24} selection for secondary education and school record cards. The common element in this choice of topics was again IEI. The two research bodies became mutually supportive.

A minor but perhaps significant pointer arose with St Andrews University debating whether the Court or the Senate should appoint a university representative to the Council. They wondered who had appointed McClelland, their representative to Council, who had resigned almost five years earlier. Was this interest in a precedent to obtain guidance, or insurance against criticism from SED, because McClelland in his role as Executive Officer of NCTT was making his own decisions independent of the Department?\textsuperscript{25} It was a period when the authority of the Secretary of State was required in appointments to Regius Chairs in the ancient universities and although academic freedom was cherished, yet prospects of promotion were enhanced by circumspection.

\textsuperscript{22} First issued as a booklet of SCRE in 1949 but available in draft form from 1946.
\textsuperscript{23} The Times. London 14 December 1945.
\textsuperscript{24} The forerunner of the National Foundation for Educational research.
\textsuperscript{25} Bell op. cit. p. 295. states that McClelland, although third choice for the Chair at St Andrews had then (1925) the backing of the Department.
Management Style of Council

When war was declared the Council immediately offered its services as test specialists for selecting recruits for the armed services of the Crown. The jingoism of 1914 was not apparent in 1939 and the broadcast of Chamberlain telling the country that it was now at war with Germany was measured, sober and fearful. It is a reasonable judgment that Council members believed that they were making an honest endeavour to help the country.

The orthodox view was that naval and air force recruits would require to be of higher intelligence than those for the army, but there would be an exception for the tank corps, because they would require some mathematical skills. Accordingly the Council wrote to SED with whom it had maintained a distant relationship, offering to carry out selection. Mackay Thomson, produced a draft which he cleared with Jardine, an assistant secretary who was also a medical officer. It was forwarded by the Secretary of the Scottish Office, formally and correctly through the various private secretaries, to the heads of the three Services, following upon a meeting of Jardine, Mackay Thomson and the Permanent under-secretary of State, with Drever and Tom Henderson. The final draft which was sent, referring to SCRE, included the phrase "they consider themselves experts", which was almost certainly code for, "You need not respond favourably."

The instigator of the proposal at SCRE was Rex Knight, later Professor of Psychology at Aberdeen University, but then a training college.

26 Chamberlain, Prime Minister in a Conservative administration, had striven for some 18 months, on his travels to meet Hitler and others, to find an accord. He returned from such a meeting in Munich with a piece of paper signed by himself and by Hitler, the German Chancellor, held it up as he left the aircraft and declared that "It gives peace in our time." Later it was a chastened and dispirited man who advised the country that the deadline for the ultimatum on withdrawal from Polish territory had passed and that 'consequently this country is at war with Germany.'

27 Rusk produced a course of algebra and geometry which he considered to be minimal requirements for tank crews, artillerymen and others. His proposed course did not acknowledge that acquired skills, and their application in dire circumstances, differ.

28 Minute from Mackay Thomson for Secretary of State 25 December, 1940. SRO file D/3/0 pt 1. Working on Christmas Day in wartime showed zeal.

29 E.C. 30 September 1939.
representative on the Council. He backed his proposal by pointing out that the males from the 1932 Survey would be in the Services in 1941, having been conscripted. Colonel Rees, a specialist in psychological medicine in RAMC, Scottish Command, sought full testing nationally of all recruits and was anxious to receive the help of psychologists. The War Office turned this down for fear of alienating the trade unions.\textsuperscript{30}

Eventually the Air Ministry replied, advising that they were being helped in testing by Bartlett at Cambridge, and Drever Sr accepted this, stating his high regard for Bartlett. The Psychology committee of the Royal Society was also conducting testing at Cambridge using Test FH3.\textsuperscript{31} Drever stated that he considered this to be inappropriate. We can conclude that these were different bodies handling the tests. There is no record of a reply from the Navy other than a general statement that it would consider testing to be of value. The army excelled itself with a pre-emptive bid:

\begin{quote}
the testing of intelligence of Militia men would consist of observation of the men in the ranks\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

The names put forward by the Scottish Office as testers were Drever Sr, Thomson, McClelland, Kennedy Fraser and Rusk. They were not accepted but at a later stage Denis McMahon\textsuperscript{33} and Philip Vernon in Scotland and Stephen Wiseman\textsuperscript{34} in England were regular testers. The whole episode points to the lack of belief in the Scottish Office about the competence of SCRE,\textsuperscript{35} supported by that degree of anti-intellectualism often found among Service chiefs.

\textsuperscript{30} SRO. ED 35/3.
\textsuperscript{31} Vernon P.E. & Parry J. B. (1949). \textit{Personnel Selection in the British Forces}. ULP, gives a comprehensive account of testing in the Services. Bartlett's work is discussed at pp. 67-89. Test FH3 is not listed here nor in standard works such as Burt and Buros. It may be a misprint for MH3.
\textsuperscript{32} Army Press notice 30 May 1939. Militia men were an age group conscripted just after the 1938 Czechoslovakian crisis.
\textsuperscript{33} An applied psychologist who worked on War Office Selection Boards (WOSBs) and, post war, joined the staff of Edinburgh University. See 'Study of 15-Year-Olds.'
\textsuperscript{34} At a later stage Director of NFER.
\textsuperscript{35} SRO ED 35/3.
Undaunted, SCRE hosted a conference on Evacuation. Those present from the Scottish Office were HMSCI Lang, Jardine, Arbuckle, McKechnie, (who was currently president of the Scottish Association for Mental Health) and Hawkins, now an assistant secretary in SED who had been private secretary to Macdonald when SCRE was founded. W B Inglis, by now a lecturer in Boyd's department at Glasgow University, working on their Evacuation survey, was not able to be present. Jardine and Arbuckle said they were interested but wished to remain observers; Lang was not reported and McKechnie said that Boyd's survey, would be adequate.

The next initiative by SCRE was an attempt to use a questionnaire for teachers on the effects of wartime conditions on education. It was a logical replacement for the blocked Evacuation proposal, but the Department, supported by the large education authorities, persuaded them to drop the proposal because teachers were 'at breaking point.'

These three initiatives by the Council led to no further action. All of them took

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36 Boyd, William, (ed). (1941) *Evacuation in Scotland*, SCRE publn XXI. ULP. It is a strangely neglected social document, perhaps because many people were ashamed of its findings. It arose from a report of a committee chaired by Sir John Anderson, M.P. for Scottish Universities. SED (July 1938), *Report of Committee on Evacuation*. Edinburgh. HMSO Cmnd 5837. The university vote was intended to produce men of intellectual stature for parliament. Anderson's report is embarrassingly banal with statements like:

Transfer of large numbers of people from their homes and accustomed surroundings to other, and often unfamiliar areas is not a task to be taken lightly. It raises problems of great complexity at every stage (para 24)

37 Arbuckle was seconded to Department of Health for Scotland from 1939-1943, returning to SED as assistant secretary, becoming under secretary in 1952, and Secretary in 1957, retiring in 1963.

38 McKechnie retired as Secretary of SED in 1936, joined Edinburgh Town Council in 1937, becoming a Baillie in 1944.

39 In 1939 St Andrews House opened in Edinburgh as the Scottish Office just after the outbreak of war. At that time it had 700 staff and interchange of personnel among departments was considerable, e.g. some inspectors of schools were put in charge of supply of munitions.
place during the period called the, 'Phoney' war,\textsuperscript{40} prior to the blitzkrieg which forced the retreat to Dunkirk. For the next three years up to 1944 the Council was kept in being through the determination of individuals.\textsuperscript{41}

The Research Agenda.

A group which overcame the adverse conditions was that of McClelland, who was able, with the help of many students, to produce 'Selection',\textsuperscript{42} a classic of its day, providing a methodology for an effective form of selection. The book opens with a reference to the ending of the external examination for the Qualifying stage of education conducted by HMII. The removal of the incubus of the examination also removed the incubus of the Department in examining, and enhanced the professionalism of teachers in selection for the secondary stage. The down side lay in the consequences of effective selection, that there would require to be considerable expansion of provision for secondary education where 25\% of pupils had the potential for following that route, yet only 3\% were doing so.

The project's origin, like so much else in these years, lay in the IEI. At its final meeting in Dinard in 1938, McClelland reported on:

what had been completed and what

\textsuperscript{40} The 'phoney' period led to the virtual collapse of evacuation with the majority of children and their parents returning home. After Dunkirk there was a strong expectation of defeat so that parents wished to keep their children with them to face disaster together. Official documents tend to stress tragicomic tales about Evacuation: see Gibson, John. (1985) \emph{The Thistle & the Crown}. Edinburgh. HMSO. p. 95. The mock-up (1993) of a farm labourer's cottage of the 1930s in the Scottish Agricultural Museum at Inglinton, outside Edinburgh, has impact. The shock about the way in which many people lived made it acceptable to have a sociological schedule in the 1947 national survey of intelligence.

\textsuperscript{41} Its belief in its own value was such that it made arrangements to have its main records removed from Edinburgh, and for duplicate sets of its minutes to be kept in Glasgow. It also changed from evening meetings to Saturday morning meetings, because of the Blackout. The attitude is more remarkable in that it suffered a serious drain of its senior members by retirement, Lowson as chair of Finance, Comline as convener of Publications and Hepburn as convener of the Mental Survey committee. In December 1939 SCRE published "Rules and Decisions of Council and Executive Committee:1928-1939"- a rare document, perhaps a case of putting one's affairs in order before demise?

\textsuperscript{42} McClelland (1942). op. cit. The date is technically correct but it was an edition published under wartime paper restrictions and the hardback edition was published in 1945. (see ch 3).There were earlier drafts dating back to 1937.
still remained to be done\textsuperscript{43}

in the words of Drever Sr, who claimed the study was the most important and the most onerous of all the investigations sponsored by the committee. Here 'committee' refers to the Scottish committee or delegation, to the IEI which was mainly a committee of SCRE. Certain features are outstanding.

1. The plan for this work had been drawn up in 1931 and was mainly completed by 1942. McClelland moved from St Andrews University to become Executive Officer of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers in October 1941, and would be heavily engaged in his new work. Also most of his assistants were students at, or working in, Dundee. It represents a complex study linking the 1932 Survey, the Macmeeken study and the whole trend of the work carried out by SCRE in its early years. Thus there is a vision of the direction in which to travel, and a set of interlocking pieces of research rather than a series of discrete studies.

2. This was, for its time, the greatest use of voluntary labour for conducting research, under professional direction which had ever been attempted. There were two chief assistants in Margaret Young, a lecturer at Dundee Training College, and Douglas McIntosh, Assistant Director of Education in Fife, with some 54 others drawn from school teachers and student teachers.\textsuperscript{44}

3. A special chapter (as stated above) used the Glasgow Education Authority Report of 1939.

4. The social conditions under which families lived and the IQ of pupils was

\textsuperscript{43} op. cit. p. IX. James Drever Sr was convener of the International Enquiry Committee for the Scottish group, although Rusk claims to have led the delegation as well. Drever had far-sighted plans whereby the 1932 survey together with the Macmeeken survey of 1936 formed stage 1 of a trilogy, with McClelland's work as stage 2, and eventually a massive survey of what today would be called secondary and tertiary education. From the earliest stages encouraged, even dragooned by Monroe, the Council took account of the sociological aspects of examinations.

\textsuperscript{44} I interviewed McIntosh in 1991 shortly before he was hospitalised permanently. He had difficulty in remembering a number of features but waxed lyrical on his admiration for McClelland who was responsible for his lifelong interest in research. McIntosh was the longest serving office bearer of Council in SCRE's history. He joined it in 1948, became chairman of the Executive committee in 1950 and added chairmanship of Council in 1959. These chairmanships totalled 22 years. He made enemies but he guarded the Council's independence successfully against SED interference, more than anyone had done before or has done since.
considered to be a matter for medically qualified staff only, not sociologists or teachers. Subsequently the Education (Scotland) Act 1962\textsuperscript{45} gave other staff, such as educational psychologists, a foothold, strengthened in subsequent legislation, to advise on pupils who required Special Educational Treatment.\textsuperscript{46}

5. The concept of a battery of tests was established and the statistical evidence showed the best battery to be IQ + qualifying examination total score in English and arithmetic + combined scaled teachers' estimates in English and Arithmetic. This was relatively obvious, because the battery was so comprehensive, but if IQ alone was the predictor, then 108 was the even chance for subsequent success in senior secondary school, 130 the almost certain success point, and 91 the almost certain fail point where the mean was 100 and the SD 15. The project did not deal with the moral question of whether a pupil with a prediction of a high probability of failure should still be given the opportunity to try to benefit from a secondary course,\textsuperscript{47} but it did consider the admit/fail and the reject/success categories and made a judgement. It was also early in the field in considering late developers.

The book is a mine of useful material, where principles of spelling established by Steel and Boyd about the words being in a context and written; the relationship of speed to performance in arithmetic, and disqualification by changing the answer in mental arithmetic were all incorporated. A group of enthusiasts had tackled what for them was probably the key issue in education, identified problems and sought empirical evidence to solve them.

During the 1950s, when I was a training college lecturer, \textit{Selection} provided more stimulating discussion with both graduate and three-year trained teachers than almost any other source, with students, drawing on their own recent experiences.

Exit from five years of secondary education was still in the hands of the Department with the SLC (Highers). In 1939, the last year for presentation of

\textsuperscript{45} Education (Scotland) Act, 1962. 10 &11 Eliz.2. ch. 47.
\textsuperscript{46} ibid. para. 63. (2).
\textsuperscript{47} SED, after Circular 44, phased out its role in the Qualifying examination between 1922 and 1924. Education authorities took responsibility for their own schemes.
candidates for 'Highers' before the wartime emergency regulations, there were 85,267 pupils in the age group and 7898 candidates of whom 4,086 (4.8% of the age group) obtained group certificates.48 The group certificate was abolished in 1950 but by 1952 only 26% of pupils in Senior Secondary schools completed a five year course. The waste of talent was palpable.

There is no conclusive evidence that McClelland's work was considered unhelpful by SED, but he was certainly not a member of any inner circle which determined the direction of Scottish Education although he was invited to be a member of the reconstituted Advisory Council of 1942, and chaired the Seventh one. In those times the level of courtesy was high with careful acknowledgement of letters, punctilious writing of sympathy letters on family deaths and a belief that correct behaviour49 was an indicator of status, so that highly critical comment would be unlikely to survive in written form. Oral comment to me from Rusk, H P Wood50 and John A Smith at various times is warmly supportive of McClelland51 and critical of the Department for not recognising his worth. Young commenting on Advisory Councils wrote:

The Advisory Council of the thirties posed no threat to the Department's overall control of educational policy, and there was nothing to suggest that any future Council would do so52

Perhaps McClelland was in bad company with Rusk, Boyd and Thomson, all three of whom were noted educationists, but none of whom was a member of an Advisory Council.

49 An important concept long before 'politically correct' became a current cliche.
50 Sir Henry Wood, an Englishman who became Principal Master of Method at Jordanhill in 1944, Vice-principal in 1947 and Principal 1949-1971. John A. Smith was a fellow student with D. M. McIntosh, subsequently serving on the Fife Education directorate, and after a period as an HMI, became Vice-principal at Jordanhill.
51 It is suggested that decisions on grants for teacher training were determined by Treasury making direct contact with NCTT and not through SED, the Department merely becoming an agent of the Treasury, but I have found no written evidence of this. My informants claimed that the Department considered that McClelland overstepped his brief and was too willing to become involved in and make pronouncements about education in general, usurping their prerogative.
52 op. cit. p.145.
Relations with Department

By mid 1942 the Allies were convinced that they would be the victors in the war, so that attention turned to winning the peace.53 The Department view was that the vehicle for educational change should be a reconstituted Advisory Council, as the least undesirable of the options available, and from mid 1942 onwards many organisations and individuals provided comments, submissions and memoranda to the Department with regard to what the reconstituted Advisory Council should study. Some made it clear that they had little faith in the ability of the Advisory Council as constituted; some wished to set up a different body; some wished to have the group of all living former Secretaries of State in Scotland, set up by Tom Johnston, as advisers;54 all were agreed that education could not continue as before and that 'something must be done'. When there are major problems and they cannot even be formulated precisely, the standard procedure for government departments, supported by Ministers is to play for time, known then, and now, as 'taking stock.' It is also helpful if it can be shown that a committee is working on the problem and therefore it would be reasonable to wait until it has reported. The period is covered in depth by Young55 and by Harvie56 on the work of Tom Johnston, then Secretary of State for Scotland.

Probably the widest coverage of the thought in Scotland at the time can be read in a series of SEJ articles.57 Rusk contributed seven of them.58 They were the most coherent and comprehensive of all the contributions on how the new democracy would and should change education. His thinking was clearly affected by the writings of John Dewey. Rusk probably put forward his views to Council members collectively, and to individuals, but in any

55 Ibid. ch. 4.
57 SEJ from November 1941 to March 1942.
58 The byline is 'R' but I recognise Rusk's style and a number of comments which he used in lectures some four years later.
event they were freely available in print.

SCRE provided a memorandum for the current Advisory Council on its work,59 citing Curriculum 12-15, primary school organisation, building plans, learning methods in the training of teachers and sociological matters as areas of its activities. The last is of interest. Canada and South Africa had established Councils for Research in the Social Sciences.60 Scotland had not, and it fell to SCRE to cover the field, causing it to be all things to all men, in order to maintain itself. SCRE's submission ended with a purple patch carrying Churchillian overtones:

So long as human progress persists there
will be an educational problem, and so long
as there is an educational problem there
will be need of precise evidence, secured
by research, to enable it to be solved61

Belford62 used this memorandum in a letter to SED seeking a meeting to discuss financial support, but omitted the statement:

so far the factors which constitute
personality in the teacher as the qualities
which make for success in teaching have
not been satisfactorily determined63

Belford had to ride two horses, and was always careful to uphold the Institute view that appraisal of teachers was to be avoided, but he did select from SCRE activities, what were the known interests of SED. There was some common membership between SCRE and the Advisory Council, so that

61 Appendix to Annual Report 1945-46.
62 Tom Henderson who died in March 1941, was succeeded by John Wishart who had been editor of Scottish Educational Journal. Wishart's memorial is the Teviot salary scales for teachers. In 1945 he was succeeded by Alexander J. Belford who, ex officio, became honorary secretary of SCRE.
63 The June memorandum was submitted to SED on 12 September, 1945 in support of a bid for finance.
informal lobbying was possible, and the remits which had been given to the Advisory Council in 1943\textsuperscript{64} were vague enough to incorporate anything, in the hands of an experienced chairman.

Another driving force was a Board of Education document called the 'Green Book'\textsuperscript{65} which caused SED to look to its laurels, in order not to be upstaged by England. In the early 1940s some parliamentarians, led by R. A. Butler\textsuperscript{66} were working on a new Education Act. This was known to all who were engaged in education at a managerial level in Scotland and England. The principles had been established but the organisational factors had to be worked up. Members of SCRE took the opportunity to put forward the case for research-based decision taking.

The Director of the Institute of Education, London University \textsuperscript{67} was actively promoting the idea of an English research council as early as 1942 and getting support from the Ministry of Education. SED had two vehicles for change and development, that of a reconstituted Advisory Council and a Research Council. They differed in that SED had complete control over the former to the extent of appointing its members and chairman, but this degree of control caused many in education to doubt whether the council was a free agent. The Department had no control over SCRE,\textsuperscript{68} but now that it was seeking financial support a price could be exacted in return. Also, because England was showing interest in educational research it was considered prudent for SED to do likewise. SCRE was aware that its independent status earned it respect among teachers, and it had met the English activists previously through IEI meetings. It knew of the interest in England regarding educational research, which had been frustrated because of the war. It also

\textsuperscript{64}Young, op. cit. p. 227.

\textsuperscript{65}Board of Education. (1941). \textit{Education After the War}. London, HMSO.

\textsuperscript{66}Education Minister in the wartime coalition government. Chuter Ede, his Labour coalition colleague at the Ministry is said to have been a principal architect of the Act.

\textsuperscript{67}Sir Frederick Clarke was also chairman of the English Consultative Council and had been prominent on the Steering committee of the IEI along with Sir Philip Hartog, co-author of the final report of the English group: Hartog, P. & Rhodes, E. C., (1935) \textit{An Examination of Examinations}. London, Macmillan.

\textsuperscript{68}Other than that control over members of the community which a policeman has before a crime has been committed.
knew, by late 1945, that support for a research council was such that the Minister for Education\(^{69}\) would be its president. This gave them a good bargaining counter, the opportunity to play the Scottish card.

A description of move and counter move between SED and SCRE follows which may seem childish to readers but if government financing is a game then this is how the game is played. The Education Act 1945,\(^{70}\) encouraged the Council to consider extension of its activities because there was now supportive legislation. Belford's letter of 12 September 1945 to SED, after much internal discussion, resulted in a meeting on 24 January 1946.\(^{71}\) Council delegates were Rev. John Chambers, president of SCRE and of the AOCC, Steel, Morrison, Rusk and Belford. Steel and Morrison\(^{72}\) were about to retire from the Council for health and age reasons, so that Rusk and Belford made the running. Rusk asked for £5,000 from SED, the amount of the Australian Council grant from the Carnegie Corporation, and that, together with the £1,500 joint amount from EIS and Education Authorities, would meet their needs. He stated that he and a secretary could be obtained for £400-£500, plus a clerkess and two rooms in EIS HQ at 46 Moray Place for £50, citing Section 78 of the 1945 Act in support. SCRE claimed that it was the model for the Australian and New Zealand Research Councils which had been supported by the Carnegie Corporation of America, while they were precluded from benefiting from this source.

Based on the Australian experience, the SCRE request for £5000 was to support a full-time Director and four staff one of whom should be a statistician. The New Zealand Council, which may have based itself on the Scottish model, got £3,000 from the legislature and used £1,000 annually from its Carnegie reserve of £12,000.

\(^{69}\) Ellen Wilkinson in the Attlee administration. SRO Ed 35/4. Cutting from London 'Times' of 14 December 1945, which was saved in SED.

\(^{70}\) 1945 Act, op. cit. sections 56(a) and 78.

\(^{71}\) A delay of four months, even for an undesirable organisation, would be excessive. It points to the Department wishing to play for time, because it would be aware of the enabling clause in the forthcoming Act regarding finance for research. It would not know when it could bring forward Regulations. Subsequent actions by the Department point to its need for delay.

\(^{72}\) The 18th Annual Report of the Council noted the retiral of John Morrison as the ADES representative, a man who had borne the brunt of early contacts with SED, and his replacement by D. M. McIntosh.
SCRE also led evidence from the Foundation for Educational Research, which had written to Doreen Gullen, then secretary, seeking comparisons with SCRE. The Foundation considered asking the LEAs for 1d per pupil from 2-18 years on their rolls and £8 per 1000 members, the equivalent of just under 2d per member from the teacher associations. This was at a time when EIS was paying about 7d per teacher. The Foundation advised that the Ministry of Education, "an extremely good friend to the Foundation" gave £2,775 grant and had agreed to a deficiency grant. The annual budget of the Foundation was about £4,120.

Those present from SED, were Mackay Thomson, Hawkins, Arbuckle and A. E. Macdonald. Mackay Thomson said that SCRE would have to prepare a budget to obtain a grant against a deficit. SCRE was then left to prepare a draft minute of the meeting to send to SED. The officials opined that grant might be allowed, equal to the deficit of a year's programme of work approved by the Department adding that:

grant on this basis, however, would be conditional upon a reasonable measure of contribution from Education Authorities and the Educational Institute of Scotland

Mackay Thomson then wrote to SCRE seeking more information on the work of Steel on composition and of Wright on handwriting, again a delaying tactic. The choice of those two topics from the wide range of work which had been undertaken by SCRE was trivial. An extract from the SCRE minute reads:

Mr Mackay Thomson referred to the appointment of an assessor by the Department, mentioned by

73 Letter, 19 January 1946 in Rusk collection.
74 A full account of NFER is in The First Fifty Years by Alfred Yates, a former Director of the Foundation, to be published in 1993, provided for me in typescript.
75 Mackay Thomson is depicted in McPherson & Raab as being at best reactionary (op. cit. pp. 84-85). Brunton always held the view that a head of department in the civil service was good for about five years and should then be replaced. Mackay Thomson was in post for 12 years and believed that the right course for Education post war was a return to pre war standards.
76 G. G. Neil Wright was head of the Psychology department at Jordanhill college having succeeded Shephard Dawson.
Professor Drever. Dr Rusk explained that at the inception of the Council Sir George Macdonald had set his face strongly against any direct participation by the Department. Instances were nevertheless cited of the Department's officials taking part in the deliberations of some of the Council's Committees. It was then suggested that if the Department relaxed its veto the Council might more freely extend an invitation to the Department's officials to join its committees; Mr Arbuckle expressed his preference for this procedure.

This procedure of informal association seems to have been followed. Dr Simpson, an SED medical officer, associated with the 1947 Survey Committee, but the Department did not allow his name to appear as a member, although the precedent of J. C. Smith associating with the IEI inquiry was cited. Thus about two years later the preference of Arbuckle still held. An indication of how seriously both SED and SCRE took the matter was that SED was willing to have Simpson listed "as an assessor." The Council considered that this would imply that SED had the right to nominate a representative to one of its committees, and offered "as an observer" in its place. Mackay Thomson decided that the name should be omitted from the published list of committee members.

While SCRE was collecting evidence for its case from Australia and New Zealand and from the Foundation in England, SED was preparing its case on how to respond. It had turned down the bid for £5000 direct grant made by SCRE. It seemed to have learned about the proposed creation of NFER from two articles in Times Educational Supplement and not from the Ministry of Education. The redoubtable Miss Miller, still in post, minuted AE

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77Arbuckle transferred from the Inspectorate to Department of Health for Scotland (DHS) in 1939, returning as Assistant Secretary to SED in 1943.
78 At some meetings of SCRE with SED, the Department left it to the Council to prepare a draft minute of meeting, which was then sent to SED for approval. On this occasion it would have the added advantage that an apology for the delay in holding the meeting would be made by the Department but SCRE would not put it in the minute. It is always in the pursuer's interest to have an agreed minute on paper.
79 It probably referred to the 1932 Survey, where Smith was associated but he was then about to retire and the fact of his attendance at meetings may not have been known in the Department until he had retired.
80 Letter from SCRE to SED, 12 September 1945.
81 TES. 15 September 1945.
Macdonald:

(SCRE is) ... as far as I am aware the only non-statutory body in Scotland of any standing to engage in educational research. The record of its work on its hitherto slender resources is impressive.

On 1 November 1945 Macdonald minuted Arbuckle:

... whether as a condition of grant the Department should exercise any measure of control over the educational problems to be investigated by the Council

and queried whether £5,000 was reasonable, and advised checking the amount with the Ministry of Education in England. Arbuckle minuted Mackay Thomson that 1/4d per pupil "appears to be the rate in England" and that SED might follow that. It had been the rate in Scotland since 1928, and Arbuckle's ignorance of this is further proof of how distant the Department was from SCRE.

Mackay Thomson discussed the matter with Parker, his Depute Secretary at Dover House, who was in touch with the Ministry of Education in England, and then minuted Arbuckle82 that there should be no specific sum but a deficit grant against a programme of approved work, with an estimate of costs, to be approved by the Secretary of State. The Council should be advised to associate with other bodies such as films and broadcasting. The Council had already produced a report on Educational films83 but the Department was apparently unaware of this. It seems to have been remarkably incompetent briefing. The minute from Thomson to Arbuckle continued:

... the Council is a body of spontaneous growth and I feel strongly that they should be kept to themselves, without either a member, or an assessor, from the Department. Nor should we interfere with their programme of work except to the extent involved by our refusal to pay grant in respect of any items of expenditure not to our liking.

82 Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle 9 November 1945.
83 SCRE. (1940) The Assessment of Educational Films. publn XVII. ULP. Minutes of Council regularly mentioned Scottish Film Council and various teacher organisations associated with films and visual aids, such as Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA).
He also scorned the "Heath-Robinsonian" system whereby money from the Education (Scotland) Fund is supplemented by payments to SCRE from individual Education Authorities, and then these EAs are reimbursed from the Fund. Hawkins minuted back\textsuperscript{84} that this was exactly how Central Institutions and voluntary schools were funded. Thomson's response was that the earlier minute had not been clear. The whole pattern is that of a Secretary not supporting, and not being supported by his staff.

The budget for the Council as at 9 April 1946 was £1,716 of which one third was for salaries. Council year ran from 16 May to 15 May.\textsuperscript{85} The Departmental files on SCRE were circulated internally for comment and SED staff made careful comments:

> ... seems not excessive in amount; would appear not to be excessive; would seem we need much more information before proceeding to consider...

The non-commissioned officers were hedging their bets. A. E. Macdonald on 16 April 1946 proposed that the Department should offer up to £3,000, so that SCRE might expand.

Arbuckle requested information on what Steel was doing on composition and Wright on handwriting “showing the object, scope, when commenced, how long it would continue, by whom it was conducted and the like.”\textsuperscript{86} His letter was dated 8 May 1946 and SCRE replied 10 May 1946. The Department was delaying until the grant regulations were approved.

The Council bid for direct grant on 12 September 1945 had been turned

\textsuperscript{84}12 November 1945.

\textsuperscript{85}This was inconvenient because the financial year in Treasury terms was from 1 April to 31 March. The 'Standard Year' in the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929, 19 & 20 Geo 5 ch 25, began on 16th May 1928 (see section 73). This may have caused SCRE to choose that date when founded in 1928.

\textsuperscript{86}Mackay Thomson had identified these areas as matters of interest earlier on, but the letter may never have been sent to SCRE. Arbuckle is using the same items, which scholarly men would feel safe in judging. One possibility is that the SRO file Ed 35/5 which contains all this discussion and correspondence consists of two separate Divisional files which have been merged in the archive and their account of events does not tally. Someone would have picked up the need for the originally planned letter to be sent.
down, on the grounds that regulations were not yet made, but this would be
done at an early date. An internal minute in SED refers to the administrative
memorandum in England87 on grants to NFER which would be recognised
under Grant Regulations No 1.

SCRE was advised in a minute from SED dated 2 August 1946 that:

Educational Development Research and Services
(Scotland) Grant Regulations 1946 are now available.88
We can meet the deficit for the year ending May 194789

Clearly Mackay Thomson was strongly opposed to having anything to do
with SCRE, and was willing to delay matters indefinitely. Arbuckle wished to
have a compromise without putting himself at risk. He was not being helped
by departmental staff. Hawkins and A E Macdonald were senior enough to
try to cut the Gordian Knot. Justification was sought for a precedent in
England. The lesser mortals kept the ball in play with indeterminate
phraseology. Arbuckle seems to have been left to get on with it,90 and by the
August minute, SCRE was advised that it would be in receipt of deficit grant.
Is it all just one man, Mackay Thomson, who fights to get his own way? He
lost the argument when he tried to avoid having a sixth Advisory Council and
may have been determined to win a battle against SCRE. It is surprising that
at his level he chose to become so heavily involved. The civil service, is a
government instrument of caution, designed to stop actions rather than to
start them, and there is ample evidence of its skill in that regard in these
exchanges. The concept of 'governor' on an engine seems singularly

An interesting footnote exists in a note in the Rusk collection:

...Section 70(10) of the Education (Scotland) Act 1946.

87 Ministry of Education. Memorandum 85, dated 17 August, 1945.
88 Appendix 5.
89 Technically they could have withheld grant until the following year, being four months in to
the financial year. There must have been some support for SCRE within SED or the
Department would simply have written that it would consider deficit grant in future years.
90 Mackay Thomson had discussed the issue of educational research councils with Parker, in
London, was satisfied that there would be such a body in England and decided to accept the
inevitable while avoiding personal involvement.
Under Section 27 of the same Act, legal sanction has now been given to the permission granted in March 1928 to the Education Authorities by the Department under Section 9 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 to make contributions to the funds of the Research Council.

Someone is clearing up a perceived anomaly, against possible retrospective retribution.

The Grant Regulations 1946, provided SCRE with a measure of financial security by virtue of deficit grant, in addition to the support which it continued to enjoy from the teachers and the education authorities. It came at a fortunate time, perhaps because of the euphoria engendered by the end of the war both in Europe and in the Far East, but the following ten years were ones of financial stringency, in a post-war society which was dispirited, run down and yet promising a better world which would be based on Beveridge style social security with the Panel health system being replaced in 1948 by a National Health Service. Education was not a main component of recovery despite the 1946 Education Act which took years to come fully into effect.

Brunton, formerly HMSCI, who had retired in 1966 was interviewed in August 1976 by McPherson and Raab. He was not able to advise on who initiated the Advisory Council Reports on Primary Education (1946) and Secondary Education (1947) but did confirm that Ritchie of Selkirk wrote the Primary Report, and Robertson of Aberdeen Grammar School wrote the Secondary Report. The latter, which made little impact in the Department, although well received by the educational community, was said by Brunton to have:

cauised difficulty within the Department. In 1947 the Secretary (Mackay Thomson) and HMSCI (Gilbert Watson) were very conservative in their outlook. ... To some extent the failure to implement the Report was attributable to this excessive conservatism on the part of the Secretary and the Senior Chief Inspector and also of the man who was more or less designated to succeed as Senior Chief Inspector in 1948 who was another Classic
Brunton himself had a degree in Modern Languages. He was succeeded by a 'Classic', who was succeeded by a mathematician and since 1969 to date all HMSCI have come from mathematics or science disciplines.

The post-war problems of inadequate school buildings, large numbers of over 12 year olds in primary schools with no plan for post-primary education, staff shortages and the spectre on the horizon of Raising of the School Leaving Age (ROSLA) caused those with responsibility for education to discard everything except the practical aspects. SCRE was not asked by the Department to do anything about those pressing problems, although its earlier work had shown that it was competent to do so. Brunton said, when asked about SCRE involvement:

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\text{at that time the Research Council and the Department were scarcely speaking to each other, and to go to the Research Council would have been unthinkable in Departmental eyes. Rusk, the Director of the Council at that time, had no use for the Department and the Department had very little use for Rusk. (Prompt) think it was ... personal between Rusk and the Secretary of the Department (Mackay Thomson).}^{92}
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The interview continued, showing appreciation of McClelland's work on secondary selection, in association with SCRE, while he was at Dundee, and criticising the training colleges of the day.

The personal animosity towards Rusk and McClelland from individuals in the Department seems to have carried over from McClelland to McIntosh, and from Watson to Pringle in the Inspectorate and from Mackay Thomson to Murrie and even Arbuckle as Secretaries of the Department, until Brunton himself decided to effect a rapprochement with SCRE in 1964.

\[91\] McPherson & Raab op. cit. pp. 79-80. ( Refs in ch. 1)

\[92\] Ibid. p. 258.
Chapter Five

THE POST WAR ERA UNTIL THE 1960s

Background

The Council began its post war activities in euphoric mood, a state typical of the country at the time. SCRE had greater financial security than it had ever had previously, enjoyed the respect of some influential members of the academic and educational community, and with the 1945 and 1946 Acts and the Advisory Council Reports on Primary and Secondary Education had detailed blue prints for future educational development. The Acts would come into force over a period of years, but the prefatory note, over the signature of Mackay Thomson in the Secondary Report, was a word to the wise:

The recommendations in the Report have still to be considered by the Secretary of State, and in the meantime he should not be regarded as in any way committed to accepting them.

This may be construed as a further assertion of Departmental authority over non-governmental public bodies in Education.

The major activity of SCRE in this period was the Mental Survey which absorbed initially much of the capacity of the Council, and its repercussions continued through many subsequent years. 'Intelligence' as a concept has been considered at length because this period was its high point, yet it has not faded completely from the educational scene.

Relations with Department

At the time that SCRE and SED were exchanging communications on deficit grant under the 1946 Regulations, the Population Investigation Committee

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1 1945 Act, 1946 Act, op. cit.
3 SCRE, (1948) The Trend of Scottish Intelligence. publn XXX. ULP.
was seeking help from SCRE on the subject of national intelligence. This body, constituted in 1935, took the name PIC in 1936, went into abeyance at the beginning of the war and was reconstituted in 1944, when a Royal Commission on Populations was set up, with Carr-Saunders as a member. Belford as general secretary of the Council wrote to SED regarding the conduct of a follow-up to the 1932 Survey. The subject matter and the sponsor required SED to treat the matter seriously.

Miss Miller, who was still the source of the originating Minutes within SED, minuted A. E. Macdonald, stating that SCRE was seeking Departmental blessing, not its approval, for conducting a group intelligence test of the 11-12 year age group in schools. She wrote:

... on the day set for the group test of the 11 year age group, 11/2 hours of school time would be taken up. This would not appear to entail any serious dislocation of school work

A. E. Macdonald minuted Arbuckle, now Secretary of SED:

I see no serious objection

Arbuckle, showing good will, consulted Godfrey Thomson, who advised that on balance they should proceed with the Survey. Thomson had always intended a follow up of the 1932 survey, but with something around 25 years as an appropriate time lapse. On 31 May 1946 he wrote

... inferential evidence, from other sources, that the differential birth rate was giving rise

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4 Population became an issue through the writings of Malthus. Malthus, Thomas (1798) Essay on the Principle of Population. Sixth edition. London, John Murray. A long diatribe (p.139) stated that the population would be greater than the ability of the earth to sustain it. If the wages of vice did not eliminate a sufficient number of people then massive famine would result. In 1801 the first population census was taken, to be repeated every 10 years. There was no census in 1941. Government departments believed that the census provided baseline figures for all social and economic forward planning.

5 A Royal Commission is a body set up by Royal warrant to investigate and report on a specific aspect of society. It is of indeterminate length, and is considered to be the best method of reaching a definitive conclusion, because it can call upon the best brains and require the production of evidence. Its timescale for reporting is such that few people would rely upon it today to do other than shelve a problem.

6 op. cit. publication V.

7 SRO ED 35/5, has the internal correspondence.
to a steady fall in the national intelligence and if this was on the scale expected, then a 15 year gap was adequate

Arbuckle accepted Thomson's view as a Professor of Education regarding SCRE and the PIC, yet he must have known that Thomson was a close associate of SCRE. Thomson like many academics at this time, supported by eugenic theory, was willing to believe in a decline in Intelligence. Typical arguments were, that the lower classes had the largest families with low intelligence, and the brightest women had a longer period in education so that they married later resulting in the generations being further apart. Views such as these would be Thomson's 'inferential evidence'.

Two events illustrate the poor relations obtaining between SCRE and SED at this time. The first was SCRE asking SED if Dr Jardine, a medical officer in the Department, could serve on the proposed committee on the Mental Survey. The request was turned down on the grounds that he was leaving the service at the end of 1946, but no offer was made for a different medical officer to serve.

The second was a letter from Macdonald to Belford\(^8\) making payment of £1,000 against an estimated total deficit of £1710.12\(^/-.\) It was the first use of the 1946 Grant Regulations to make payment to SCRE.\(^9\) The actual deficit was £914. Rusk asked for guidance on what to do with the extra £86, which by now had fallen to £40, and was told to "write semi-officially" about it.\(^10\) However the auditors had already validated the accounts, so that the £40 had to be carried over. In the next financial year, beginning May 1947 in the SCRE calendar, there was an item of £24, depreciation on furniture which appeared on the 'Income' side of the accounts.\(^11\) It arose because they had spent £131 on furniture which they had treated as capital expenditure. Moir,

\(^8\) Letter, 15 January 1947.
\(^9\) SCRE did over estimate its probable deficit from lack of experience of this type of accounting, and not from lack of skilled advice.
\(^10\) The discrepancy does not point to ineffective accounting on the part of SCRE, but to the fact that where an organisation is dependent on voluntary people for its activities, there is a limit to the rigour with which submission of bills and expenses can be pursued.
\(^11\) The sum appears trivial but at today's prices, a comparable figure allowing for inflation and devaluation would be about £1000.
of Messrs Robertson and Carphin, the auditors for SCRE, was called in to the Department to explain this, which he did adequately. The administrator in charge was Harry Donnelly who decided that the solution was to require a "receipts and payments" budget as opposed to an "income and expenditure" budget, a solution which was accepted as from May 1948, but not without a carping internal Departmental minute about:

educating the Council for Research in Education of the requirements of the Department

When a government department wishes to be unhelpful to an outside body it challenges the accounts, because it can always make the unctuous claim that it is fulfilling its role as guardian of the public purse.

Relations with Others

The Advisory Council Reports on Primary and Secondary Education, published with generous references to the work of SCRE gave it a high profile. The opportunity was taken to invite schools in the private sector to contribute to the finance of the Council and many of them did so, continuing for some years afterwards, a further sign of the Council becoming more widely acceptable. It also ensured that the majority of those schools would participate in national surveys.

Educational and Social Climate

There was still rationing of food, clothing and household goods until 1954. Problems of unemployment, housing, health and education as areas for post-war social reconstruction, were identified in the Beveridge Report of

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12 Donnelly was technically correct, if less than courteous. He became the first Secretary of Stirling University.

13 Secondary Education praises SCRE in general terms at pp. 33-34, and in detail at pp. 190-192 in Appendix 2- iii.

14 Schools in the private sector in Scotland attract around the 3 to 4% level of pupils. They should be of little consequence but they are mainly located in Edinburgh and often used by the children of senior civil servants so that they can become atypical paradigms.
which was made flesh by four White Papers from the national government, but it was not until the new parliament after the 1945 election, that Bills were introduced leading to enactment.

One White Paper dealt with a national health service whose creation was delayed by resistance from the medical profession until 1948. There had been National Insurance before Beveridge, but he was an early exponent of the comprehensive nature of social insurance, which had to include income, health and education.

No single government department could deal with all these aspects, yet the thinking did affect legislation in individual departments. The Scottish Education Acts of 1945 and 1946 drew heavily on the Butler Act of 1944 in England and Wales, an inspirational document, pointing to a better future through education, and to a Raising of the School Leaving Age (ROSLA).

Powers were already in place to do all that was required in Scotland with the ‘Leaving Age’ already enacted, but postponed in 1939, and Mackay Thomson did not see a need for the Act, other than to show that SED was imbued with the right spirit. The legislation coupled with arrears of maintenance of the educational fabric, because of priority for essential war work, and inadequate resources for coping with ROSLA, created a major workload for directors of education and contributed to doubts about the best form of secondary education. It was agreed that advanced divisions were unacceptable; there was the siren call that better technical education would enhance Britain’s place in the world, at a time when it was coming to terms with the fact of its no longer being a world power; there was the effort to

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15Beveridge, W. H. (1942) *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. London, HMSO. Cmd 6404. Beveridge held that ‘want’ arose from two reasons: a. interruption of earning power through unemployment, illness or old age; b. large families. He was Director of the London School of Economics until 1937, to be succeeded by Carr-Saunders, a leading eugenist who was eventually a leader in the PIC.

16 This was the wartime coalition government.

17 Education Act (1944). 7 & 8 Geo.6 ch 31.

18 The Parliamentary Select Committee on the Estimates (1953) stated that many schools ‘were no better than slums that should either be pulled down immediately or undergo drastic repair even at considerable cost.’
justify junior secondary education, while maintaining the belief in equality of opportunity; there was the stumbling progress towards comprehensive education, made policy in 1965.19

Discussion on SCRE projects and findings had little effect on practising teachers, whose work was onerous, yet it did not occur to their employers that there would be advantage in giving them time to study in an area as vague to most employers as education, psychology and sociology, which were involved in understanding research. Additional certification could be obtained in certain areas of school work such as Infant teaching, and opportunities were given to selected staff to upgrade their knowledge in subjects such as mathematics, where there was a shortage of teaching staff, by secondment to university courses, but it was all supply side economics and no consideration was given to upgrading the professional skills of the generality of teachers, which could be called protection and appreciation of capital.

The above features could be classified as environmental aspects where people believed that social engineering, through a distributive system applied to wealth would be for the benefit of the whole of society.20

The Research Agenda.

There were other social engineers with a different philosophy, representatives of the Eugenics Society, which was the original funder of the PIC. Carr-Saunders was the leader on all aspects of population and eugenics. He joined the council of the Eugenics Society in 1920, and between 1936 and 1953 was either its vice-president or president. The 'patron saint' of the Society was Sir Francis Galton, in honour of whom an

20 Pryce-Jones, Alan. (ed). (1956) The New Outline of Modern Knowledge. London, Victor Gollancz, is one of the better sources for comprehending social matters at this time. The publisher, well-known for his socialist sympathies, was able to persuade specialists in many fields to write trenchant essays, and at a time of acute paper shortage it was respectable to purchase such composite works. The essay by Lafitte, pp. 545-580, captures the spirit of the Welfare State. Between the Wars, taxes in Britain were about one fifth of the nation's economic output measured at market prices, and by 1950 this had risen to one third. "About a third of the money raised by taxes taken from one group of citizens is passed on to another group in 'transfer expenditure.'" op. cit. p. 545.
annual lecture was given. Godfrey Thomson gave this lecture in 1946, and
the vote of thanks was given by Surgeon-Commander Fraser Roberts, an
indication that the leaders of the 1947 Mental Survey could hardly be
considered neutral, in their expectation.21

The PIC had agreed to bear the cost of a new group mental survey, and
fulsome praise was being accorded the 1932 Survey of SCRE:

the Research Council 1932 mental survey,
afforded an admirable instrument for this
purpose (comparisons over time); in no
other place was it possible to repeat such
a measurement on such a scale22

It was agreed that the new group survey would be carried out in Scotland by
SCRE in the first week in June 1947, on all those born in 1936 and collect:

.. at the same time such sociological data as
might elucidate the results of the survey.23

There is an intriguing quotation in the first publication of the Survey results
that, "... the only unforgivable mistake is to be certain."24 It may be a
penitential remark.

The collection, analysis, interpretation and reporting on the data for the
Mental Survey absorbed considerable energy throughout the next decade of
the Council's work. Responsibility was delegated, with Douglas McIntosh in
charge of administration, Kennedy-Fraser in charge of individual testing and
J Miller Young, chief executive school medical officer for Glasgow, in charge

21 I have found no notes in SCRE or in the Godfrey Thomson Archive regarding these
meetings but Fraser Roberts was one of the liaison group with SCRE over the 1947 survey
and with D. V. Glass, Professor of Sociology at London School of Economics, served on the
Mental Survey Committee of SCRE. All comments are taken from the Eugenics Review
passim. Carr-Saunders was sometime editor. He and subsequent editors were unashamedly
propagandists for eugenics. The Society had major influence and attracted the main
establishment figures of the day.
22 SCRE. The Trend of Scottish Intelligence. (1949) publn XXX, ULP. p.3. The statement was
referring to a conference held in Edinburgh in 1946.
23 SCRE Annual Report 18. The suggestion was strongly resisted by ADES.
24 The Trend. op. cit. p. XII.
of sociological aspects. 'Sociological' at the time meant asking personal questions and it was believed that medical people would be more acceptable in doing this as far as the parents of the pupils were concerned. The Department may have been aware of this, and to avoid controversy, resisted the participation of its own medical officer.

The 1947 Mental Survey can be considered as a valuable and outstanding piece of research, or as a major waste of resources. It is improbable that it would have been carried out but for Godfrey Thomson's advice to Arbuckle that it was appropriate. The Department had shown studied lack of interest in the 1932 Survey. Thomson chaired the Mental Survey Committee, despite his claim of wishing to avoid all committees. The other major justification for proceeding with the Survey was the grant of £4000 from the PIC.25

For those who believe that the research effort here was misguided, and I tend to that view, there is encouragement in that SCRE produced other, probably more valuable, work such as the two-volume 'Studies in Reading',26 the popular version of McClelland's work by McIntosh27 and the short but useful booklet, "SCRE: its Aims and Activities".28

Pressure on those working in the social sciences to conform, which meant being supportive of the Survey, was considerable. Burt with "Intelligence and Fertility", Thomson with "The Trend of National Intelligence", and later (1953) J. D. Nisbet with "Family and Environment" all published by the Eugenics Society, based on the findings of the Survey, attracted reputable educationists, psychologists and researchers to the potential of eugenics which would improve, by controlling human mating, the hereditary qualities of the race.29 The Journal of Education was determinist:

25This money came partly from Eugenics Society and partly from Nuffield Foundation.
26 SCRE. (1950) Studies in Reading, Vol 2. publn XXIV.
27 McIntosh, Douglas M. (1950) Promotion from Primary to Secondary Education. SCRE publn XXIX. ULP.
28 op. cit. publn XXIV.
29 A later exposition is: Nisbet, J D. Family Environment and Intelligence in: Floud, Halsey & Anderson (1969) Education Economy and Society - a Reader in the Sociology of Education. New York, Free Press, where he has changed his view. He said in interview that the initial Floud et al book had changed his thinking.

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average intelligence test score decreases as the number of children in the family increase...
the less intelligent in successive generations would yield increasing numbers of members to society... a prospect only less alarming than atomic destruction.

There was also a populist view, probably ghosted by Rusk:

... all hereditary diseases are no longer regarded as inescapable. Why then should inherited intelligence be for ever regarded as unalterable?

Many educationists, initially attracted to eugenics, saw the dangers inherent in the ideology, and left the Society but even in the 1960s, seven out of the twenty-six office bearers and members of council of the Eugenics Society were Fellows of the Royal Society. It is not my contention to show, with hindsight, the error in the thinking of those educationists who were confirmed hereditarians in the 1950s but merely to give the tone of the time, in order to judge Caesar in Caesar's time.

A practical feature of the group test was the time element for administering it. Department internal minutes had indicated, 'about one hour'; the administrative instructions from SCRE to the Education Authorities indicated 'about an hour is required in addition to the ten minute practice test'.

Over the next ten years there was an initial report, and three aspect reports. Thomson died in February 1955 and was succeeded as chairman of

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32 Men like J Huxley, Haldane and Waddington associated with the Eugenics Society. It may be the last occasion on which the overwhelming majority of prominent academics embraced a single theory.
33 As a teacher in a Glasgow school where pupils took the test, I remember disruption for the whole day. A room was set aside and desks rearranged to avoid cheating. Pencils were sharpened; the morning interval and the dinner hour were changed; there was a compulsory visit to the lavatory for all to be tested and the event took place. The afternoon was used to lower the excitement level of all the pupils in the school before they left for home. As ever, the administrator, and the researcher who is not involved with field work, under-estimate the effect at the chalk face. The testing was conducted with scrupulous honesty.
the Mental Survey Committee by Norman Walker of Aberdeen University, Education department. James Maxwell, principal lecturer in Psychology at Moray House, prepared the first three books; the fourth was produced by John Macpherson, the Council's Research Officer. In 1961 Maxwell produced a book summarising the whole endeavour, with some general discussion, all in a form which was geared to the needs of the general but interested reader, a vital exercise in outreach. The last book was published in 1969, again by Maxwell who had become chairman of the SCRE committee on the Survey.

Hope and McKenzie have each written a book relevant for appreciation of the Survey. Hope reanalysed the original data, supported by a DHSS/SSRC grant. He praised the work, but called the funding ‘derisory’ and wrote:

a prospective longitudinal enquiry, remarkable for the scope of the variables which it measured, the excellence of its sampling of a national population, and the thoroughness, tenacity and technical sophistication with which it was prosecuted

His conclusion, ten years later, "If any democratic society has ever succeeded in creating a meritocratic system it was Scotland." Linking it to Calvinism, damaged his original effect.

McKenzie basing his writing on the sociology of knowledge, stated that the commonest way of moving from description to explanation was biography, and provides critical information about eugenists and their opponents.

36 Maxwell, James. (1969) Sixteen Years On. SCRE publn 58. ULP. Of the 12 members of this committee under Maxwell's chairmanship, four were from London, three being medical men, and one a Professor of Sociology.

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Fisher, Spearman, and J B S. Haldane are not surprising eugenists, but Shaw, Wells and the Webbs, committed Fabians, are unexpected ones. Chesterton, Josiah Wedgwood and Hogben opposed the eugenists. McKenzie follows up with quantification. Only Fisher practised his convictions with a large family, but more significantly, members of the Eugenics Education Society fell from 1047 in 1914 to 768 in 1932. This decline may just be caused by the Depression. Membership numbers in 1947 were not available.

A major question is how this Survey contributed to the debate on testing and intelligence and how it advanced the state of human knowledge. Regarding the 1932 Survey, Rusk wrote to Charles Oakley\(^40\) stating that it was an outstanding work, and the 1947 Survey was justified because it could be compared with it. The earlier Survey consisted of a group test of Intelligence to the whole 1921-born age group and an individual Stanford-Binet 1916 test to a group referred to as the Binet 1000.

The 1947 Survey used the same group test, which had begun life as Moray House Test 12, but because there were not enough testers available with experience of administering the 1916 individual test, a new one, Terman-Merrill Form L, produced at Stanford University in 1937 was used and administered to 1208 pupils, selected as having been born on the first day of each even month ie February, April ... - the Six-day sample. A group of 97 pupils was given the 1916 individual test in 1947 and from comparisons it was concluded that there was no significant difference in IQ. The group tests gave a score, not an IQ.

In 1947 there was also a 36-day sample of pupils born on the first three days of every month, from which additional sociological data were collected. These were of two types, physical and socio-economic. The 36-day and the Six-day samples proved to be good representative samples. The latter group was followed up for some 20 years and their younger brothers and sisters were tested as they reached 11 years of age - the 'Sib' group. Thomson,

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\(^40\) Based in Glasgow University and prominent in NIIP, a favoured organisation for Rusk.
chairman of the Survey committee is uncompromising in his preface to the first volume of the reports:

The inquiry reported in this volume was begun in the hope that it might throw light on the causes of a remarkable quantitative social fact namely, that the results of intelligence tests show that the average score of members of large families is less than that of members of small families. This at least our inquiry has done. ... the negative association between size of family and average intelligence score, whatever its cause, is undeniable

If environmental causes could be adduced, he would support social reformers. This was a big step for a supporter of the Eugenics Society who were major funders. The question of whether the families were large because they were unintelligent, or unintelligent because they were large, remained open. The other major result was that:

... in 1947 as compared with 1932 (there was) not only no fall in average score on the self-same test ... but an increase - quite a substantial increase

There was considerable speculation about test sophistication by usage in 1947, and about the conceptual basis for classifying families as large or small, and further speculation on a long-running debate, that later-born children in large families are less bright, or more bright.

The final difficulty was in determining whether individual 11 year olds in the Survey were the last in a large family, or the first in a continuing family. As the possibilities became more abstruse, there was the postulate that the community was in intellectual equilibrium.

41 op.cit. *The Trend*. Preface, p. VII.
42 ibid. p. VIII.
43 Thurstone, L. L. & Jenkins, R. L. (1931) *Order of Birth, Parent Age and Intelligence*. University of Chicago Press, was an early work on the debate.
The ten page Preface by Thomson and the six page Introduction by Rusk both tend to protest too much with Thomson insisting that he did not hope for a fall in intelligence but feared such. Rusk, having initially voiced doubts about the adequacy of a 15 year gap between Surveys, then decided to obtain much more data by supporting this new Survey especially because it was financed by others.

The speed with which two leading exponents subsequently reserved their position is remarkable. First, Thomson chairman of the committee, addressed the Psychology Section of the British Association at its 111th meeting at Newcastle in 1949. He was Section chairman and his paper discussed so-called:

... ‘factors’ of the mind ... in aiding selection of children for different types of education. Probably the general level of intelligence was the factor which owed most to heredity ... (or had) a ceiling which the individual might fail to reach because of environment.

Sheena Maxwell, a student with Thomson at the time, was taken with her classmates to Newcastle to hear Thomson pronounce. He had begun his interest in factor analysis in his book where the preface to the first edition recounts his winning of a scholarship at 13 years, the effect it had on his life, and his belief that intelligence tests would be valuable for selection for post primary education. He considered that factor analysis was a development of the testing movement, through which tests of intelligence and other qualities would partial out children for educational, administrative and vocational purposes.

By the time of the Newcastle paper he seems to have realised that the expectations of a fall in the level of intelligence in the population which

44 op.cit. The Trend.
45 James Maxwell a member of the Mental Survey committee told me in an interview in 1992, 'Thomson expected a fall in intelligence.'
46 Wife of James Maxwell and interviewed together with him. She was on the staff of SCRE during the directorship of David Walker.
47 Thomson, G. H. (1939) Factor Analysis of Human Abilities. ULP.
would be shown by the 1947 Survey were misplaced and that he had better retain an open mind on the input of heredity and environment to human performance. The President of the BA that year was Sir John Russell FRS, a food scientist, who ended his Presidential Address with a clarion call:

Science can help us best if we have a sustaining faith, a high purpose in life and unflinching courage to pursue it.

Thomson presumably attended the address, because it would have been discourteous for a Section chairman not to do so, before giving his own paper, but honest doubt can be "a high purpose."

The second exponent was Rusk, who in the year that the Trend was published had four articles in SEJ, under the general title "The Degradation of Intelligence." His theme was that statisticians and mental testers, English psychologists and eugenists have led us astray, and anthropologists are more reliable. He supported environmental factors and comment like:

Social forces would thus seem to be more effective than eugenic (and )...by a display of statistical pyrotechnics applied to the individual IQ's, an attempt is made to discount the rise of the group test mean

is hardly supportive of the 1947 Survey. Jessie Gray, told me that Rusk and Thomson were polite to each other at meetings but otherwise had little in common. Vernon refers to "the bitter controversies between Spearman and Thomson" which were probably about factor analysis, and this may be the

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48 Rusk, Robert R. (1949) SEJ. September 2 to September 23. He tended to use SEJ as a medium for his thoughts, partly because he was keen to be considered a teacher, and a primary one, but also because he considered that it was the best channel of communication with teachers-his main concern. He is casting doubt on the statistics which were being used to explain away the rise in the mean score. Rusk was not at ease with sophisticated statistics.

49 This compares with Parlett & Hamilton's work (q. v).

50 op. cit. 23 September 1949. p. 607.

51 In interview in 1991.

"statistical pyrotechnics" referred to by Rusk. James Maxwell wrote of the 1932 Survey:

Both (its) objectives now appear rather naive.53

Within the year of publication of the first book on the 1947 Survey, key players were reserving their position. Without the massive work on a voluntary basis of Maxwell, *Educational Aspects* and *Social Aspects*, would never have been written.

Key participants in mental testing in Britain such as Burt, Spearman, Thomson and W. P. Alexander, and Thurstone and Hebb in North America, were men seeking to understand the concept of intelligence and what the results of mental tests meant, in terms of actual and relative performance and of predictive value leading to biological manipulation. They had an instrument in factorial analysis about which they chose to argue, but in terms which were beyond the comprehension of most teachers and lecturers, far less administrators, who required reliable guidance for selection for secondary education.

Thomson gave his Presidential Address to the BPS at Durham in 1946, just after the death of Spearman, using it almost as an encomium to Spearman with whom he said he disagreed but that the nature of the disagreement was misunderstood. The reference was to factor analysis. Sharp provides a comprehensive evaluation of Thomson’s contribution to intelligence and to testing.54

Some authorities did believe that home conditions had an effect on performance in mental tests. Burt in a preface to an MRC report wrote:

the influence of home conditions upon intelligence is a positive one, ... the importance to the child

of social circumstances is as one in three\textsuperscript{55} but the classifications of pupil performance and of social class were crude. By 1953 when Social Implications was written, there was a relatively sophisticated categorisation for parent's job, and a feature seldom considered in earlier work, that of overcrowding. Thomson wrote in the preface to this book:

the degree of overcrowding in the homes of these children (the 36 day sample) is appalling\textsuperscript{56}

About 50\% were two or more persons per room, and for manual workers about 25\% were three or more persons per room.

In 1949, Hebb provided a link between hereditarians and environmentalists by postulating Intelligence A which was "the genetically determined plasticity of the central nervous system" which caused mental development, but could not be measured directly, and Intelligence B which was "the current level of all-round mental efficiency" and was what tests measured.\textsuperscript{57} Piaget too was writing on Intelligence in the 1930s but his books were not available in an English translation until the 1950s. His Psychology of Intelligence (1947), translated in 1950, and his Growth of Logical Thinking (1955) translated in 1958, led to a cult, with the elite in psychology and education making the mental pilgrimage to Geneva. A major problem with Piaget's work is that the concepts are difficult and something is lost in the translation. From the time in the 1920s when he had worked with Simon, Binet's co-worker, he had been more interested in wrong than in right answers to individual items in intelligence tests, and chose a clinical interview, rather than a standardised interview style, for individual testing. Inhelder, a co-worker with Piaget in Geneva, considers that Gunsburg and

\textsuperscript{55} Isserlis, L & Wood, S. (1923) Relations between Home Conditions and the Intelligence of School Children. MRC. HMSO. The 'one in three' became a regular quote for many years afterwards.

\textsuperscript{56} Glasgow Local Association of EIS report op. cit. (1939) had pointed to the effect of overcrowding but with no effect on SED.

Opper\textsuperscript{58} provide the most insightful account of Piaget's writing and thought. In their book they stress his biological training whereby Piaget wrote:

\begin{quote}
human intelligence is one kind of biological achievement which allows the individual to interact effectively with the environment to a psychological level
\end{quote}

Also, Intelligence is:

\begin{quote}
the form of equilibrium towards which the successive adaptations and exchanges between the organism and his environment are directed\textsuperscript{59}
\end{quote}

Part of Piaget's appeal lay in his developmental beliefs regarding children rather than the determinism inherent in the eugenic standpoint.

A book which had a major influence on thinking about intelligence and education at this time was that of Floud, Halsey and Martin.\textsuperscript{60} The work leading up to the publication date began in 1949, when the authors were working with D. V. Glass at the London School of Economics. Glass was one of the two agents of the PIC on the 1947 Mental Survey Committee from England, who had first contacted Thomson about conducting the Survey. He was a regular attender at all the meetings with his compatriot Fraser Roberts.\textsuperscript{61} They would certainly be fully aware of the findings of the 1947 Survey long before its publication.

The Floud \textit{et al} book was the beginning of a longitudinal study of secondary school pupils in two areas of England, a prosperous one in the South and an under-privileged one in Yorkshire:

\begin{quote}
with a view to finding the relations between home background of children at different social levels, their performance in secondary schools
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{61}On the staff of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.
of various types, and their subsequent occupations\textsuperscript{62}

The work was based on an annual intelligence test. The findings were very much class-related with a feature that "more means less", in that working class boys in greater numbers at a grammar school were less easy to assimilate. One major finding was similar to that of the 1947 Survey. Floud \textit{et al} wrote:

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
once the grosser material handicaps are
eliminated, the size of the family emerges as
the most important single index of the favourable
or unfavourable influence of home environment
on educational prospects\textsuperscript{63}
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

John Nisbet is quoted in the book to the effect that a child in a large family learns verbal skills less effectively from his siblings than he would from adults, which is a handicap at least until 11 years of age. This inverse relationship did not appear to hold for Roman Catholic families, a feature which the 1947 Survey did not examine. Nisbet was moving on from having been an unreconstructed eugenist. When I interviewed him in 1991 he agreed with this view and said that the Floud \textit{et al} book had been the greatest single influence on him and on others for reappraising the effect of environment on educational performance.

The Council, having acquired an enthusiasm for surveys and a belief in its competence in conducting them, determined on a Scholastic Survey, the genesis of which is in the Westminster government setting up a Standing Committee,\textsuperscript{64} chaired by Dr George North. A sub-committee of this body, also chaired by North, called "Sub-committee on the Ministry of Education" was set up, and in the usual tactless manner, Scottish Education Department was tacked on to it, as an afterthought.

The aim of the Standing Committee was:

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
... to survey and advise upon research work in
Government Departments, and in particular
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{62} op. cit. p. XIX.
\textsuperscript{63} ibid. p.145.
\textsuperscript{64} Interdepartmental Committee on Social and Economic Research. (January, 1947.)
(a) to bring to the notice of Departments the potential value for research purposes of the material which they collect, and to suggest new methods and areas of collection;
(b) to advise on how there could be made available to research workers information gathered for their own purposes by the Departments, which has potential value as material for research.

This highly laudable intention was circumvented by a ruling that the Standing Committee and its offshoots could not make a direct approach to outside bodies, typical of the excessive desire for secrecy on the part of many government departments. SED was represented on the sub-committee by T Grainger Stewart who wrote to SCRE, asking the Council to provide a paper which would cover the Scottish interest. The Council seized this opportunity to appoint an ad hoc committee, chaired by McIntosh, to report back. Also SED allowed Allan Rodger, an Assistant Secretary, and formerly on the staff of Moray House College, together with a departmental statistician, to attend its meetings.

The Council took the opportunity to report at length to SED, indicating how its own publications had been of particular relevance. It also advocated a number of investigations which could be carried out with profit to the educational community and among those was 'A Scholastic Survey.'

A scholastic survey for the whole of Scotland on the lines of the 1932 and 1947 Mental Surveys of the Scottish Council for Research in Education for one or more complete age groups is recommended. Adequately planned such a survey would indicate the amount of acceleration and retardation in the school system... the relative educational standards of urban and rural schools, and of different sizes of schools ... and of schools organised on individual as compared with class methods. Standardised scholastic tests would require to be prepared for such a survey, and the


66 Letter 29 March 1949. Stewart to SCRE. He had been in charge of the Endowments branch when SCRE had tried to have the Marr Trust finance channelled into educational research.
It was September 1951 before the Executive committee of SCRE appointed a committee to plan this Survey, chaired by David Howat, Director of Studies at Dundee Training College. The actual testing took place on 27 May 1953, but the book containing the report and results was not published until 1963. The initial plan was to test arithmetic and no other subject. Subsequently English was added, and it took time to prepare appropriate test material. The age group chosen was ten year olds, (9 years 11 months to 10 years 10 months). In 1959 Howat died, to be succeeded by Meiklejohn. Certain test materials were lost in transit, some never to be recovered, and most important of all, so much data were collected that the committee had doubts about how to use it most effectively.

There was the additional justification that everything was conducted by voluntary labour, of teachers, students and training college staff. The results of the Survey are less important than the principles established about research techniques:

1. Norms should be age-related, not class-related.
2. Power rather than speed should be tested so that most pupils should have time to cover all the items.
3. Research is only as good as the instruments used in conducting it. (This may be a special input from Walker, who succeeded as Director in 1958. He had been involved in an audiometric survey of pupils in Fife and concluded that instruments for measuring the level of hearing loss were inadequate.)
4. Tabulation which could make provision for inter-relationships must be

67 Annual Report of SCRE 1949-1950. Appendix. Report of the Committee on Educational Official Statistics. p.34. While this committee was sitting, chaired by McIntosh, it was advised that the North report would apply only to England and Wales. The committee decided to continue with its work despite this setback, and produced a report with suggestions for 12 separate ad hoc investigations of which the scholastic survey was one.
68 Director of Education for East Lothian.
done by machine.\textsuperscript{70}

5. If research was to be carried out completely in subjects such as arithmetic, then some degree of uniformity and standardisation across the schools in the country would be essential.

6. A test is of little value if a pupil can not understand from the instructions what is required of him or her.

The principles may be self-evident today, despite examples to the contrary, but it was a long-standing practice in the Council to learn more about research techniques from every project.

While the diversity in arithmetic teaching across the country was inconvenient, yet it was considered that it would be folly to advocate standardisation until there was agreement on the most effective time of introduction and method of presentation of items such as money, length and weight.\textsuperscript{71} The two volume report "Studies in Arithmetic" first produced in 1939 and 1941 were reprinted in 1962 just prior to the publication of the Scholastic Survey. The same was not done for the companion two-volume report "Studies in Reading" although these were of a different type from the arithmetic volumes. Perhaps arithmetic functions are timeless compared with reading; what is more probable is that Council members had a predilection for quantification.

While the major surveys were in hand, individual projects continued and three of those were initiated and completed in Rusk's time, even if published after his retiral. Within the Council the project on Arabic Numerals\textsuperscript{72} was published as a forerunner for a book on handwriting, which was never completed, but the activity gave prominence to a Spelling book.\textsuperscript{73} This work was well received, profitable in sales, and used regularly in schools. Its

\textsuperscript{70} Hollerith cards were used with a private company punching the data and the Usher Institute in Edinburgh providing the facilities for analysis.

\textsuperscript{71} All of these are peculiar to a non-metric country like Scotland.

\textsuperscript{72} Wright, G. G. N. (1956) The Writing of Arabic Numerals. publn XXXIII. ULP.

\textsuperscript{73} SCRE. (1956) The Scottish Pupil's Spelling Book. unnumbered, ULP: to support the five-part books for pupils published in 1955.
opening sentences were:

The basic idea of this spelling book is that children should be taught to spell the words they want to write. Spelling that is, should be associated with writing rather than with reading.

The choice of words was unique, coming from essays of 70,000 pupils in PIII and PVII, but the most significant feature was that hundreds of teachers became involved with a piece of research, and thus with the Council, a skilled act of public relations.

From its inception, SCRE had wished to provide an umbrella function for all research in Scotland which was of good quality and on themes of general value to education. Two of those were initiated in Rusk's time although published after his retiral.74

Outreach
In the decade 1950 to 1960, which was the main period when the Survey reports were being published, I was lecturing in Psychology at Jordanhill College and in the Extra-Mural Department at Glasgow University. Itinerant individuals, related to both institutions, spoke to large numbers of parents and teachers75 on intelligence tests. John Macdonald76 and Max Morris,77 spoke against the iniquities, of intelligence as a measurable concept, and of intelligence tests, where I usually defended them in company with John Sutherland78 of Moray House and at times James Maxwell.79 The anti-group gained the popular vote. My theme was that the tests could be used within a comprehensive system of secondary education which would involve

Fraser, Elizabeth (1959) Home Environment and the School. SCRE, publn XLIII. ULP.
75 All told about 2000 people were involved.
76 Later Dean of the Education Faculty at University of Calgary, Canada.
77Secondary school head teacher and sometime President of National Union of Teachers, England.
78 Head of Education department at Moray House College.
79 Formerly of Jordanhill College but later head of Psychology department at Moray House College.
setting,\textsuperscript{80} if comprehensive education was to be achieved.\textsuperscript{81} 

In the late 1950s and early 1960s the only way in which the universities could bring their knowledge to bear on thinking and planning in SED towards policy-making, was by the Ed. B/B. Ed., and the numbers who took those courses were small, so that proselytising on research findings was a slow business.\textsuperscript{82} SCRE tended to publish its finding and leave them to speak for themselves.

The publication of John Macpherson, the full-time Research Officer of the Council,\textsuperscript{83} provided evidence on early leaving by pupils, which came to be considered as educational wastage. At the time the Leaving Age was 15 years. A change in the form of secondary education was indicated in \textit{Junior Secondary Education} which was an attempt to get rid of the last vestiges of the discredited advanced divisions.\textsuperscript{84} Junior secondary education has acquired its present form and its special characteristics as a result of the raising of the school leaving age and the introduction of the system whereby pupils are promoted from the primary school, mainly on grounds of age, rather than as formerly on the grounds of attainment. It may have certain superficial resemblances to the education provided in senior secondary schools, and perhaps owes some of its features to the advanced divisions which preceded it, but it differs fundamentally from both, not only in respect of the length of the courses provided, but also of the abilities and aptitudes of the pupils

\textsuperscript{80} Grouping of pupils in secondary schools was the problem. The less able were alleged to hold back the learning of the bright. One solution was ‘streaming’ where pupils of similar ability were kept in the same group for all subjects. Another solution advocated was ‘setting’ where pupils were grouped according to ability in individual subjects. These groups were fluid but made for organisational difficulties.

\textsuperscript{81} ‘Comprehensive system’ in the 1950s meant comprehending all pupils i.e. making secondary education available for all.

\textsuperscript{82} Scottish Universities chose to be part of a United Kingdom body and were administered through the Universities Grants Committee which derived its income from the Department of Education and Science. The only HMSCI to have an Ed B was James McGarrity.

\textsuperscript{83} op. cit.

\textsuperscript{84}SED (1955) \textit{Junior Secondary Education}. Edinburgh, HMSO.
David Dickson, the main author, a chief inspector, later to succeed Brunton as senior chief inspector, accepted that within junior secondary schools there had to be a form of streaming, but was concerned to ensure that the best pupils in these schools would get some recognition for their efforts.

Macpherson's book was published in 1958. The results were available earlier, and used in SED, especially the findings that out of the 6-day sample only 49 boys and 26 girls achieved a Leaving Certificate adequate for university entrance. Even if all those pupils with potential had remained at school, only 45 boys and 33 girls from that group could have been expected to reach university entrance standard.

The arguments about Intelligence, IQ, Nature, Nurture and inadequate environments had given way to a single focus which was a value judgement that our pupils were not developing to the extent that they should. It was an earlier version of Claus Moser's 1992 Television programme. A similar view, held by Eysenck and expressed over a period of some 40 years, was given air time, that education without intelligence testing is masking the true potential of thousands of children in Britain.

85 ibid. p. 5.
86 The Group Certificate had been abolished in 1950; the "Lower" was still on offer, perhaps meeting the need, and the 'O' grade was not introduced until 1962.
87 There were 1208 pupils in this sample.
88 It is disturbing that from a mass of data which should have informed policy-making the main issue was considered to be the Leaving Certificate, something which affected a small minority.
89 'Learning to Fail' 7 January 1992, Channel 4 Television. Moser was formerly chief statistician at the Central Statistical Office.
91 In the 1950s and early 1960s Annual Conferences of British Psychological Society always had a symposium where the psychiatrists, the psychoanalysts, the philosophers and the psychometricians debated the human mind and the conclusions which could be drawn regarding it. These sessions were scheduled for Sunday afternoons because the psychiatrists were said to be busy at other times. Many references were made to the 1947 Survey. Brian Farrell, Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy at Oxford, savaged every participant with the exception of Burt and Eysenck. Few eugenists dared to participate. These were always well attended sessions.
The whole exercise of the 1947 Survey and the reports stemming from it over the next 15 years point up a dilemma about research in education. An organisation such as SCRE has to create an agenda of common interest. Intelligence testing was such for a wide range of individuals. The perspective of the politician and the civil servant is, to what extent the findings of a particular research programme may be used to support a course of action already determined by them. In the Survey there are findings which are reliable but not incontrovertible. They are drip-fed into the system over a long period of time. The researcher does not consider it his or her business to write, "... and therefore we ought to do a, b and c." The recipients of the findings are knowledge users, academics and decision takers in government. Over a period of time lecturers in universities and colleges will cause the findings to be assimilated, until they become the perceived wisdom of the group and the age. The decision-takers, both local and central, will know about the findings by having a resume provided by some member of staff. Locally they will give it a level of priority, often low, and wait for a lead from the centre. Norman Graham,92 complained of this, wishing for more initiatives from the education authorities. This they had to do via their Associations93 whether as councillors or officials, and getting agreement and unity of action from what were then 38 authorities was difficult. To read blocks of the minutes of meetings of those Associations is to see stultification of thought in action. The small Authorities felt powerless yet resented giving power to the large Authorities. The question which is at the heart of local democracy is the size, either unitary or collective, which is adequate to let the core go critical, where there has been devolution of authority and responsibility.

At the centre there is the problem of how the civil service works. Those with competence and authority to take decisions change their job, often as regularly as every two years. A longitudinal study quickly finds its location in the permanently pending tray.

92 He became Secretary of SED in 1964.
93 Before reorganisation into Regions, the Education authorities were too small to risk pursuing a course at variance with that of SED. After 1974 Strathclyde, the largest Region, did put into effect alternative strategies from SED, the best known being devolved management of schools.
The period 1947 to 1963, which spanned the time from conducting the Survey, to the publication of Maxwell's final summary of the four books engendered by it, was one of ferment with discussions and publications in England and in USA. It is not within the scope of this thesis to make an analysis of the positions taken by educational historians, sociologists, psychologists and educationists, or even to categorise the individual writers in any one of those groups. Political scientists have also contributed to the debate and in such an emotive area as achievement, opportunity and life progress, there has been some loss of objectivity. As early as 1937, Lush was writing:

> Every characteristic is both hereditary and environmental since it is the end result of a long chain of interactions of the genes with each other, with the environment and with the immediate products at each stage of development. \(^94\)

A few animal behaviourists probably paid attention, but otherwise his views had little effect. Probably Pastore's book\(^95\) is the best example of conclusions being related to political persuasion where among specialist individuals in the field, those of left of centre persuasion are environmentalists and those of right of centre persuasion support the hereditarian view.

By the early 1970s many of the polemics had been written, and the stage was set for reviewing the evidence. Harold Silver's books,\(^96\) written from the standpoint of an educational historian do this, with selections from the major books and reports on the subject in Britain and America. Scotland's Survey gets honourable mention, as does the work of Coleman. Coleman's 1300 page report to Congress\(^97\) went against all expectations about equality and

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found that the factor affording most advantage was "classmates from affluent homes", a point picked up by Hope.

Within two years of these findings U.S. President Lyndon Johnston was writing:

> We have come to recognise that up to three-quarters of the mental retardation in this nation is associated with conditions of life that blunt and cripple the development of the human intelligence.

A feature which has become more apparent and more frustrating post-war is that the media, when they refer to education at all, refer to Britain when they mean England. Scottish work gets little exposure because there are few purely Scottish outlets, and in marketing terms a very limited catchment area. Thus inevitably Scotland is drawn along in England's slipstream. Simple examples are reference to the 11+ and to '0' levels which are not Scottish terms. The same happens in the other two areas of separateness decreed at the Union of 1707. Church references are made to altars and to the Book of Common Prayer; legal references are made to Grievous Bodily Harm, and Manslaughter. These are not Scottish terms. SED had regularly to contact its counterpart in England to ask "more in sorrow" that certain pronouncements be clarified and kept within an English context.

A feature which may be peculiar to Scotland, because of its size and of the clustering of the educational establishment round the central belt, is informal discussion which affects decision-making in a manner which is difficult to trace. Even as a young research worker in the 1950s, coming to meetings at SCRE regarding Wright’s programme on handwriting, I saw communication between senior Council members and inspectors and administrators which led to decisions being taken, often on partial evidence. The problems were long-standing, the major one being selection for secondary education in such a way that all who might gain by it had the opportunity to do so, but ensuring that there was a relevant curriculum garnished by that time-

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honoured phrase, "in so far as is compatible with reasonable public expenditure."

Men like Frizzell and Reith, Directors of Education in Edinburgh, H. S. Macintosh, Director in Glasgow, and D. M. Mcintosh, Director in Fife, were at ease with EIS staff and with senior members of the inspectorate, and to a lesser extent with administrators. Arbuckle, Secretary of SED from 1957 to 1963 claimed that without informed gossip, Scottish Education would be the poorer. Thus it is misleading to try to fit events against publication dates of books and reports, because there was always advance notice of the findings which were to be reported. D. M. Mcintosh when interviewed by me in 1991, although ill, reminisced about his excellent informal relations with SED and had clearly dismissed from his consciousness his public persona of strong attack on the shortcomings of that Department.

Over the period, SCRE spent a massive amount of time and energy on the 1947 Survey, analysed its data at length, conducted longitudinal studies and produced five scholarly books. This was fundamental research. The effect of this effort, on education in Scotland was small. There is little evidence that it mattered to SED at all. Perhaps SCRE should have presented its findings in a different way. Perhaps it should have used PR consultants. It did however key in to what became, and has continued to be, a major issue in education worldwide. Whether or not this should have been a function of the work, and of staff activities at SCRE, continued as a serious issue well into the 1980s.

Contemporaneously, SCRE published another report99 which led to a Leader in SEJ which accepted that many teachers would never be affected at first hand by research findings:

There must be few teachers in Scotland who have reserved a cherished bookshelf for the whole of the 34 volumes published by the Council; and even a very limited number who have purchased the volumes dealing with matters that are their daily concern.

It accepts the need for care in drawing conclusions by the researchers themselves. It rejects the poor style in which reports are written, and then produces a damning indictment:

Is it really necessary ... to bespatter the introductory pages with 'authorities' - up to fifteen in a single sentence - to have them detailed at the bottom of each page, and then to have them all over again, the whole seventy-four, in the Bibliography? Is there not a danger that research may become an elaborate game, where the players take in each others' intellectual washing? Are not the conclusions frequently lame and impotent in relation to the formidable apparatus employed?

It then examplifies its comments, and the management within SCRE should have been exercised about such criticism from a founding sponsor. It concludes:

... the large amount of research study now being undertaken, most of it competent, and some of it outstanding, should in the end have a profound effect for good in Scottish Education ... we express the hope that many teachers ... may acquire the habit of buying each of the Research Council's publications as it appears. It is far from true that they are all of merely technical interest.\(^{100}\)

From the other founding body, ADES, there was no comment which has survived. From SED there was only silence, or unrecorded words of wisdom.

\(^{100}\) SEJ. Leader, 10 November, 1950. p. 716.
Chapter Six

FROM RUSK TO WALKER AND THE WALKER YEARS

Background

Rusk retired in 1958, having directed the Council for 30 years, always on a spare time basis and with hardly any professional staff, depending instead on a high input of voluntary labour. He had stated categorically that he did not wish his retirement to be marked in any way, but SEJ¹ invited individuals representing those parts of the education system with which he had been associated to contribute a series of short articles which read as warm tributes.

A new full-time director, David Walker, and chairman, Douglas McIntosh, were now able to plan a programme of research for the next decade. The work fell into three groups, Scholastic surveys in Scotland, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) abroad, and individual projects relevant to Scottish needs, commissioned or under the auspices of a committee appointed by Council either to supervise a project, or to read and recommend a work for publication.

Management Style of Council

From its inception SCRE had a management structure of a President who chaired Council and an Executive and a Finance committee each with a separate chairman. For the first twenty years the President was chosen as a man of stature in the local community, such as a councillor or churchman, who may have been chairman of his local education authority. Pre WWII Church of Scotland ministers were commonly local authority members. There was also the presumption of succession to the presidency,² but post-

¹ SEJ 21 November 1958. pp. 721-723. Norman Walker, Aberdeen University; John L. Hardie, Aberdeen College of Education; William Campbell, General Secretary of EIS and honorary treasurer; Henry Brown, University of London Press; Fraser Roberts, Population Investigation Committee; William McClelland representing ADES although now chief executive of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, all contributed. An omnibus article from the Misses Calvert, Gullen and Gray, the three secretaries during Rusk's time, probably gave him most pleasure.
² Common parlance of "Buggins' turn" would do less than justice to these men but as with most national committees there had to be regard to geographical spread.

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war this attitude changed, enabling an academic like James Drever to become President.

The technical running of the Council, through the Executive committee, was always in the hands of an educationist, such as James Steel, headmaster of Allan Glen's School Glasgow, from 1928 to 1947, to be succeeded by William D. Ritchie, who was succeeded, in 1950, by McIntosh, at that time Director of Education for Fife, who held the office until 1959. In that year Lawson demitted office as President, the heir apparent being, Rev W. Flint from Fife. He did not succeed Lawson, and McIntosh became President, holding the office in tandem with that of chairman of the Executive committee. For the next thirteen years he was an all-powerful chairman of SCRE, establishing the Council as an important organisation in education in Scotland, and guarding its independence from SED, EIS and local authorities, whether represented by ADES or by groupings of councillors, and his contribution in terms of organisation and administration was immense. On actual research he had a lesser role, but was wise enough to identify and support competent researchers.

The first example of this identification was in the appointment of David Walker, his depute in Fife, to be the Director of SCRE. As with Rusk's appointment, there is no record of a short list and interviews, although James Maxwell, John Macpherson and John Nisbet had stated an interest in the post.

Walker, whose qualifications were in mathematics and physics, took office as the first full time Director in 1958. He had been appointed to the Council as a representative of the Association of Directors of Education in the mid 1950s, and within the Council was appointed to the Finance committee. He first came to the notice of McIntosh through his work on selection in

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3 Flint was parish minister at Kingskettle in Fife and a member of Fife County Council which at that time met in Cupar. McIntosh, who lived in Kirkcaldy, always took him home by car from County Council meetings in Cupar. He told me, when interviewed, that Flint was perfectly happy to stand aside in his favour. David Walker, told me that Flint was unhappy to have been passed over, but that Norman Walker had insisted on having McIntosh as chairman.

4 The term 'president' gradually gave way to the term 'chairman.'
Midlothian under Brockie, the Director of Education. The latter wished to take the opportunity to move away from the qualifying examination, then in use in Midlothian, to the type of selection advocated by McClelland, with Walker as the implementer. This would eliminate advanced divisions and ensure a fair form of selection.5

Walker’s strength in mathematics and statistics appealed to McIntosh, and he knew that he could work with him from their experience in Fife. Such methods of appointment are acceptable where the appointee is the key and even the sole operator. The increased cost of a full time director resulted in the Council asking the Education Authorities to increase their levy to 1d per pupil, and the EIS to the equivalent of one shilling (5p) per teacher.

David Walker told me in an interview that Rusk gave him only two pieces of advice after his appointment, the first to get the Scholastic Survey published and the second to develop the use of analysis of variance,6 a technique which showed great promise.

Educational and Social Climate.

The post war years, which had begun in an atmosphere of hope for the future, had degenerated into a level of despair in the 1950s with a British/French fiasco at Suez, the invasion of Hungary by Soviet forces and the continuing war of France in Algeria, all contributing to what came to be termed ‘The Cold War’ with a Western bloc, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)7 and an Eastern bloc (Warsaw pact)8 based on super powers in a permanent stand-off. There were wars and insurrections in Vietnam, Congo, Korea, Cuba and Cyprus, in every case providing an opportunity for both blocs to intervene. Also it was an era of fear of

5 McPherson & Raab, op. cit. p.354. It was an early application of McClelland’s ideas in Scotland.
6 It was hardly a new idea. See Fisher, R. A. (1925) Statistical Methods for Research Workers. Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, chs VII & VIII. Walker had already used John McPherson to train the Fife research group in analysis of variance.
7 Led by USA with general agreement in Europe, although France regularly reserved its position.
8 Based on USSR with an increasing number of adjacent countries becoming satellites.
communism, especially in United States of America where McCarthyism was at its peak.

The comment most commonly used about Britain was that it had lost an Empire and had yet to find a role. In the year 1960 alone, 17 former British colonies in Africa gained independence.

Although Britain was in serious financial difficulties because of its expenditure during the war, and had conscription as a drain on its resources, it was still determined to be rated as a world power, which meant having its own hydrogen bomb. Much more significant for educational prestige was the launch of the first earth satellite by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). This was taken as proof that the educational system of USSR in scientific subjects was far in advance of that of Britain, and perhaps even more disturbing, that of United States of America (USA), with which Britain now claimed a special relationship. The opening of the fast breeder reactor at Dounreay was cited as evidence that our scientific education was sound.

At local and at individual level there was the end of the 5/- (25p) limit on a meal in a restaurant, and the end of the £50 annual limit on foreign travel. Purchase Tax, a continental type of taxation, which added a fixed percentage to the cost of goods or services was instituted in 1954-55, and applied to the tests used in the Scholastic Survey. This cost the Council £302 which was about 40% of its deficit for that year, thus taking them over the limit for deficit funding from SED, but money from Nuffield Foundation for

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9 Senator Joseph McCarthy was the Republican senator for Wisconsin. He held public accusations against alleged subversives in the armed services and the defense department in USA, an early use of trial by television. By 1955 the public was turning away from him in disgust, but also partly because there was a new cause celebre in America that of Blacks under Martin Luther King, testing their civil rights under the Constitution.

10 The first British 'H' bomb was detonated near Christmas Island on 15 May 1957.

11 October 4, 1957. The Astronomer Royal in Britain had scorned space travel as ridiculous.

12 Dounreay is a village about eight miles west of Thurso on the north coast of Scotland. It became the site of a new type of nuclear power station.
the Mental Survey follow-up ensured that it could balance its books.\textsuperscript{13}

In the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a mix of poverty and affluence. The Welfare State, resulting from the Beveridge Plan was a matter of pride for some and of anger for others. The huge increase in Council house provision gave people a higher standard of housing than they had ever known before, but the emphasis, for peripheral schemes around the major cities, was on houses and not on complementary amenities, so that the re-housed became bored and disorientated. Those who were financially comfortable were angry at the apparent lack of gratitude of the re-housed. Education authorities had to contend with a large building programme caused by relocation of families, the higher school leaving age and the marked increase in population. There was also the problem of the uncertificated teacher which was an affront to the teacher unions but an acceptable, if unacknowledged, solution to the teacher shortage for the Department.

By 1961, despite efforts to implement the concept of a Welfare State and to maintain a stable economy, Selwyn Lloyd, the British Chancellor, had to seek a pay pause in wages, salaries and dividends, leading to a prices and incomes policy. Standby credits, which had been negotiated from the International Monetary Fund at the time of the Suez crisis, when there was a run on Sterling balances, were being called upon, a position which endured at various times until 1965.

The decade of the 1960s had begun with the phasing out of conscription, but there was a cult of youth, which was supported by relatively full employment, and discretionary spending was in the hands of the young who, although in

\textsuperscript{13} This is an example of the problems of communication between the right and left hand in government. Today efforts are made to have exemptions where the result of legislation will be book-keeping cross entries.
jobs with low career prospects, yet had a steady source of income.\textsuperscript{14}

The Labour administration had lost office in 1951 and was not returned to power again until 1964. The first post-war Labour administration had disappointed its supporters in that it had done little for education, mainly because there were other more pressing problems.

Staff in the Education departments of universities and colleges lectured on testing and related statistical techniques, and on adolescence, the new phenomenon.

The 1960s are usually portrayed as a period of student unrest, which began in USA through the effect of the Viet Nam war, and subsequent drafting of young males to the armed services. The attitude spread to Europe by 1968, with little effect in Scotland, other than strong criticism of the student body, an attitude which has persisted in some quarters. It was not a reason for SCRE to stand aside from Higher Education research.

Those with a concern for education and social issues had a vaguely defined disquiet that there was a split in education, whereby there was adequate provision for the most able pupils but, for a large number of other pupils, post primary education was irrelevant. SED with \textit{Junior Secondary Education}, had made a serious attempt to address the problems as they were then analysed. There was a view that the burgh schools of Scotland had the seeds of a solution in their methods of working,\textsuperscript{15} but the problems of


\textsuperscript{15}In areas of low density of population, experiments were made with two-year, three-year and four-year secondary schools, all with the potential to feed in to larger schools for 5th and 6th year education. This was justified on educational, social and financial grounds, the first two being that there was advantage in keeping children in remote and island locations with their peer group and also living at home as long as possible. The perils of the alternative, hostel life, were often stressed, mainly in anecdotal form. The financial justification was in maximising the use of extant buildings and avoiding boarding costs.
education outside of the central belt of Scotland were such that English solutions of tripartite and multi-lateral schools were inappropriate. Equality was hailed as a common good, but it was not clear how it may be achieved.

By 1961 there was a belief in SED that education required a major overhaul, and that a start should be made in primary schools. To this end a committee on primary education was set up, with a composition which was relatively unique\(^1\) in that 11 of its 19 members were drawn from schools and colleges. The central authority was conceding that it required help from outside to provide credible advice for a working document.\(^2\) Although set up under a Conservative administration it reported in 1965 under a Labour administration, with a miniscule majority in Parliament.\(^3\) England (Plowden) and Wales (Gittins) set up separate committees on primary education and the Scottish Memorandum was compared unfavourably with its English counterpart\(^4\) because it did not publish a complementary volume of relevant research.

While the Scottish committee was sitting, two other educational reports were produced that of Newsom\(^5\) and that of Robbins,\(^6\) the former essentially aimed at English education, and the latter at university education which was organised on a UK basis. Newsom took more account of teacher training

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1. Brunton and Arbuckle are credited with introducing teachers to working parties, but the Memorandum committee had them in the majority. McPherson & Raab op.cit. p. 102.
2. op. cit. The Primary Memorandum. It produced remarkable opposition at the time from W. B. Inglis of Moray House, from staff of the Education departments at Jordanhill and Glasgow University, and from certain Labour members of parliament who demanded its withdrawal. The unisex picture on the front cover is of 'Sandy', the daughter of a postman in Wishaw, and the original picture had a large shadow of the teacher curving round her. It was a visual pun on 'child-centred' education but was rejected by the Department as being too subtle. McEnroe, F. J., as recently as 1983, is critical of the document in terms which would have amazed the committee members, many of whom were shrewd, worldly-wise, well-read and competently cynical. See Humes & Paterson, op. cit. chapter 12.
3. Prime Minister Wilson, could rely on a maximum of five members for a majority.
than many 'central' reports did, but had more than a hint of the teacher as a moral agent about it. The Plowden and Robbins reports published detailed research findings in support of their conclusions, while the Primary Memorandum did not, resulting in adverse criticism.

However, as a member of that committee, and one who wrote the initial drafts of much of it, especially the first half, I liaised with John Nisbet and David Walker regarding relevant research. For the second half of the Memorandum the work of the Council on reading, arithmetic, spelling, Gaelic and the findings of the Scholastic Survey of 1953, and its follow up in 1963 were all available and used positively, although the last was not yet in book form. To have summarised the findings of all those reports as a complementary volume would have priced the Memorandum out of reach of those for whom it was written, primary teachers. Should a book be judged by its content or by the number of references it lists? At its initial price of 10/6d (52.5p) it was a best seller. Outreach is successful when a statement of best practice, which the Memorandum was, is readily available for those who will put it into effect.

What is more remarkable is that SED did not see the need to commission any new research, nor a review of current relevant research from the Council on the major problems of the day which were: an appropriate curriculum for all pupils, efficient selection compatible with equality of opportunity, classroom organisation and a critique of child-centred education as opposed to traditional methods.22

Relations with Department
My selection of salient features over a twelve year period, which covered the directorship of Walker is arbitrary, but a feature, for this thesis, is the relationship between Departmental objectives and Council activities. Several examples are chosen. The first is 1962 with the introduction by the

22 'Traditional Methods' was an omnibus, undefined, but pejorative term. In the 1990s the wheel has come full circle and 'traditional' is good, and associated with 'basics' while 'child-centred' is suspect.
Department of the 'O' grade examination.\textsuperscript{23} This was a generalised solution to an inadequately defined problem. Brunton\textsuperscript{24} wished to have an intermediate examination which would be a goal for a much larger group of pupils than that which attempted Highers. Also he had in mind that the certificate would be awarded for a minimum of three subjects.\textsuperscript{25} The policy was a logical advance from what had been advocated in \textit{Junior Secondary Education}, but took insufficient account of the findings of McClelland,\textsuperscript{26} that the distributions of the average scores of his four groups (senior, junior, backward and retained) were "puzzling as well as illuminating."\textsuperscript{27} Later he showed that "the ability level necessary for the junior leaving certificate was nearly as high as that for the Senior."\textsuperscript{28} In time the 'O' grade developed an appeal for a much wider group of pupils than had originally been intended. It was also in keeping with new thinking about secondary school organisation, that it should be comprehensive education.

The second example was 'Comprehensive' education, introduced in 1965 by a Labour administration committed to the ideology, but not having worked out the practical details. There was the criticism that it was being foisted on Scotland because it was a solution to an English problem. An apparent paradox in the discussions with teachers' leaders was that some of them claimed that comprehensive education was not necessary, but in any event we already had it, this last statement always being challenged by Millan.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{23}'O' was an abbreviation for Ordinary grade. The inherent elitism of the Department was such that it could not bring itself to give a name reflecting respect for those pupils who were not capable of taking passes on the Higher grade. Over the period of the 20th century this examination has been classed as Lower, Ordinary and Standard, hardly inspirational terms.

\textsuperscript{24}HMSCI at the time.

\textsuperscript{25}McPherson & Raab, op. cit. discuss the problem calling it 'destabilisation' p. 262, and 'downward incrementalism' p. 306.

\textsuperscript{26}op. cit. chapter XX.

\textsuperscript{27}ibid. p. 202.

\textsuperscript{28}ibid. p. 223.

\textsuperscript{29}Sometime Parliamentary under secretary of State and subsequently Secretary of State.
The third example was the publication of the Kilbrandon report. The committee was established by a Conservative administration, reported to such in April 1964, and almost immediately found its proposals being put into effect by a Labour administration. The instigating departments were Scottish Home and Health and Scottish Education with the first in the lead role. The Report did advocate keeping arrangements for dealing with delinquents within education authorities by establishing a depute director of education who, as Director of Social Education, would take over the powers and duties under the Children Acts of 1948, 1958 and 1963. Kilbrandon himself gave talks in various cities in support of his report. In Glasgow he advocated having institutions which matched a specific child’s need, and that supportive action should be for the whole family of children who needed care and protection, whether they were delinquent or not. He also believed that a social worker, rather than an ex-schoolmaster, would be the more appropriate director. In time Social Work departments were set up in local authorities separate from Education, and a Social Work Services Group (SWSG) was formed within the Scottish Office. This body fought hard to be part of SHHD rather than SED, and the seeds of tension between teachers and social workers were sown.

SED dealt with these major issues without having recourse to advice from SCRE, and without apparently making use of the many relevant findings in the follow up books of the Mental Survey between 1953 and 1969. It is difficult at this distance to determine an appropriate weight to be given to the following reasons for this:

1. In a small country like Scotland the senior people in education met

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30 Scottish Home and Health Department (SHHD) /SED. (1964) Children and Young Persons - Scotland. Edinburgh, HMSO. Cmd 2306. Irreverent talk among civil servants when there is an intransigent problem is that we need 'The man on the white horse.' This was Lord Kilbrandon's role. The problem was juvenile delinquency and the fact that teachers were annoyed with society in blaming them for it.

31 Children Act(s), 11 & 12 Geo 6, ch 43: 6&7 Eliz 2, ch 65: Eliz 2 ch 37 respectively.

32 24 October 1964. My notes of this meeting have survived because they were written on the flyleaf of my copy of the report.

33 The members of the group stated openly that Home and Health departments had more status than Education departments. At a later date SWSG, while remaining a separate unit, came under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, mainly as an administrative convenience.
informally and exchanged ideas without the need for committees. There would be informal discussion about the most appropriate policies, mediated by the findings of the Survey and its follow up.

2. McIntosh was all-powerful in SCRE and he had an open and oft-expressed contempt for inspectors and administrators in SED, yet associated closely with some of them.

3. There was no interface whereby the findings of the Survey could be translated into a language which would appeal to decision-takers, and in the form in which the reports of SCRE were produced, they were difficult to interpret. Administrators were concerned lest they drew inappropriate conclusions from the quantified data in the reports.

4. Research is not able to answer some types of questions with certainty about the correct action to take. Researchers consider that their own hesitation is honest doubt. Decision-takers see it as prevarication.

5. Between 1965 and 1970 I produced many internal papers on research findings which were relevant to the needs of Departmental and Inspectorate committees dealing with issues of moment. SCRE and certain university departments gave me considerable support in this work. Within the Department the papers were treated with some reserve. It took about ten years before I, as a single HMI, could build up a reputation sufficient to found a Research and Intelligence Unit which was seen to have an appropriate input to all educational matters.

The educational problems were never clearly formulated within the Department. When there is a Labour administration many senior civil servants are less sure-footed, mainly because they lack experience of such at the Centre, and are more used to opposing Labour Councils of local authorities. The Labour administration had many problems and concentrated on health, social work, the economy and the remnants of Empire. For Education its major project was Circular 600.

When the Department withdrew from selection for secondary education after Circular 44 in 1921 it had a firm policy about how much secondary education should be provided, to whom, for what ends and at what cost. It found it expedient to deny elitist tendencies and shun intellectual snobbery, while
putting both into effect. Despite this it did not seize the opportunity given to it by the Mental Survey reports to justify a two-tier system of secondary education.

In parallel with this was assessment for higher education, again a selection problem and one with two main aspects for SED, the first being to develop fully the potential of abler students for the good of the country and the second to get maximum value for money spent on institutions of higher education.

By 1964 Brunton had come to realise that perhaps SCRE could be an ally on educational matters and he began to effect a rapprochement with men like J. J. Robertson\(^{34}\) and George Reith\(^{35}\) who were members or associates of the Council, and considered to be both moderate and sound. Brunton decided to attend Council meetings as an assessor for the Department. His successor David Dickson, continued that policy and either J. P. Forsyth\(^{36}\) or myself would attend as their substitute on occasions. By 1966 I became the nominated assessor and held that post until 1983. For some members of Council, the introduction of Departmental assessors was the beginning of the end of independence.

**The Research Agenda.**

Research projects by their nature are long-term, so that a new Director does not begin with a clean sheet. There was a 'Plan of Research'\(^{37}\) drawn up in 1952, which was meant to be the definitive guide. There were the later books of the Mental Survey to see through the press, the collection of further data, and correspondence with visitors and with follow-up sample cases, and Rusk's advice to follow. Walker knew as much about multi-variate analysis

\(^{34}\) A bruised veteran of Advisory Councils.

\(^{35}\) Depute director and subsequently Director of Education for Edinburgh Corporation. He joined the Council in 1952.

\(^{36}\) He was HMCI, not to be confused with Michael Forsyth, who was a Junior Minister with responsibility for education *inter aria* at the Scottish Office in the third Thatcher administration.

\(^{37}\) There are various papers purporting to be plans of research from 1930 onwards. They tended to be mind-clearing documents to which the director would adhere loosely, but McIntosh was behind the 1952 version and his aim was to effect control of the whole operation through his chairmanship of the Executive committee.
as most people working in Scotland at the time. Also he already had an association with the Council as an ADES representative, so that the learning curve was steep. He began to tackle the Scholastic Survey.

Longitudinal studies in research pose difficulties, partly by change of personnel and partly by change of interest. SCRE has often supported such studies and it was to be expected that the Scholastic Survey, like the Mental Survey, would be repeated. This time the interval was ten years and not 15 as in the Mental Survey. Walker told me in 1991 that he had proposed a re-run of the Scholastic Survey using about 6000 test blanks which were in stock. McIntosh resisted this, but the advocacy of James Drever Jr. swayed the Executive committee, and McIntosh had to comply with the decision. He may just have been more aware of the pressures on his fellow directors than other members of Council. An important feature was that the sampling procedure meant that only about 5000 pupils were tested, as opposed to the sixty thousand or more in earlier surveys. This reduced the load on the schools, and saved expense in postage and data processing, yet gave adequate levels of precision in the analyses.

In 1963 Meiklejohn again chaired the Survey committee with eight members of the earlier committee still serving. They were strengthened by four headteachers of primary schools, two of whom were members of the committee which produced the Primary Memorandum in 1965. A further member was from Dundee College of Education, to some extent balancing the two members from Jordanhill College. One member of both committees, A. M. Orr, headmaster of Rothesay Public School, served on the Council at

38 McIntosh was a persistent critic of SED, usually referring to them as 'These comedians'. He showed no personal animosity to me as Department representative, but when denigrating SED he had two main examples, that of having to withdraw from the North committee activities, and that of the introduction of French in the Primary school which, having been entered into without research or piloting, he considered to be ridiculous.
39 Although the Executive committee and the Council were both chaired by McIntosh, there were times when he had to accept other opinion.
40 Tom Sneddon of Dunfermline and Cunliffe Pearce of Edinburgh. They served on both committees concurrently. The Primary Memorandum Committee sat from November 1961 to April 1965.
41 William Tait from the 'Methods' department. Training Colleges became Colleges of Education in Scotland in 1957.
times, as well as on these committees. He was a quiet, serious-minded man, an excellent teacher (from personal observation), would never miss a meeting, and travelled from Rothesay to Edinburgh for all Saturday morning meetings at great inconvenience, and for no personal gain. His loyalty and dedication, both discounted attributes today, epitomised the mass of teachers who made the work of SCRE possible.

The years 1953-1963 were ones of shortages, and of financial restraint. Most people working in education, including the Council, expected that standards would have fallen. The evidence showed that they had not fallen, similar to what had happened in the second survey of Intelligence. Education tends to encourage harbingers of doom.

Another project, Assessment for Higher Education (AHE), began in 1962 as an attempt to meet the problems which were being addressed by the Robbins committee. About 12,000 pupils in 221 schools representing 98% of that population which was sitting Higher Leaving Certificate examinations, at the time under the control of SED, were studied. Performance in this examination if adequate, gave entry to Higher Education. The Department gave the Council access to Leaving certificate examination scores. A Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) from Educational Testing Service (ETS), Princeton, USA, was also given to Scottish students. Particular attention was paid to the scores in the verbal and mathematical sections. Other data were teachers' estimates by subject, head teachers' estimate of probable success in the later course chosen by each candidate,

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42Hence the title: SCRE. (1968) Rising Standards in Scottish Primary Schools: 1953-1963, publn 56. The EIS used the work as evidence of increased productivity on the part of teachers when pursuing a salary claim.

43 Robbins, op. cit.

44 The 'Senior Examiner' tradition in the Department, from the end of the 19th century died hard but the Examinations branch and the Inspectorate were being overwhelmed by the numbers of examination candidates. Some inspectors spent 25% of their time on this work and the others had to cover for them. Marking of examination scripts, a soulless task, was later the only activity for which inspectors could accept additional remuneration. A detailed account of the setting up of the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board is given in: Philip, Henry, L (1992) The Higher Tradition. Edinburgh, Scottish Examination Board. pp. 131-136. Its Regulations (1963) allowed the Secretary of State to vet all appointments to the Board, on the grounds of 'balance' a procedure subsequently followed for all committees. SCRE alone held out against this for nine years.

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and a sociological questionnaire. This became the base-line data for subsequent continuing activity. Powell's book, on the cohort compared the prognostic value of Highers and SAT. Alternative methods of assessment were being sought to eliminate examinations and detach SED from the process. SATs had a lower predictive value so that Highers were retained.

The link between SCRE and the Robbins committee was Drever Jr of Edinburgh University who was a member of both groups. SCRE began work on this project but did not have the resources to support it and to maximise the analysis of the data. Through the good offices of Stanley Nisbet, a young researcher at Glasgow University, Andrew McPherson, was introduced to Walker and subsequently to McIntosh. His initial plan was to have a research project related to the characteristics of persons entering the teaching profession, but he quickly enlarged it to that of collecting data on all those who were entering higher education. McPherson moved to Edinburgh University in 1968 and used the SCRE data for the 'After Highers' survey and his experience of working with it, for a range of subsequent work such as an analysis of student motivation and for the design of the series of Young People surveys.

SCRE, with the AHE material, either missed a golden opportunity or cut their losses, where there was a mass of data beyond their resources to analyse. The SAT did not appear to offer anything of value to Walker or to McIntosh, both of whom considered 'Highers' as more relevant to Scottish needs, but they did allow McPherson and eventually Edinburgh University and subsequently within it, the Centre for Educational Sociology (CES), to have free access to the data and initially financed the work of McPherson. Subsequently the Department supported the bid of McPherson to Social Science Research Council (SSRC) / Economic and Social research Council

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45 Powell, J. L. (1973) Selection for University in Scotland. pubn 64 of SCRE. ULP. It gives a full account of the project.

(ESRC)\textsuperscript{47} to have the CES nominated as a centre of excellence, thus securing long term funding.

The Robbins findings were put into effect in Scotland by giving university status to the Royal College of Science & Technology in Glasgow, Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh and Queens College in Dundee. Teacher training was increased by establishing Craigie College in Ayr and Callendar Park College in Falkirk in 1964. The Industrial Training Act\textsuperscript{48} of that year provided monitoring of apprentice training through Industrial Training Boards (ITBs). SCRE could have ridden this wave of enthusiasm for Higher Education, and responded to Prime Minister Macmillan's claim that the proportion of the Gross National Product (GNP), devoted to Education had doubled since the end of the war, mainly due to his party, but chose to remain aloof.

The Scottish Office incoming Secretary of State, Willie Ross, a former teacher, in an expansive mood, published the National plan for Scotland in 1965, which created the Scottish Development Department (SDD), and gave the whole of Scotland, less Edinburgh, 'development area' status. By 1968 the Plan had faltered through lack of finance, industrial unrest and fear at the success of the Scottish National Party (SNP).

The last major project in Walker's period of office was published in 1970.\textsuperscript{49} Initial discussion about the project had begun in 1958 before Walker's appointment. He never appeared to be fully committed to the project and was certainly disappointed in its outcome.

There had been discussions in the Council at three levels, all with a built-in defence element. Secondary teachers claimed that pupils reached them from primary school, deficient in aspects of grammar and number; staff in post-school colleges claimed that their students, even with passes in the Leaving Certificate examinations, were inadequate in applying their certified

\textsuperscript{47}SSRC of 1966, changed into ESRC in the 1970s when Keith Joseph was Secretary of State for Education and Science. (See ch 7, Heyworth Report.)

\textsuperscript{48}Industrial Training Act (1964) Eliz 2. ch. 16.

knowledge; employers claimed that persons joining their organisations, post-school, lacked competence in a range of skills which they, the employers, were entitled to expect. It became a matter of unfulfilled expectations in linear form. Eventually it was evident that there was as much frustration within as between institutions, which related to the life of pupils at succeeding stages. PIV staff blamed PIII staff for the unprepared state of pupils passed on to it. S4 blamed staff who taught S3 for the shortcomings of pupils, and employer B blamed employer A for the inadequacies of the employee, when there was a change of job on the part of an individual.50

As a member of staff from Jordanhill College, I was invited to attend some of these discussions because Jordanhill and Moray House Colleges were to be involved, if a project ensued. The eventual defence of all those being criticised because of low pupil performance, who themselves would become critics was, "They knew it when they left us." Thus the working title of the project became "The Permanence of Learning", the initial hypothesis being that pupils, students and employees knew a piece of information but simply forgot it, or in a practical aspect lost their skill. There was psychological discussion on learning theory, especially on the effect of practice, on transfer of training and recovery of past skill levels. There was also philosophic discourse on the nature of forgetting. Mcintosh chaired the initial project committee, but was uncomfortable, and quickly demitted office in favour of George Reith. Walker said that even forming a hypothesis and producing a research framework which would enable it to be tested was daunting.

Reith's committee was, Meiklejohn, of East Lothian and Denis McMahon of the applied psychology unit at Edinburgh University. His presence would provide the best interface available with industry, because he had experience in industrial psychology and in selection of people for the armed services during war time. No business person was willing to give the time to the project which would be necessary. John Sutherland from Moray House, and myself from Jordanhill College, subsequently joined the committee, and an unusual procedure for the time, a research officer, specific to the project

50 Conversely IBM claimed that most people working in computing had been trained by them, and had subsequently been 'poached' by other employers who had thus saved themselves training costs.
was appointed. 51

Arithmetic and English panels of specialists were set up, chaired respectively by Sutherland and myself to produce appropriate tests, and composition was scored by a system devised by McMahon.52

The first tests were given in summer term 1960, with the follow-up, after only a 10 month interval, to ensure that those leavers attending Evening Classes would be available within an educational institution. First analysis was available in 1963, the year of publication of the Brunton Report53 which advocated vocationally-oriented courses at school, hoping that those would retain the interest of pupils who were not proceeding to 'Highers'. One answer by a school-leaver in the project to the question of why he wished to leave school was:

I think my brain is full.54

This caught the imagination of many people in education and was widely quoted. After the initial test it was believed that up to 60% of the research project population would be involved in some subsequent form of educational activity. Some 25% returned to school, and others took day-release or voluntary evening classes.

A bureaucratic inconvenience for follow-up, of those who had left education and were now in employment, was that Youth Employment offices were precluded by law from providing names of employers to outside bodies such as SCRE.

Letters sent out to 1265 identified employers, asking for co-operation in the follow-up test attracted 381 replies. Of the 3547 pupils in the five selected areas of Scotland who sat the original test, only 1798 (51%) took the follow-up, and they were not a representative sample. The latter tests were

51 Mary Gray, wife of the then Lord Provost of Glasgow.
52 Described at length in Appendix A of the book.
53 SED (1963) From School to Further Education. Edinburgh, HMSO
54 At times anecdotal evidence has an effect on the uptake of research work, when careful analysis of quantified material fails to have much effect.
administered in work-place, or home or club by student-teachers, mainly from Jordanhill, mainly female and in the rougher areas, provided with a "bodyguard" from the School of Physical Education at Jordanhill.

Walker was greatly disappointed with this project which spanned his whole period as Director. It was ultimately published in 1970. Certain features did arise as profitable outcomes of the project. Employers were much more critical of education then than they are today, and a 30% response to letters seeking co-operation, was useful evidence in reply to their criticism of education.

A reliable form of essay marking was devised, but it was too complicated to be put into use in schools. The big surprise was that in the basic skills of English and arithmetic, there was no significant fall off in performance, most clearly shown for those still at school who were the main group who took the second test, but also as a strong trend for those who took the test once they had left the ambit of education.

Those who wrote the Brunton Report were privy to the findings of the study long before it was published, but still chose to claim that the performance of school leavers, where inadequate, was partly caused by their having forgotten what was learned at school.

This project has been described at length, because it indicates reasons for the gap between execution of a project and publication of the report. It also showed the split between the quantifiers including Walker, who disliked attenuated groups, and that group on the Council, who accepted case-study evidence, and were determined to salvage something from the difficulties found, and they did.

**Outreach**

The earth satellite launch,\(^{55}\) mentioned above, was cited as proof that British education was less effective than that of USSR. The European Community

\(^{55}\) Sputnik 1. The word in Russian means 'fellow traveller'. That name was given to those in the West with alleged communist sympathies.
was formed in 1958 without Britain, whose subsequent application for membership in 1961-62, was rejected by De Gaulle. These two events helped to create a feeling of isolation, intensified by the fear that the much vaunted excellence of Scottish education was at risk. Thus anything which would challenge this isolation was likely to be encouraged, and the prospect of international educational activity was well received.

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) was formed in Hamburg in 1959 with a meeting of research workers from various countries. Credit for initiating the whole programme of comparative study goes to Arthur W Foshay of the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute in USA. In 1958 this body asked United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Institute for Education to undertake, "an international study of intellectual functioning."

Later that year in London, a group of representatives from a wide range of developed and developing countries, 12 in all, met to consider what the Council of the IEA should do. It decided on an initial pilot study. The IEA has spawned several hundred books and papers on its international endeavours, but the present purpose will be served by concentrating on the pilot study, the two volumes by Husen, an article by Pollock, articles by Walker in SEJ and in Inspectorate Bulletin, and Walker's own book.

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56 The Treaty of Rome, which created the European Community did not mention Education as such. It is an open question as to whether Britain wished to join the Community in 1958, or whether it was not considered sufficiently stable financially, to be admitted. It has been called European Economic Community (EEC), European Community (EC), Common Market and currently is called European Union (EU).


Some of these were written after he retired in 1970, which is typical of longitudinal research.

Mention was made in chapter two, of IEI, an international study of examinations, but in the curricular field this IEA comparative work is the first study on such a major scale. Some people at the early meetings suggested that 'United Kingdom' should be the unit of study, but the facts of a separate education system, wide-experience of national surveys, and Walker's own ability in the statistical treatment of data, led to Scotland's acceptance as a separate country.

The Scottish contribution to IEA has been significant. An early pilot study taking science, mathematics, geography and reading comprehension as subjects, was conducted in Aberdeen city and in Stirlingshire, in the belief that this would be representative of Scotland as a whole. Scottish teachers gave their reactions which were incorporated in the final report. The IEA council chose to make their first main study in the field of mathematics because it had many agreed international symbols, and minimised language problems. Also at the time (1962-63) both the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Europe and the National Science Foundation in USA were of the view that improved scientific and technical education which had its basis in mathematics would enable countries to prosper.

Earlier comparative education was mainly on economic studies of school enrolment, teacher-pupil ratios and cost per pupil-unit. These are all inputs and the only outputs were productivity indices, based on the length of schooling. The IEA council believed that they should study productivity, which they equated with educational effectiveness of a school system, and to this end they should obtain cross-nationally valid criteria of evaluation. Foshay himself sought an empirical approach, rather than one of cultural analysis, and in his essay in 'Educational Achievements' he wrote:

If custom and law define what is educationally

63 Foshay op.cit. p. 63-68.
allowable within a nation, the educational systems beyond one's national boundaries, suggest what is educationally possible. The field of comparative education exists to examine these possibilities. 64

From the beginning the aim was evaluation, so that instruments, both cognitive and affective, had to be constructed, which would help people to understand observed and measured differences, which could be related to: teacher competence, school entry age, pupil-unit costs, length of time in school and time on specific subjects. Regarding the provision of instruments to measure subject content the IEA wrote:

The first step in any evaluation procedure is to establish the objectives to be achieved in the educative situation under consideration. These objectives, at a given age or grade level vary, however, from country to country depending upon differences in educational traditions, in social and economic structure and in values implicit in the national educational policy. 65

Husen asserted that certain educational problems could only be analysed by cross-national variability study, citing school organisation, features of mathematical instruction and socio-economic factors related to instructional outcomes, as specific examples.

School organisation was interpreted as comprehensive or selective education with segregation and grouping, but 'at what time and under what conditions should this occur?' Walker had to formulate the hypotheses for this organisational problem in the mathematical study which he did in association with members from other countries. 66

The IEA group was composed of persons with a psychometric orientation who were predominantly male. In the twelve countries involved, boys did rather better than girls in mathematics, but in co-educational schools the differences were smaller than in single-sex schools. The question becomes:

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64 Ibid. p.7.
Did the boys encourage the girls to do better or did the girls inhibit the performances of the boys?

There is a limit to the answers which can be provided through a cross-sectional design, however sophisticated, and the last analysis is a matter of judgement. Thus while bias from a male committee can not be proved, at least it could appear to have been minimised by having a better sex balance of members. In the non-cognitive areas the students reflected genuine national differences in social and political beliefs, which would be unlikely to respond to changed educational practices, without changes in political actions and in adult public opinion.

The design of the mathematics study was complex, but people such as Gilbert Peaker, a retired HMI in England, and R. M. Wolf of University of Southern California, plus the computer power available in Chicago made it possible to maximise the use of the data.

On the human side divergencies tended to be tolerated, to the level of being ignored. England wished to find out from the survey how its "New Mathematics" was being received and also find the level of participation in in-service courses. In the Federal Republic of Germany, where the Laender are supreme in education, the two participating Laender out of ten, were Hessen and Schleswig-Holstein. They only agreed to participate on the basis of judgement sampling ie schools and pupils willing to co-operate.67 Such may be an excellent sample, but not necessarily representative. All the other countries used probability sampling, a random process.

There were other discrepancies. Belgium had five times as many single-sex as co-educational schools. Japan68 was a high scoring country but with low costs. England, Scotland and USA had weights and measures not common to most countries. The extra time spent on learning about these meant that

68 In Japan there was a group called BURAKOMIN. It consisted of the families of ten occupational groups such as grave-diggers, abattoir workers and street cleaners. Their children were an excluded group and unlikely to have been in the population from which the sample was taken. Peaker made a special study of the Japanese sample and concluded that it was statistically excellent. He did have a problem with the language.
less time was spent on algebra and geometry, sub-sets of mathematics, which were in the test items.

The biggest single problem lay in trying to identify groups by age or grade, which were comparable among all the countries, because school years began and ended at different times, and the end of compulsory schooling ranged from 14 to 16 years. The compromise was sampling at two points which were considered to be 'strategic' in school life:

    toward the end of compulsory schooling
    and at the end of the pre-university
    (academic secondary) school\textsuperscript{69}

This was refined into testing all 13 year olds\textsuperscript{70} because they were still in school everywhere, and all pupils in the 'grade' which held the majority of 13 year olds.

A third group (intermediate populations) was chosen to try to ensure that the populations involved were "taken at points which if terminal, did not lead to institutions of higher learning."\textsuperscript{71}

A further group was drawn from those likely to enter university. It too was divided\textsuperscript{72} into pupils who were taking mathematics as an integral part of their course of pre-university studies, and another group composed of those studying mathematics as complementary to their studies.

The classes involved in Scotland were S2, S5 and S 6. Scotland was also the extreme case for the number of pupils involved per school.\textsuperscript{73} Stratification of schools according to size helped but:

    for a constant sample size in terms of students

\textsuperscript{69} Husen. op. cit. Vol 1. p. 33.
\textsuperscript{70} This was defined as 13.0 to 13.11 months. Also the population of all 13 year olds was called 1a, and the population of all pupils in classes which had the majority of 13 year olds in them was called 1b.
\textsuperscript{71} op. cit. Vol. 1. p. 46.
\textsuperscript{72} The first group was called 3a and the second group 3b.
\textsuperscript{73} ibid. p. 238.
the simple equivalent sample is diminished by having more students per school and fewer schools, and is increased by having more schools and fewer students per school.\textsuperscript{74}

The overall aim was to have from 10 to 30 pupils per school. For Scotland, population \textsuperscript{ib} above had 5949 students, in 73 schools, averaging 81 per school. The English sample was about half of this, but spread over 186 schools, averaging 17 per school.\textsuperscript{75} The effect of such large differences is conjectural, but points up the problems of comparative projects.

International committees can plan and advise, but individual countries will decide what they do in their own country. Germany and Israel did not test group la. Japan had the highest and Sweden the lowest mean in this group, and USA had the lowest mean scores, expressed as a percentage of the total number of items.

Husen wrote a concluding section to the whole programme:

> The IEA study was not designed to compare countries; needless to say it is not to be conceived of as an international contest.\textsuperscript{76}

On the same page he compares Israel and USA, to the detriment of USA. Academics may eschew comparisons, but politicians do not if advantage may accrue to their policies. For many years USA was content to fund programmes which testified to its inadequacies in education. Recently this attitude has changed and the expenditure is being questioned as exemplified in a letter from an academic in a prestigious university post.\textsuperscript{77}

I interviewed four people in Scotland about the value of this huge effort put into IEA by SCRE. Walker and Pollock, were personally involved, but Sheena Maxwell and John Nisbet were researchers with a particular

\textsuperscript{74} ibid. p. 150.
\textsuperscript{75} op. cit. Vol. 1. p. 151.
\textsuperscript{76} Husen. op. cit. Vol. 2. p. 288.
\textsuperscript{77} Gittleman, Sol.(Provost of Tufts University, Boston)(24 February 1992) Boston "Globe" 179
interest. Walker, encouraged by McIntosh, with full support from the Executive Committee, considered that the activity had value in terms of outreach, and enabled people in Scotland, who were interested, to obtain comparative data about subject performance. Pollock himself a mathematician of considerable standing, claimed it was the finest training in survey methods and in statistical sophistication that he had ever experienced. Sheena Maxwell, as a SCRE staff member admired the colossal effort made by Walker, but concentrated on the projects which related to schooling in Scotland; Nisbet, in retrospect, held the view that the great expenditure of energy was misplaced, and would have been put to better purpose elsewhere. All are agreed that the work enhanced Scotland's reputation internationally as a centre for quality research.

The success of the mathematical survey, which began with the pilot study in June 1959, the planning in 1961, and the testing between September 1963 and September 1964, absorbed a great deal of Walker's time. What we take for granted today in plain paper copiers, user-friendly micro-computers, and long-play audio tapes, as opposed to wire, were not available for the project. On the person to person level, the main committee of the programme met once per year, but there were many sub-committee meetings, and long distance travel was often by ship.

Husen stressed that the advent of Sputnik 1 in 1957 had no effect in determining the choice of mathematics for the main survey, but it is improbable that the USSR programme was not a significant factor in this decision.

In 1967 Walker was invited to the conference on "Aspects of Change in Education" in New York, where he gave a paper on surveys by SCRE encompassing the 1932 and 1947 Mental Surveys, the Macmeeken Survey, the 1953 and 1963 Scholastic Surveys all, of which have been discussed earlier, and the Scottish Standardisation of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) conducted in 1961-62, together with the Assessment for

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78 Foshay, op. cit. p. 6.
Higher Education survey initiated in 1962. It was a competent, condensed but accurate comment on a research programme spanning 30 years. He was the only non American speaker, among men of the stature of Robert Glaser, James Coleman, and Ben Wright. Walker took outreach to its limits in the international scene, while supporting his staff like John McPherson, Sheena Maxwell, Gerard Pollock and John Powell who provided and promulgated research material relevant to the work of teachers in Scotland.

In 1965 the IEA, encouraged by its success in the mathematics programme, embarked on what became known as "The IEA Six Subject Survey". Scotland participated in three of the six, Science, Reading and French, and applied the tests to groups at the 10 year, 14 year and pre-university year. The evidence from French as a foreign language was that, contrary to popular belief, Scottish pupils were as competent at learning a foreign language as were mainland European pupils. French was the last of the subjects to be tested. The tests were given in 1973-74, with the report written by Carroll of Princeton.

This six subject study over 21 countries began in 1966. Walker retired in 1970 but continued working on it in a voluntary capacity until the early 1980s. His book was the last of nine which were published on the survey. His author's preface begins:

This volume endeavours to describe in non-technical language as far as that is possible, the inception, working and findings of a project which required for its successful completion some highly expertise as well as prolonged, arduous and careful work by research workers and others in many countries.

Few men would have had the patience, knowledge and attention to detail which Walker brought to bear on this task, which was a summary of the

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80 Walker, op. cit.
82 Walker, op. cit. p. 15.
whole project. To ask him whether the whole IEA programme was worthwhile is a meaningless question for him, because it had become a major aspect of his working life, covering his whole period as director of SCRE, and many years into retirement. What IEA did was to energise the whole international comparative education movement, providing a momentum which has continued into 1992. Michael Forsyth, wrote of the 1991 International Assessment of Educational Progress (IAEP):83

It was disappointing to see that our above-average performance in mathematics and science at age nine was not maintained at age 13. The Scottish results afford little room for complacency, particularly when we see that Japan, Germany, the Scandinavian and Benelux countries ... which might have been expected to perform well in an international comparison survey did not participate this time round.84

From the results he concluded that the 5-14 programme in Scottish schools was justified, plus more homework and greater specialisation85 of topics from P VII onwards.

CAEP specifically warned against league tables, just as Husen had done earlier, with regard to all countries, especially England and Scotland, because of their low participation rate, but the Minister ignored this comment.

Research will make an impact on teachers if it does not frustrate them, nor provide sticks with which to chastise them, but must offer them a solution to

83 Center for Assessment of Educational Progress (CAEP) (1992) The 1991 IAEP Assessment. Princeton, ETS. The Center is the principal organiser of IAEP projects, as a division of the Educational Testing Service (ETS), Princeton, USA which is a private non profit-making organisation but its main revenue-producing enterprises are financed by the U.S. Department of Education and the National Science Foundation. Despite the often poor performance of U.S. students in tests, there are countries which harbour doubts about the integrity of testing in comparative education because most of the financial support comes from USA. Imperialism is now adjectived, and 'financial imperialism' is indicated here.

84 TESS, 6 March 1992. p.5.

85 SOED. (1992) Environmental Studies 5-14. Working Paper No.13. This document is part of a series, 'Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: a policy for the 90s.' Forsyth was Minister of State at the Scottish Office with Education in his brief. He had a confrontational style which antagonised teachers. He wrote a three-page foreword to the Working Paper drawing on the comparative studies for his evidence. The final document was issued in March 1993, without that foreword. He had left SOED after the 1992 General Election for a post in the Department of Employment.
the problems which they have identified as their problems. Husen wrote of this whole exercise begun in 1960:

Since not only the outcomes but also the various independent variables were measured in at least a moderately satisfactory way then the analyses of these data help in the identification and assessment of the relative importance of, for example, such factors as school organisation, teacher training, organisation of curriculum, school expenditure, technological level and degree of urbanisation of the countries concerned. Such information is a basic pre-requisite to the formulation of sound policies by those responsible for the planning and organisation of school systems.86

Teachers sought outreach which would aid diagnosis of problems and to this end were willing to participate in comparative work, but were annoyed when it was quoted selectively as evidence of their shortcomings. It would be valuable to know the exact reason why neither Germany nor Japan are now participating in IAEP, because both countries have a history of providing high scores in comparative tests.

As early as 1973 Pollock was writing of the six subject survey:

The between-school analyses bring out clearly the influence of the catchment area from which a school draws its intake ... For Scotland, home background and sociological factors such as father's occupation, and the size of the family etc. (calculated on a school basis), can be shown to account for approximately 60% of the variation in mean scores between schools at the 10 year old level and 85% of the variation at the 14 year old stage87

Such information had far less impact than (say) that of Rutter,88 which is regularly quoted in support of popular argument. Was the IEA material,

87 op. cit.
information overload and so less effective? Was it written in such a way that only the professional researcher and the academic could comprehend its implications? Did it continue over such a long period of time that people forgot about it, or were simply bored? The answer to these questions is 'yes.'
Chapter Seven

FROM WALKER TO DOCKRELL

Background
The use of periods of office of directors of Council as demarcation points for chapters is to a degree arbitrary, because of the disparity in length and because there have been periods of greater and lesser activity in education and in research. This chapter leads in to a new director, W. B. Dockrell, who remained in post for 15 years. Walker’s main research work has been covered in chapter six, and the sponsored research is discussed below. Now a range of changes is considered which took place at the same time as the research, which had been under the control of the Council. The contemporaneous events, affected the Council although outwith its control.

The years 1960 to 1966 were remarkable for change in education and in research in Scotland, both in personnel and in ideas. A new generation of head teachers became dominant in the Council, such as Lees of Glasgow High School¹ and Dewar of George Heriot’s school.² David Lees was an EIS activist, having been a director of education, and currently a head teacher, and William Dewar was a founder member of the Scottish Secondary Teachers’ Association (SSTA), whose members had come predominantly by transfer from the EIS.

Brunton was said to have attended the AGM of SCRE in 1960 and to have been invited by it to become an assessor. He attended meetings of Council after 1960, although I doubt whether he formally fulfilled the role of assessor until 1964. He did have a long-standing affinity with Dewar, and was instrumental in his becoming first a governor and subsequently chairman of governors of Moray House, and later, chairman of the Examinations

¹ The NCTT changed to the Scottish Council for the Training of Teachers (SCTT) in 1958 and Lawson and McClelland, NCTT delegates, left the Council, to be replaced by David Lees and J J Robertson in 1959-1960. Both were EIS members, Robertson having left EIS to join Secondary School Teachers’ Association (SSTA) and subsequently returning to EIS.
² He joined the Council in 1961 as the representative of the SCTT, but was a powerful advocate of SSTA as was George Gray, the Secretary of SCTT.
A small group of people in education held several posts concurrently, which made it difficult to determine exactly which organisation they were representing. McIntosh used the situation to ensure that he could always justify co-options to Council, so that Drever Jr, Kennedy-Fraser and J. J. Robertson were on Council in 1962 as indeterminate representatives. The irreverent called them members without portfolio.

Within SED, Graham succeeded Arbuckle as Secretary in 1964, and Dickson succeeded Brunton as HMSCI in 1966. McIntosh resigned in 1966 as Director of Education in Fife to succeed Inglis as Principal of Moray House College of Education, but continued as a co-opted chairman of SCRE. A depute and an assistant director were appointed to work with Walker in 1964 and 1965. Continuity was achieved by having one third of Council members retire annually.

The CCC was established in 1965 and the SCTT, evolved into the General Teaching Council (GTC) in 1966.

On the wider front a Labour government took office in 1964 with Willie Ross, a former teacher, as Secretary of State, and a committee was set up to report on research in the United Kingdom.

Management Style of Council
Organisations with a right to representation, put forward a list of nominees to

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3 The Board, was established in 1964 by the Education (Scotland) Act 1963, section 1. The 1947 Advisory Council Secondary report had advocated an examination board, but it was resisted by the inspectorate. Brunton floated the idea to a Working party and saw it established before his retiral, See McPherson & Raab op. cit. p.92 and chapter 13. Philip also describes its establishment, op. cit. p.128 et seq.

4 McPherson and Raab, op. cit. p. 420 et seq. trace some of the career developments.

5 He had been an ADES appointee and an arrangement had to be made to keep him in post.

6 Teaching Council (Scotland) Act, 1965. Eliz 2 ch 19.

serve on the Council, some of whom had little interest. In these circumstances a powerful chairman like McIntosh was able to maintain a high level of control, by choosing from the list those who would be amenable.

In Rusk's time members such as Thomson, Drever Sr and McClelland had considerable status, and SED had no desire to have a confrontation with them. Rusk himself, adamant that the Council must be independent, kept SED at a distance, quite openly showing his distrust of some civil servants, an attitude which was financially costly to him. He received small emoluments for Council work and had a rectitude towards expenditure considered by most people to be Calvinistic.

Although trained in philosophy, Rusk did not think deeply about independence. He saw education as centrally financed, always grudgingly, but the only points at which it could be affected were teachers, as a group, and officials and members of education authorities as groups. He considered that those working in colleges and universities were privileged and had a duty to serve education. Despite that, even in his time up to 1958, certain professional and administrative staff from SED worked with the Council, almost by stealth, but for Rusk it was in their own right and not representing the Department or 'government.'

McIntosh and subsequently, Lees and Dewar, maintained the stance of wishing to be free of 'government' restraint. Lees was known to SED, as an adversary on the Scottish Teachers' Salaries Committee, and through his campaign to safeguard superannuation for teachers, so that there was no doubt about his attitude. The EIS had reservations about Dewar because of his appointment to posts which were in the gift of the Department.

The District Inspector for Fife for many years when McIntosh was Director of Education, and chairman of Council was J J Davidson, a classicist. There was little rapport between them, but, for McIntosh, Davidson became the
stereotype for all inspectors and some staff of SED.  

Rusk and Mcintosh were certainly strong-minded, even tyrannical, but without them the Council may simply have withered away. They had no fear, either for their reputations or their jobs, a situation which does not obtain today, where too many people are constrained by fear of what may happen to them to be absolutely open about their views. The cement which held the Council together was courtesy. Jessie Gray, long-serving secretary dealt with this by keeping everyone informed.

Members empathised with J J Robertson over what they considered to have been his shabby treatment by the Department regarding the 1947 Advisory Council Report on Secondary Education, widely accepted as his work, and oppression, real or imagined, led to cohesion in the group.

There was a series of meetings with the Council in 1962-63 at which the Department offered more funds if SCRE would widen its scope to take in socio-medical aspects of educational research, tackle projects of special interest to the Department and act as a coordinator of research in Scotland and as an adviser to the Department, being offered statutory status to this end. The changes did not take place, mainly because the Inspectorate resisted the idea that there should be an external professional body advising on matters of educational policy. Some six years later the situation had changed and it was possible to get acceptance from Inspectorate and Administration for an embryonic Research and Intelligence Unit.

In the late 1960s there was a change in the attitude of members of Council. In the early years, the academics within the Council, appeared to be giants and elder statesmen above the fray, but the newer academics joining in 1969 such as Hudson, Professor of Education at Edinburgh, and McPherson representing the British Sociological Society in place of Musgrave were far

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8 James McGarrrity and later Joan Sandison were the chief inspectors with responsibility for Colleges of Education when McIntosh was a Principal. Joan Sandison told me in discussion in 1992 that she had great difficulty in establishing a relationship with McIntosh. He held the Committee of Principals of Colleges in similar disregard, refusing to attend their meetings and sending his deputy, Peter McNaught, with whom I associated over many years. McNaught confirmed that McIntosh had scant regard for SED.
more interventionist in the decision-making. Hudson's view of testing and of quantified research was at variance with that of the Council and even of the Godfrey Thomson Unit, of which he was titular head, by reason of his holding the Bell Chair of Education. McPherson was interested in Assessment for Higher Education and the relationship between education and subsequent occupation. In his second term he was specially interested in good working conditions for Council staff. Their influence on the Council coincided withWalker reaching retirial in October 1970.

The main change in the Council was that its earlier members were interested in research at their own hand whereas most of the newer members were more interested in the politics of education.

Relations with Department
Here some recapitulation is necessary. John Nisbet served on various sub-committees of Council but was not a member of Council until 1960. When I interviewed him in 1991 he told me that on reflection, he considered that SED was content to have a group of articulate and potentially troublesome old men meet and discuss issues, because it absorbed their energies at minimum risk to the activities of the Department. This was the post-war attitude until the early 1960s. There may have been some truth in this, in that SCRE was a safety valve against the long standing frustrations of the Advisory Council.

One person who may have subscribed to Nisbet's view but chose to change it was Brunton, HMSCI from 1955-1966. Having spent seven years of his earlier service in the administration, he knew the workings of the Department intimately. He had the ability to identify issues and produce drafts of cogently argued solutions. No one took him on lightly in educational debate.

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9 Hudson's interest in and attendance at the Council was minimal. His views were well-known, and he severed a close link which SCRE had always had with Edinburgh University. McPherson, a more junior member of staff at Edinburgh had to try to keep the link.
10 McPherson had joined the Council first as a replacement, serving for about 18 months, and joined to serve a full term in 1982.
He, HMCI J. P. Forsyth, and Dickson took turns as assessors\(^{11}\) to the Council by invitation, between 1960 and 1964 and from then officially with Department approval.

Brunton had allowed me to continue on the SCRE "Study of Fifteen Year Olds" committee, in 1961 when I joined HM Inspectorate. I had first met Walker there, and first met McIntosh in 1953 at Jordanhill College, when he showed a particular interest in the Handwriting project directed by Wright, on which I was the research assistant. Brunton asked me to substitute for him occasionally, until he judged that I was acceptable to Council, and gradually withdrew. I became *de facto* and subsequently *de jure* assessor until I retired in 1983.

Brunton had not invited an administrator from SED to join him on visits to the Council, but the administration saw the disadvantage of not being represented, and quickly sought representation if only for negative reasons. Their level of representation ranged from Assistant Secretary to Senior Executive Officer. The first assessor from administration was Harry Donnelly.

In 1965 the Department set up the CCC, which was inevitably compared, by administrators, with the Schools Council in England and Wales. Brunton rejected having the Schools Council (which had a research group and financed research) as the preferred model.\(^{12}\) In Scotland it was possible to claim that the main function of the CCC\(^{13}\) was curriculum development. To avoid duplication of the area of activity, SCRE would have to be different, probably forcing it to emphasise its national surveys and its comparative

\(^{11}\) The word "Assessor" has an honoured place in Scottish Education and is derived from the practice in Scots Law of having a person sit as an adviser to a magistrate or a judge. The person has respect but no power in that (s)he has no vote, but any individual will ignore advice given by the assessor at his peril.

\(^{12}\) McPherson & Raab. op. cit. p. 93.

\(^{13}\) A brief history of the CCC is given in the Handbook which was published in 1987 to mark the change from CCC to Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum (SCCC). It, together with the booklet supporting its Silver Anniversary Conference in 1990, with pictures of the S of S and three former Secretaries of the Department in attendance shows a much closer link to SED than that of SCRE. Both are produced by its Information and Marketing Services office on the campus of Dundee College of Education, now Northern College of Education (Dundee Campus).
educational research. The Council was aware that the CCC represented a challenge, especially because the Secretary of the department was its chairman, but it held to the view that SCRE was independent and CCC was not, being an agency of the department.

The DES papers of William Taylor\(^ {14} \) were available to SED indicating DES thinking on differentiation of role for various national educational organisations, such as Schools Council, NFER and SSRC. Brunton's statement to McPherson & Raab that he had encouraged SCRE "to do more practical things,"\(^ {15} \) suggests that he had determined on their role and believed that the emerging SSRC would cater for the more abstruse research activities. The problem in Scotland was that, SSRC, SCEEB, GTC and CCC were all established between 1964 and 1966, forcing SCRE to join in the jockeying for position, in which they all indulged, to maintain their standing in the educational community, based on the value of their activities.

The Department determined to retain the right to appoint members to any of these new groups, either by direct appointment of an agreed number, or by choosing from a list provided for it by the various constituent bodies who had been accorded places. SCRE successfully resisted this system. ADES quickly beat the system by providing the exact number of names for places, and when EIS did likewise SED resisted them.

Again there was a triangle of tension. Administrators in SED looked upon SCEEB and GTC as bodies which would weaken the Inspectorate, (a position which they would have been content to achieve), because it had previously fulfilled their functions.\(^ {16} \) Also Graham had chosen to chair the

\(^ {14} \) They are 'closed' but his views and those of educational leaders in England may be read in: Taylor, William (1969) (ed). *Towards a Policy for the Training of Teachers*. London, Butterworth. Part Four in particular is Taylor's work but the rest is relevant. Taylor combined the work of Professor of Education at Bristol with that of Adviser on Research to DES between 1965 and 1970, succeeding A. H. Halsey of Nuffield College in that post. Each attended the Educational Research Board (ERB) of the SSRC established in 1966 pursuant to the Heyworth report (q.v.), in an *ex officio*, capacity and subsequently in their own right.

\(^ {15} \) op. cit. p. 93. This is vague. There is nothing more practical than a good theory.

\(^ {16} \) One argument could be that it freed the Inspectorate for other functions. The obverse was that if those functions were more important why was the inspectorate not carrying them out now?
CCC, claiming that he could not identify anyone in the field of education of sufficient stature to do the job, a warning shot to teachers and directors of education which they heeded, remaining civil but watchful. SCRE with McIntosh in the chair had no intention of becoming the Department's servant in terms of coordinating all research in Scotland,\(^\text{17}\) and was critical of how the Department had handled initial relations with SSRC and ERB, (see below), primarily because SCRE had not been consulted.

**Relations with Others in Education**

SED in its new relationship with SCRE asked Walker to be the Scottish representative at the 29th International Conference on Public Education in Geneva in 1966, which framed a regulation on the organisation of educational research. The regulation was immediately approved in Britain because the Heyworth Committee had reported in June 1965. Heyworth's remit was:

> To review the research at present being done in the field of social studies in government departments, universities and other institutions and to advise whether changes are needed in the arrangements for supporting and coordinating this research\(^\text{18}\)

Its six members, drawn from universities, civil service, science and industry were of such stature that they could require government departments and others to provide evidence for them against a series of schedules, specific to the separate groups of organisations involved. These were processed by a secretariat and the powerful committee interpreted findings and made recommendations.

R. A. Butler, at the time First Secretary, and the instigator of the committee, asked them to consider specifically social research in the departments of Health, Housing and Local Government, Labour, Pensions and National Insurance, and whether each should have an in-house research unit. The

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\(^{17}\) A letter from Linn to Kirk some 20 years late, post Freeman, indicates the persistence of this idea within the Department. (See chapter 8).

\(^{18}\) op. cit. p.1.

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Committee left it to the individual departments to determine this.\(^{19}\)

They had a precedent for their work in that of the Clapham Committee\(^{20}\) which had considered provision for research into social and economic questions in an environment where government, committed to a Welfare State, was also in financial straits after WWII. Clapham was less than flattering to the social sciences, choosing not to advocate a Social Science Research Council because:

\[
\text{... the social sciences though rich in promise, have not yet reached the stage at which such an official body can be brought into operation without the danger of a premature crystallisation of spurious orthodoxies}\(^{21}\)
\]

This is a classic example of incisive and biting courtesy, beloved of senior civil servants.

The Heyworth report subsequently launched the SSRC (see ch. 6) in 1966, stating the case for ‘Organisation of Research in Departments’\(^{22}\) all of which would have a liaison function, a centre as a listening post, and would disseminate information and supervise research contracts which it had placed. From 1966 to 1968 I acted as the listening post in SED but liaised with others for the remaining functions. Heyworth also accepted the argument for having an, ERB\(^{23}\) a decision which was taken to appease the Institutes of Education in England. It ensured that educational research would be subsumed within SSRC.

Heyworth took written and oral evidence from many organisations. The submission from the Department is listed as written and oral. The Report states regarding this evidence

\(^{19}\)ibid. para. 129.
\(^{21}\)Heyworth. para. 146. (quoting ‘Clapham’).
\(^{22}\)ibid. para. 128.
\(^{23}\)ibid. para. 158. A Board was allegedly superior to mere ‘committees’. It had no practical significance.
We are not publishing any of it, but the written evidence and the transcripts of oral evidence will be preserved.\textsuperscript{24}

Its comment on SCRE is inaccurate, giving its 'Date of Foundation' as 1932.\textsuperscript{25}

Extant submissions to Heyworth are 'closed' but staff in ESRC, the successor body to SSRC, have searched their files and their memories to provide copies of papers and information relating to Scotland, and the ERB. One such paper from the Department\textsuperscript{26} praises the output of SCRE despite its few staff, claims that most of its work is on intelligence and learning, based on longitudinal studies, states that the Department first gave it financial support in 1947 and shows how by 1966/67 that had risen to £25,000 with a further £25,000 on direct grant-aid.

The paper then envisages a joint Department/Council committee which would advise on and select research projects. The Council would increasingly sponsor and coordinate research.

The earliest paper regarding ERB\textsuperscript{27} is from the first chairman of SSRC, Michael Young, an enthusiast and visionary, indicating current sources of finance and proposed functions for ERB, with finance, relations with other disciplines and training of research workers as key issues. He wrote that 'if we decide to go ahead' he was pleased that Lord James,\textsuperscript{28} had agreed to be first chairman of ERB. Young listed his nominees for the Board, which included John Nisbet and Douglas McIntosh. These were subsequently ignored by the Department.

In educational activities of this kind SED is dependent on the goodwill of the

\textsuperscript{24}ibid. Appendix 1, para. 10.
\textsuperscript{25}ibid. appendix 3. p. 87. It was 1928, yet early Annual Reports of SCRE and that of 1941-42 (p. 5) and that of 1943-44 (p.3) state that SCRE was founded in 1927.
\textsuperscript{26}Issued over the name of J.F. McClellan, at the time a principal heading 'D' branch in SED. It gave the date of founding of SCRE as 1927.
\textsuperscript{27}SSRC. CP 23. 11 February, 1966.
\textsuperscript{28}At the time High Master of Manchester Grammar School.
Department of Education and Science (DES), for England and Wales, in keeping it informed. This is a chronic nuisance to both parties, and on occasion a grand gesture saves time, energy and subsequent criticism. DES made such a gesture by hosting a meeting in London inviting interested individuals to hear Young speak on his vision for SSRC, with a follow up by James on ERB. Walker and I attended this meeting at which Young gave an inspiring address, followed by light refreshments and, for those who wished to remain, a talk by James in which he stated that he had scant regard for educational research. It may have been a counterpoint to Young.

The next relevant paper was “written in the light of comments received from James” suggesting that so much was being done by Local Education Authorities (LEAs), through NFER, by Schools Council and by the Nuffield Foundation and others that some would not see the need for a new source. It gave a new list of proposed members of the Board, naming Roger Young as the Scottish representative and suggesting that “SED might be asked to appoint an assessor.”

Late in 1966, SED nominated Walker to ERB, but Young continued to attend for at least three years. J P Forsyth attended an early meeting of ERB as an assessor and recommended that I should attend in future (1969). The sudden burgeoning of research within universities and colleges stemmed from the support given by ‘Heyworth’ and resultant finance from SSRC. What had begun for me as a part-time activity liaising with SCRE developed gradually into a full-time programme, supported by a research officer and two clerical staff.

The first meeting of ERB in June 1966 called for responses from members

29 Copies of these speeches have not been found. They may never have been written down. Walker corroborates my memory of the James speech.
30 SSRC. CP 38. 15 April 1966. It was a new draft of paper CP 23. There was no substantive difference between the papers but the second one enjoyed the blessing of Lord James. Committee papers at the time did not indicate authorship.
31 An English term often used mistakenly in Scotland.
32 He was headmaster of George Watson’s College, Edinburgh. He had no track record of research or of association with SCRE, but the sons of several senior civil servants in the Scottish Office attended the school and no doubt he would be known to them.
on the aims and functioning of the Board. Walker, Young and James produced papers, Walker advocating cooperation with existing bodies such as SCRE, but putting the onus for dissemination of the findings of research on the education authorities. He wished the Board to concern itself with post-graduate training and career structures for research staff. The papers of Eric James and Roger Young could have had more matter with less art. They sought relevant research, identified this in very general terms, advocated listening to teachers at conferences, to identify research themes for a lifetime, and were convinced that it was the duty of researchers to ensure that their findings reached the teachers. If they believed that communication was a two-way process they did not say so.

Over the next 15 years the Scottish place on the Board was filled in succession by Nisbet, Dockrell, Entwistle, Clark P, Clarke M and Bone. Tizard, John Nisbet, Wrigley, Levy and Bernbaum succeeded James as chairmen all with proven track records in research.

SSRC provided financial support for research in Scotland, against formal submission of bids by individuals and organisations, judged by a peer group of the ERB members themselves and two or three selected referees. The main beneficiaries in Scotland were the Centre for Educational Sociology which many years later became a Research Centre with long term funding, the Department of Artificial Intelligence, both at Edinburgh University, and SCRE itself.

33 SSRC Registry. 19 October 1966.
34 Young stated that questionnaires from researchers fell on his desk ‘thick as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa.’ - a quotation from Milton’s Paradise Lost.
The ERB activity gave a fillip to research, causing others to seek representation on SCRE. This growth of members placed a severe strain on the space available for meetings and to some extent led to efforts being made to find new premises, encouraged by the EIS who wished to reclaim their accommodation.

Within SED, administrators realised that they had to do something to show that they were responding to the Heyworth report. At this time (1968) I was on secondment to Singapore for six months and the resultant break helped to effect my transfer, on return, to the administration for a year to try to link the administrative and professional aspects of research. The attempt was not successful, partly because the body administrative rejects an alien transplant, partly because I was never totally divorced from my former activities in Special Education, and partly because the objectives of the transfer were never clarified and agreed, by all parties to it. The outcome of this attempt at fusion was a separate research group within the inspectorate liaising with a similar small group in an administrative branch, from which the Research and Intelligence Unit eventually developed.

In June 1970 a Conservative government took office, and McIntosh considered that it was an opportune time to seek the security of being a statutory body, having become keen to coordinate all Scottish research, but on his own terms. The Department resisted the application.37 (See ch 1)

**Research Agenda**

Sponsored research flourished, supported by SCRE, resulting in books or reports by Nisbet and Entwistle, J. J. Robertson and Tom Ingram. These researchers in the late 1960s kept research interest alive in Scotland, using interviews and observation rather than tests. John Butcher of the Psychology department in Edinburgh University, and Andrew McPherson were given access to data which had initially been collected for the Assessment for

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37 SCRE, EC. Minute 17 April 1971, p. 1. It is more difficult to wind up a statutory body than one whose allegiance is dependent upon the receipt of grant. Around 1962-63 the Department had suggested making SCRE a statutory body, but the Council rejected it.
Higher Education Committee of those pupils who took SCE examinations at higher grade in 1962. Butcher used the data for research on secondary school choice,\textsuperscript{38} in particular anything which would help SED to identify the causes of the shortage of science teachers. McPherson used it for a survey of level of education and subsequent occupation, which developed into a major longitudinal study on school leavers.

Another priority in McIntosh’s five year plan, was further education which Pollock developed, with a cohort of 2600 students from the Further Education Colleges intake in September 1966 to Ordinary Certificate courses in biology, building, chemistry, electrical engineering and mechanical engineering, hoping for a sample of 1500 from the original population because fall-out was considerable, and his objective was to determine the main cause of the ‘wastage’.

Sheena Maxwell, the Research Officer who was primarily concerned with the follow-up to the 1947 Survey resigned after a period of four years to be succeeded by Douglas Weir as Research Officer on the "Courses for Craftsmen" project convened by Robert Forbes.\textsuperscript{39} The distinct shift to post-school activities was not achieved at the expense of school projects. Sociology Departments of the universities were invited for the first time in 1965 to join with Education and Psychology Departments in the annual discussion with Council officials on a research programme. Raymond Illsley of Aberdeen immediately convened an "Environment" group which considered primary education where the relationship of parents, school and child may affect attainment, and placed the project with Strathclyde University Psychology department. Also Norman Lawrie of the Management Science department at Strathclyde University, took on the apparently simple task of time-tableing in secondary schools by mainframe computer, a problem not yet resolved.

\textsuperscript{38} Butcher, H. J. (Ed) (1968) \textit{Educational Research in Britain}. ULP. p. 344. Pont co-editor in the next two volumes of this work refers to Butcher’s analysis of 13 year old Scottish Children seeking "factors of scientific orientation" and references further papers from Butcher. Butcher, H. J. and Pont, H. B. (eds) \textit{Educational Research in Britain} 2. ULP. p. 154 and p. 271. The commissioned paper from Butcher for SED regarding science teachers, will, if archived, be available at the end of the century.\textsuperscript{39} Later to be successor to McIntosh as chairman of Council
Outreach

Council, following the lead of ERB, which from its inception had stressed the need for dissemination of research, decided to publish a newsletter in accordance with the policy of many organisations that keeping in touch with their constituents was vital. There was discussion on whether the newsletter should be free to all teachers or only to teachers in official associations such as EIS, SSTA or the more closed organisations such as Infant Mistresses or the Head Teachers' Association. Teacher members of Council considered that it should be free on the grounds that they through their Associations were already funding the Council. Local authority representatives agreed but an SED administrator, as assessor, demurred. Two Council members, a former secondary head teacher and a former Scottish Office civil servant, both now local authority councillors, were sufficiently secure and knowledgeable to move successfully against the Department on the grounds that collecting the proposed cost on an individual basis would be prohibitively expensive. Newsletters One and Two were written and distributed free in November 1968 and May 1969 with John Powell, Assistant Director, as editor. This episode was a hint, not yet a threat, that government finance brings with it interference.

At one time these newsletters had a 70,000 distribution. In the Freeman review of 1984, (see ch. 8) one of the criticisms voiced was that the newsletters had been seen lying in a bundle in the staff room of a school. Were they being read?

The Council was moving from having been a predominantly voluntary body to one with salaried staff, and in the transition period many individuals had to adjust their role. This had not troubled Rusk. He often claimed that if he had had the money he would have paid people to read the Council's publications. Walker was a careful man, governed by the belief that waste of any kind was to be avoided, but he had advised the ERB that the Council had responsibility for dissemination of research findings in Scotland and

40 John C. McFarlane and Archie Davidson.
wished to act accordingly.

Research findings were also taken to teachers through conferences. Two conferences were held in 1968, outwith the central belt, and more than 500 teachers had the opportunity to learn about and respond to, the follow-up of the Scholastic Survey. The choice of theme was apposite for the Council, but may have seemed tactless to the Department, which at the time was being critical of teachers and of educational performance, while the research report was demonstrating their success. The policy of holding conferences across the country continued over the next decade.

There were now members of Council who wished to challenge McIntosh as chairman, and the appointment of a new Director provided the opportunity. About ten people had shown an interest in the post. A very late entry had been received from W. B. Dockrell, then working at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) where he had heard about the post from a British visitor, John Butcher. Dockrell wrote, advising that he would be available for interview when he was visiting Britain in the early summer. McIntosh declared the application valid; Dockrell was interviewed, and accepted the appointment. Later it was realised that he could not take up office for about nine months because of his contract in Canada. Pollock continued as Acting Director, having been a candidate for the post. Certain members of Council found this unacceptable, considered that McIntosh was partly at fault and decided that he should demit office, the appointment of a new director being considered an appropriate time. Eventually in June 1972 he did, to be succeeded by R. B. Forbes, Director of Education for Edinburgh.

During Pollock’s brief term of office, the Scottish Educational Research

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41 SCRE, (1968) Rising Standards in Scottish Primary Schools 1953-1963. publn 63. ULP.
42 Lecturer in Psychology, Edinburgh University and Assistant Director of Godfrey Thomson Unit. Subsequently Professor of Higher Education, University of Manchester and later Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Sussex.
43 When interviewed McIntosh said he could not remember these events, but believed that his relations with SED were always comfortable (see Acknowledgements). Walker said that he had kept encouraging Pollock to complete his PhD, and if he had done so would have recommended him for the directorship. Pollock began a PhD course on two separate occasions, but pressure of work in the Council caused him to withdraw each time.
Association (SERA)\textsuperscript{44} was founded and became a valuable educational research resource in Scotland.

\textsuperscript{44} In the interim period of 1970-71 when Pollock was acting director, Stanley Nisbet, professor of Education at Glasgow University, a member of the Communications subcommittee of SCRE suggested that an association of teachers interested in research should be formed. Pollock was willing to try to set this up. I was keen to have it succeed as a focal point for those interested in research, and provided modest financial support. SERA began in the winter of 1971 with evening meetings, continued fitfully until 1974 when it had its first residential conference, and has grown into a successful body, recognised by the Department as one with whom to negotiate on contractual rights of research workers. See Morris, J G. (1992) Winter, SERA Newsletter.
Chapter Eight

THE DOCKRELL YEARS: 1971 to 1986

Background
Council adapted to the government initiatives discussed in chapter seven, both to SED initiatives and to those stemming from UK policies on research. A further government report, in 1971, restricted the new director's room for manoeuvre. The loss of a strong chairman in McIntosh could be said to herald the end of independence for Council, and he certainly thought that, but his successors, beginning with Forbes, realised that adaptation was essential. It was better to meet government initiatives with suggestions on how best to implement them rather than with confrontation. McIntosh could not have cooperated with SED. Yet Council's energies were diverted from conducting research, into answering fundamental questions about its purpose, in response to questioning from outsiders who were clothed in considerable authority. Other outside bodies were subjected to similar scrutiny, described as being, "The toad beneath the harrow."

This chapter considers changes in the operating styles of the succeeding chairmen. It also considers the effect of the Thatcher government (1979) which was distinctly interventionist, resulting in a series of reviews of public bodies inside and outside of government. For SCRE these were the Butcher report of 1980 and the Freeman report of 1984 which had far-reaching consequences. Despite this politicising of Council, it still produced a body of valuable research during the Dockrell years.

Relations with Department
The appointment in 1972 of a new chairman to succeed McIntosh, who had dominated the Council for so long, led to informal discussions with interested parties, including SED. The Department had endorsed the 1972 White Paper with its "applied" characteristic, and 'customer-contractor' relationship in research. It indicated that, where the Department was the 'customer', it would provide finance specific to that project, and seek value

1 op. cit. 'Framework.'
for money. It then stated a general policy which was the basis for the grant

It is our intention therefore that the Department's grant should be sufficient to cover staff and other fixed overhead costs of the Council, at about its present size and capacity. The grant should also be sufficient to enable the Council to continue to carry out a programme of in-house research, of the order of that already in hand. We accept that this programme will not be arranged on a strictly customer/contractor basis, but we recognise that the projects involved will reflect an appreciation of the overall research needs of the educational system in Scotland. The determination of the projects to be included in this programme will be left to the Council itself, and we would confidently expect that in its direction the Council would draw from its own expert knowledge of the needs of Scottish Education.

The Constitution and the Memorandum and Articles of Association of Council would be changed, resulting in a Council of 21 with most organisations reduced by at least a third and the S of S having the right to appoint five out of the 21 members. The SED grant was raised to £40,000 with a guarantee of meeting 75% of the cost of moving out of EIS accommodation to new offices, leased at 16 Moray Place.

Representation became:

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<tr>
<th>Nominator</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Secretary of State</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Authorities</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>EIS</td>
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<td>Directors of Education</td>
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<td>SCEEB</td>
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<td>Other teacher organisations</td>
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2 SED letter to Council 6 May 1974.
3 The Council had become top heavy with eight university delegates and ten from colleges.
This agreement was a triumph for Forbes as chairman.

Until the reorganisation in 1972, almost all the Council members and staff had spent their working lives in the public sector, a fact which determined the ethos to which they subscribed. A few members who were councillors from local authorities had experience of private business, but even that was of large insurance companies, or of organisations which were serviced by shift workers. After 1972, Secretary of State appointees included one or two people from the private sector, mainly with accountancy or personnel experience. These minority groups had initially a different perspective, but soon realised that SCRE, an organisation which was providing a service to an indeterminate concept called society, or more specifically, the education community, had complexities outwith their own experience.

Those Council members had experience of providing professional services or a product, the former because of requirements of society, such as audited accounts, and the latter because of a need, whether at the Aristotelian primary level, or at a secondary level stimulated by advertising, or even simply by covetousness. SCRE was providing a menu, mainly determined by itself but increasingly subject to customer-contractor negotiation until, by the late 1980s, wholly determined by its funders.

This period of change, even of turmoil, made it possible to convert the small group which had developed slowly to meet the recommendations of the Heyworth committee, and which was part of the Inspectorate, providing the main professional contact with SCRE, into the Research and Intelligence Unit (RIU). It had begun as a proposal for an ad hoc group which Dickson accepted, but it was not considered a full programme of work.4 Gradually greater ERB commitments, the Film Council which subsequently became the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET), liaison with National

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4 The case was that the Department was becoming more involved with outside bodies, and in the educational research field there would be advantage in having a focal point within the Department, adequately staffed, to provide effective liaison with those bodies.
Council for Educational Technology (NCET), and educational broadcasting were added. At a later date other functions, such as committees of the European Community, and the micro-computing development programme were subsumed.

Within the Scottish Office there was already a Central Research Unit (CRU), and some administrators saw advantage in incorporating the SED research function there. CRU dealt primarily with housing, industry, regional administration and prisons. The head of this unit, Bea Baker considered that her activities were widely spread and demanding. She did not wish to incorporate education. Also in the Department of Home and Health, the medical professionals had their own research enclave. In informal discussions, to which I was party, they made it clear that they did not wish to have a precedent set, which might subsequently be used against them.

The CRU had at the time, two major areas of activity, one being strikes, strained industrial relations, and emergency power cuts, and the other from 1969 onwards, restructuring of local authorities in England and Wales to be followed by similar provision for Scotland. It was a propitious time to create RIU, and the attempt was successful. The Intelligence function initially overshadowed the research, and production of background papers on comprehensive education, on learning, on examinations and on briefing papers for the proposed Munn and Dunning committees (established in 1974), ensured that the unit became acceptable. The favourable attitude towards research resulted in Dockrell serving on the ‘Dunning’ committee, and his depute, Pollock, serving on the ‘Munn’ committee, with effect from February 1975.

5 This Council began life as NCET, changed to Council for Educational Technology (CET) in mid life at the insistence of Sir William, later Lord Alexander, Secretary of the Association of Education Committees in England, and reverted to NCET in the 1980s.
The reconstitution required by SED, which had reduced Council to 21, caused constituent groups such as local authorities, universities and colleges of education to lose some individual places, and they had to find some means of presenting a united viewpoint. The departments of Education in Scottish Universities appointed three representatives at their annual conference.

The eight colleges of education, persuaded by RIU, set up a National Inter College Committee on Educational Research (NICCER) from which to choose delegates. Its first chairman, appointed by the Committee of Principals, was McIntosh, with the inevitable criticism that this body would just be a front for SCRE activities. The expectation within SED was that NICCER would collapse in bickering rivalry as had an earlier inter-college committee on biology. It did not, because it was possible to reach an agreement with Joan Sandison, the chief inspector with responsibility for the College system, that a fixed amount of money from their vote would be ring-fenced for research initiated in the colleges. This increased the pool of money for research in Scotland, yet it had the effect of causing contract staff in SCRE to believe that their jobs may be at risk.8

SCRE was under more departmental scrutiny albeit in latent fashion, through assessors who were allegedly non-interfering, and sought to create a more rigorous structure and list a plan for action indicating priorities. A paper which had been discussed with RIU was approved by the Council at the AGM of 3 July 1973. It stressed Council’s commitment to Scottish issues in education, and suggested that the universities may “conduct studies of fundamental issues of general significance.”9 The paper found favour with the Department, which wrote to SCRE on 8 April and 6 May, 1974 indicating that grant of £66,000 would be available for the year 1974-75 with the confident expectation that this would rise to between £78,000-£80,000 to

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8 Ernest Spencer, a contract researcher at SCRE from 1974-84, told me in an interview in 1992 that when he attended certain NICCER meetings in 1980, chaired by Sister Margaret Sheridan, Principal of St Andrews College, he felt aggrieved because college researchers may be putting his job at risk. He joined HM Inspectorate in 1984 and became a member of RIU in 1989, thus providing a unique perspective from either side of the fence.

meet pay and price increases. Future grants would be at 1973 prices i.e. £66,000, but maintained in real terms. On 5 August 1974 a further letter stressed that SCRE was a ‘fringe body’, thus a condition of grant would be that staff pay and conditions of service could be reconciled with “Civil Service or other public service staff.”

A significant item in the May 1974 letter was:

the Department will continue to regard the Council as the principal educational research organisation within Scotland and as an important research contractor

It annoyed some Council members by a justification:

thus maintaining in Scotland a body of the calibre and standard of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

Of more importance, HMI Bill Nicol joined RIU in 1974, quickly came to grips with the issues, and took a major share in assessor work, which became much more interventionist.

In 1978 the Council produced a booklet in honour of having reached its 50th year, in which seventeen people were invited to contribute briefly on a specific theme. All spoke favourably of the Council and its works, but Dockrell contributed “Fifty Years On - or - What Difference Did it Make?” Was this emulating King Lear when he required an unequivocal endorsement from his daughters? Was it following the dictum of Samuel Johnson that self-disparagement was oblique self-praise? Was it simply an honest attempt at evaluation? Dockrell differed from his predecessors who, if they had doubts about what they were doing, did not voice them. It was a reasonable article stating that educational research had been valuable, but in the era of the sound-bite, the title is what is remembered when the text may not be read, and it begged the question, which I remember being answered by some staff in SED as ‘Very little.’
A Department letter of 8 March 1979, advised that grant for 1979-80 would be £158,500 with an agreement for an increase by 5% a year for two years to build up capacity for in-house research.

Management Style of Council
McIntosh had resigned on 30 June 1972 in favour of Robert Forbes, Director of Education for Edinburgh, who referred to himself as an interim chairman, but remained on Council for the next three years. Forbes, absorbed three main changes while chairman. The first was a move away from the strong, but rather autocratic style of McIntosh, to that of co-operation and consultation with staff, and with outside bodies in education. The second was an agreement with SED on a long-term basis for financial support. The third was a new director with contract staff and an end to the system of committees for research projects, which were conducted by voluntary labour.

The period under Forbes was an interim one, because plans for the long-heralded local authority reorganisation came into effect in 1974, with Scotland re-grouped into nine Landward Regions, one being Strathclyde, itself sub-divided into six Divisions, and three Island all-purpose authorities. Education became a Regional responsibility. This major change took precedence in their planning and in all activities. McIntosh, continued on the Council as a co-opted member and later, ironically, as a Secretary of State appointee for three years, and was certainly unhappy about the closer relations with SED. He and Forbes left the Council in June 1975.

Scott Charles, a chartered accountant, and John Nisbet, were Secretary of State appointees after the 1972 reorganisation, the former to chair the Finance committee and the latter as chairman in waiting. Charles in his first year revamped the accounting system and its presentation, making financial management and projection more sophisticated, and setting a pattern which continued in the appointments of Jack Shaw (qv) and John Hume, an accountant from industry, for financial management, over the next 15 years.

Forbes set up a review committee in 1973 producing policy statements which were safe, but unremarkable such as:
(The Council)... should be concerned with issues of general relevance to education in Scotland, (and, the Council) ... should have regard to the needs of customers

The Council also put down a marker for having an internal programme of work, separate from that of the Research Services Unit, (see below) which functioned as a support unit for internal and external work. Staff were keen to safeguard their integrity and freedom of action as initiators of projects themselves, supported by Council members, as a way of lessening the dominance of the major financial provider, SED.

In order to broaden strategies, sociologists, and others with interviewing skills, experience in using questionnaires and in observation techniques were appointed to the staff. This was a reflection of the direction in which educational thought was moving. Bernstein in London University led the change in language, and Stenhouse developed new research methods, at Schools Council, and with a group based at the University of East Anglia, working on the principle that human knowledge was reflexive, an aspect which could not be shown by statistical models. For them, research was progressive iteration, a process which produced knowledge, of a type liberating to teachers and enhancing their status.

When Dockrell took office on 1 July 1971, he inherited a considerable amount of "plans in hand," such as distributed newsletters, more research staff on contract and the Council reconstitution, against the promise of more Departmental finance. The main contrast with the pre- and post-Dockrell years was in staffing and finance. In Rusk's time, 40 substantial books were produced and the average annual budget was about £2500. In the twelve years of Walker, staff increased to six, 20 books were produced on direct or sponsored research projects, and a massive amount of uncosted work was done for IEA publications. The annual budget averaged £30,000. In Dockrell's first year the SED grant was £40,000 as promised, and that from the local Councils rose from 2d to 1.5p, and from the grant-aided schools
from 2d to 2p (1p was 2.4 d). This, in conjunction with the move to their own self-contained premises at 16 Moray Place, heralded a new beginning.

Value for money, a criterion required by the Department, presented difficulties. There can be the subjective view that a project is worthwhile, from the point of view of the Council, the education community or the Department, and these may differ. There is also the comparative opinion that the money would have been better spent on something else. Government departments usually claim the right to make that judgement.

Dockrell realised this, and within a year of his taking up post, wrote an article 'In Defence of Educational Research.' If an activity has to be defended the assumption, which may be unjustified, is that it is under attack. He opened his article with a comment about Lord James, who as first chairman of ERB, had shown his scepticism about the value of research in education and demanded more thought and less research. Dockrell's response was:

Attractive as Lord James' dichotomy is at first, it seems a strange antithesis on second reading.

the educational researcher often has to bring in the Scottish verdict, 'not proven'

Values play a major role in all educational decision-making

He ended by writing that support for research would provide a sounder basis for educational decision making. It was a competent presentation of his case, in almost the only forum open to him, that of TESS. The article began with the soft answer, indicated that Scotland differed from England, where James made his critique, stressed that value systems were important, and ended with a hint that 'support', code for 'finance', was essential.

The contrast from Walker was striking. The new director had views which he

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10 The grant-aided schools gave a total of £203 of which £90 was from Merchant Company schools. Local Authority grant was £8,868.
was prepared to state publicly about the role and value of research in education, while casting his net widely to show that he was familiar with current educational problems, and relevant, current research findings. Forbes was content to have this said. McIntosh would not have been.

Forbes was succeeded by John Nisbet from Aberdeen University, the first chairman since Drever Sr to be chosen from academics, and not from the directorate or from a local authority. This partly represented the power of these bodies on the Council, but had two further advantages. The first was that access to schools was more easily obtained, and the second was that administrative matters, mainly secretarial, could be handled more expeditiously because such appointees had the necessary staff. There was always the fear that a teacher, perhaps an EIS member, as chairman would have given the impression of union control. Similar beliefs were held in CCC and GTC. Yet the EIS, as an organisation, had provided the secretary to the Council from its inception until the reconstitution in 1972, mainly through its general secretary, but latterly with its vice-president as treasurer.

In 1977, when Nisbet was coming to the end of his service (demitting office in May 1978), he set up a committee, with three staff from the Council, including the director, and two members each from universities, EIS and RIU, to produce a forward plan, which was published internally as "Planning Ahead to the 1980s."

The document listed four basic principles to guide Council policy.

1. Council's job was to conduct applied research to enable those involved in decision-making at government, local authority, school and class level to come to conclusions, based on good quality information. Although the Council must have regard to the wishes of its customer, yet the applied or "decision-oriented" research should also have an element of "conclusion-oriented" research within it, which would enable a broader perspective to be taken of the project, with consequently a better understanding of the issues.

12 SCRE, November 1977.
This was to a degree dictated by the views of Dockrell, who argued against any dichotomous classification of research, such as applied and theoretical.

2. The customer-contractor relationship, which was the basis for all negotiated research in future, would be the vehicle whereby research staff in the Council contributed to the research design so that an efficient service was provided. This would ensure autonomy for the Council, and integrity for the researchers on specific projects, because they would be party to decision-making, and would have identified and taken account of emerging educational needs.

3. The Council must maintain an internal research programme where it generated specific projects, which by right should be funded by customers, because it was a national, recognised body. (Yet the Council was unable to attract funding for its report of the School Leaver project, and the follow-up work from it.)

Perhaps the implied criticism of the educational system in the report, caused the Department to reject funding. In later years there is evidence of the Department strongly resenting criticism in research reports, with a consequent adverse effect on funding.

4. The Council must have a wide-ranging and diversified programme. Thus it required staff with a range of skills and expertise, so that it could meet the needs of its customers. In a customer-contractor environment it would be inappropriate to list priorities.

The current state of the Council as summarised in the paper was a staff of 49, of whom ten were permanent, twenty on fixed term contracts and nineteen employed under the Job Creation Programme.

Scottish education was accustomed to a concept of tenure, giving stability and peace of mind to those who enjoyed it. The disadvantages of the concept were said to be a loss of motivation and a lack of new blood with stimulating ideas. Those who themselves enjoyed security of tenure, tended to stress the advantage of insecurity for others, as a method of ensuring commitment. The commitment may well be present, but orientated towards a

13 Weir, A. D. & Nolan, Frances J. (1977) Glad to be Out. Series 2. SCRE. It is not in the Listings at SRO, was produced in camera-ready type, and distributed free.

14 An initiative of government to help the unemployed experience the discipline of a workplace environment.
different goal, that of obtaining the next contract or next secure post. The situation was not new. In the training colleges, or colleges of education in the 1950s, almost all staff were recruited on a “two years in the first instance” basis, with a possible extension of a further three years.

The manifest side of this condition was that it provided a rotation of staff with recent school experience. The latent side of it was that it allegedly encouraged maximum performance from those on contract. Funding for permanent staff was from SED, the EIS, Education Authorities and private donations such as the fee-paying schools. Funding for contract staff came from their specific external contracts. The danger in this was that all internal research, ie projects selected by SCRE staff, would have to cease because supervision of current projects and preparing submissions for subsequent projects, together with writing up reports of concluded projects, would take up all the available time of permanent staff.

Few grant-giving organisations consider that the time and effort in writing final reports and preparing new submissions, should attract their financial support. SED in 1974 had given the Council an assurance of core finance, in so far as it could do so, against the constraint of annual budgets but the economic state of the country in 1977 caused SCRE to have reservations about the reliability of this assurance. The aspect of staff and finance in “Planning Ahead to the 1980s” led on to the Butcher Report of 1980.

The four principles, above, had been determined by responses to a paper identifying the issues, prepared by Nisbet and distributed to Council members, universities and Council staff. There were many verbal responses, but William Dunn took the views of the Education Department in Glasgow University and Sally Brown took those of Stirling University and submitted conclusions. In neither university did all staff choose to attend, by this indicating that they too had priorities. Glasgow stated that there had been a decline in the standing of educational research in the last decade (1967-1977) because of lack of agreement on what was meant by "educational research". They believed that there was a breakdown of communication, because teachers and lecturers had become less involved
with conducting research. They advocated using a participative model, where the professional researcher worked as a consultant with teachers and administrators, once all sides had established an agreed set of values.

They criticised SCRE for conducting case studies rather than Surveys, and for being inward facing, whereby the much reduced numbers of Council members, and the self-contained professional staff, knew about its work but the dissemination of information was now restricted, where previously it had been successful by word of mouth, when there had been a large Council and many associated voluntary workers.

They believed that SCRE should be a facilitator for all local and national research in education, with specific reference to having data processing advice, and banks of knowledge about relevant work, in a wide range of research fields. They believed that the lack of these two features was a source of frustration to current researchers in education in Scotland. The message was that SCRE should not do research at its own hand in the Council, but facilitate the work of others. Their specific suggestions for areas of research were mainly in the field of handicap, and in community education.

Stirling University Education department made some similar comments, but in addition, advocated permanent career structures for research staff, programmes of research as opposed to discrete projects, and delineation of areas of functioning among SCRE, universities and colleges of education.

In his valedictory chairman's report, Nisbet reviewed briefly the first 50 years of the Council, praised in particular the work which was of practical value to teachers, and gave credit for the creation of a research community in Scotland. His two final principles were:

First, that it should be closely linked with the practical requirements of the schools of Scotland; and second, that it must retain an independent capacity to explore ideas of fundamental and long-term significance for
Scottish education\textsuperscript{15}

Staff in the Education departments of Glasgow and Stirling Universities had indicated that they were not particularly aware of the activities of SCRE, yet at this time Arnold Morrison, professor of Education at Stirling, and a noted researcher in his own right, was chairman of the Communications committee at SCRE and Nigel Grant, professor of Education at Glasgow, was a Secretary of State appointee to Council, succeeding Morrison as chairman of the Communications committee. Also Douglas Weir, on the Glasgow staff was a member of Council, and the SCRE Silver Medallist in 1978. Donald McIntyre of Stirling was one of the university nominees to Council for the following year, along with nominees from Strathclyde and Dundee Universities. The main conclusion has to be that communication is an inordinately difficult problem. A university, while it is a community of scholars, is made up of cells of individuals, each with his or her own interest, and even in an Education department, research is not a universal interest.

In 1979 SCRE formed a Research committee, ostensibly to give greater attention to the research programme of the Council, but also to give EIS more prominence, and Henry Philip, vice-president of EIS and head teacher, was appointed its chairman. The Council had increased to 28 members, and giving specific roles to more members might address the concerns apparent in the consultation with Glasgow and Stirling Universities. By the end of 1979 there were three committees formed from members of Council, Communications, Finance and General Purposes and Research.

A common feature which arose from the university responses, was that they feared that SCRE would be supported by SED to their detriment in terms of financing research. There were administrators and professionals in SED who had expressed scepticism about the whole concept of a department called 'Education' in a university. Some also remembered responses, given years earlier by university staff, to the questionnaire from the Robbins Committee, one from a Scot who claimed a high percentage of "thinking time" in his bath, and one from an Oxford Don who wrote, "I do an annual

\textsuperscript{15} Annual Report 1977-78. SCRE. p.11.

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lecture, but not every year you must understand." Such Attic salt, while expressing adequately the annoyance of the individuals regarding outsiders prying into their affairs, is counter-productive in terms of co-operation, respect and tolerance.

When I interviewed Nisbet in 1991 about his leaving SCRE, having ended his term as chairman, he said that he was dropped from all organisations around 1979, (he had chaired the main Primary school committee of the CCC), so that he concerned himself with the running of his own department in Aberdeen, until he retired and changed his interests to those of Europe.

Nisbet was succeeded as chairman by Hugh Fairlie, listed as being from Jordanhill College of Education. While precisely accurate, yet he had taken early retiral as Director of Education for Renfrewshire when, by the setting up of Regional Authorities, that education authority and five others were subsumed within Strathclyde. Thus it was back to the safe hands of the directorate, after the adventure of having had an academic as chairman, who knew much, perhaps too much about research, and having been chairman of the ERB, may have been considered too knowledgeable for comfort.

Fairlie had been on the directorate staff in Fife under McIntosh, and had proven ability as an administrator. He had also worked on operational research in the Royal Navy during WWII and had a strong belief in that methodology. He held the chair for six years of increasing turmoil, which made great demands on a voluntary part-time chairman as a negotiator with SED, and a peacemaker within the Council for the staff.

On the communication side Dockrell made a number of significant changes, with Open Days including exhibitions for teachers, attracting about 100 people on any one occasion. SCRE Fellowships were instigated, a Silver Medal for the best young researcher, and further outreach conferences with a travelling exhibition for new research reports. The Annual General Meeting was supported by a prominent speaker on a major topic, such as P. E. Vernon on Intelligence. Dockrell also encouraged professional staff to write articles, give lectures and support teachers in research activities. This was a
remarkable drive for outreach, more in keeping with his work in Canada than the allegedly douce activities of SCRE prior to his taking office.

Publications became Series 1, books on research with attractive covers, and Series 2 and 3 instituted for lesser reports. The Council became its own publisher and retained copyright. The free list for libraries and possible useful contacts was increased, with the aim of spreading the message of research, while covering costs.

A Research Services Unit was established in 1972-73, to serve Council staff, and outsiders who chose to avail themselves of the service. SCRE considered charging outsiders for specific work, but with a national body supported by public funds, and by teachers and education authorities, there is always the presumption on the part of individuals and organisations, that they have already paid for the service. SCRE accepted this, because good relations with its constituents were important. The unit did provide quality advice on research design, methodology and assistance with statistics.

SERA meetings were a market where people seeking research work, or an audience for completed work, could contribute papers and be judged on their research potential. RIU staff always attended the annual meetings to learn, and to identify new persons of talent who could be deployed on Departmental committees, and be supported for research projects. Dockrell, himself a skilled researcher, and Council staff, always gave papers at SERA conferences.

At Council meetings by the mid 1970s, Powell taped the sessions, ostensibly as a record for the writer of the Minutes, but I believe as evidence in argument, because there was now tension within the Council between those who feared loss of independence in return for increased financial support, and those who did not. Draft Minutes were regularly challenged when presented.

16 EA funding was on a per capita basis, and increased regularly. EIS funding doubled from its 1928 level, and remained static thereafter. Annual Reports of Council show its funding. The crucial funder is the Department.
Research Agenda
A project which appeared to fail, but was subsequently the basis for TVEI reporting, was Pupils in Profile. It was cited by the Freeman Report in 1984, (see below), as an example of Dockrell's researching rather than managing, and merits extended comment. In 1972 in Scotland the alleged shortcomings of the schools, led the Headmaster's Association of Scotland (HAS) to make common cause with SCRE in producing a report for pupils on leaving school, which would do justice to their performance, at the academic and vocational level, and which would give pupils a degree of self-knowledge. There had been several national and local certificates for school leavers, and reorganisation of certification below "Highers" with 'O' grade banded in 1973, but criticism from industry of the products of schools remained constant. HAS, in association with SCRE, set up a Working Party with representation from industry, further education, HM Inspectorate and SCRE. The CBI advised that employers were looking for workers who had:

self-discipline, self-reliance, loyalty, integrity
and enthusiasm... and were literate, numerate and capable of understanding and relaying information.

The list caused ribald comment in some teacher staff rooms. More than 70 secondary schools participated at some level in the project. Dockrell and his co-worker, Patricia Broadfoot, did an excellent job in producing development, evaluation and recording schedules and procedures which eventually came to be described as a "Profile" of the pupil. From time to time throughout the project, I visited certain participating schools. Their considered opinion was that the idea was excellent, but that the work involved in keeping the schedules was such that it was totally impractical in a secondary school without clerical support.

The idea did not die, but was the basis for subsequent systems in TVEI, retaining the name "Profiling" in many of the Scottish projects, but changing

18 Changed to Headteachers' Association in 1974.
19 op. cit. p. 28.

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to "Records of Achievement" in England and Wales. TVEI pupils received their profiles encased in expensive flexi-covers. The original profiles were cyclostyled sheets clipped together. Pupils came to expect the TVEI standard in all school reports. The comparison was between the money available to the Department of Employment and the Department of Education. This was a seminal work in UK on how to report adequately on pupil performance.

In 1972 two researchers at Edinburgh University, Parlett and Hamilton, wrote a pamphlet which had a remarkable impact, coming at a time when administrators and others wished to evaluate educational programmes, with a view to taking a decision on whether to proceed, or if necessary what to change.\textsuperscript{20} Educational research was associated with numbers, and their statistical manipulation. Parlett and Hamilton claimed that this was the result of the agricultural-botanical model used, whereby the effectiveness of a procedure is determined by whether it has produced a pre-specified state. Also the statistics applied to research based on testing were derived from R. A. Fisher,\textsuperscript{21} who was an agricultural statistician.

They indicated their preferred methodology:

\begin{quote}
It (illuminative evaluation) stands unambiguously within the alternative anthropological paradigm\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

which classified instructional systems, only to reject them, because each one was modified by the particular situation in which it was used, where the configuration of the learning milieu varied. Their methodology used observation, questionnaires, interviews and supportive documentary evidence. Perhaps this methodology was popular because many researchers, and users of research, were uncomfortable with statistics, not necessarily because of lack of numerical skill, but because of doubts about moving between the problem and the data. The second reason for the


\textsuperscript{21} op. cit.

\textsuperscript{22} op. cit. p.10.
popularity was that reports of this type\textsuperscript{23} were interesting to read, having some literary merit.

Dockrell recognised Hamilton's potential as a change agent, took him into SCRE, and facilitated his use of an SSRC grant to analyse Corrie's publication on open plan schools,\textsuperscript{24} about which Hamilton wrote:

\begin{quote}
(It) was committed to servicing a debate, not resolving it. It did not set out to test a range of pre-specified hypotheses or even to survey every aspect of open-plan schooling. Instead, it tried to respond in an accessible manner to some of the questions posed at that time by teachers and administrators\textsuperscript{25}
\end{quote}

Hamilton wished to initiate wider discussions about open plan schools, with a case-study of one school, and a set of essays illuminating aspects of teaching and learning in such an environment. His final comparison of the teacher and the researcher is that the former translates theory into practice and the latter should translate practice into theory.\textsuperscript{26}

Corrie's and Hamilton's books show the difficulties of communication. Corrie came to SCRE from Schools Council, a body which claimed it was developmental, although it overwhelmed teachers with the mass of papers which it distributed. His thirty page booklet was aimed at helping teachers in a comparatively new situation, open plan schools. Hamilton's book was stimulating but, like a Chinese meal,\textsuperscript{27} filling for a short time, (he listed 52 people who had been helpful to him) and not in a form usable to an

\textsuperscript{26}op. cit. p. 107.
\textsuperscript{27}The simile is chosen to reflect Hamilton’s style.
administrator. His material was more acceptable to his academic colleagues and to other researchers, than was that of Corrie. The administrator is seeking an unequivocal statement about the advantages (if any) of an open plan school, with specific comment on whether such schools should be built, and how to improve them to the satisfaction of the teacher, the pupil and the parent, in short the agri-botanical model.

Illuminative evaluation as a form of reporting research, affected recipients who were more willing to criticise the design, the writing, and the findings, because there was little danger that they could be shown to have misunderstood any supportive statistics. Clear communication of findings and the rationale behind them, from a range of sources, of which research is one, lead to policy decisions. The debate had become, who had proprietorial rights in research, and which methods were valid. The argument about whether evaluation was research, shaded into semantics.

An example of decisions being taken, because of the latitude offered by the anthropological model, is in the Edinburgh Reading Tests, which were developed over a period of ten years. Primary school teachers and the English Centre of the Scottish Curriculum Development Service (SCDS) used them to meet a perceived need. The high positive correlations on distributions from testing between pairs of what linguistics specialists claimed were different aspects of reading, were ignored and the linguistic views accepted.

28 There is no such person as an ‘administrator’ or even a typical administrator, only many individuals who are involved in local and central administration. Some would not wish to consider any research report. Others would discuss a report with a related HMI. Administrators with experience in Industry Department Scotland or the former Scottish Development Agency would consider a research report as a consultancy report, and expect the final chapter to state: ‘...and therefore from the information available the best course of action would be to...’. Researchers without the courage of their convictions to advocate a policy merely annoy them.

29 An executive group of the CCC. There were initially four such groups, spread across the Colleges of Education.

30 The Edinburgh Reading Tests (1974 et seq) London, Thomas Nelson. I chaired the Steering Committee over the period. SCRE, the Godfrey Thomson Unit and Moray House were the main driving force. Every test had five or six elements, distinguished by linguistic specialists. The inter-correlations were between pairs of elements. The conclusion should have been that the elements in the tests were measuring the same thing.
Other research reports, owing something to illuminated evaluation, were read and quoted by officials in SED, but it is not claimed that any one report alone led to a policy implementation.31

Ryrie and Weir32 revisited Further Education, and provided comment in an area of intense and continuing disquiet, that of training, especially apprenticeship training. Ryrie studied how apprentices reacted to their own experiences, rather than study national manpower needs, and the efficiency of training, in the motor and engineering industries, which absorbed up to 50% of ‘at age’ male school leavers. Weir examined the factors leading to success in apprenticeship training, using questionnaires, tests and relatively sophisticated statistics. He distinguished between a psychometric paradigm in earlier work, and his present use of a social anthropological paradigm.33

In bridging the objective (partly quantification) and the illuminative he wrote:

the preordinate evaluator acts on the assumption that there are valid and preconceived notions of success, which can be determined under headings. (His intervention) ... depends on being able to state the important purposes of an educative process, and on being confident of measuring how far these purposes are achieved. 34

Intervention which considers value for money, specifies a criterion for judging success which superimposes quantification on illuminative, or any other method of evaluation, and this happened to SCRE, with the Department using that criterion. Part of the debate on illuminative evaluation was whose criteria should be used, but it was not a question of validity of methods, but of who had greatest power.

There was a major UK research project on computer-assisted learning

33 op. cit. p. 118.
34 ibid. p. 184-5.
(NDPCAL), several elements of which were based in Scotland, and for which McDonald, Walker and Kemiss of East Anglia were evaluators, using illuminative evaluation. The Scottish lead in this project was taken by Glasgow University, serving notice on SCRE that there were others in the field able to compete with it.

Research and Policy

Another publication which caused all government departments to focus on their research procedures was the Rothschild Report.\(^{35}\) Rothschild, head of the government’s Central Policy Review Staff,\(^{36}\) and Frederick Dainton for the Council for Scientific Policy, were required to produce papers showing how in research and development ‘responsibility and accountability were clearly defined and allocated.’\(^{37}\) The Report is a Green Paper\(^{38}\) in three parts: a brief government statement endorsing aspects of the actual report; the Organisation and Management of Government R and D (Rothschild); the Future of the Research Council System (Dainton Working Group). SSRC was specifically excluded from the Dainton review and excluded by design from Rothschild because "it was in its infancy".\(^{39}\) Few reports have incorporated so many ideas on research, and government responded with a White Paper.\(^{40}\)

Although SSRC was specifically excluded from ‘Rothschild’, yet educational research was caught in the slipstream of the report. There had to be a Scottish Office response, and the high-powered nature of the Rothschild group ensured that discussion took place initially with Sir Douglas Haddow, Permanent Under Secretary of State (PUSS), at the Scottish Office, at his Heads of Departments meeting. A broad outline paper was prepared, showing the Scottish Office view. This came to individual departments to

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\(^{36}\) Set up by the first Heath government. Mrs Thatcher as Minister for Education had executive responsibility for the Green Paper, although the Lord Privy Seal would lead on it in Parliament.

\(^{37}\) Ibid. para.1.

\(^{38}\) Government document for discussion.

\(^{39}\) Ibid. p.10, para. 25.

flesh out. SED accepted the customer-contractor principle, but decided not to appoint a 'Chief Scientist' because it wished to keep professional functions within the inspectorate. I was appointed chief inspector in 1972. There was a Chief Scientific Adviser for all government, but Rothschild saw a weakness in this, and advocated a focal point and co-operation between professionals and administrators in all Departments. A chief scientist was appointed for the medical side of the Scottish Home and Health Department.

A review of the 'Framework' was carried out in 1979 with the government expressing satisfaction with the working of the customer/contractor principle, and the functioning of chief scientists.

It approved:

the customer/contractor approach... undertaken in pursuit of the Government's policies (other than the policy of supporting research undertaken primarily for the expansion of knowledge).
(As) customer these Departments need to ensure ... that an adequate national R & D capability is maintained or developed. This requires them to act as enlightened customers, collaborating with contractors so that these give of their best in discharging particular commissions....

The sentiment expressed was helpful both to RIU and SCRE, and justified where necessary, a proactive role for the assessor. Further the document stated that for Education:

the prime functions of the research work undertaken are to query existing ideas, assumptions and procedures and to stimulate, develop and evaluate new ideas and processes...

It also recognised the director of RIU as "a near equivalent to chief scientist."
After 'Heyworth', 'Rothschild', the associated White Paper and the Review already described, SED had been given a government policy which it expected SCRE to implement. The reports provided tramlines rather than merely guidelines. SCRE could support Heyworth's contention that there was a serious shortage of trained research workers, but waited for a lead on this from SED, which was not forthcoming.

Every director and chairman of SCRE has, at some time in his or her term of office, decided to produce a policy statement. The intention of such a statement has seldom matched the actuality, because, after 1945 the Council became steadily more dependent on public finance. Labour administrations did not make an issue of this but Conservative administrations equated it with lack of virtue.

Regions and teachers did raise issues which became subjects for research, all too often being judgements about pupil performance, or about the effect of a programme. They hardened into specific research projects, through the workings of the climate of opinion. Council staff and assessors avoided any doctrine of need related to pupils, remembering how this had been savaged by the intellectuals, when promulgated in the Primary Memorandum. In summary there was a long struggle to decide the ownership of research, who had the right to initiate it, and how it would affect education. These had been latent issues from the inception of SCRE, becoming more manifest in the post-war years, and finally presented starkly by 'Heyworth' and 'Rothschild'.

The Council enlarged its circle of people with whom it should consult, and made strenuous efforts to meet the perceived needs of the education community in Scotland which, especially ADES and HAS, indicated that falling school rolls, decision-making in secondary schools and in-service training of teachers were matters of concern.

Nicol had problems in a customer-contractor environment in devising

46 op. cit.pp. 10-14. Ten years later a similar theme was presented more subtly in 'Munn' op. cit. chapter 8. The Context of the Curriculum.
research projects round such issues, important as they were, and decided that the Council desire for a programme of research, as opposed to a set of discrete projects, could be met by having a programme of assessment research which would be relevant for the implementation of the Munn and Dunning reports, and which would be in accord with the Government Review.47

Outreach
The Department stated that COSLA should bear more of the costs of assessment research, and Black wrote a paper for COSLA48 to this end, leading to the creation of SARSU within the Council in April 1984. It would co-operate with local authorities, colleges of education and the local advisory services. Further studies which provided tests for mathematics in primary school, and some replication of IEA testing of 1981, enlarged the programme. Any relevant earlier work was re-examined, to determine whether it had a place in an assessment programme, and "Perceptions of School-based Assessment", a project financed by SSRC and conducted by Dockrell and Black, became part of the programme.

The Lanark Division of Strathclyde Region sought assistance in follow up assessment of its activities in support of the Dunning report, and the Assessment of Achievement Programme within SED, an organisation established in 1982, used the expertise of SCRE to test mathematical ability at P4, P7 and S2. It was not a new concept of what was entailed in mathematics. The content was drawn from Curriculum Paper 13,49 supplemented by Occasional Paper 6.50 Thorpe of RSU offered technical expertise on using RASCH modelling for item banking, a system originating in Chicago, and giving more than the unidimensional factor of 'difficulty' as an explanation of student performance in attainment test items.

Dockrell backed up the drive on assessment by bringing James Popham

47 'Framework' op. cit. Cmnd 5046.
49 SED. (1973). Edinburgh, HMSO
from University of California, Los Angeles campus (UCLA) to lecture and run seminars on criterion-referenced assessment. The idea found favour with several Regions, but was eventually rejected for use with Standard Grade assessment by SED and the Inspectorate, in favour of grade-related criteria, a rather indeterminate half-way house which was imported from England.

Another type of publication in the Dockrell years, begged the question of what is research, raised by the publication on special education where a group of people was selected to write on different aspects of the main theme, each from his or her own perspective. The chapters were free-standing, but where a policy question such as "integration" had to be decided, which was an issue for the Warnock Report, the book offered the decision-takers a quick survey of the field, and to that extent made them more able to determine appropriate policy for Scotland. By 1992 this type of product became a requirement for SCRE from the Department.

The ERB convened and financed seminars on matters of moment, one such being language. Dockrell, the Scottish delegate to ERB from 1972, offered to run it in Edinburgh and "names" like Halliday and Bernstein were present, but soon there were doubts as to the value of such meetings, because they affected such a small number of teachers. Other Edinburgh seminars were held by invited visitors with Radford, director of the Australian Council for Educational Research, Sixten Marklund, head of educational research in Sweden, and Marie Clay a reading specialist from New Zealand. They were attended by a small select group but in at least one case that of Marie Clay, the message was not received. She described a system which she used for backward readers in primary school in the 1970s and interacted on it with Margaret Clark, then of Strathclyde University. In 1991 it was "discovered" by the UK government under Kenneth Clarke, Secretary of State for Education and Science in England, as a solution to the serious reading problems in primary schools.

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52 DES. (1978). Special Educational Needs. Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People. HMSO. Cmd 7212. Chair-Mrs Warnock. It was considered to be a UK report but was heavily oriented towards England.
These were home-based outreach activities, but a wider form of outreach for Council came with Pakistan. Dockrell had built on the reputation of SCRE created by Walker, and the Council was considered to be expert in testing and assessment in schools. The World Bank in 1979 wished to provide a loan to support a range of activities in Pakistan, including work in primary schools. To this end it contacted British Council in London to find an agent for the primary education programme, and SCRE was chosen. It was a reasonable choice, because the Council in addition to testing skills, had experience of overseas work and a senior researcher, Ryrie, who spoke Urdu. About £300,000 was available and on the strength of it, SCRE took on contract staff, produced materials and sent a forward party to Pakistan to clarify what was required.

The project was launched and very soon ran into difficulties. Discussion between the Department and the Council led to my visiting Pakistan alone, with the approval of SCRE, for two weeks in 1979. After extensive travel from Karachi, to Peshawar I could only judge that the brief was wrong. Primary education in Pakistan required planning and organisation of limited resources, not testing. The Ministry of Education in Pakistan had not analysed its needs, and resented having a former colonial power advising it. The analysis of needs was rejected. I had experienced a similar problem, ten years earlier, in a more sophisticated country, Singapore.

My internal report back to the Department was that the situation could not be salvaged. In discussions with SCRE, with officials and Council members, I advised that they should try to meet their obligations under the contract. This they did, eventually deciding that it would be a better use of resources to bring a group of educators from Pakistan to Edinburgh for an intensive course. By that time relations were strained, and the behaviour of the Pakistanis in Edinburgh led to charge and counter-charge. When the project ended World Bank was highly critical of SCRE. British Council defended SCRE, and stated categorically that the problem lay in a failure by the Bank to identify the needs of Pakistan, leading to expectations which could not be met. Dockrell53 was criticised and it marked the peak of his endeavours for

53 Years later he was employed as a consultant by World Bank.
the Council. Subsequently there was a decline which continued until the reorganisation of the mid 1980s.

Educational and Social Climate
By 1972 the reconstituted SCRE had a new director; there was UK wide support for research, albeit on a customer-contractor basis; there was an RIU with assured links within the Department and the Inspectorate, and adequate finance.

The outwardly visible problems of 1972 were a miners’ strike, poor industrial relations generally, and a country split on the question of becoming members of the European Community, although parliament had voted for it in October 1971. In October 1972 what had begun in 1968 as a limited exercise in sending troops to Northern Ireland became the imposition of direct rule from Westminster.

Education suffered a distinct loss of confidence. The products of secondary education were considered to be unsatisfactory, by business and industry, and the attitude of students in higher education aroused wrath. There were also the first stirrings against the type of education which had been promulgated in the Primary Memorandum.

In 1974 the Heath government resigned, and a minority Labour administration took office. This created uncertainty in the country, and in the type of research which should be supported. Rothschild’s customer-contractor formula put the pressure on the customer, SED, and thus RIU, because of doubt about how education should develop. Research is most effective when there is a consensus in the education community about aims.


55 Osborne, G. S. (1966) Scottish and English Schools. London, Longmans Green, traces the swing of the pendulum between traditional and radical in primary education from WW I to the Primary Memorandum.(pt III).

Linklater, M & Denniston, R. (eds). (1992). Anatomy of Scotland. Edinburgh, Chambers, still quote McEnroe (op. cit.) on the Memorandum as “one of the most radical statements in the history of Scottish primary education.” p.102. By 1972 it was time for the pendulum to swing again.
Despite its separate education system, Scotland cannot remain untouched by what occurs in the greater part of the United Kingdom. A comprehensive education system had been initiated in both England and Scotland in the mid 1960s, and was gradually taking over as the predominant school system. By 1969 opposing views were being expressed by writers who were considered enlightened by some and unreconstructed by others. Typical of such were the Black Papers. Whatever the justice of their arguments they struck a chord, in that business men and industrialists took the writings as proof that schools were serving society inadequately. In 1970 there was no national curriculum in Scotland, other than that dictated by the 'Highers'. Rather reference was made to "The Secret Garden of the Curriculum", and teachers had autonomy, from both national and local control of the curriculum, within the classroom. By 1974 the type of thinking expressed in the Black Papers, had led to such a shift in public perception of education, that it was possible to set up a competitor against DES in the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). This body was less concerned with equality of educational opportunity, which had been a key feature of comprehensive education, and more concerned with vocational education, which would benefit the national economy. The acronym, MSC was dubbed, with some bitterness, the Ministry for Social Control.

Scotland initially held these ideas at bay, but was not immune to the steady criticism about the products of education, at the interface between education and employment. The criticism culminated in the "Great Debate", launched by a speech at Ruskin College, Oxford in October 1976 by James Callaghan, Prime Minister, one theme being that teachers should be more accountable to the needs of industry. The speech had minimal effect in Scotland, but a


Green Paper\textsuperscript{58} did cause SED to have regard to the climate of opinion.

The Goschen formula\textsuperscript{59} had created a situation whereby, if England initiated something Scotland had to seek its share. If Scotland initiated something, England, the major partner under a single Treasury, ignored it. MSC was a highly centralised organisation, and Scotland had to meet its requirements, if it was to gain a share of this new money. Even in the mid 1980s when TVEI began and Scotland tried to remain aloof, claiming that its system of Standard grade and Action Plan\textsuperscript{60} were superior, it quickly realised that such schemes may be valuable, but would not attract finance from MSC. It chose to accept the money and the consequences.

In organisational matters SCRE had moved its premises from the EIS offices to 16 Moray Place in 1972\textsuperscript{61} and from there to St John Street in 1980, occupying the first floor of a building which was part of Moray House College of Education. Several groups made virtues of necessity, the Department because it had spare capacity in colleges of education, with the fall in numbers of student teachers; SCRE in that it claimed that access to certain features of the College would be advantageous, and Moray House in that there would be benefit to them from this prestigious body in their midst. In the event it was a cuckoo in the nest, and relations were strained for some time. The new premises were open plan, a format disliked by the research staff, and one which it took several years to re-design to effective working space. The Department resented the constant staff criticism of the open plan scheme, and initially resisted any structural changes which may have improved the working conditions. It also had a problem in that it was unable immediately to re-assign the lease of the Moray Place premises, thus

\textsuperscript{58}DES. (1977). \textit{Educating our Children: Education in Schools}. London, HMSO.


\textsuperscript{60}The term ‘Standard Grade’ was used in SED from late 1981, as a course and a qualification consequent upon the Dunning report. Action Plan evolved in 1982. The Further Education field was a mix of many courses and certificates and the decision was taken in SED to bring them all together by the concept of the ‘module’ said to be like bricks with which a student could build a personal educational wall of ‘passes’ in specific areas of work.

\textsuperscript{61}At this relocation some archive material was destroyed.
causing unproductive expenditure.

It culminated in a restlessness among the staff, the catalyst for which was the open plan structure, about which they claimed not to have been consulted. They wished to be represented on the Council, on all its committees and to have an agreed career structure and a superannuation scheme. The more involved members of Council supported these reasonable requests. From the time of "Planning Ahead to the 1980s," the 50th anniversary discussions, the appointment of the new chairman, (Fairlie) and the move to Moray House premises, a climate of opinion arose, over a period of about 18 months, when the staff sought a review of their role, conditions and functioning, leading to informal meetings with SED representatives, and an agreement that the Civil Service Department (CSD) would review SCRE in terms of the staff, their jobs and their relationship to similar jobs in the civil service.

Reviews and Responses

Because Government was SCRE's major source of income, in 1979 it was designated a "fringe" body, hardly an edifying title, but based on the premiss that the civil service is the body corporate, and others are lesser breeds. Early in the Thatcher administration (1979-90) the Council became a quango. (ch 1).

Where organisations which are in receipt of public money, choose to relate their salaries and conditions of service to the civil service, there is a duty on the contact department to ensure that conditions regarding rules are observed, and that the identified points, on scales for determining salaries are the correct ones. SCRE had recruited staff from various areas and accepted that their salaries and superannuation would relate to the field from which they had been recruited. Intra-relations for SCRE became inappropriate in that they did not match the levels of work being done, nor provide the appropriate and expected differentials. The era of comparators was upon them, work which the civil service relishes.

At the time I was the Inspectorate representative on the Executive committee of FDA, and the director, depute and assistant at SCRE were members of
this union. Technically I was their representative. Subsequently an Assistant Secretary, who dealt with SCRE finance, was SED representative of another union, the Society of Civil and Public Servants (SCPS), an organisation which some members of SCRE wished to join. Two other unions, National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO), and Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff (ASTMS) were also involved. The clash of interests was more apparent than real, but government believed that the application of private management principles applied to the public sector would resolve all difficulties and discrepancies.

A review was arranged, to be conducted by D. Butcher of CSD. He sought job descriptions from all members of staff in SCRE in terms of the post, not the incumbent, and broke down the main areas of activity into Research Services, Information Services and Administration. Each of these was then considered under a "Job Evaluation Factor Plan", with five factors, some subdivided into 'Elements', with a degree of tautology in identifying them. Government had already indicated that it wished to bring to bear the managerial skill of the private sector, which was deemed to be efficient, on the public sector, which was deemed to be flabby and ill-managed. There was no consideration of the major premiss, that it may be ill-founded. It was to be a procrustean bed.

Sir Derek Rayner was the leader of the review system for the civil service, and all quango reviews, and the Evaluation Plan bore his hallmark. The Butcher report was not a Rayner review, but a parallel review. The size of the Rayner job was such that he could only do it by remote control, so that a starred individual, from serving civil servants, referred to as "on the fast track" was chosen to review a part of the civil service or a quango. The report was sent to Rayner who commented on it, and made any necessary changes, before allowing it to be issued over his name. For government the paradigm

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62 The Treasury had two functions, that of national finance and that of pay and management of the Civil Service. The Fulton committee, set up in 1966 by the Wilson government: (Fulton, John (1968) The Civil Service. Vol 1. Cmd 3638. London, HMSO), advocated having a separate department for the latter function, called CSD, with its Permanent Secretary as head of the civil service and reporting directly to the Prime Minister. Butcher worked for CSD. Determined resistance from the civil service led to its closure in 1981, with its functions reverting to the Treasury.

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was the Churchillian memo, "Action this day - on one side of paper," an attitude which was anathema to many professionals who believed in reflection before action.

Any reporter who reviewed part of a government department, with delegated powers from Rayner, would run a risk. (S)he may be making adverse comment on individuals, not personally, but through the performance of their organisation, who at a later date may be in a position to affect that reporter's career development. There was less risk in being more efficient with a quango, where efficiency may be equated with a degree of ruthless cost and job cutting. It all created an atmosphere of distrust.

SCRE staff were inept at writing up their Job Description in a form which looked impressive, mainly because of a decent reticence and subsequently, after several months, changed them for its directorate staff, because they had not shown that their work differed significantly from that of research staff, lower in the hierarchical order. This was a weakness, but the directorate were involved in an activity for which they had neither training nor experience, and were acutely embarrassed at having to write themselves up blatantly. Others did not share such reservations, and one about-to-retire Permanent Secretary in Whitehall addressing the Executive Committee of FDA in my presence, said acidly of job descriptions for some of his staff, that with such excellent people around, one wonders why the country is in such difficulties.

SCRE staff were aware of the five factors of the Plan which were:

1. Problem Solving/Complexity
2. Responsibility for decisions and contributions to decisions
3. Responsibility for Staff Management
4. Responsibility for representation
5. Knowledge, skills and experience.

and directorate staff produced job descriptions using these criteria.

Dockrell's collegiate rather than hierarchical management style was
unsuited to 'Butcher'. Further, the Council had a tradition of producing a large amount of work on a small budget, where for the first 30 years of its existence its annual budget was around £2500. This could have been presumed to point to value for money, but instead caused the judgement to be that their contribution must be of little account. The Butcher Report and its associated departmental files, is not available until the year 2010 but I have read the actual report. The director of SCRE was graded at average Assistant Secretary level (Grade 5) in the civil service. His depute was graded at average Principal level (Grade 7). Thus the assistant director could only rate Senior Executive Officer and the research officers in the Council would require to fit into Higher Executive Officer and Executive Officer grades, placements which damaged morale in SCRE.

It was not an issue unique to SCRE. The civil service had never resolved the problem within its own ranks, but had certain principles. Administrators were of the Blood Royal, and although the classifications of Administrative, Executive and Clerical grades had allegedly been merged many years earlier, yet the invisible barriers remained, based on education and class. There was sufficient inter-class movement to be remarkable when it happened. Also the vast majority of civil servants had never had a post outwith the civil service, so that they were their own comparators. Where there were professional staff, such as Medical Officers, HMI, Economists, Police and Social Workers, almost all of them had gained their qualifications and experience in outside posts, so that there were outside comparators.

These salary scales changed at different times, so that often they were out of phase with internal civil service scales. The solution for many years had been to have departmental grades, where the difference from the "main" grade may be a percentage or a quantum, causing problems which were classed as "consequentials", so that after any salary agreement many months were occupied with argument about the "consequentials." It is a problem without a solution, if the inputs are differentials, comparators and pay scales of differing length, and varying increments. It cannot be resolved

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63 An E.O. was equated with a captain in the army. Sergeant would have been more appropriate.
by supply and demand where large organisations have unions which require equality of treatment for their members, on the grounds that their activities are based on team work. In education it would be inappropriate to pay a physics teacher more, because of shortage of supply, if the school expected more of that person than teaching physics. The other erstwhile solution is merit bars, which merely introduce another factor to the equation of who decides what is meritorious, and can such a judgement be objective?

In this complex situation SCRE staff became isolated and disheartened. There was a degree of goodwill within SED, but also the human aspect where the people who were judging levels of work in SCRE were relating them to the level of their own work, and grading the SCRE levels lower than their level.

In 1991, I interviewed, Dockrell, Pollock, Powell and Nisbet on the issues, and in 1992, Fairlie, the chairman over the whole period of reviews, but I could not find common ground. For all of them it was a problem of yesteryear and of little consequence. Nisbet and I discussed the general principle, concluding that review bodies are not an adequate solution, but that one person should be asked to examine the position, reach a conclusion quickly, produce a draft paper and have immediate discussion with interested parties to reach a satisfactory conclusion. This Butcher did for SCRE within an explicit evaluation plan provided by his department. The piece missing was adequate “immediate discussion”. This may always be the result.

At the same time the Inspectorate and RIU was subject to a Rayner review. Within RIU there was a heavy work load, organised in five branches: Research, Educational Technology, Micro-computing, Assessment and Information Retrieval. All of them were very active at the same time with the Scottish Microcomputing Development Programme (SMDP), a reorganisation of SCET, feasibility studies for assessment for the Dunning report, which led to Standard Grade, and great pressure on the staff to produce background papers for many areas of work. Four branches were headed by an HMI, and Information Retrieval by a Principal Research Officer, (PRO) and much of the work for the Research Branch fell on Bill Nicol.
together with administrative colleagues. He kept the research programme going while helping administrative colleagues to effect the consequences of the Butcher report, spread over a period of 18 months.

Jack Shaw, chairman of the finance committee, was Senior Partner in Scotland of chartered accountants Deloittes, Haskyns and Sells and Professor of Accountancy at Glasgow University. He led the staff side on salary and conditions of service negotiations, to be followed by John Hume, another accountant working in business. The system of having professionals from business and industry, as Secretary of State appointments to Council, was now working against the Department on financial matters. Council staff had been traumatised by the Butcher report and many believed that their jobs were now at risk. There were further job classification negotiations after ‘Butcher’ with decisions which the Department, and the staff unions, accepted reluctantly. For the last three years of his chairmanship, Fairlie was embroiled in staff matters as a negotiator, an interface with SED and a peace-maker, work he did not relish.

On the organisational side within SCRE, Shaw instituted a management accountancy system which put the long-term finances, including superannuation on a sound footing, dispensed with the services of the administrative officer to liquidate a deficit, which caused Pollock to have to incorporate financial control in his work load, and cut costs further by ending the agreement with Hodder and Stoughton64 for distribution of SCRE publications, bringing it in-house. These were strenuous efforts to meet the demands for rigour in management and in research activities.

By now government had acquired a taste for review, and SCRE had apparently reorganised, just in time to be subjected to a Pliatzky review. Sir Leo Pliatzky was a retired Permanent Secretary at the Board of Trade, at one time having been second Permanent Secretary at the Treasury. Government wished to reduce the size of the civil service, eliminate quangos and hive off civil service functions to the private sector. These three stated aims were mutually antagonistic, but were eagerly pursued in the belief that

64 Successors to ULP as publishers and distributors of SCRE books.
activity, any activity, could be construed as firm action. Pliatzky was asked to report.65

SED had to nominate an outside person to conduct a Pliatzky style review of SCRE, and had difficulty in finding an individual willing to take on the task. Angus Mitchell, Secretary of SED at the time, told me in an interview in 1991 that he asked RIU to produce a name.66 Ian Freeman, a Scottish Office Principal was appointed, in his recollection by the Management Group of PUSS, to carry out the scrutiny. He had worked in the CRU at the Scottish Office, and had recently returned from a period of secondment with Scottish Business in the Community. At the time of my interview with him he was blocking a Grade 5 (Assistant Secretary) post, dealing with environmental matters. I have treated his report and the follow-up in some detail because the material is not easily available.

He told me that he had a short briefing by SED, and then some informal visits to SCRE, before beginning the work in November 1983.67 There were four questions to be answered taken from the Pliatzky report, but Freeman's methodology was of his own choosing. It consisted of interviews, unstructured, but covering a group of ideas, which he considered to be relevant. The other important feature was that, in accordance with the Pliatzky procedure, he had to report in three months, which he did.

The questions were:

(a) Is the function which is being carried out by SCRE essential, or if not, is it valuable enough to justify the time and money spent on it?

(b) If the function is either essential or sufficiently valuable, is it best carried out by the Council, rather than by any other means?

66 I have not found anyone in RIU at the time who remembers being approached.
67 At interview in 1991.
(c) Is it being carried out well and economically?

(d) Conversely would there be any substantial loss or disadvantage if the Council were wound up?

At one level it is difficult to take these questions seriously, because they are so value-laden and subjective. "Essential" becomes "essential to whom?" and "valuable enough" begs the question of what scale is being used, and compared with what other use to put "the time and money". Again "well and economically" interact. If something is efficient at the 90% level a judgement can be made about the extra input to reach 100%, and whether this extra is worth that level of return. The final question could be answered "No", but it would depend on the time scale. How long should one wait before deciding that education has been beneficial, so that educational research could be justified, on the grounds that it made that education better?

At another level in a democracy it is essential to try to co-operate with government, being grateful that one has been asked, but the attitude of the respondent will differ according to whether (s)he is an official of the Council, a Council member, a user of the services, a civil servant or an identified "member of the community".

Freeman lists 66 people whom he interviewed. There are 60 working days in a three-month period, and he made visits to London, read a considerable amount of material related to SCRE, and wrote the report. The conclusion has to be that the interviews were brief, and not particularly searching. I asked him about this, and he said that he had interviewed some people in groups. I am listed as a person who was interviewed but regretfully, I have no recollection of it. Several others on the list have no recollection either, which is understandable after a gap of nine years.

The officials of the Council had much to lose by failing to sell themselves and their work. They learned from the earlier experience of the Butcher report, that it was vital to give a good account of their activities. They were also aware that in 1983 there was considerable disquiet in SED about the work of
SCRE, especially related to 'accountability'. The word is code for saying that SCRE was too independent in its choice of research projects, and should be wholly a servant to the Department's needs, thus indicating who should initiate and own research.

Council Members and the education directorate gave a generally favourable report, if only because it takes a great deal of background knowledge to give and substantiate a critical view.

Freeman found for the Council, in that it was valuable but not essential, whereas the colleges of education and SEB were essential. Ministers of the Crown have subsequently had reservations in 1992 about the colleges of education being essential, or even valuable, and perhaps a hindrance to the training of teachers. The review of SEB in 1993 did not find favour with COSLA. "Essential" is time-related.

Factors in favour of the Council were its neutrality, nationwide scope, added value received from schools and education authorities, empathy within schools and acceptability with the local authority. The critical remarks were written in terms of improvements to be made:

(a) Strengthening research output at the expense of administration;

(b) better line management, quality control and forward development;

(c) formal forward planning with SED, EIS and COSLA linked to the commitment of funds for agreed work over a three to four year period;

(d) abolishing the sub-committees and having officials take more decisions;

(e) re-defining staff on the general grant complement pursuant to the above changes.

68 Teachers formerly gave their services free to SEB, but Regions, and their successors, financially pressed by government, would charge for such in future at a cost of about £1.7 million annually.
The itemised positive features were listed negatively in terms of what would be lost if the Council was wound up:

(a) A free-standing full-time research capability valued by users;
(b) willingness of education authorities and the profession to participate directly in research;
(c) a forum for joint discussion between all educational interests in Scotland on research needs and priorities.\(^69\)

Freeman stated that he had concentrated on the Council following its 1972 reconstruction, and selected eight recent publications ie over the previous six years, and considered their sales, which ranged from 3,700 to 900, compared this with a teaching force of 56,000, but accepted that interested practitioners would have a multiplier effect. If there has to be quantification then "sales of reports" is as good a criterion as any, but it should have been compared with publishers' marketing of educational books.

Another criticism was late production of reports, and the lack of a coherent programme of longitudinal research. Adverse comparison was made with the Scottish Education Data Archive, maintained by the Centre for Educational Sociology (CES) at Edinburgh University.\(^70\)

"Teaching Strategies in Primary Schools" received specific criticism as a project in its tenth year, yet with no final report available, but there was no analysis by Freeman of the reason for the delay. One was administrative, in that the Assistant Director in charge of the project was heavily committed to publications and communication, thoroughly laudable activities. The second was that there was no computer programme available to handle the large number of variables (73) in the project and he was inadvisedly trying to write one.

\(^{69}\) This became a major issue. ch 9.
\(^{70}\) By 1992 maintaining this archive was put out to tender by the Department. CES was not given the work, putting its time series work at risk.
Outside bodies in Scotland such as COSLA and local authorities gave favourable comment, and ESRC gave more guarded approval but agreed that on contracts, for the rate of return and quality, SCRE was no worse than other bodies including NFER.

Freeman considered other possibilities, such as marketing educational tests, selling the services of the Research Services Unit, providing support via British Council for services abroad and taking advertising for its Newsletters. None of these was new to SCRE and there is no analysis of them against the expectations of sponsors other than SED. A reasonable Council response could have been that it drew its members from Secretary of State appointees, and all other sponsors and users of research, representation which should have been adequate to deal with issues of policy.

Another quantification exercise was based on finance, and how the budget for the whole research programme, using SED money, was allocated.

SCRE has absorbed nearly 40% of the general education research budget but has been undertaking barely 20% of the research studies (by value). ... This compares with a 30% share of the DES programme for the NFER71

This is input quantification with general assumptions as outputs, and unhelpful. At the heart of the criticism is the problem of centralisation versus dispersal. Those getting advantage from dispersal such as CES, Godfrey Thomson Unit, colleges of education as a group and severally, and SMDP, mainly favoured dispersal. SMDP was a separate organisation based at SCET in Glasgow for its first five years of existence, but after acrimonious discussion was incorporated as an arm of SCET. Scottish Film Council fought a better rear guard action to avoid being absorbed into SCET.

Another aspect was geographical. Glasgow always expects a share of placings of government-funded bodies, and those outside the Central Belt such as Aberdeen, Inverness and Dundee also seek recognition.

RIU had the responsibility for allocating research and development resources, and was particularly conscious of the pressures from a range of quarters for a share of the finance. It accounted for its stewardship in association with an administrative division to the Department Planning Committee (DPC) a body chaired by the Secretary, with a small continuing core group, and an agenda of items against a time-scale, where those with responsibility for specific items attended at the allocated time, made their case, and withdrew. The decisions appeared in the Minute of Meeting, always related to Departmental policy, and always seeking action and favourable result. There is no objective criticism of this style of meeting, but it does not favour great reflection and debate. Devotees of 'management’ would consider it to be sound.

On precise criticisms which were acted upon by SED, and which changed radically the future direction of Council development, Freeman was categoric:

1. Management was top heavy, with lack of clarity in line management and a *laissez-aller* style. This resulted in late delivery of reports, lack of forward planning and was 'more consistent with a university research approach.'

2. Three sub-committees of Research, Communications and Finance and General Purposes, were bureaucratic, wasting resources in servicing them. The research committee was singled out for additional criticism, in that it gave greater weight to researcher than to user interests. The chairmen of the respective committees were said to have agreed with the criticisms, and to have accepted that they were unnecessary bodies whose function could be better discharged by Council.

3. Support staffing is over-generous, compared with other bodies. Those selected for comparison were all English-based except CRU, Freeman’s former base, and for administrative and accounting functions located in Scottish Development Department (SDD). It is of interest that RIU was not one of the organisations used for comparison, although it regularly cited CRU to Establishment Division in the Scottish Office as being more favourably staffed than itself.

4. The problems of contract staff were noted, expatiated upon but not resolved.
5. Relationships with SED were as much a criticism of RIU and Administrative Divisions as of SCRE. The lack of a rolling programme was seen as a distinct disadvantage, and negotiations of a bilateral type between RIU and SCRE were called, "mysterious," "hand-to-mouth" and a "courtly dance." Freeman commented

Such is the peril to my mind of relying solely on personalised and ad hoc approaches

6. As a fringe body SCRE was subjected to "detailed controls" and showed some resentment, deemed to be unjustified.

7. There was little Divisional awareness or involvement with any of the SCRE projects, even when a Division was said to be the sponsor of a project. Also RIU was using Dundee College for a survey of achievement levels in English, because it was not satisfied with SCRE in its ability to meet deadlines.

A final comparison was with DES, which had 59 live research projects as opposed to 108 in SED, the former costing £3.2 million and the latter £1.6 million. The conclusion was

The DES programme is therefore more concentrated with larger projects on a smaller number of subjects (which) make for greater manageability and awareness of research results

A range of alternatives was then offered, such as closing down SCRE, resorting to NFER as the Great Britain research body, and using research capabilities in universities and colleges alone. Savings from such decisions were listed, and comparisons made with how the money might otherwise be

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72 op. cit. p.16, para. 78. The epithets were ascribed to "several members of the Council and its staff" but in all my interviews I did not find anyone who would admit to having used them. Yet they may well have done so.

73 ibid. p.17, para 80. The criticism refers to the method used by RIU to identify individuals and organisations which would conduct specific research projects. This was simply negotiated research, in keeping with the customer/contractor principle.

74ibid. p.19, para. 91.
utilised, but the conclusion was that the Council should be retained and relaunched with specific recommendations for change.

The recommendations were
1. Discontinue Depute and Assistant Director posts, one-fifth of SRO posts and a personal secretary post. Replace with two full-time SRO posts and an office manager.
2. Information Officer post to be enlarged to include publicity, editing and dissemination.
3. Disband the three sub-committees.
4. Increase the Secretary of State representatives from three to five in a Council of 21, (i.e. back to the 1972 allocation), one of these to represent parents and one possibly the secretary of the new Scottish Education and Industry Committee.
5. There was an omnium gatherum of how to relate to COSLA, SED, EIS and support for core funding against a management plan on a four year basis of research themes to be worked up by Council. Also advertising and the sale of tests should be considered.

After what can only be considered as a damming report there is the surprising conclusion that:

the Department should consider using the Council as the consultative body for the totality of its research programme, even though part of that programme will be located within the Council

Sundry appendices provided lists of those consulted, an organisational chart, funding comparisons for selected years, publications over the previous decade, expenditure against sub-heads over the same period, current and proposed staff complements with costs.

Pliatzky’s concept of reviews is relevant to evaluating ‘Freeman’, and SCRE’s response. He reviewed a range of organisations, and wished to eliminate those which were no longer useful, and were preventing a

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75 op. cit. para. 18.
reduction in public expenditure and in the size of the public sector. Pliatzky took five months to produce his report in January 1980 and its advent alone was sufficient to have about 10% of quangos choose voluntary disbandment. It was more of a desk clearing operation than one of serious account but it gave impetus to the drive for review and dissolution. Executive bodies which SCRE was, and statutory bodies which SCRE was not, fared best and advisory bodies were amalgamated or disbanded. If an organisation had no Ministerial appointments, it was not classed as an NDPB. SCRE was an NDPB which could have been abolished but few would advocate this openly. Also taking its functions back into SED would have been at variance with government policy of cutting back the size of the civil service, and hiving off functions.

CSD issued an annual "Guide to Departments" which was not mandatory, but would require a high grade defence where its guidance was not taken, with a consequence considered to be disadvantageous. From 1981 onwards it had made it clear that reviews were to be triennial and quinquennial affairs, and that Financial Management Surveys for executive bodies, and within departments, were essential. Government now had a new tool rather than a committee of enquiry, or the much derided Royal Commission. It was a single individual charged with producing a report against a fixed time scale, always less than six months and with the authority to delegate the work to selected subordinates. There were efficiency unit reviews under Rayner, Civil Service Department reviews on staffing, grades and salaries, conducted by the relevant contact department after 1981, and Pliatzky reviews for NDPB's. At times outside bodies had difficulty in identifying which area of activity was being reviewed. Malcolm Rifkind, former Secretary of State for Scotland gave the rationale for Scottish NDPB reviews.76 An overview is also given by Angus Mitchell, formerly Secretary of SED. 77

Government in the shape of its officials had begun to take "Management"


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seriously in the early 1970s, setting up a civil service college in Edinburgh complete with a library of favoured management books on reviews, forward plans, management accountancy, structures, flow charts, models, analysis, terms of reference and matrices.

A collection of articles published in the "Observer" newspaper, subsequently issued as a book, set the tone for debunking writing about management. Two quotes typify this:

restrict 'systems analysis' to calculations which can be done on the back of an envelope

Managers, the most intensively educated group of adults in society, are very possibly educated to the least effect

They became manuals of how to play 'review chess', with standard gambits and defences, at least as well-known to SCRE as to Freeman and SED, but the end result of any review is not the report, but an actual change in reality, and Freeman's report caused this. Although just an outside ripple on the pool it was vital to SCRE.

Certain Council members imputed bad faith in that they claimed that Freeman had given an undertaking to provide them with copies of his Report, and subsequently reneged on this, despite objections from Henry Philip, Andrew McPherson and Madeleine Monies, Council members representing different constituencies, who feared loss of independence for

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78 It was reviewed and closed down in the late 1970s.
81 op. cit. p. 226. The quote originated with Professor Blackett who devised operational research to plan the most efficient way of bombing Germany in WWII.  
82bid. p.199.
83 Freeman told me that the Report was not his to distribute but belonged to those who commissioned it. He is technically correct. He had no recollection of giving the undertaking.
the Council, which was a concomitant of the Report.\textsuperscript{84}

Within SED there was a body of opinion in favour of taking the opportunity of the report to foreclose on SCRE. Some staff in universities and colleges would have supported this, because it would have freed the field for them in bidding for financial support from SED, but the majority there, the EIS and the local authorities, indicated informally that they were supportive of SCRE. SCRE wisely took time to consider the Review, which they received at Easter 1984. A sub-committee of Fairlie, (retiring chairman), Dunn, (universities), Cameron-Jones, (colleges of education) and Sutherland, (ADES) was appointed and met under the chairmanship of Kirk, the new chairman of Council.

Gordon Kirk succeeded Fairlie, in June 1984. He told me in interview that Linn\textsuperscript{85} and Johnston visited him at Moray House, and asked him to become chairman, as a Secretary of State appointment. He took time to consider it, having very recently been appointed Principal of Moray House, which was a heavy commitment, and also he had an uncomfortable feeling that he was being invited to preside over the demise of SCRE, an outcome which he would have resisted. He knew of the existence of SCRE on his campus, but had not yet visited it. He was aware of resentment among staff in Moray House about having to give up a whole floor of their college to SCRE. He was not aware of how the SCRE sub-committee to respond to Freeman had been appointed. He himself wrote a draft response but was absent from the meeting of the sub-committee, through illness, where the group excised from the draft his justification for having a Research Council. When the draft went to Council he said that it met with "a substantial period of obstructiveness" mainly from the university members, who claimed to be the champions of research.

The sub-committee produced a "Recommended Response" which was

\textsuperscript{84} CRE 1/19/7 Bd of Man. 20 March 1984 pp. 3,4: Bd of Man. 3 June 1984 (postponed), and Bd of Man. 4 July 1984, with Minute of 20 March 1984 pp. 2, 3 attached, showing general views and reserving positions. Council members eventually received copies of 'Freeman' in December 1986.

\textsuperscript{85} Assistant Secretary in the administrative division dealing with research.
accepted by Council on October 26 1984, and passed to SED by the end of the year.86 The sub-committee were aware that they had solid support outside SED, even if for the slightly reprehensible reason that local government and COSLA were Labour controlled, and central government was Conservative.

Kirk, was frank and expansive when interviewed, showing me papers which put beyond doubt the attitude of the Council. The opening paragraph of the Council response was skilful.

"SCRE: Forward From Freeman"87

The practice of subjecting public bodies to the critical scrutiny of an independent investigator is one that SCRE, with its own tradition of, and commitment to, independent investigation, is bound to endorse. The Freeman report which is in many ways sharply critical of SCRE's current mode of operation, is therefore welcomed as an impetus to SCRE's own appraisal of its central purposes and functions and how these may be more efficiently and effectively conducted. SCRE does not therefore propose to tackle one by one the issues raised by the Freeman report, rather it seeks to establish from first principles the functions of a national research agency in the contemporary education context and, in the light of that analysis to propose those operational and management procedures as well as those levels of staffing that are required if SCRE's central functions are to be satisfactorily performed. In this way, the criticisms made by the Freeman report will be taken into account in the course of a reassertion of SCRE's importance and value and a reinterpretation of its functions.

As the opening speech by the advocate for the defence, this is more than adequate. It is firm without being rude or hostile; it accepts 'Freeman' but asserts that there are bigger issues, and wishes to enter negotiations on its own terms. There is also just the hint of a gauntlet being dropped. Pliatzky and Robert Heller would have approved.

An opener requires a strong follow up if it is to avoid being dismissed as

86 SERA had discussed the findings of 'Freeman' at its annual conference earlier that month.
87 SCRE, Kirk sub-committee,18 October 1984. Recommended response to review of SCRE for discussion at the meeting of the Board on October 26. Unpublished committee paper.

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pious, and SCRE immediately defined educational research, with no hint of doubts, such as those which troubled Clapham, Heyworth, and Rothschild.

If we view educational research as the systematic study of professional activity with a view to its improvement, it is not an appendage to the educational service: it is an inescapable professional imperative and a profession that demonstrates no commitment to research is moribund.

It then identifies its area of work as "enquiry," (reverting to a term used by Rusk in the 1930s), dissemination, support for researchers in Scotland, and the formulation of policy, and enlarges on what these imply in operational terms. The word "policy" used by outside bodies, puts government departments on the defensive, but the response stated that SCRE was best placed to formulate it, and identify priorities, because it was in touch with all those in education in Scotland who may rightfully be involved. It selected Freeman's suggestion of being a consultative body, and agreed to be "the authoritative national forum" a slight change of emphasis; added some other functions it performed, such as running SERA, maintaining a specialised library and servicing Eurydice89 and Eudised90 on behalf of Scottish education, without overtly criticising Freeman for not having taken them into account. The response ended with a brief statement of job descriptions, a management organisation chart and a comparative table of the current staffing pattern, in accordance with the review, and their own new pattern, showing a saving of half a staff member, against the review establishment, without labouring the point. The response did not provide figures identifying financial savings. This was a main feature in the Pliatzky model of dispensing with NDPBs, and often specious when not spurious. Further the response made no reference to RIU.

I had retired as Director of RIU in October 1983, to be succeeded by R. S.

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88 op. cit. para. B 3.
89 A European Community Information service. It is not an acronym.
90 A Council of Europe body serving a similar function. European Dissemination of Information Service for Education.
Johnston, and my long time colleague there, Bill Nicol retired at the end of 1984. SCRE believed that they had a sound defence, and invited the Department to make the next move. Where the administration in SED had difficulty was in its not being part of the Scottish educational scene, and having no commitment to educational development, other than in managerial and organisational terms.

Kirk’s first Board meeting as chairman, on 4 July 1984 minuted eleven absences from members and three from assessors, perhaps because of planned family holidays, or perhaps from despair at not being able to do anything positive. Departmental guidance to the Board from Johnston, now an assessor, was that he believed that “the concept of the Council’s role should arise from a concept of research.” Johnston also stated that SED required a response to Freeman by September (1984).92

Another agenda item was criticism by Council staff, of MSC, for seeking bids only from English and Welsh organisations for the evaluation of TVEI, to be told by Johnston that MSC had approached SED for advice.93 SED had not advised SCRE about this, which contributed to the atmosphere of distrust from staff at SCRE. At the next Board meeting, Linn the other SED assessor stated that, “SED would not be foregoing its control of funding.”94

Corrie, a staff representative, asked for a strong response to SED regarding the Freeman Report, especially refuting errors therein. The picture is one of disquiet, considerable discussion and no one prepared to take a firm lead. Kirk could have asked the Board as at 1984 to continue in office until a resolution of the requirements of ‘Freeman’, but chose not to do so, probably believing that his own working party could resolve any difficulties.

The next move was a letter from Linn to Kirk95 indicating the decision of

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91 The Council was called such in Annual Reports but gradually at this time took the title Board of Management (BOM).
92 BOM Minute, 4 July 1984. p. 3.
93 Ibid. p. 4.
94 BOM. 26 October 1984. p. 5.
95 16 April 1985.
Ministers regarding 'Freeman' and SCRE's response thereto, which caused the Board to question whether it could carry out all its functions with a reduced grant. George Thomson, a university member of Council asked Linn if research and dissemination was still the function of SCRE, and was assured that it was. Hartley, another university representative, spoke regarding "the authoritative national forum" which was mentioned in Linn's letter, and the dangers in it that it would only be advisory, yet SCRE may be accused of using it to support its own subsequent submissions for contracts.

The final Report of the working party to consider changes post-Freeman was provided for the BOM meeting\textsuperscript{96} where Frank Pignatelli\textsuperscript{97} moved acceptance, which was carried by ten votes to three, with George Thomson having his dissent recorded. For some, it marked the end of SCRE as an independent force. Kirk's paper led to the formal retiral of Pollock and Powell and the savings on salaries helped to finance the appointment of an administrative officer, David Gilhooly. The balance of saving reverted to the research fund at SED for which SCRE could bid.

A paper entitled "The Re-launching of SCRE" was provided for the next BOM\textsuperscript{98} and for that meeting John Nisbet sent a letter criticising the decisions post-Freeman. It was the last attempt to resist the changes, but was in effect a critique which could only be academic, because the decisions had been taken.

After the response to Freeman was sent to SED, the three members of the directorate staff at SCRE offered to resign. Pollock claims that he left at the end of 1984, and Powell gives 1985 for his retiral. Both felt aggrieved at the time, but when interviewed by me in 1991 all passion had been spent, they had other interests, and were content. Dockrell did not leave until mid 1986. He told me in an interview in 1992, that this period of uncertainty was a considerable distraction from the research projects in hand, but like his

\textsuperscript{96} 12 September 1985.

\textsuperscript{97} Pignatelli was a COSLA representative, the most powerful body of the various constituency members. His motion and the vote ended further serious resistance to the Department's decisions.

\textsuperscript{98} 16 October, 1985

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colleagues, he now looked on the incident without bitterness.

Within SED there was considerable discussion about what should be done with SCRE after the Freeman report, culminating in the letter of 16 April from Linn, which had set out the Department's case, and the response of Ministers. Linn an Executive Committee member of the SCPS, who knew Dockrell well, even advising him on the regulations regarding salary enhancement for early retirement, was a man of conscience about any individual losing a job whether it was called retirement, redundancy, re-location or dismissal. A different Assistant Secretary at the time may have acted otherwise. The letter put SCRE on probation for a year, although many of the Staff had been given termination of employment notices in keeping with the law, an experience which lowered morale considerably. By December 1985 Johnston retired, to be succeeded by Beveridge as head of RIU, and in 1986 Dockrell retired, to be succeeded by Sally Brown. Linn also took early retirement that year. From mid 1986 there had been a complete change, and Kirk, as chairman of less than two years in post, and Brown, took on the task of re-building a demoralised SCRE.
Chapter Nine

THE BROWN AND HARLEN YEARS

Background

Any organisation which has lost its whole directorate staff by constructive resignation is under stress, but elsewhere in the research community there was less despondency, or perhaps greater desperation in seeking employment. There were 80 applications for the two Senior Research Officer (SRO) posts advocated by Freeman to replace the Depute and Assistant Director posts, and Harry Black, already on the staff and Douglas Weir, a former member of staff, former member of Council and at the time on the staff at Glasgow University were appointed. When Dockrell submitted his resignation on 5 December 1985, Weir chose not to accept his appointment until he knew who would succeed Dockrell, and was himself an applicant for the Director's post.

On 17 April 1986 applicants for the post of Director were interviewed, and Sally Brown was appointed by a committee of, Beveridge, Bernbaum, the outside member in keeping with civil service rules, and the chairmen from three ad hoc panels, Leo Hendry for research, William Dunn for communication, and Ivor Sutherland for administration The last three had formed the first stage of the interviewing. Kirk, originally on the committee, had to withdraw because of another commitment and Bernbaum chaired the interviews. Brown took up office on 1 August 1986 and appointed Pamela Munn as the second SRO with effect from 25 September 1986.

Brown, based at Stirling University, had spent four years working as a civil servant in RIU, and at the time of her appointment was a part-time adviser, with reference to Standard Grade assessment. Her previous experience enabled her to make an immediate declaration of intent for research, which met the expectations of the civil service, offered help to practitioners and policy-makers alike, and had a degree of clarity which would prevent anyone

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1 Assessor from SED having succeeded Johnston on 31 January 1986.
2 Munn had worked at Stirling University as a colleague of Brown, but came to the SCRE post from University of York.
from claiming ignorance of purpose. She also embraced the Forum, but insulated the Council from criticism of the shortcomings of any Forum, now or in the future. Finally she indicated to her own staff that they were not merely people whose function was to react to the ideas of others for research projects, but that they too could and should be initiators.

**Management Style of Council**

It is a commonplace to state that staff in various branches of education have low morale, and difficult to provide evidence in support of it. Brown took over an organisation where the staff had been beaten in the argument, had been exposed to compulsory redundancies, and perhaps worst of all, had been forced to consider whether what they were doing was of any particular value to the educational community. That in total amounts to demoralisation. Some staff in SCRE would accept this description, but claim that the problems were resolved in the interregnum between Dockrell submitting his resignation and Brown taking post, a period of eight months. Others would claim that she inherited a demoralised group.

Brown was known to many of the staff at SCRE. The Board at its October 1985 meeting, had appointed a planning committee for the first Forum and she, John Wilson (Moray House College), Joyce Watt (Aberdeen University), Gerda Sian (Edinburgh University) and Harry Black accepted invitations to speak. The Department and Council as corporate bodies, and through their members severally, claim credit for this Forum, yet it could never be considered to have been a success as a policy-forming body.

Brown's first Annual Report under the new dispensation, was published when she had been in post for one year. Both she and Kirk the chairman, felt the need for "a view from the bridge". Both reports were inspiriting, but Kirk felt able to be wholly positive with:

> The message of this report should therefore be clear: SCRE is in good heart; it has new leadership; it has completed a programme of reorganisation; it is pursuing a vigorous research programme; it

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3 Civil servants and others interviewed by me stated this.
4 Fifty ninth Annual Report. 1986-87 SCRE.
is diversifying its funding base; it is revitalising its process of publishing and communicating research findings; and it is exploring new ways of engaging the whole educational community in the discussion of research policy.\(^5\)

This was a comprehensive summary of the corporate analysis of the work of the Council, and a signal to the effect that the transformation occasioned by the Freeman Report had been completed.

Brown, the eventual implementer of the way ahead, was more cautious, but generous in her appreciation of all the help she had received from Council members and senior staff. Her welcome also included 16 new contract staff members, a sound tactic in terms of raising morale, because the newcomers were keen to succeed, and were not inhibited by past failures and frustrated endeavours. The specific changes were, a policy framework with a policy paper,\(^6\) themes for research within that policy, (evaluation, teachers and teaching, post-compulsory education), a new information pack, a restyled Newsletter, (in an associated paper) and the terms in which the staff would be accountable to the Board.

It broadened the concept of research activity, while avoiding the pattern of earlier programme plans, which had tended to stress only areas of activity such as further education or pre-school education.

The papers from the chairman and the director gave clear direction, particularly to the staff, and together with consultancy and management of the Forum, the new director had now given a clear declaration of intent in a way that Rusk had done in 1930. Walker had not taken such action, because McIntosh his chairman would not have considered it necessary, not falling within his concept of management. Dockrell believed that his energetic and extroverted style, and his writings on research, would not require any further amplification.

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\(^5\) op. cit. p. 6.
Brown's comments on the Forum are of special interest. She had already stated her decision to associate with SERA and British Educational Research Association (BERA), and by the time her policy paper was written she had experience of two Fora, the first as a participant and main speaker; the second as Director of SCRE with responsibility for the Forum. She wrote:

This Forum, which is the responsibility of the educational community at large, will affirm the importance of research in education, create a context for interaction among teachers, researchers and policy-makers and provide an opportunity for the discussion of research priorities. Efforts will be made to help the educational community to identify and clarify the different kinds of research that are practicable, the potential which research has for informing policy and practice and the limitations of what can be achieved by research means. The design of the Forum activities, will aim to encourage funding bodies to share their forward thinking on research policy with the participants and the products of the Forum will be accountable to the Forum itself.7

Her statement dissociates the Council from responsibility for anything other than organising the Forum, yet in a positive way; allows for discussion of, but not decisions on, research priorities and hints at what research can and can not do. It suggests that funding bodies, which could only be SED and COSLA, because no other government departments or NDPBs were involved, might indicate their interests. The final statement about the Forum being accountable to itself, can only mean that it was literally "of no account" because it had no membership other than on the particular occasion of its meeting, and no continuity.

SCRE had conducted meetings on research across the country based on specific reports of its own research for at least ten years prior to the Freeman Report. They showed the flag, provided hard information and encouraged discussion. They differed from the Forum in that they were not mandatory.

7 op. cit. p.10.
but merely at the discretion of SCRE to meet a perceived need. The aspect of compulsion built into the Forum for SCRE, with the only stated aim being discussion, debate and identification of issues, with the decision-taking remaining with the Department, was a design for failure, and so it proved.

The new Council, reconstituted on 31 August 1986, had 23 members, five of them representing new organisations in Committee of Principals and Directors of Central Institutes (COPADOCI), Association of Principals of Colleges (Further Education), COSLA, CCC and Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC). The Secretary of State gave up two places, and colleges of education, universities and ADES one place each.

The Chairman's report for 1985-86 stressed a change in staffing, and the reconstitution of the Council:

the overall result is that SCRE is even more firmly embedded in the structure of Scottish Education and is therefore a more fully national agency

The 1986-87 report avoids the word "agency", and refers to SCRE in the Chairman's report as, "a national research establishment." The article is important. Researchers outside of SCRE had always resisted the for a, but were happy to accept a national function. Yet "agency" was a word with which many were uncomfortable, because it seemed to be an agency of SED, thus giving up cherished independence.

The 1970s and 1980s were characterised by putting "post" in front of concepts. There was post-imperial, post-industrial and, around 1986 post-managerial which was meant to contrast with "entrepreneurial," this attribute referring to the forceful imaginative individuals, in small companies, who would solve the country's financial problems. The post-managerial interpretation may have been suited to South East England, but was almost irrelevant in Scotland, where companies were small and would be driven into liquidation if staff were not entrepreneurial. The civil service by its

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composition had difficulty in conceiving how small bodies function. Brown had a clearer perception of this than had her predecessors. Her own working experience, plus being the wife of an economist, put her in a unique position to provide Council policy, couched in terms which would satisfy the Department, and accord with the Pliatzky-determined culture for public bodies. Pliatzky is used rather than Freeman, because he created the culture which was accepted and promoted by government, whereas Freeman was an instrument for one occasion.

The paradigm for all activity in the 1980s was "business", with a belief that it had proven patterns of effectiveness, which were transferable with advantage to areas such as education. Brown applied the concepts without antagonising those who had to use them, where they had no commitmen, and may even have been antipathetic towards them. Her presentation of the research case was masterly, tightly written, gave no hostages to fortune and initially, and for most of her period as Director, was acceptable to SED, local administrators, teachers and their unions.

The Policy Paper also addressed the question of communication without any revolutionary ideas, but a re-statement of what had been proved effective in the past. Reports of research and development had priority; there would be a research and a researchers' register, an information pack and occasional papers, all tailored to the needs of an identified audience. There would also be a range of small conferences and seminars, including relations with SERA and BERA. It was communication through outreach, and the creation of an atmosphere of "can do". This paper helped Brown to turn the Council staff round from a state of unhappiness, and some fear for their future, into a body with a common purpose and a belief in that purpose. There had been an earlier paper, but Brown turned its plans into a blue-print.

After 'Freeman', Kirk had kept a working party in being, to develop SCRE along the lines approved by Ministers, and they produced two reports plus a "Revision of Staffing Structure" all of which were necessary and efficient in

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9 BOM, Appendix 3A. 16 October 1985. The Relaunch of SCRE.
10 BOM, 5 September, 1985

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organisational terms, but the Brown paper added the vision and created the hope for the staff. Within a year some of them were able to review the position in the wake of 'Freeman', and agree that his report had been valuable, because the previous Council directorate had shortcomings.

Two other decisions were taken by Brown to build up confidence. The first was the establishment of a Unit Management Group (UMG)\(^{11}\) to meet the Freeman requirement of dispensing with sub-committees, yet avoiding loading the BOM meetings with trivial matters. 'Freeman' had advocated senior staff having more discretion to take decisions, but in the interests of unity this group was more than what would have been in business terminology, a "chairman's committee with powers". The role of the group was to ensure that there was an effective system of communication within the Council for staff, including union matters and for Management related to the Board.\(^{12}\) Reactions, were favourable and gained the trust, of Council members and staff.

The next exercise in trust-building was with the Council, by giving the BOM copies of 'Freeman' and the SCRE response to it, in December 1986.\(^{13}\) It built trust, but by the time Council members had official access to the papers, as opposed to leaked copies, all decisions had been taken and the documents were historical, not executive in nature.

The third strand of the policy paper was Collaboration and Consultancy, whereby teachers as individuals or groups, unions, parental groups and education authorities could obtain help. Pollock early in his career at the Council had provided this type of support with the RSU, which offered expertise for researchers, in statistical manipulation of data, and analysis of it to produce sustainable conclusions.

An Information Service was added to provide knowledge of relevant earlier work, and help with research design and methodologies. Such open-ended

\(^{11}\) Established 1 October 1986.
\(^{12}\) Internal Management paper.
\(^{13}\) BOM Appendix 2 A. 11 December 1986. More than two years after its publication.
commitments caused problems for those charged with their implementation, often because the enquirers had difficulty in formulating the question, and in deciding on the time when they should seek advice. Individual teachers, were usually working for a further academic qualification, and grateful for any assistance. Organisations such as unions and education authorities believed that SCRE was a public body with a duty to serve them -- quickly. A union may wish evidence to support an already agreed contention, such as the effect of smaller classes on pupil education, or the success of the comprehensive system of education; an education authority may wish support for a decision which it has already taken, in terms of research justification. The telephone, which is more popular as a communication link today than the letter, absorbs time of senior staff and leads to hasty comment which may be stretched to convey more support than is merited by the evidence, all caused by a desire to be helpful. Even if the contact is by letter, the follow-up from the Council will usually be an attempt to clarify aspects of the letter, which will then receive a reasoned reply, again a time-consuming activity.

Educational and Social Climate

‘Freeman’ had indicated the position on finance and wished to have what would now be known as market testing. At SCRE some £359,000 out of an income of £596,000 in 1986-1987, was spent on salaries and related costs, a proportion which compares well with that of other labour-intensive organisations, but most of the income came from what market-oriented politicians would call “soft” sources being SED, MSC and COSLA.

Surprisingly when Freeman considered finance he did not use exemplars such as the CCC, or the School Science Equipment Research Centre (SSERC), both providing a service to the educational community, and in a continuing battle to secure and maintain financial support.

14 The term means Government is asking a question: “Who wants this facility more than we do and is willing to pay for it?” The terminology is new; the idea is not. In 1928 SED suggested that teachers should finance educational research.

15 Name changed subsequently to Training Agency.
The annual payment of £1,500 from the EIS, with small additional sums from local associations of that body and intermittently from private schools, was considered paltry within SED. The EIS defence was firm, that teachers were tax-payers and rate-payers or its equivalent, and it was from these sources that government finance was found, and their contribution as a founding member of SCRE had remained stable over many years. They also commissioned and financed research projects separately.

The rhetoric on the market economy was at its height, and its champions derided others with the term "dependency culture." Those critics, themselves dependent for their jobs, salaries and life-style on public finance, did not appear to consider that it was incongruous to berate others for doing the same, even if rather more precariously. Talk of private sector finance, of private contracts, of sponsorship, all raised issues which had been discussed regarding education, at great length by earlier generations.

In Scotland major educational issues were, implementation of the Standard Grade programme, and at a later date, compulsory national testing of pupil performance in primary school. There was also a sustained drive by government to give power to parents as a method of taking power from teachers. Parents and teachers chose to cooperate with each other, forcing Government into confrontation with both groups.

On the wider front, British miners returned to work in Spring 1985 after a disastrous Strike which they lost, even if with dignity. Hundreds of Indians were killed at a pesticide plant in Bhopal, run by a multinational group, where safety precautions were minimal, and the Reagan and Thatcher administrations were returned to power in their respective countries, embracing philosophies about society and the use of money, which many people working in education found particularly distasteful.

Research Agenda
An area of activity which had begun before Brown took office, was that of evaluation. An early example was evaluation of the Van Leer programme at
Craigroyston (Community) school, Edinburgh, followed by the Transition (from School) to Adult Life programme in Castlemilk, Glasgow, but the main source of continuing finance for the next five years was for the evaluation of the MSC's, Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) programme. This large amount of money was spent mainly in schools, yet outwith the control of SED. The Council was able to secure contracts for two databases, one for teachers and one for curriculum together with a joint national evaluation with Edinburgh University, and also a Regional Authority local evaluation. Any organisation which is carrying a large number of contract workers is forced to accept what is on offer because it requires some form of absorption while it balances the beginning and the end of contracts. It cannot afford the luxury of debating whether evaluation is research. Evaluation may use the techniques of research such as structuring the problem, collecting data with integrity, analysing it and drawing conclusions. In the evaluation of MSC projects, SCRE was in competition with universities, colleges of education and private consultancies but did attract a reasonable share of the work to itself. The outside bodies were reassured that SCRE had no monopoly, and that they too could bid successfully for government determined programmes.

The contract from MSC for maintaining a TVEI data base in Scotland was a mixed blessing. The data were collected, usually in numeric form from a large number of peripheral sources, necessitating the use of questionnaires which, by their nature, are impersonal, and it led to criticism of SCRE as mere "number-crunchers", a pejorative comment which is reasonable only where there is no analysis of the processed numbers. SCRE did an analysis of the data but found that many project staff within TVEI programmes were not particularly interested in the results, because they had no structure for responding to the information.

Data bases do require long-term commitment and it was a recognition that

16 A Dutch company producing containers for oil and chemicals. It used a portion of its profits in any overseas country to finance social projects in that country.
17 Lothian Region. Five Regions/Divisions were involved in the initial programme, with two later additions, eventually encompassing all Education authorities.
SCRE could provide this which caused it to be chosen for another project, that of the Assessment of Achievement Programme (AAP),\(^{18}\) where SCRE acted as an agent for SED. It was fair criticism to claim that there was insufficient analysis, but more difficult to apportion blame for this lack. The role of SCRE in AAP was one of technical support mainly through Graham Thorpe and the RSU, while the subject input came from three colleges of education, because the Department believed that these were more knowledgeable about the curriculum. This cooperative project caused difficulties because of lack of appreciation of particular competencies in the participants. Harry Black, staff member of Council since 1977, and a depute director, when interviewed in 1992, argued cogently that research expertise was at least as important as subject knowledge, but it tended to be downgraded by those financing research. A major strength of SCRE for him was its range of research methodologies, and its ability to select and apply appropriate ones.

Preparation of submissions for research contracts is time-consuming at senior staff level, evidenced in Brown’s first Annual Report:

> a substantial part of the time of the SROs (the people who replaced the Depute and Assistant Directors) and the Director will be taken up with the negotiations about research, the preparation of research proposals and associated public relations and image-building exercises to publicise what the Council does and what it can offer.\(^{19}\)

Other staff were supported from SCRE funds to work on independent pilot studies which could become catalysts for subsequent major projects.

MSC, a major sponsor of SCRE projects in Brown’s first three years, required those working for it to provide discussion groups and seminars which became training sessions, drawing SCRE into training, an activity which they accepted with enthusiasm, but which caused murmurs of

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\(^{18}\) This unit was set up within SED in 1981. It farmed out many jobs, but retained coordinating control.

disapproval from colleges of education, in terms of their having crossed demarcation lines. If the finance had been from SED, the disapproval may have been greater, but because most researchers in Scotland were potential beneficiaries of MSC funding it was muted.

SCRE continued a policy of identifying those who would benefit from its expertise and offering help, except to teachers who were working for academic recognition, because it seemed reasonable that they should obtain help from their supervisors or Institution. It chose to found on SARSU, but expand those activities to include more than assessment, probably because Brown felt she was being type-cast as just an assessment specialist. The logical form of extension would have been a Teacher Research Support Unit, which would encourage teachers to be research conscious, by way of active involvement with a self-selected research topic. By supporting work on that topic, there would be less likelihood of a backlash through difficulties which could not be surmounted by the teacher unaided. The idea was sound but SED chose not to support it financially. It did not fail, but merely functioned at a low level, offering seminars for lone researchers on contract, where they could get assistance on the major problems of research listed as: formulation of the problem, choice of design, collection of data, analysis of data and report writing. This was done in association with SERA, and was well received by participants.

Brown had considerable personal experience of research in a Scottish environment, and had attended meetings in SED where research training, a cadre of researchers and research users, and a career structure for contract researchers were regularly discussed. Conditions of service for contract researchers were poor, to some extent because the majority of them were female. There was little likelihood of SCRE being able to improve them through finance from SED, because ESRC had agreed to conditions on redundancy, termination of contract and superannuation, which became the paradigm for research councils, despite Brown's efforts to improve conditions.
Those activities were sufficient to keep SCRE moving forward, after the major changes pursuant to the Freeman report, but the year 1988 was the Diamond Jubilee of the Council so that there was a period of stock-taking, looking back but also looking forward. The main change was seen in the type of research done. Beveridge, Departmental assessor from January 1986 to 1989 said in an interview in 1992, that the transition to policy-oriented research was complete by 1988, and to that extent fully in keeping with the requirements of SED. SCRE had its new logo, resuscitated Rusk's motto "Research in the Service of Education", and seemed to have a new belief in itself.

The programme in 1987, a continuing one was: TVEI programme, five projects; adult and community education, five projects; testing and assessment, four projects. In addition, Brown headed the Quality of Teachers project, and Munn the Discipline in Schools one, each an area of concern for SED, where it hoped for enlightenment from research.

Brown's project was an attempt by SED to identify "qualities" in teachers which may help them to plan teacher appraisal more effectively. Munn had the perennial problem on discipline, where a judgement has to be made about how bad it is, and a policy has to be declared on what could be done about it. Those heading up the projects were in touch with schools and teachers through whom they would be in no doubt about resistance to appraisal, without guaranteed procedures, and the frustration about discipline, and the lack of measures to improve it. The topics were policy-oriented research, but the policy of SED was known, as was that of the teacher unions, on both topics. The researchers could throw light on the problems, but their solutions could only be of the 'if...then' type. The difficulties forearmed them for subsequent research on school boards. Topical research is stimulating for the researchers, but puts pressure on them, because of expectations of the funders and the demand for speedy results.

The question of why there was a drive on adult and community education research sponsored by SED is difficult to answer, other than that there was a
climate of opinion about study for the Third Age, a drive for access to higher education for people without the appropriate formal qualifications, and redundant staff who may benefit from further training. Also, SED had committed itself to keeping SCRE, as opposed to closing it down, which had been an option until 1986. Thus it had to identify projects for its programme, and the adult and community education field was least controversial with fewer efficient lobbyists, making it the easiest area in which to get speedy action. An additional feature may have been that of Open or Distance Learning, which was particularly suited to adults, who had commitments which young students did not have. This method of study provided flexibility and dovetailed with the TA Open Learning programme across Scotland, in association with TVEI, which had attracted large numbers of adults, especially in the Further Education colleges of the local authorities. SCRE itself claimed that:

the changing demographic patterns and changing patterns of employment have focussed attention on the comparatively neglected, in research terms, adult sector20

The problem in this sector was that the student body was self-selected, with motivation ranging from loneliness at one extreme, to a strong drive towards self-improvement at the other. Staff too on those courses had a range of motivation, from idealism which has been sustained throughout this century, to the not unworthy one of earning extra money.

A particular study was the evaluation of the "Castlemilk Project", initiated by Strathclyde Region. Castlemilk is a local authority scheme of rented houses for people who were being moved out of Glasgow city centre, to an area which would, it was believed, give them better quality of life. Many of them had come from Gorbals, a notorious district in Glasgow, renowned for congestion, poor housing and mainly petty crime, with a few cases of serious crime, but on the positive side for a well-developed community spirit. Strathclyde Region, like Glasgow Corporation before it, had consistently striven to improve the lot of the inhabitants. Initially post-war the belief was that better physical conditions by themselves would effect a change in

outlook and habits. Housing schemes like Easterhouse, also in Glasgow, had been quoted regularly as having more inhabitants than the city of Perth, but with not a single cinema. The statement, showed the difficulty, in that a standard social amenity such as a cinema had long been phased out in favour of a Bingo hall, attracting the middle aged, while the main amenities for the adolescents were mobile chips and ice-cream vans, leading to territorial "wars" over their geographical spheres of activity.

Anyone with a social conscience working in an area such as Castlemilk, often despaired of having any improving effect. Anyone with a municipal conscience is driven by the need to do something, so that activity becomes action, and there is the hope that for a brief period there may be peace of mind for some city leaders, in that 'something is being done.' Research as evaluation can give an independent view, but the size of the problem remains formidable. The danger is that those who commission the evaluation feel let down by the conclusions, and blame "research".

The Annual Report for 1987-88 reproduced a chart showing "Starts and Completions" of research projects which formed part of the first Corporate Plan 1988-92. Dockrell had kept such a chart in his office, in accordance with the concept of planning, which had become a feature of government needs. It was an aide memoir, but failed to highlight the degree of progress in the various projects, other than the length of time spent on them.

Outreach

Dockrell had earlier reorganised reports into Series 1, for books, and Series 2 and 3 for briefer or more ephemeral material, a system subsequently discontinued when SCRE eventually became its own publisher and distributor. Brown reorganised publications with a Practitioner Series, of MiniPapers which were well-produced, factually accurate, provided quickly, and keenly priced. Her concept of communication was that she

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21 Attributed to the late Geoffrey Shaw, sometime convener of the Labour Administration in Strathclyde.
should meet the needs of Scottish teachers with reports on research projects which, in contrast to the reports of the early years, provided conclusions which should lead to action.

SCRE also published a selection of five essays, written over a period of 30 years when Dockrell was active in education in America, Canada and Scotland, as a presentation to him in acknowledgement of his 15 years as Director of SCRE, the papers being chosen by his co-worker Harry Black. The essays have all Dockrell's strengths and weaknesses. The strengths are in his ability to range widely over major areas of concern in education, relating the conclusions to activity in England, Germany, USA, Canada, Sweden and Australia in a highly relevant manner, with well-chosen quotations to support his contentions. The papers were written to be delivered at international conferences, with one exception, that on reporting pupils' attitudes and personality, so that they are lively with few specific doubts.

The weakness is the one he showed on taking up the post of Director, in his publication "In Defence of Educational Research" which seemed to show a degree of scepticism about all research. On the two Scottish Scholastic Surveys he wrote:

> The Scottish pioneers did not ask, as we would today, "Why do we teach children arithmetic or reading? What effects do we expect them to have on pupils when they have become adults?"

and contrasted it with the Assessment of Performance Unit (APU) in England with its leaflet which stated:

> The purpose of monitoring... is to provide national information not only to describe the current position but also to record changes as they occur

He concluded the paper with:

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Finally administrators, politicians, teachers, parents and employers will not take us as seriously as we take ourselves.26

The last sentence is certainly true, but to what extent did Dockrell contribute to the attitude? Brown published the Dockrell collection in 1988 when, although SCRE had been saved from closure, it was under surveillance, with the next scrutiny by a Department appointee scheduled for 1989. A judicious selection from the book would have been useful evidence in declaring that SCRE had, in the Scottish phrase, "served its day and generation" and should now be discontinued.

There is no disclaimer in that introduction, as there is in another book published by SCRE that year (1988), where 12 Scottish researchers each contribute a chapter on an issue of the day.27 They are seen by Brown as "the research community" whose voice should be heard. The papers are sound, with Ian Stronach alone of the contributors striking a cynical note. His paper "Vocationalism and Economic Recovery" is sub titled "The case against witchcraft". He analyses a White Paper,28 demolishing its logic in a devastating attack. He relates the view of government departments to those of the Navajo Indians and concludes:

And so the tin plates of TVEI may also turn out to be 'the fingernails of the moon'

The title of this second book again poses a question which is answered by implication as "wide-ranging and variable".

Two other features relate to Brown and research, though not specifically related to SCRE. The first is the book29 edited by her, before her appointment to the directorship of SCRE, along with Pamela Munn, subsequently a

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26 op. cit. p. 22.
depute director of SCRE. It brought together eight other researchers in Scotland, for contributions to what had become, post Munn and Dunning the key area of activity in Scotland. There are criticisms of SED within this book by Brown and others. Brown wrote:

It is interesting however, that the development model adopted for the major part of the programme post 1982 is not that of the earlier feasibility studies. It relies instead on centrally constituted Joint Working Parties (JWP's) of the Consultative Committee the Curriculum (CCC) and the Scottish Examination Board (SEB) .... The earlier emphasis on the direct involvement of pilot schools and teachers in helping to formulate and pilot curriculum and assessment plans has been substantially reduced

Her criticism may be implicit but Donald McIntyre a contributor, sometime Council member, and former co-worker on research with Brown at Stirling University, was quite explicit.:

Overwhelmingly important in determining which issues matter and which resolutions of them are acceptable is the SED. In recent years the SED's influence on decision making has been exercised not only directly through contacts with schools and teachers but also through two statutory bodies, the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum and the Scottish Examination Board and their various sub-committees and working parties. Although always in a minority on such bodies and frequently present only as non-voting assessors, members of Her Majesty's Inspectorate and other SED officials exert a powerful influence on the decisions. They can do this through the system of patronage which decides membership of these bodies, their key position as secretaries to the committees, their privileged access to information and their influential contacts and the greater time which they can spend on the work of the committees than people who have other full-time jobs.

30 There were three studies and RIU, including Brown, was heavily involved in all of them.

31 op. cit. p 3
and ultimately by being in a position to inform committees of which options might be acceptable to the government and be financially supported.\textsuperscript{32}

This is forthright criticism. Most civil servants would accept it, and not take umbrage, but where cause was being sought, for political or other reason, to curtail or close an organisation, it would be used in evidence.

Nicol and I did not take offence at criticism of RIU, whether from inside or outside of the Department, other than at anonymous letters, which were a nuisance. Independence must mean the right to state and justify a view held with conviction and not perverseness. Dependency puts at risk quality in research. That view holds in a democratic society.\textsuperscript{33}

The second feature was her joint editorship of the 'Code of Practice'\textsuperscript{34} with Wilkinson, who was chairman of SERA. This document had stemmed from one in England initiated by BERA, and a working group in Scotland, including representation from RIU, (pace McIntyre), produced it, during 1989-90 when Brown was Director of SCRE. The need for it arose mainly because SED was preventing researchers on its projects, from speaking freely about their findings. The question became, "Who owns a piece of research?" The paper provided four reasons, classed as "moral, epistemological, pragmatic and financial" why researchers should have the right to disseminate their findings. It was aimed at researchers in higher education institutions, research councils and private agencies, contract researchers and public sector funders, and covered: rights and obligations of the funders, evaluation of the work, ownership, dissemination, the host institution, the researchers, the researched and anonymity. In addition it covered tendering, confidentiality, advisory committees, access to Information and

\textsuperscript{32} op. cit. p. 97.

\textsuperscript{33} Roper, Jon (1989) Democracy and its Critics. London, Unwin Hyman, covers the main issues of democracy in Britain and America in the 19th century in an accessible form. Twentieth century writing has added passion but little new thought.

administration of the contract.

That legal fiction, "the reasonable man", would consider the Brown and Wilkinson statement to be a fair and valuable document, giving consideration to all parties involved in research. It was not a popular document in SED, and affected the Department's attitude to SCRE and to others researchers. Dockrell, in discussion on the rights of researchers was wont to quote Berlyne who, speaking at OISE, said, "Funders of research should give the money and stand back" justifying fundamental, unusual research with the account of Galvani, in the 18th century, studying muscle contractions in dead frogs, leading to the discovery of voltaic electricity. By comparison the Brown and Wilkinson document was mild.

The book with Munn, and the paper with Wilkinson, show Brown as being heavily involved in research in Scotland and having firm views competently but courteously expressed, an attribute not always fully appreciated in a small country like Scotland.

The Brown directorship was characterised by bringing the focus of the Council back to Scotland. This was done by producing Project Reports, MiniPapers, books, Spotlights and a new enlarged Newsletter. There was a short time-lag between generation and publication and while there was assessment it was much more than testing, supporting the views expressed in the Munn Report which stated that the third set of aims of a school:

is concerned with the affective development of pupils. In educating young people it seems irresponsible to ignore their emotional and moral natures or to assume that the educational process should not concern itself with their attitudes and values and whatever it is within human personality that predisposes people to act in particular ways.\(^{35}\)

Brown began with the aftermath of the Freeman Report, when she took up office in August 1986 and ended with yet another survey of SCRE in the

\(^{35}\textit{op. cit.}\)
Ewing Report,\textsuperscript{36} before resigning to take a Chair of Education at Stirling University in May 1990. Her period of office raised morale in SCRE through firm management, regard for staff interests, and vision about how the Council should develop. It also coincided with a political will to make all outside bodies conform to a particular ideology.

\textbf{Relation with Department}

The residuals of 'Freeman' had been cleared up, and now the main SED/SCRE interface was to be through the Ewing report. Its terms of reference were those of any Pliatzky review, complete with the unexamined cliche "effectively and efficiently" but in addition:

\begin{quote}
to examine the continuing justification for the Department's funding of the Council; its structure, functions and objectives and its relationship with its sponsor
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
and
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
to review the justification for and use of the Department's core funding of SCRE in the light of developments in educational research policy and capabilities in Scotland in recent years\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

The language sounds threatening, perhaps to ensure that the exercise is taken seriously. When interviewing civil servants on this report I gained the impression that at least some individuals within the Department expected an adverse report, and were surprised to find that the report was favourable. The time allowed for completion was longer than that for Freeman, and it too stressed that:

\begin{quote}
there is no statutory obligation on the part of the Department or others to undertake such research\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

If nothing in our society was done except where decreed by statute it would

\textsuperscript{36} Ewing J. A. (1989) \textit{Policy Review of the Scottish Council for Research in Education}. Mimeo. SED. John Ewing was a Principal in SHHD, seconded to RIU to review SCRE in accordance with the regulations for the working of 'controlled fringe bodies'.

\textsuperscript{37} ibid. p. 2.

\textsuperscript{38} ibid. p. 3.
be a very restricted milieu, but civil servants from induction onwards are processed into a canard that they exist only through the Secretary of State. Earlier Education Acts had at least made it legal for SED to spend money on research. The type of thinking displayed here, which is not the fault of Ewing, is the counter-productive one of doing nothing unless you must.

Despite that, Ewing made it clear that he received every co-operation, and that the relations between SED/RIU and SCRE were those of mutual respect and trust. He also stated:

The conduct and dissemination of educational research is of fundamental importance to the development of the education system

This is the most positive statement made by any reviewer. Ewing refers to the Freeman report stating:

(it) found significant failings in the management and control of the organisation which greatly reduced its effectiveness ... The Council is now widely recognised as a well-managed and effective organisation

This ended the praise for the Council. Ewing followed up his terms of reference on whether the functions were being carried out effectively and efficiently, by making four points grouped under ways in which he thought the performance of the Council could be improved:

1. distinguishing between the role of the Council as a representative consultative body and the executive functions of the Board;

2. strengthening the Council's senior management and research capability;

3. improving the corporate planning process and its integration with the Department's financial planning system;

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39 ibid. p. 3  
40 ibid. p. 4.
4. redefine the relationship between the Council and the Department, placing it on to a more commercial basis to strengthen the former's independence and freedom of action, and to concentrate attention on services and outputs rather than activities.

These criticisms were elaborated upon, in the body of a remarkably comprehensive and thorough report. SCRE staff were more apprehensive about this review than they had been about the Freeman review. In 1984 they were more aware of the shortcomings of the Council, and expected certain criticisms. By 1989 they believed they had responded to and rectified their identified shortcomings, and were exercised about what new issues may arise.

I had a long and courteous interview with Ewing in 1991, at which I sought clarification of certain points made, and tried to put them in a wider context of the purpose of the civil service, and its relationship with NDPBs, and "controlled fringe bodies", now the flag under which SCRE had to sail. The first is a description; the second is an assertion that the body is not a free agent, and also not particularly important. He was a very correct civil servant, and gave no ground on what he had done, what his findings were, and the inalienable right of the Department to pronounce through a chosen functionary.

The outsider reading the report will conclude that it has little to do with research. Its main thrust is organisational and financial, and distinctly prescriptive. At the time finance from SED to SCRE was an annual investment of £302,000 against an SED budget of about £1.6 billion. Ewing agreed that in his current post such a small amount of money may merit a paragraph, but was certain that it was appropriate that a review such as this should be carried out. He did however state:

... the continual process of review which SCRE has been subject to in recent years can have a detrimental effect on staff morale. Too frequent.

\[41\] Ibid. p. 4.
reviews can be positively demotivating\textsuperscript{42}

He believed that the introduction of Corporate Plans would reduce the need for reviews. Brown wrote the first Corporate Plan for SCRE in 1988,\textsuperscript{43} and a second much shorter one with the same title in 1989 for 1989-90 to 1991-92, making a bid for increased core funding. It is this document which Ewing criticised. There had been many planning papers prior to that, which did not use the terminology "Corporate". Her document was criticised in terms of what would improve it.

1. The need for a clear statement at the outset of the aims of the Council rather than the activities which it undertakes.

2. Be less discursive and describe activities only to the extent of reporting on performance against previously agreed targets.

3. Be more forward looking in the deployment of the Council's resources and particularly in the projection of forward funding.\textsuperscript{44}

The intention was to make assumptions about finance and submit a three year plan to the RIU by May/June but the major suggestion was:

moving to a contractual arrangement where SCRE undertakes to provide, on an agency basis, an agreed range of services to the Department, to an agreed quality standard for a defined period for which the Department will pay an agreed amount\textsuperscript{45}

This is a move to outputs rather than functions, where the Department aims to get the best quality at the lowest price. It would encourage SCRE to be entrepreneurial as opposed to being an academic institution. Ewing appreciated that he was advocating a fundamental change. He was in the position however of offering Hobson's Choice. Almost all finance for

\textsuperscript{42} ibid. p. 7.
\textsuperscript{44} op. cit. p. 27.
\textsuperscript{45} op. cit. p. 28.
research in a public service like education comes from government sources. This is public money, although Departments tend not to see it in this light, once their Estimates are agreed. Government in 1989 contrasted the careful entrepreneurial private sector with the profligate and unreliable public sector. In this situation was true to say, "There is no alternative."\(^4\) It is possible that this led Brown to reconsider her position and choose to move elsewhere.

The Report advocated corporate planning. Analogies for government in the Thatcher years 1983-90 were usually from business, and within that from the financial and service sectors, which may be applicable to parts of the civil service, especially those earmarked for hiving off, but which sat uneasily with education, and especially with educational research. Ewing wrote:

> The opportunities for SCRE to be innovative are perhaps limited\(^47\)

This suggests that it should be more innovative. Later he wrote:

> would also encourage SCRE in its continuing effort to be more entrepreneurial\(^4\)

There is not necessarily a contradiction but it is hardly in keeping with a three-year Corporate Plan.

The reviewer again chose to found on management as the major issue, despite having stated earlier that SCRE was well-managed, so that it is appropriate that the views of others who are specialists in the field are considered. Ronald Corwin, Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University, wrote:

> Innovation is a charming word, beguiling and rousing. But it is like other terms, such as relevance, concern, sensitivity. One cannot be against these on principle. But they are almost always privately read as warning signs that

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4\(^4\) A phrase used by the Prime Minister of the time, Mrs Thatcher, as a pre-emptive bid.

4\(^7\) op. cit. p. 12, para. 3.13.

4\(^8\) ibid. p. 29, para. 5.20.
there is trouble ahead for those who are fulfilling their accustomed routines. Moreover since most innovation efforts fail sooner or later, wise masters of ongoing enterprises have learned how to live and wait until such innovations speed themselves to their ultimate demise49

Harold S. Geneen, for 17 years, head of International Telephone and Telegraph, the world's largest company, wrote of management:

Where, people are beginning to ask, are our corporate entrepreneurs? The answer is: there are none. By definition an entrepreneur is one who is in business for himself: he organises, manages and assumes the risks of a business enterprise50

What is missing from Ewing as it was from Freeman is any comment about leadership and about the personality type which is driven to do research. George Thomason, in the Corwin mould wrote:

The pursuit of innovation represents but one of a number of decisions which might be taken to effect an equilibrium between system and environment and whether a firm takes this decision, and the extent to which it commits its resources to this purpose, will depend upon the demands of that environment51

References to relevant work by others can be inconvenient and even obfuscatory, but Pliatzky reports have no references, so that the theoretical position taken by the writer, if there is such, can only be deduced from the body of the report itself.


50 Geneen, Harold, & Moscow, Alvin. (1985) Managing. New York & London. Grafton Books (Collins). p. 174. The foreword was written by Sir Michael Edwards head of British Motor Corporation, who was the epitome of Thatcher style managers in Britain until he failed, as Corwin predicted.

Kirk and Brown produced a joint paper\textsuperscript{52} responding to ‘Ewing’ which was accepted by the Board in February 1991, by which time it was known that Brown would be moving to a Chair at Stirling University. A major issue was the change from sponsored body to provider of commercial services, and the joint paper rejected that principle, stating:

the positive evaluation of SCRE’s work is not reflected in the recommendations. They do not appear to build upon or even follow from the Council’s successes. Until the Board is given greater clarification, therefore it cannot accept the principle of change from sponsored body to provider of commercial services.\textsuperscript{53}

It was a confident response, rejoicing in the positive nature of the review and the Secretary of State’s endorsement which should mean that he “is prepared to will the resources to allow them to be implemented.”\textsuperscript{54} It resisted the recommendation against the Teacher Research Support Unit, and the separation of function between the Board and the Council, or any change in the composition of the Board.

Wynne Harlen, the new Director took up post in October 1990, (see appendix 2) and selected the aspects of ‘Ewing’, which would be operational in her first Corporate Plan 1991-2 to 1994-5, where the preamble states:

\begin{quote}
(the results) ... have had a considerable impact on the future planning reported in this document.
\end{quote}

before listing the main recommendations: a further permanent member of research staff; flexible employment of staff; introduction of performance related pay; a more coherent publications and communications strategy; regional conferences on current topics of research; a review of the Forum; seeking resources to maintain the computerised research indices; revision of the role and membership of the Board; abandonment of plans for Teacher Research Support Unit; a new contractual basis for funding other than block

\textsuperscript{52} Ewing Review: Response from SCRE. 27 March 1990.

\textsuperscript{53} op. cit. para. 5.

\textsuperscript{54} op. cit. p. 7.
My comments on the findings and the response are:
on a priori grounds an extra permanent research worker has to be welcomed, but flexible deployment of staff who work in teams and where other staff are supported by specific contracts, may be difficult. Performance related pay has been a minefield in education as it has been elsewhere, usually causing ill-will, according to Harlen, but it appears to be rewarding efficiency. Changes and improvements to publications and communications have been a feature of the Council over many years, as have Regional conferences. The Forum was never acceptable to Dockrell; Brown, although having reservations, tried to make it work. Kirk and Cameron-Jones seemed to be the main exponents of it along with SED, its designer. How long should an organisation persevere, before concluding that an ill-thought-out activity should be abandoned?

Rusk, when the Council was set up, believed it should be a repository of information on research, perhaps card-indexed, and on open access. Computers increase the accessibility of a data-base and an effort in this direction began in 1975, with RIU using the mainframe computer at Saughton. What was learned was that the data-base had to be maintained and updated, and that such was a time-consuming activity which required a co-ordinator, but also responsible input from a range of individuals scattered across the educational community.

The Board or Council has increased or decreased its numbers regularly over the years, often arbitrarily but always rationalised. So too there have been sub-committees, executive committees, ad hoc committees and standing committees on a variety of functions such as research, communications and finance. These are matters for management. It would be more helpful if reviewers gave a strategic lead and left management to manage.

The case for the Teacher Research Support Unit had been put for some years by Pamela Munn, who was in the best position to judge whether it

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55 Corporate Plan, pp. 1-2.
56 In mid 1993, 26 members.
would meet her perceived need, against her development plan. Ewing turned it down and gave his reasons. A competent researcher communes with a competent civil servant. There is no argument to be won. The former proposes; the latter disposes.

The major change was one of having a contractual basis for funding, rather than block grant, a change which had become common in a variety of public sector activities under a regime of market forces.

Management Style of Harlen

Harlen joined a Council which would now operate under ‘rules of engagement’ which stemmed from ‘Ewing’, partly modified by the ‘Response’ paper and subsequent discussion of it. She told me in interview in 1993:

> I did not realise that I was coming to a foreign country in terms of its educational system

Council staff, with the exception of Black, had lost confidence in its ability to win contracts in the interregnum between Brown and herself, and was rather disheartened by having another change of Director so quickly. The new system for central grant geared to services to be provided, had to be clarified. She resisted the Department’s demand to have inputs related to outputs, where every single item for which the Department paid would be costed, negotiated 15% of costs for supervision of projects by senior staff, and appointed an additional senior staff member to this end. She also resisted having merit-related pay imposed, because of its effect on morale, but lost the argument with SOED about their paying for overheads, in the way that other research councils were doing.

Internally she maintained the UMG, a body similar to a Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Board of Management, meeting three times per year, set up an Internal Management Group of five senior staff members, meeting monthly, and created a structure with which she felt comfortable. She also restored the title “Depute Director” to Harry Black and Pamela

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57 The amount of money was about 38% of SCRE’s income. This changed when the following year finance from the Training Agency was almost halved.
Munn, because this gave them appropriate status when dealing with outside bodies, where the term Senior Research Officer was vague.

Harlen herself had been on a succession of fixed term research contracts in England for 19 years, and was less exercised about lack of security of tenure than were most SCRE staff, but held the view that the shorter the length of a contract time the poorer the ratio of productive time to playing-in time.

The research programme was certainly policy-oriented, and that with a heavy managerial slant. She wished to increase the output of Council staff to learned journals, and was content with the oral output of staff in seminars and conferences. She was willing to organise the annual conference of SERA, and attend meetings, but she also felt a strong allegiance to BERA of which she was a founder member. She felt the need for a forum where researchers could talk with one another in research language, and a separate forum, where teacher researchers could interact.

She considered the 'statutory' Forum to be the responsibility of the Board of management, with SCRE organising annual meetings on the Board's behalf, but insisted that it was very difficult to achieve the initial purpose of getting a consensus of what the education community wanted on research. Her differentiation between the Council and the Board was that the Council was all the staff and the Board was the appointed people from the various organisations.

On communication she initiated, in February 1991, a further vehicle for disseminating research findings, called Interchange, under the banner of RIU, but edited at and distributed from SCRE. It aimed to make research findings:

- accessible, interesting and attractive ... to policy-makers, teachers, parents and employers.58

Interchange is running at six issues per year, on art-quality paper, with each

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issue taking a single project, summarised by the research team responsible for that project. There is no quantified information on the response engendered.

A bulletin, entitled ‘Observations’ on a twice per year basis, is now in its second issue, edited by Wake in SCRE, for teacher-researchers, with short articles and notices, already generating comment from readers.

Finally she was in no doubt that, although she had a management function, yet she had come to SCRE to conduct research.

An unresolved problem was that the Corporate Plan showed potential rivals in universities some of SCRE’s better ideas without reciprocation. She did prefer cooperation with them rather than competition and believed that Alistair MacFarlane, the new chairman would be an ally in this.
Chapter Ten

POLICY

Background

One theme of the thesis is 'Policy', a convenient word under which can be subsumed power, plans, programmes, theories, objectives, aims, purposes and justification for activities. It is also an inconvenient word because it puts ministers and civil servants on guard. Ministers claim that they alone make policy, which, for Scotland can only be true in general terms because they are away from the administrative base for most of the working week. The strong ones devolve power to their Permanent Secretaries, but ensure that they are in control, should credit be given for a successful achievement. Prime Ministers and political commentators judge ministers by how much they are in control of their Departments. The atmosphere was captured in a television programme of the late 1980s, 'Yes, Minister' where clever civil servants were able to manipulate an inept Minister. Intellectuals and politically aware people, grouped under the epithet the 'chattering classes' were keen viewers. While skilful in production and in dialogue, yet it was an indictment of our political system. A more up to date version of the attitude is seen in the televised version of events in a book by Kenneth Baker, where former cabinet colleagues reminisce with him over their period in office under Prime Minister Thatcher. It is more disturbing because these were actual events.¹

A parliamentary debate on education, particularly Scottish education will almost empty the Commons, and the post of Education Minister in Scotland is not sought after, because it is so difficult to make an impact there. Despite that there is an identifiable body of opinion with concern for education, and any research project should target that group if it intends to influence events by its findings.

Policy is considered within the boundaries of the Council and the Department, in so far as they inter-relate. It was determined, until 1946, by the Council itself, and consisted of speedy adaptability to research

¹ BBC programmes telecast in September, 1993.
opportunity by voluntary members with their own research interests, coupled with willingness to use money provided by outside organisations for specific work, which included discretionary supplementary activity by SCRE, without becoming mercenaries. From 1947 to 1993 SCRE’s power to determine what research it will undertake has been steadily eroded, and the point of attack on it now is in insisting on how it will conduct that research. In the first nine chapters policy is implicit, in the actions and interactions of the Council. Here it is considered as a concept.

Research Policy
SCRE has tried to meet the demands of public policy, as promulgated by SOED, and the requirement of its constituents for intellectual rigour in its activities. Some insight into the formulation of policy comes from the memoirs of politicians and civil servants, once they have left office, which tend to justify their actions.

The disaffected such as Chapman,2 or Ponting,3 a cause celebre of his day, may be suspect, but can be considered in conjunction with painstaking interviews of officials and former Ministers by academics. One such is by Kogan4 a former civil servant in DES who had worked to both MPs in his title. McPherson and Raab,5 have used a similar technique on a wider front for Scottish Education, and Milne,6 Gibson7 and Pottinger8 have written accounts of the workings of Scottish government departments as insiders, the first two being commissioned, and the last by his own choice. Murray has also been consulted because he held the post of Director of the Civil Service Selection Board, was a Civil Service Commissioner from 1964 to 1977 and is a Scot, educated in Scotland.9 It is improbable that anyone

3 op. cit.
5 op. cit.
6 op.cit.
7 op.cit.

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who has not worked in a government department will appreciate the intricacies of its working.10 Accounts by the disaffected will differ from invited accounts, of those who have retired with honour, and who could be considered sycophantic.

The university requirement for rigour once came from the academics who were partners with SCRE. They changed gradually into being their competitors, although individuals strove to maintain joint working.

SCRE still depends on voluntary workers, or on finance which primarily comes from government departments. It does not usually have a product to sell, other than books, but where it had such, any profits could be set against and diminish the subsequent year’s grant.11 Research must take account of the society which it is serving and within it the sub-set called ‘education’, so that SCRE’s policy is determined by the policy of government which is its paymaster, through central funding against contractual obligations, and through specific contracts.

If SCRE’s findings are not relevant for policy-making, interest in it will lessen and finance will be put at risk. Contentious areas are: how policy is made, who is responsible for implementing it, and what type of feedback exists to ensure that it is working, leading to argument about how research affects policy. If it does, what is the mechanism, and if it does not what is the reason for the failure? There is the further question of whether policy decisions are taken in a rational manner or are merely pragmatic. Policy may be considered from the point of view of the party politician, the policy-making divisions of the civil service, the researcher and the users of research.

The party politician who achieves ministerial status knows his party’s general policy, and will have been classified as on the left or right within his own party. He is essentially an implementer of the policy, and is wary of

10 This intricacy may be seen in a report on maladministration in an inspection of a College by HMI.
possible reputable research findings which may challenge his actions. One such research report, the Headstart programme in USA, which gained wide publicity in UK by 1967, began at the same time as the publication of the Primary Memorandum in 1965, and advocated positive discrimination in education, for purposes of social engineering. Scottish Ministers feared that positive discrimination was under-emphasised in the Memorandum, and determined on such a project in Dundee, as an insurance policy.12 Towards the end of 1967 Michael Young wrote a position paper for SSRC, which led Halsey in 1968 to make a successful bid to ERB for an Educational Priority programme. The Scottish project within that programme was based in Dundee, almost as an extension of Project Four.

Policy-oriented research, was advocated by the Heyworth and Rothschild reports. Mrs Thatcher, Secretary of State for Education, (1970-74)13 championed nursery education, and a research programme of nine projects was initiated to this end. ERB was a party to the programme, thus incorporating SED. When she became Prime Minister in 1979 views had changed. Pre-school play groups were cheaper, open for longer hours, convenient for working mothers, and supported by Social Work groups. Government rhetoric in 1974 was that working mothers resulted in ‘latchkey’ children which led to truancy, vandalism and anti-social behaviour.

SCRE produced three books of research on parents and young children, as part of the ERB/DES programme.14 The results of the research annoyed

12 Watt, Joyce. (1969) Project Four. Dundee: Mimeograph in Dundee College of Education. It ran for two years before EPA began in Dundee. Watt when interviewed by the Silvers (op. cit.) in 1973 said that staff were naive in Project 4 in not involving the parents. (p. 294). The MP for the Dundee constituency objected strongly to having his area classed as disadvantaged. The Project did involve parents, one elected representative telling the Department that the only improvement was that unemployed men in the area still went to bed in the afternoons, but took their boots off first.
13 She held the brief for Education in Opposition and in power for 10 years (1964-74), longer than almost any other individual.
14 Clark, M M & Cheyne, W M (eds), (1979) Studies in Pre-school Education. SCRE, publin 70. London, Hodder & Stoughton. (The work was carried out predominantly in Strathclyde University).

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Ministers, because of the heavy financial implications in more nursery provision, and annoyed teachers, because the EIS was not disposed to have too much parental involvement, which would have made nursery teaching a mirror image of play groups with participating mothers. The findings were shelved. Ministers make policy. To govern is to choose. Ministers chose to put the main research effort into feasibility studies to implement Standard Grade, the follow up to the Munn and Dunning reports. An inherent danger in policy-oriented research is that policy may change long before research findings regarding the initial policy are available.

After the reorganisation in 1972, SCRE evolved over a long period within which staff relationships and finance were crucial, and in which Secretary of State appointees introduced financial orthodoxy, and laboured with Hugh Fairlie, over finance and staff relations. Fairlie considered this way of working through endless discussion tiresome and inefficient. Non-involved members of Council, and observers from the educational community, considered that much of it was a charade, with Department officials in the name of the Secretary of State making appointments to Council, and subsequently holding earnest discussions with those appointees about changes which the Department wished to effect.

Scottish ministers have regularly identified bullying, truancy and television violence as evils which should respond to policy-oriented research, and have rejected the warning that truancy is difficult to define. Any minister is driven by the need for quick results because his time in office will be from two to three years, a further problem for policy-oriented research.

A senior civil servant will serve in a policy division or in an Establishment or Common Services division. In the latter he can make his mark by efficiency, which usually means doing things more cheaply, so that he is driven to panaceas like economies of scale, management by objectives and total quality management. These lead to the creation of audit units, quality assurance sections and quality control groups which come and go. They require additional staff, which comforts current staff who are not involved, because they become a redundancy cushion, supplementing training which
traditionally has had that role.

Until managerial staff in SOED are seen to be on a par with policy division staff, its members have to appear to be heavily involved, and to this end can only make changes which are organisational and procedural. The Fulton report specifically criticised the civil service for lack of management skills, a wounding comment for many.

It is not surprising that reviewers of SCRE have found Departmental policy division heads uninterested in research. The heads had already decided that it had little to offer. Their whole training was that they by taking thought could add a cubit to their own and their Minister's stature.

It is understandable that such people look on educational researchers as having a high nuisance value, taking up their time when they are busy ‘putting legislation through the House.’ The question whether the legislation was beneficial would be considered heretical. Policy divisions crave parliamentary Bills.

When Sir George Macdonald sought evidence of SCRE's activities he asked for data on spelling and handwriting, safe subjects on which educated men may pronounce, when wishing to be critical of educational research or of pupil and teacher performance in schools and have insufficient knowledge to evaluate research design. There is no record of administrators seeking discussion on McClelland's Selection, a complex work which was germane to one of the major issues in education for decades. McClelland may have discussed it with Rodger, who was a senior administrator in SED (1945-1963), and once his student. Rodger rates Thomson above McClelland in intellect, though crediting McClelland with having had more influence in

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15 op. cit.
16 Two Whitehall civil servants, both having served as Permanent Secretary, at the English Education Ministry were most open and even scathing about this. Sir Herbert Andrew and Sir William Pile in the late 1970s said that research had been of little value to them and too many people wrote reports called research which could have been produced by taking a few minutes’ thought.
17 This cant phrase is regularly used by administrators when indicating their most important function.
Scottish Education.18

As Others see Research and Policy
The books cited in chapter 1 are now considered to bring to bear the views of outsiders on research and policy. Barbara Tizard wrote:

many university-based educational researchers are only marginally concerned with policy19

SCRE could hardly be accused of this.

In contrast she cited Titmuss, Abel-Smith and Townsend as people who had explicit political aims which they fed directly into Labour party policy, while remaining meticulously objective in their research.

Wheldall, introducing Tizard, wrote:

It is a sad fact that research in child psychology can be soundly academic but stultifyingly dull; rigorously researched and yet lacking in any credible social relevance; profoundly theoretical but leaving the problems unsolved. This is true of educational research. The facts are amassed; the theoretical models are erected; the lives of children are untouched20

Tizard, after reviewing writers who have tackled the problem of dissemination of research findings, concludes that failure of impact comes from: poor quality of the research, its communication and its inconclusive nature; characteristics of the policy-making apparatus; (i.e. if it is not centralised it is difficult to influence); different training, expectations and

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18 McPherson & Raab. op. cit pp. 433-436. Rodger here claims wide influence in the Department and may have done himself too much honour. I was EIS representative for Jordanhill staff, and secretary of the inter-college salaries committee in 1960-61, a period which led to the teachers' strike in May 1961. Rodger was not popular among training college staff. I served on a Working Party on visual handicap which he chaired after his retiral. I also met Stewart Aldridge on a daily basis when we were both 'exiled' to Coates Place, Edinburgh. I would rate Aldridge on intellect, if not on influence, yet he did more than other administrators to effect better relations between teachers and SED. (see McPherson & Raab pp. 272 -273.)

19 op. cit. p. 1.

20 Wheldall, Kevin. Foreword to Tizard op. cit.
attitudes of the researchers to the policy makers, with the researchers concerned with an increase in the stock of knowledge, and the policy makers concerned with its utility, when not considering it positively counter-productive.

These aspects apply to SCRE, other than poor quality research, which, she accepts, may have a profound effect on policy without being able to justify why this should happen, or even predict it.

Eventually Tizard falls back on research providing enlightenment. Harlen, interviewed in 1993 made a similar point, that research creates a climate of opinion. Dockrell, after ten years in post at SCRE gave a paper to SVO21 on policy formation, in which he claimed that there was a climate of opinion which made certain research findings acceptable, and pondered whether research had contributed to this climate. He concluded:

Research findings do not exist in abstract. They are constructs of researchers. The researcher sees through a filter, through a set of expectations. Research conclusions may (harmonise) with the presuppositions of the author... which may be ... that of an intellectual elite.22

The comment is insightful, but is best balanced by having researchers and administrators meet and discuss issues. This seldom happens because administrators cannot spare the time. A useful balance comes from having a leavening of teachers at all research conferences.

Nisbet and Broadfoot’s excellent but strangely neglected book,23 on research and policy, quotes four people with experience of research within DES. Halsey, an external adviser considers research:

is an aid to intelligent decision-making, not

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21 Netherlands Foundation for Educational Research.
23 op. cit. I was interviewed by Broadfoot but I am not quoted because we could not find common ground, not a criticism of her. She was a considerable asset when working at SCRE.
a substitute for it

Taylor his successor as an external adviser is quoted:

In educational research we are standing on a lot of very soft stuff: we know that, but we don't know what's soft and what's hard

Banks, an administrator in DES sought:

conclusions people can use, rather than odd contributions to the literature

Kay of the English Inspectorate said:

conducting research in which there are so many uncontrollable variables is doing something very much like testing the effects of minor changes in the hull design of a yacht, in the midst of a rip tide and a roaring gale

Forsyth, a retired Chief Inspector in the Scottish Office worked with Dockrell on a follow up to the Munn and Dunning reports. They wrote:

the contradictions inherent in any organisation make rational 'all or nothing' decisions impossible

From this they postulate an oscillation model through which educational policy comes, which is derived from "a wide range of unsystematic interventions."

Tizard and Dockrell as experienced researchers, Halsey and Taylor as academics, and Banks, Kay and Forsyth as civil servants from administration and professional streams in education departments in England and Scotland all reach the same conclusion, that research findings cannot be translated raw into policy decisions. When I retired in 1983, SCRE produced a Festschrift as a valediction, edited by Dockrell. We discussed possible

24 op. cit. p. 27.
25 ibid. p. 45.
26 ibid. p. 45.
27 ibid. p. 43.
28 ibid. p. 48.
titles the eventual choice being, An Attitude of Mind 29 which was my choice of epitaph from having spent 17 years as an interface between the Department and the research community. McPherson gives one of the more perceptive accounts from an outsider of the workings of RIU in the book.30

Academics conduct research to push back the frontiers of knowledge, sometimes championing a cause. Their work is unlikely to be directly useful to SOED. Universities and SCRE bid for projects from the Department’s annual publication of research themes, which are predominantly policy-oriented research in keeping with the Freeman and Ewing reviews.

The customer-contractor principle and policy-oriented research, have been embedded in UK over the last decade. Nisbet, a long time associate of SED/SOED, in a paper on policy-oriented research takes a clear path through “the amorphous process of policy-making”, commenting in a way which would be considered cynical in others, yet is affect-free from him. He wrote:

> Pressure for more applied studies in educational research reflects the positivist belief that, in education as in science, there are solutions to problems.... Though seldom explicitly stated, the positivist assumption appears in policies for research funding, and in the disillusionment if results are disappointing31

He chooses science as a paradigm, perhaps for reflected glory, but it is foreign to the thinking of politicians, civil servants, and policy-makers to accept the scientific position of Feynman, that we can never prove we are right, but can always prove we are wrong.32 The policy maker would consider Nisbet’s view to be that of a philistine.

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30 op. cit. chapter 12.


Even in 1993 Sir David Smith, Principal of Edinburgh University, is constrained to justify a scientific approach in social science. He said of ESRC:

> It used to be called the Social Science Research Council, until one particularly ignorant Minister insisted that the word 'science' be removed from its title. As a scientist myself, I deplore that.33

Getzels in Suppes, rejects the idea that basic research for the university professor is an easy option:

> Nothing is further from the case. The accountability system in fundamental scholarship is strict and relentless... more severe than in the mission-oriented work so much favoured by funding agencies34

Husen, with more experience of administrators, writes of three separate levels of research, basic for the universities, with long time scales; evaluative surveys for research institutes; data collection for administrative planning, being a continuum from:

> complete aloofness in the ivory tower... to total immersion in...the educational marketplace (but)...establishing a good liaison with the policy makers, without becoming evangelists, and without scaring the other partner into withdrawing his support35

Later he explains the evangelical pitfall where, because the researcher is dependent on a particular body for finance, (s)he proselytises rather than remaining a healthy sceptic, providing evidence for the hypothesis.36 Healthy scepticism was valuable throughout the 1960s and 1970s. It has been replaced by destructive cynicism in the 1980s and 1990s, which is

33 Smith, Sir David (1993). Address at Social Science Graduation, University of Edinburgh, 15 July, p. 2. The Minister was Sir Keith, now Lord Joseph.
34 op. cit. pp. 508-509.
35 ibid. pp. 530-531.
36 ibid. p. 577.
Sockett in Cohen\(^37\) goes further, suggesting that some researchers look upon accountability, “as a virulent educational pestilence,” but himself concludes that it is of three types, moral, professional and contractual.\(^38\) Cohen gives a descriptive and prescriptive analysis of what is research, with which I concur, but he omits evaluation, a concept of research which was not a major issue until the early 1980s.

Researchers in Scotland may feel despondent that there is such a range of views, while assuming that the other side, in this case Department funders, is unified in its position. They can take comfort from the fact that this other side, requires to have a Policy Coordinating Committee of the Treasury in order to function effectively. Such papers as are available from this committee, show the range of views to be equally wide, with similar accompanying frustration to the extent that in 1979 two Permanent Secretaries resigned.\(^39\) The papers are private but between December 1993 and March 1994, three further Permanent Secretaries have taken early retiral, to move to other posts outside of government.\(^40\) Discretion is observed regarding the reasons for departure, and the disaffection is allowed to seep unattributed, into the public domain.

In summary SCRE must assess what it can do best, but follow through into helping its funders to utilise research findings, while accepting that this further activity will not necessarily be well-received until a position is established where researchers are partners, and not sleeping partners, in implementing policy.

\(^37\) In Cohen, op. cit. pp. 538-548.
\(^38\) Accountability became an issue in government through Tony Benn when he was in the Wilson government and Minister for Technology.
\(^40\) The Departments were Education, Home, Agriculture, Fisheries & Food.
Introduction
Chapter 1 posed four questions:
1. What were the views and motivation of the founders of SCRE on educational research in 1928; how did these develop over its lifespan and what is the current position?
2. Who sets the research agenda and how is it set?
3. Has the cherished goal of maintaining independence been achieved?
4. Are there answers to problems in education which are transferable between countries and educational systems so that research could be left to England, other European countries and U.S.A. and the findings simply transferred to the Scottish scene?

They have been addressed in the light of the historical development of SCRE. I now summarise the answers, and discuss possible future development, from SCRE's current position in late 1993. In doing this I also discuss the contributions of key individuals and their intentions, beliefs and determination, in relations with others. Their personalities were important in fashioning outcomes. Brunton and Graham, for example, had specific intentions in relation to setting up a CCC. These differed, partly because of their differing roles in the Department, and partly because of the changing relationships which they had because their paths had crossed and intertwined over many years in the Scottish Office. Again Kogan shows how a Permanent Secretary like Andrew in DES believes he has consulted widely when he decides who shall be consulted. (ch 1). Elsewhere the personalities of McIntosh and Forbes effect outcomes in 1972, in relation to SED. (ch 7). SCRE began through a network of individuals with mutual regard and respect. (App. 3), and some, like McIntosh, McClelland and Norman Walker, or Dewar, Brunton and Reith tend to recur.

Question 1  What were the views and motivation of the founders of SCRE on educational research in 1928; how did these develop over its lifespan
and what is the current position?

The force which led to the creation of SCRE was a reaction against the inability of activists in education to make any impact on decision-making. They had hoped to use the Advisory Councils to influence educational development, were thwarted in those endeavours, became frustrated, and sought other means. The 1918 Act had led to an Advisory Council, but also to Directors of Education, and teachers who had been fighting for recognition and for status for many years, saw a potential ally in those directors. The view was reciprocated. Organisations can work together for a common purpose, but are strengthened in their relationship by opposition. The opposition came from the central Department. Secretaries of the Scotch Education Department like Craik and Struthers, made valuable contributions to educational development, but they established an autocratic tradition, because it did not occur to them that consultation was necessary. Macdonald was Secretary, when SCRE was founded. He held that professors, who may have been his social and intellectual equal, yet with reservations about Professors of Education, should have been able to develop schooling by taking thought. His views on Professors of Education would have been drawn from Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities, and not from Glasgow, where he had been a lecturer in Humanity, but his opinion of Education as a suitable university subject may well have been conditioned by Glasgow which did not rate a Chair.

The belief in the outcome of taking thought persisted, and Lord James in the 1960s and Sir William Pile in the 1970s repeated the view, with even greater arrogance because democratic principles were more established.

The men who set up SCRE: Steele, Boyd, Rusk, McGregor, Drever and Thomson, and one woman, Maclarty, had stature within their own community, and the courage of their convictions. Boyd, Rusk and Thomson left significant autobiographical material to sustain that judgement. Obituarists did the same for Hepburn, Steel and McGregor. They all wished to have the support of what had become SED by 1928, implicitly accepting that it had superior rights, but were not beholden to it for tenure of office or for
professional advancement.

During and after WWI, men like John McLean who challenged the rights assumed by governments, were in a small minority, and in Scotland, not respectable.

From 1928 till 1945, SCRE activists had a homogeneity based on a strong belief in the benefits to be derived from research, and a willingness to organise, by persuasion and example, large groups of voluntary research workers. In other respects they were a disparate group, even those classed as academics. Drever Sr studied medicine for two years, before leaving to teach in a small Orkney island, and alternating between education and psychology. Rusk and Boyd, at Jordanhill and Glasgow University respectively, institutions which had a fraught relationship, were against militarism, while Hepburn had a military cross and Thomson had been commanding officer of the OTC while at Durham University. Talbot, the first president of SCRE, had married into the Duke of Buccleuch’s family, and he and Keith of Lanarkshire were staunch Conservatives, yet accommodating the Christian Socialism of Boyd. An additional common element was that desire to have some authority in determining the course of education.

Young\textsuperscript{1} considers that the interest groups in Scottish Education were alienated from the Department by its treatment of the first Advisory Council, and they set up SCRE as a body which would give them the authority which had not emanated from the Advisory Council. He cites Wake\textsuperscript{2} in support of this. It may have been a contributory feature but I have reservations about backlash theories, and would doubt whether men of the background of Talbot and Keith would be party to them. They were both on the Departmental list of ‘the great and the good’, Talbot being the Scottish Commissioner for Educational Endowments, and Keith the chairman of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers from 1927. They also had loyalties to their own local authorities. A more positive reason may have been founding a body which would produce evidence for decision-taking.

\textsuperscript{1} op. cit. p. 12.
\textsuperscript{2} op. cit. pp. 6-8.
In 1928, after Macdonald had decided to leave the embryonic SCRE alone, rather than forbid it to operate in education, which would have been a risk, because it had authority under some Education Acts, Rusk through courage or obduracy, accepted the position as spare time director, and chose to develop research without support from SED. He had support for his intentions from university and training college staff, and from teachers, in the conduct of research and from officials and members in the local authorities. The research was practical, of the type which would be called national surveys, or case studies today, carried out by voluntary labour, with results produced quickly. The emphasis was on data collection rather than on analysis. McGregor and Steel could ensure access to pupils and cooperation from teachers, so that the financial support attracted by McClelland, Boyd and others, who were regular visiting professors to Columbia, New York, could be used to good effect.

In 1939 an offer of help in selection of personnel for the armed services in what was called 'a state of emergency' was rebuffed. The Council had a low profile throughout the war, but survived by the dedicated work of a few people. The disgraceful disclosures about the physical condition of pupils through evacuation, caused the Department to move warily, because the obverse of power, which it had, is some level of responsibility for events.

The 1945 Education Act, removed doubts about the legality of SED supporting research, and gave authority for a grant-in-aid from SED, to augment the funds from local authorities and the EIS. The grant was neither given nor received particularly graciously, but it tided the Council over until the PIC commissioned it to conduct a follow-up intelligence survey.

Throughout this period, the primary discipline applied to research had been psychology, which was considered by the researchers to be an appropriate application of science to human affairs. The eugenics movement, which was a prime supporter of the PIC, changed the emphasis from just collecting information on individual test performance, to that of collecting data about

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3 It differed from the psychology of today. The department in Jordanhill was called 'Psychology, Logic and Ethics', changing to 'Psychology' in 1952.
pupils in a social setting. It was incongruous that this should have resulted from a movement based on biological determinism. Herbartian psychologists would have explained it by the apperceptions created by McClelland’s work on selection for secondary education, and Boyd’s work on evacuation of pupils in wartime. A sociological strand had been added to the predominating discipline.

By 1950 a new group of members was beginning to take control within the Council, that of directors of education, headed by McIntosh. He wished to change the friendly, discursive meetings of Council and committees, to ones run on more businesslike lines, and to focus on classroom and curricular issues. The ‘3Rs’ figured largely in the research programme, local authority members took a lesser role, and within a few years, McIntosh had control of the Executive committee and of Council, with his own nominee, Walker as director. This situation continued throughout the 1960s.

In that decade a new generation of teachers took over, with the EIS having to accept that other unions would gain membership of Council, this to some extent making it easier for the Department to make tentative approaches to Council. McIntosh, when interviewed by me in 1991, stated that relations between the Department and the Council were always harmonious. The evidence is against this being correct. Within the Inspectorate, Sandison and McGarrity who had worked with him in teacher education said that he was difficult to deal with. Maxwell and McNaught, on the staff at Moray House agreed that he held the Department in low esteem. Rusk’s autobiographical notes are scornful of the Department, yet he and McIntosh worked well together. My own experience of McIntosh, over a period of twenty years, was of a man secure in his own ability, and not requiring anything from SED. There is a fine line between firm action and bullying, which he trod skilfully. Someone in SED must have been supportive of him because he gained a CBE in an Honours list. Fairlie, Smith, Walker and Nisbet all had respect for him and agree that he gave long and valuable service to the development of

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4 I do not disregard what McIntosh said in interview but can evaluate it by comparison with other sources. Within two weeks of the interview he was hospitalised permanently with a debilitating and degenerative illness.
Scottish Education.

Assessors from SED attended SCRE Council meetings from the mid 1960s, restrained by McIntosh, but the tide ran against him eventually, and his successor, Forbes, changed the whole relationship between the Council and SED by taking an agreed sum as a block grant, coupled with Secretary of State appointees to Council, in 1972. This was a trade off between security and independence. SCRE did not exist in isolation from other aspects of education and of government. The Heyworth and Rothschild reports (chs 7 & 8) had prepared the ground for the developments, culminating in the agreement reached by Forbes with SED.

The next eight years under Forbes, Nisbet and Fairlie were ones of expansion, driven by developments in education on a UK front and by a director, Dockrell, who took a much wider view of research than had his predecessors. There were projects on assessment, test production, profiling and work, related to the post school sector, especially non-university education and training. SCRE was helpful in providing staff and other support for Departmental initiatives, such as the Munn and Dunning committees, and for sponsoring a range of research work outwith its direct control.

A change came in 1980 with a new government seeking to have more centralised control, and a concept with which SCRE and others had co-existed comfortably, that of value for money, was now presented starkly and harshly. To some extent SCRE staff had brought it on themselves by demanding more involvement in the running of the Council, and seeking a review which would identify the relationship between Council staff and others, including civil servants. Their action merely precipitated the review which had become inevitable.

SCRE became subject to Department pressure for job evaluation, quality assurance and corporate plans, at times making it difficult to distinguish shadow from substance. Reviews in 1980, 1984 and 1989 absorbed much of the energy of SCRE into reorganisation, management and justification for its
existence, to the detriment of its research output. On the financial side, the
block grant ended to be replaced by central funding coupled to a rather
indeterminate set of services which SCRE was contracted to provide, against
that funding.\textsuperscript{5} Otherwise it was free to bid for support for research work
where it could find funders, including that put out to tender by the Department.

In summary, SCRE was founded by men who wished to be able to put
forward an independent view on how education should develop. They and
their successors learned to be eminently adaptable, and sought financial
support, while not compromising their principles. Inevitably financial support
had to come from government sources, with attached and more restricting
conditions. The founders and their successors, whether teachers, directors
of education or academics, themselves came under more pressure from
government as to how they should operate in their own spheres. SCRE has
managed to reach an accommodation with SOED whereby it provides
agreed services on an agency basis, and is free to bid for other projects
which are put out to tender by the Department, while retaining the right to
offer its services elsewhere.

\textbf{Question 2} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{Who sets the research agenda and how is it set?}

Power to set the research agenda is positive and negative. The former is
when the theme is intrinsically valuable. The latter is when the available
resources are fully committed, thus preventing something of greater worth
from being considered. It involves choice, which may reside in members of
Council or on outside funders.

SCRE, in its early years, carried out research which was of particular interest
to the activists supporting the Council, with Drever, Kennedy-Fraser, Dawson
and Marie Hilda all concerned with mental handicap and under-privilege.
Directors of Education like John Morrison, McGregor, Hepburn and T. R.
Burnett had an interest in standards of subject performance and of patterns
\textsuperscript{5} In 1993 the central funding is about £400,000 and SCRE's success in bidding for projects
has produced a further £600,000.
of curricular activity, on a countrywide basis. The EIS provided the cultural medium within which the growth took place. Their contribution in terms of accommodation and an honorary secretary were vital. Thomson and Boyd had their own interests, the first with mental testing and the second with spelling. No one discussed ownership of research, or intellectual property rights. The commonly used metaphor was that knowledge was a running stream from which everyone could drink.

These interests were in keeping with the concerns of SED, which were discussed in the Blue Books. Apart from reporting on standards of performance of pupils in a range of subjects, the inadequacy of physical provision, and the inconvenience of geographical location, these annual reports wrestled with how to categorise pupils so that they would move into appropriate provision after primary school, and be given a relevant curriculum. Finance for education was finite, and civil servants saw it as their duty to avoid waste, by restricting post-primary provision to those who could benefit from it. Although there was a high level of unemployment in the 1920s and 1930s, yet young labour was cheap, and both the heavy industries and the service industries were labour intensive, and able to absorb those who were not continuing with post-primary education. The Department and the Council had identified common problems, yet neither body was willing to cooperate.

The 1932 Mental Survey was a great unifying feature for the Council. SCRE had become known through the IEI, and the subvention from America changed it from being groups of dabbler in research, to a body with a common purpose and unentailed finance. Drever Sr was the first to realise that this money offered an opportunity for a long term programme of research. In effect the research followed the money, and was heavily test-oriented until the start of WWII. Department and Council moved on parallel lines. The Department developed education by Circular, and by its control of finance. The Council tried to impact on education by making available its research findings at minimum cost, and by proselytising through university and college departments.
Thomson on mental testing, and McClelland on selection, had their own acolytes. The groups may be understood as intersecting sets through IEI, and through SCRE. Their research was valuable in its own right, but they also created an interest and provided training for groups of individuals who carried research forward in Scotland for the next 30 years.

By 1947 SCRE was still a 'shoestring' operation financially, still suspicious of taking financial help from SED, and seeking a new role. It found it through the PIC. SCRE did not initiate this relationship, but accepted it when it was approached. It had assets for which some one else was willing to pay, that of earlier intelligence survey data, and that of people with experience of conducting national surveys. The Council did not create the research agenda but accepted it with alacrity, because it provided a reliable income and the opportunity to use some excess for other research work, which continued to the end of Rusk's period of office, and provided data on which to work throughout Walker's directorship. Rusk left office satisfied that he had never been beholden to SED for anything, but had fulfilled his own mission of providing a focus for, and a repository of, educational research for teachers.

Walker continued to work with residual PIC money and again was fortunate in that research chose the Council, with IEA seeking to have Scotland participate in its own right in international projects, rather than as part of the United Kingdom. Its reputation was paying dividends. The subject of the comparative research was initially in mathematics, thus guaranteeing support from McIntosh.

Until about 1968, SCRE set the research agenda by accepting offers primarily from America and England, based on its reputation. From then onwards the Heyworth and the Rothschild reports, essentially directed to the position in England, created a climate whereby it was incumbent upon the Department to provide finance for the Council, and for the Council to accept it, relatively unentailed. The position of administrative devolution in Scotland, but English-determined legislation binding on Scotland, led to some advantages, this one in particular being the need to 'show willing' on
the matter of research. The shadow of the Calvinist tradition had kept pupils working in school relatively happily, but by the mid 1960s there was a marked drop in respect for authority, and a marked drop in job prospects for school leavers. The attitudes of students in revolt against society and the satirical output from television, ridiculing parliamentarians and others leaders, affected school pupils and the fewer job opportunities, caused them to doubt whether efforts in school learning were worthwhile.

SCRE identified the state, but failed to analyse the problem correctly. Its research initiative in ‘Permanence of Learning’ changed to ‘A Study of Fifteen Year Olds’, over the lifetime of the research project, as the Council gained insight into the main issue.

The decade 1970 to 1980 was a favoured time. SCRE had a new director whose formative research experience had been outwith Scotland, with wider horizons regarding research, and a climate of opinion in England with SSRC, NCET and private trusts such as Nuffield, all making it a golden age. However SCRE was an enabler rather than an initiator, because it did not have control of finance at its own hand. The negotiated research principle worked well with RIU and SCRE. The area of endeavour was in facing down the hostility of disaffected young people, who had a bleak future.

The 1980s saw the rebirth of Benn’s accountability in harsher form. SCRE had moved into assessment, a wider concept than testing, occasioned by the follow on to the Munn and Dunning reports, and by the mid 1980s into evaluation. It did it in an atmosphere of restructuring, demanded by external reviews, with a requirement that it become less dependent on SED. SCRE garnered its finance from other departments, which had been established in competition with the United Kingdom Education Departments, which were blamed for the inadequate products of the schools. Those central departments quickly passed on the opprobrium to the schools and teachers.

By 1990 SCRE had agreed with SOED that it would receive central funding, against an indeterminate range of services which it would provide. This

6 It had been called ‘core’ funding for the previous two years.

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would guarantee that there was a framework for a research council which could bid for further research projects which were identified by other people. The pendulum had swung to the other extreme, and Rusk's fear had materialised with control of the content of research lost to SCRE.

Government departments take to themselves rights which are difficult to challenge. Charters are produced to give rights to the individual against public corporations, other than government, and these rights are fragile when called in. Pressure groups are formed, such as Councils, for civil liberties, for the environment, for non-proliferation of nuclear activities and for an end to blood sports. Public relations groups and lobbyists are funded to rubbish the activities of those who inconvenience the powerful. Negotiated research has become a matter for inter-personal skills. Researchers may be obtuse and obdurate, or insightful and accommodating. The officials of funding departments may be honourable and enthusiastic, or obstructive and bullying. Government departments own research because they determine how to deploy public money.

The alternative is to energise a sufficiently large part of the education community to conduct the research themselves. This happened from the mid 1960s to the early 1980s because the climate was right. The setting up of NICCER in Colleges of Education is one example (ch 8). It was supported by 'released' public money, because after it was given to the colleges they were free to use it as they may. Another example is with staff in universities, where quality research was conducted by staff who chose to do so. The fact that it was 'financed' by individuals who believed that it was their duty, and made space in their professional lives to that end, did not affect its value. Their problem was in promulgating the findings where they would have an effect. Constraints on university staff time have increased, and that other group, the teacher-researcher may now be in a local authority, probably non-Conservative, with a Conservative administration in power centrally, and under the threat of 'capping' of expenditure. In such circumstances the local

7 The Secretary of State has taken powers to determine the level at which he will allow local authorities to spend money. If they go beyond that level he can block their expenditure. Local councillors may be surcharged for incurring non approved expenditure.
authority will not release teachers for any non-statutory activities.

Freeman criticised the system used by RIU in placing research projects in Scotland, preferring the SSRC/ESRC system of peer judgement. Both involved patronage, but in the former, the patrons were known. Today institutions and private companies make submissions for a list of projects identified by SOED, and allocation is made within the Department. Preparation of a competent submission costs about £2000 (at 1993 prices). Where there are six bidders for a project, there will be a non-productive cost of £10,000. Competition and market-testing cause expenditure which is distributed, and not easily identified. There is no one best way of conducting research.

In summary the Forum, as suggested by ‘Freeman’ should be the source of ideas for research projects, but it has not worked as had been envisaged. The subjects for research are government-determined, perhaps under the stimulus of the Forum, but with a greater political input. There is still freedom to decide how a project is conducted, a freedom which must be guarded.

**Question 3 Has the cherished goal of maintaining independence been achieved?**

In the current context of a world of a variety of agencies, it is essential to try to outline what independence means in respect of SCRE. The topics you choose for research, how you conduct it, who gives access to situations in which to carry out the research and the role of teachers in the exercise, are all important but are situation specific, in that there is negotiation for any one project to be conducted, despite SCRE having a Corporate Plan. The epistemology of ‘research’ is also important. Is it an art form or a science?

I indicated three strands of independence in chapter 1. These were that concept seen in the progressive educational movements which have been scorned, even vilified, by a succession of Secretaries of State for Education in England, with an effect by association in Scotland, because the media in its reporting does not distinguish between the two educational systems.
The second was the relationship of education to our national identity, seen in the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church each making representation to government on safeguarding education, especially of minority groups, pursuant to the reorganisation of Local Government under legislation, and to be operational in 1996. The obverse of the same attitude is seen in the resentment, shown in many quarters, at the high incidence of English students in Scottish universities.

The third was the penetration of government into civil and social affairs, putting at risk individuals and organisations which are seen not to be conforming, a dangerous situation for education where freedom of thought is vital.

Rusk was the first to require a large measure of independence for SCRE. His principal reason was that he did not believe that administrators in SED were competent to take decisions about educational development. He would have made a grudging exception for Secretary Struthers, who like himself, had been a pupil-teacher. Further as his autobiographical notes show, he was incensed by the rigidity with which SED treated competent men and women, who wished to contribute to educational development, because they were not qualified as teachers. Yet those same people in SED, themselves not qualified teachers, took far-reaching decisions about education. Rusk demanded 'the right to do', and pre-war he was supported in this attitude by the representatives from SCRE's founding bodies. He did not seek to have financial support from the Department, and was content to operate on finance from EIS and local authorities. A comparable sum for his honorarium of 200 guineas at today's prices would be about £10,000. Members of Council supported his views, but left him to put the arguments regarding finance, to the Department. SCRE's acceptance of money from SED for research, pursuant to the statutory authority in the 1945 Act, was mainly to establish the right to use public money for educational research. There were petty restrictions attached to its use.

After WWII, belief in the competence of authority lessened markedly, and throughout the 1950s Mcintosh gradually built up a stronger wall against
Departmental interference, but for him rights were vested only in those who had mathematical ability, and he had little patience with SED staff who had a background in classics, history and language. He exploited skilfully the indignation which many educationists felt towards the Department about the shabby way in which J. J. Robertson was treated following his work on the 1947 Advisory Council report on Secondary Education.8

During the 1970s Council members began to tire of the abrasive style of McIntosh towards SED. In the 1960s he had been protected from such criticism by the conciliatory style of Walker, but even then men like Meiklejohn of East Lothian, Reith of Edinburgh, Nisbet of Aberdeen, at Council meetings challenged the Department’s right to take unilateral decisions about education. There was no conspiracy. They were courteous individuals.

In 1964 SCEEB was established, with J. M. Urquhart as Director, from the ranks of the directorate. At their initial meeting, Lady Tweedsmuir, minister for Education in SED, said that they would be assisted by the Department, but would soon be independent.9 McIntosh, a Board member agreed with this, claimed that the Council must have independence too, and that Education in Scotland should be run by three institutions, SCRE, SCEEB and the teacher training institutions. It did not happen. Junior Ministers are transient and executive departments have the advantage of almost infinite time and patience.

Attitudes to universities changed with writers like Kingsley Amis holding provincial universities in contempt, in his fiction.10 Many academics resisted

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8 Robertson was the only man I ever heard address McIntosh by his first name. He may have taught him at some time. To see them manipulate each other in committee was a salutary lesson.
9 Philip, op. cit. p. 142.
10 Amis Kingsley, (1954) Lucky Jim. London, Gollancz. The book, was a sensation in its day, but has been upstaged by the writings of other ‘lapsed’ academics. The phrase ‘more means worse’, was coined by Amis, probably based on snobbery rather than educational argument, and taken up by those who believed they were defending standards, always a rallying cry, by keeping unworthy students out of universities. Amis had been a lecturer at Swansea and at Peterhouse. His book would be called ‘faction’ today.
government-led university and higher education expansion in the 1970s, on the grounds that 'more means worse', a comment specifically rejected by Charles Carter.\textsuperscript{11} This affected SCRE which tended to seek association with universities to enhance its status, and guarantee its standards.

Philosophers of Education, who received little respect from pure philosophers, were at variance with the Department view of educational performance, which tended to be instrumentalist, whereas they preferred to have skills which could be verbal and practical, but which fitted into concepts which the pupil gained, of what (s)he was doing and why. The Primary Memorandum committee, in support of this belief, advocated centres of interest and projects, concepts which were seldom acceptable in the mid 1960s, and were still resisted by politicians in SOED in the 1990s when they rejected the initial '5 to 14' Environmental Studies report, on the grounds that history, geography and science were separate subjects.

The educational philosophers argued about rule-governed behaviour and rule-guided behaviour.\textsuperscript{12} SED required rule-governed behaviour, which is incompatible with independence. For McIntosh independence ended in 1972 when the Council “took the Queen's shilling”. On balance it was always a feeling and not an objective state, but over the last decade negotiators in industrial disputes have sought to achieve 'felt-fair' settlements, accepting that the feeling is important.

An issue raised at times in the Council and quickly dropped, was whether it is possible to change an organisation by forces outside of itself. The change instruments for the outside body, in this case SCRE, can only be persuasion, infiltration, negotiation or ignoring the other party, SED. What SCRE wished to do was change education in Scotland, but SED could block their efforts by

\textsuperscript{11} op. cit. p.181.

\textsuperscript{12} The first is mandatory. The second is a preference, but not mandatory. From 1985 onwards the Department has issued a large number of 'Guidelines'. Teachers find it simpler to follow them than to seek confrontation. It has been attacked as de-skilling by some, with a fear that it may in time be used to lower salaries. The Butcher style analysis of jobs, (ch 8) gave credence to this belief. To some extent it is a gloss on the beloved Scottish argument about determinism and freewill. The idea has been widened into Charters by the present government.
virtue of its greater power and its control of finance. McIntosh held the view that research would have findings so powerful that they would have to be accepted. McClelland’s Selection was powerful, as was the 1932 Survey of Intelligence, but the Department was the body to do the ignoring. How do you apply rule-governed behaviour to judgement?

The setting up of SCEEB and CCC, and of the large number of Working Parties following upon the Munn and Dunning reports, took place because the Department and Inspectorate could no longer cope. Norman Graham realised this, but his justification was that it was appropriate that initiatives in education should come from the outside. They were however initiatives from the satellites, to the central planet in the educational solar system.

The trivia of control, usually passed off as instruments for making judgements, are performance indicators, assessment of national standards, guidelines and corporate plans, all drawn from forms of work which are inappropriate for education. TVEI was enthusiastic about evaluation, appointing local independent evaluators (LIE) for every project, where those responsible for running the project selected the evaluator. The acronym was inappropriate and ‘independent’ was dropped, but all that the Department of Employment wished to have was someone of competence to give another opinion. If pre-determined rules can be applied automatically, then a competent person is not required, but merely a recorder. It is a form of de-skilling, with an appeal for the generalist administrator, still occupying the senior ranks of the civil service. Such people speak of ‘a level playing field’, usually meaning that knowledge and expertise (of others) should be discounted.

A claim to independence was feasible for SCRE in large measure until 1972, when it reached agreement with SED on finance and the acceptance of Secretary of State appointees to the Council. SCEEB/SEB, CCC/SCCC and GTC, products of the 1960s, and a group of organisations of the 1960s and 1970s which have developed into SCOTVEC, were encouraged by

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13 The restriction was that they were given a sum of money which could be spent only on evaluation.
Graham, the new Secretary of SED, post 1964. He tended to be scornful of his new department, SED, and thought that it was wrong for HMI to work from home. Today that system of working, backed by technology, is seen as progressive.

From the mid 1970s other organisations arose, tangential to education, in keeping with the corporate image of the Scottish Office, which have developed into Scottish Enterprise (SE), Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) and their satellites, Local Enterprise Committees (LECs), with their responsibility for training. The central authority, SOED, can take to itself certain advantages. It can exercise a large measure of control over membership of those institutions, so that its policies may be put into effect, yet distance itself sufficiently so that it need not take the blame for failures. It can take corrective measures against such failures, and then enjoy credit for the subsequent success which those measures have created, a claim which is logically unsound but democratically persuasive.

Also Junior Ministers in the Scottish Office have multi-portfolios. At one time it was considered advantageous to link the industry and education portfolios, because of the common factor of training. The inter-relations are such that there is no protected budget for education. Once the Treasury has agreed the quantum for the Scottish Office, the Secretary of State has considerable discretion in its allocation, and a Minister must consider all aspects of his portfolio with regard to expenditure.

SCRE from 1946 onwards had rights to research finance under Grant Regulations 1946 No 1267/S.53. (App 5), which specifically include 'educational services of an advisory or organising character', a phrase which enabled organisations other than SCRE, to seek financial support, putting the Council in competition with all the above agencies. At present there are

14 Graham had not worked in SED in the past and tended to measure it against the old Department of Health for Scotland, the jewel department, where he and Douglas Haddow, later to be PUSS, claimed to have established the National Health Service (NHS) in Scotland. SED itself was a poor relation and a fringe body like SCRE was insignificant.

15 The phrase used to dispel criticism of unwarranted and challenged channelling of funds was, 'There are no sacred cows.'
few signs of territorial imperatives, because the officials of the organisations know one another, and realise that cooperation is valuable, yet from the mid 1970s onwards these regulations have been used to finance other quangos to provide 'educational services' not necessarily research.

SOED on the other hand has floated the idea of an amalgamation of SEB and SCOTVEC for a decade. The justification has been for administrative rather than for educational reasons, but the uncertainty created within each organisation allegedly keeps them striving for efficiency. Questions such as having a single end-of-school certificate, and whether modules as opposed to a modular system based on credits are beneficial, have not been addressed. They are improbable subjects for external research which may produce the 'wrong' answer, when a decision has been taken on administrative grounds.

Independence also depends on access to and control of how finance may be spent. SCRE is highly dependent on SOED finance. SOED has flagged a number of activities which it wishes to pursue against an indication of the outcomes which it expects. SCRE must have regard for these requirements both explicit and implicit. Ministers such as Michael Forsyth with great determination, and Lord James Douglas Hamilton with greater diffidence have indicated their dissatisfaction with educational standards and believe that testing of pupils at fixed ages in a range of school subjects, later to be publicised in league tables of performance by schools, will improve standards. This field of assessment has been part of SCRE's programme since 1928, but the Department showed little interest in its findings until the early 1960s, with the Primary Memorandum and burgeoning interest in research on a UK basis. Today it would be unrealistic to expect SCRE, or any other body in receipt of public funds, to collect and analyse data and publish a report showing that the government was wrong.

I do not impugn the integrity of researchers, but indicate the restrictions under which they work. Ideally SCRE should have a bank of research findings which it has created over the years, and kept up to date, so that it has anticipated educational problems and would thus be able to give safe
advice at short notice. It cannot do this because most of its finance is short-term and entailed.

Government departments too are under some restrictions, long term by elections to parliament, but more frequently by their constituency of the general public. One population of that public is parents, who were encouraged by SOED to take more interest in education. To this end SOED legislated for school boards, and provided a range of Charters guaranteeing rights to subjects, or ‘citizens’ as one Charter would have it. These Boards may be weak numerically, but do allow a few activists to fight for policies, claiming a high level of parental support, a claim which is difficult to refute - or prove.

The situation is one where those wishing freedom to do research must make common cause with others similarly minded, so that it will be difficult for government to resist them. This is already seen to be happening in the field of assessment, especially in the AAP (ch 9) where colleges, university departments and SCRE, work in unison on projects. On outreach SOED may commission work from SCRE for a previously determined end. This is positive, in that it is a move from confrontation to partnership, relatively unconstrained.

The public at large, and those members of it who wish to be involved in shaping our society, need access to information, and require hypotheses for consideration. Education provides the hypotheses and research should challenge them. The information is disseminated by two groups of people, the academics and the journalists in all forms of media (ch 1). Academics produce writing which is reflective and relates to an identified philosophy. There are few sources of exposure for this writing other than learned journals, and, for a few people, an opportunity to expound on television. The

16 Today criminal court verdicts are overturned as being ‘unsafe.’ It is this meaning which I apply to education. Hailsham, a former Lord Chancellor, always advised his juniors, ‘You are paid for your opinions, not your doubts.’ Educational research has not reached this steady state as yet.

17 Charter 88. It was established in that year, with a platform of a Bill of Rights and a Freedom of Information Act. It is financed totally by its members.
journals have a large backlog of articles, so that by the time they are published they may have been overtaken by events.

The journalists may be criticised as superficial, but they do have immediate access to a wide audience. Access to Ministers, and to a knowledge base in a government department, for potentially hostile journalists, gives the probability of damage limitation under the watchful eye of the Scottish Office Information Unit. In the social sciences opinion-formers are more likely to be journalists, because academics do not pose an immediate threat to Ministers and have less access to them, or to a department data base.

Few MPs have first hand knowledge of SCRE, and visits from Ministers and MPs are rare, other than of the showing the flag type. Secretaries of Departments in the Scottish Office never visit SCRE, even on 'Open' days. Compare that with their attendance at industrial and commercial quangos, or independent organisations, such as Confederation of British Industry (CBI) or Institute of Directors (IOD) or the Royal Society (Edinburgh). Such bodies have class and status. Thus judgements are made on inadequate evidence.

For a Permanent Secretary like Sir William Pile (DES), educational research was a low grade exercise. Early members of ERB, such as Eric James and Roger Young, headmasters of selective schools, held it in mild contempt. Their fellow members, such as Lionel Russell of Birmingham and Alec Clegg of Lancashire, as chief education officers, were keen to ensure that anything which may help their work should be given scrutiny. The last two were exposed to accountability, which tends to encourage responsibility.

Members of Parliament see researchers working in Westminster, where there is a superb data base, which those researchers access on behalf of their minister or MP. This is done selectively stressing quantification without regard to any methodology of interpretation through statistics. The researchers, and by association, research, have low esteem. Thus

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19 A parliamentary researcher is paid about £6 per hour, falling midway between a cleaner and a jobbing gardener in the private sector in London.
decision makers like parliamentarians have a concept of research which is not helpful to SCRE, or to researchers in colleges and universities.

The view of the Freeman report of 1984 that there should be fewer but larger research programmes, because this is how it was done in England, has eventually permeated the system. By 1993 out of eight categories of SOED-determined research the main one is evaluation of SOED-determined activities, in particular the 5-14 programme. There is however cooperation between university departments and SCRE on specific projects. There is a presumption, probably unwarranted, of a high correlation between the amount of financial provision and educational importance. In all of this, unless SCRE can choose what research it should do, and how it should conduct it, then it cannot claim to be independent. In a close-knit community like educational research in Scotland it is possible to seed research ideas, and benefit from their subsequent growth, but the essential corollaries of independence for SCRE now are probity and impartiality. This is best achieved under our parliamentary system when government and opposition change roles, but is put at risk when, as at present, one party is in power for what may be at least 18 years, so that thinking for all who relate to government becomes one-dimensional.

In summary SCRE had independence from 1928 to 1945 which it operated externally with findings made freely available, and simply ignored by SED, but of interest to the education community. It was the period of progressive thought in education. American finance made this possible. Internally it exercised firm control over who may speak on its behalf. In 1945 it accepted a small grant from SED, primarily to establish research as an activity entitled to use public funds. Additional finance from PIC enabled it to develop freely, and later finance from IEA kept it going, until it could attract contract funding from the recently established SSRC/ESRC, and therein its ERB. This could be considered a period of cultural independence where Scotland had rights as a nation, with a separate education system of interest to other countries.

21 This is not a plea for research to be conducted by underpaid researchers, but a belief that a large budget does not necessarily guarantee quality in research findings.
Over a twenty year period until 1972 it had a chairman who was willing to take on SED in argument. He may eventually have lost, but the Department preferred to compromise. By 1980 the climate had changed and all organisations in receipt of public money had to justify themselves. SCRE was inept in this respect, culminating in 1984 in a damning report (Freeman). It relaunched itself adequately and again found a body (MSC/TA) willing to buy its services. By 1989 a further review of its operation by SED (Ewing) led to a change of status, whereby it competed for contracts against a range of other research bodies, from a closed list published by SOED, and in addition its applied research methodology in individual projects was under continuous scrutiny. SCRE was now a quango, non-statutory but able to promulgate research findings. Some of its projects were self-generated, even if supported by public money, from departments other than SED. It had instigated Evaluation which was a lifesaver when offered and financed by the TVEi programme, and this activity became a way of life when required by SOED for its '5 to 14' programme.

In summary there has been considerable loss of independence. The founding members of Council would claim that it is a total loss. Where they believed that independence was a total state, their successors have learned that any group which wishes to be a change agent, must maintain a relationship with the power brokers, if they are to have any influence. The best, and in some cases the only way to change an organisation as all-pervading as modern government, is from within

Question 4  Are there answers to problems in education which are transferable between countries and educational systems so that research could be left to England, other European countries and U.S.A. and the findings simply transferred to the Scottish scene?

In an era when research becomes more expensive, and when challenges to the perceived wisdom have a high nuisance value to authority, there is a temptation to select from the menus of others to support decisions which have been taken. England and America are favoured examples. In the 1940s arguments about what could be transferred in education were
common, the conclusion being that it was rather less than had been expected, although methodology and attitude were transferable. Committees to study and report on educational issues made solemn pilgrimages to other countries, seeking the educational grail for that issue. Germany and Japan are led in evidence as countries which have been leaders in training young people in valuable skills, which are good for the individual and the country.

The Warnock committee (technically a UK committee), pronounced on how to provide schooling for pupils with special needs, advice which was accepted in Scotland, despite a similar and contrary document published by HMI. The policy has been ill-advised, even called naive by the eponymous author, some 15 years later.

The reputation of the Hungarian Peto Institute in conductive education has led to similar institutions being established in England and Scotland, both now showing signs of strain. That form of rehabilitation was accepted, in the face of contrary research in Scotland.

Forms of school organisation in Denmark and New Zealand were chosen as the way ahead in Scotland for cooperation with parents, but parental visitors, in contra-distinction to government ministers and officials, drew different conclusions from the same sets of data.

American experience with microcomputers in schools was translated to Britain in 1979, where they were said to be so reliable and simple in operation that all that was required was one day of training for the teachers, before the hardware was provided for schools, by the Information Technology division of the Department of Trade and Industry, under Kenneth Baker, with disastrous results. It was subsequently learned that it had already failed in America.

A reason which is perhaps less worthy but equally real is that Scotland claims to be a country with its own education system. A nationalism exists, even if in an aspic of apathy, and may well be articulated by a relatively

small number of people who can call to their aid the silent majority

Any educational group has to communicate with its constituents, by providing information for them, and responding to feedback. Teachers and parents can be swamped by communication on paper, a situation which arose in England with Schools Council, was repeated by the CCC, and later by SOED in the provision of training materials for school board members. Once this situation has been diagnosed there is a call for help through new technology, but it is given by adapting the old content to the new medium, resulting in a further communication block. This might be handled in a country the size of Scotland where the constituents have access to the producers, but is almost certain to fail when the source of the research findings is further afield. The balance of advantage for practical and for political reasons, lies in doing the research at our own hand in Scotland.

In summary, while it is necessary to take account of developments in other countries and in other educational systems, yet adapting the findings to the Scottish situation is deceptively difficult. Also there would be a distinct loss of valuable skills if no educational research was conducted at our own hand in Scotland. This is easily understood in industry, especially in electronics, where efforts are made to try to ensure that design work is part of the inward investment rather than merely what are disparagingly called, 'screwdriver' jobs. In industry, in teaching and in research deskillling has major disadvantages in the long term.

The Future
SCRE in mid 1993 can be considered in terms of constants and variables. The constants are an agreed amount of central funding against specific but changing commitments, a current chairman and director with successful track records in scientific research, and in science education respectively, a commitment to work in the field of tertiary education, good working relations with university staff, and a communication system at several levels with the education community, through publishing books, pamphlets and journals, and through seminars.
The variables are a local authority education system which is being broken up by government decision, with an as yet indeterminate future pattern. Parents have a greater role in education through school boards, but how those are functioning, and even the number of them, is not clearly known. There will be some devolved management to individual schools with about 80% of expenditure channelled in this way. The balance will be given to the new single tier authorities, who may not have an education director nor even an education committee.

Forward planning by SOED is being conducted by committees whether external or internal. In the former, membership is decided by SOED. The committees report on specific issues, and a period is allowed for consultation, which is implemented by it being open to anyone to read the responses to any reports, which have been sent to government, and submit a further response, but there is no procedure for public debate, other than through correspondence in newspapers or sound bites on television.

There were, until 1990, four parent associations, three with a loose working relationship and the fourth remaining aloof. It has the closest relationship with SOED. In 1994 there are two parent associations both given some financial support from SOED. They give instant responses to government decisions which have been promulgated, perhaps from insecurity and certainly from lack of experience, often with conflicting views.23

SCRE has several options. It can remain an agent of SOED and conduct the research required of it. It can bid for a share of the 20% retained funding in whatever local authority system emerges, but there will be heavy demands on that.24 It can hope that individual schools will seek its help, and encourage such schools to band together in associations so that the financial implications may be spread. It may write a paper identifying what has to be done in education which would lend itself to a research approach.

23 SOED took two years to respond to the ‘Howie’ report. SOED (1992) Upper Secondary Education in Scotland. Edinburgh, HMSO. The parent bodies gave their response in 24 hours.
24 SEB has been able to use teachers seconded to them from the local authorities. In the new dispensation this will have to be paid for at an estimated cost of £1.7 million.
It may create a market in educational consultancy similar to that which obtains in business and industry, analysing what it uniquely has to offer. What it can not do is await the development of events. Whatever it does, it needs allies in teachers and parents. The goal is a share of the £1.6 billion which government puts into Scottish Education annually.
Appendix 1

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

The truth is that to ninety-nine human beings in a hundred, however emotionally secure or blithe they may be in life, a microphone is a sword of Damocles that instantly heightens self-consciousness and produces a tune which is not the natural tune of a person talking to one or two friends in a room. It takes years to forget the microphone and any awareness of an outside audience.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Status when Interviewed</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David Walker</td>
<td>Former Director of SCRE.</td>
<td>11. 1. 91,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. 5. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9. 2. 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas McIntosh</td>
<td>Former Chairman of SCRE</td>
<td>2. 4. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessie M. Gray</td>
<td>Former Secretary of SCRE</td>
<td>22. 7. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Powell</td>
<td>Former Assistant Director of SCRE</td>
<td>9. 8. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerard Pollock</td>
<td>Former Depute Director of SCRE</td>
<td>26. 8. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John D. Nisbet</td>
<td>Professor emeritus, Aberdeen and former Chairman of SCRE</td>
<td>5. 9. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W Bryan Dockrell</td>
<td>Former Director of SCRE</td>
<td>14. 9. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ken Macrae</td>
<td>Assistant Secretary SED/SOED.</td>
<td>15. 10. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Former Head of Administrative Division with responsibility for research.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ewing</td>
<td>Principal, Scottish Office.</td>
<td>16. 10. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rod Merrall</td>
<td>Scottish Office. Finance</td>
<td>24. 10. 91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position and Experience</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ian Freeman</td>
<td>Assistant Secretary, Scottish Office, conducted 'Freeman' report</td>
<td>5.11.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angus Mitchell</td>
<td>Former Secretary, SED</td>
<td>26.11.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Weir,</td>
<td>Assistant Principal, Jordanhill Council member. Former staff member of SCRE.</td>
<td>2.12.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon Kirk,</td>
<td>Principal, Moray House Institute of Education, Heriot-Watt University. Former chairman of SCRE</td>
<td>14.1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Maxwell</td>
<td>Principal author of books on 1947 Survey</td>
<td>14.1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheena Maxwell</td>
<td>Former research officer at SCRE: ex-student of Godfrey Thomson.</td>
<td>14.1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Spencer</td>
<td>HMI. Formerly senior research officer of SCRE and staff representative.</td>
<td>24.3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archie McGlynn. *</td>
<td>HMCI. Head of Inspectorate audit unit. Former head of RIU.</td>
<td>6.4.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew McPherson</td>
<td>Professor and joint head of CES Edinburgh University. Former Council member</td>
<td>27.4.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Pilliner</td>
<td>Former colleague of Godfrey Thomson. ex head of Godfrey Thomson unit.</td>
<td>29.4.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Black</td>
<td>Depute Director of SCRE</td>
<td>6.5.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamela Munn</td>
<td>Depute Director of SCRE</td>
<td>22.5.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willie Dunn</td>
<td>Senior Lecturer in Education, Glasgow University. Former Council member.</td>
<td>29.5.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Thomson</td>
<td>Senior Lecturer in Education, Edinburgh University. Former Council member.</td>
<td>1.6.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosemary Wake</td>
<td>Head of Information Services SCRE</td>
<td>2.6.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Sally Brown  Professor of Education, University of Stirling. Former Director of SCRE 10. 6. 92
Margot Cameron-Jones  Professor, Moray House Institute of Education, Heriot Watt University 11. 6. 92
Walter Beveridge *  HM Depute SCI. Former head of RIU. Former Council Assessor 29. 6. 92
Tom Bone  Former Principal, Jordanhill College. Former chairman of NICCER. 2. 7. 92
Brian Semple  Principal Research Officer, SOED Scottish Liaison officer I. E. A. 26. 8. 92
Hugh Fairlie  Former Director of Education. Former Chairman of Council 22. 11. 92
Wynne Harlen  Director of SCRE 15. 2. 93
Martyn Roebuck  HMCI & Head of RIU 22. 2. 93
Alistair MacFarlane  Principal, Heriot - Watt University, Currently Chairman of SCRE 19. 4. 93

* Interviews with those marked thus were not taped to allow for a different type of dialogue.

INDIVIDUALS CONSULTED.

Certain individuals were consulted about specific matters; some on several occasions; some by letter; some by telephone.

Name  Status
Margaret Clark  Professor emeritus, Birmingham. Sometime colleague of Rusk
Ian Flett  Former Director of Education, Fife. Author of second ADES history
William Gatherer  Former Chief Adviser, Lothian Region Education Department

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F. Hope Johnston   Principal Research Officer, SOED
Thomas Henderson   Former Director of Education, Midlothian
William Nicol     Formerly HMI in RIU
Maeve Rusk        Consultant Ophthalmologist (ret.).
                  daughter of R. R. Rusk
Joan Sandison     Former HMCI with responsibility for Teacher training
Ivor Sutherland   Registrar, General Teaching Council
John Walker        Former Director of Scottish Examination Board
Alexander Young   Former Director of Education, Aberdeenshire
                  Convenor for first ADES history
Appendix 2

BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES


Arbuckle, Sir William Forbes: Born 1902; HMI 1931. Seconded to Department of Health for Scotland, 1939 -1943, returning to SED as Assistant Secretary in 1943, Under Secretary in 1952 and Secretary in 1957. He began the pattern of Working Parties which included some serving teachers to advise on appropriate changes. The first one was under Brunton: Working Party on the Curriculum of the Senior Secondary School, reporting in 1959.

Boyd, William: Born 1874 at Riccarton, Ayrshire. Family left established church for Free Church, affecting his primary education. Went to Kilmarnock Academy at 12 years. There he won prizes through Science and Art department of South Kensington and a bursary which took him to Free Church College. Intended for the ministry, but founded a Christian Socialist Society at College and decided against the ministry on theological and practical grounds. Became a Ferguson Scholar; came under influence of Professor Jones and Principal Caird. Worked for and lived in University Settlement for many years considering it to be the most formative experience of his life. Became lecturer with Jones in 1907; took D. phil in 1911 on Rousseau. Founding member of New Education Fellowship in 1921 and claimed its conference at Elsinore was turning point in his life. Visiting professor at Columbia, New York. Founded Parent-Teacher Association, Glasgow in 1931. Reader in Education at Glasgow after David Murray died. Member of Court at Glasgow and threatened to pursue university on a point

of principle at Court of Session. J. W. D. Smith, W. B. Inglis and Ben Morris all on his staff.


Brown, Sally: Graduated in physics in London, MA at Smith, Massachusetts and PhD Stirling. Came to research through interest in Science education and teaching science in Scottish schools. Lectured at Avery Hill College of Education, Nigeria College of Technology and at Ife and Stirling Universities. Research Fellow in Education at Stirling University. Seconded to SED 1979-1984 particularly for research on feasibility studies for Standard Grade courses. Director of SCRE in 1986 and professor of Education at Stirling University in 1990. Main interests: nature of teaching, special educational needs and assessment.

Brunton, John S: Graduated in Modern Languages at Glasgow University. HMI in 1932 and seconded to administration for war period. Returned as HMI and seconded to administration in 1951 until returning as Senior Chief Inspector in 1955, retiring in 1966. His considerable experience as an administrator gave him an authority which few others had ever been able to claim. He made many organisational changes within the inspectorate, produced reports on Senior Secondary Education, and Further Education in 1963. Established Primary Memorandum committee in 1961, reporting in 1965. He effected a rapport with SCRE in 1964 against the wishes of Departmental administrators. He abolished inspection of Training Colleges in 1958; set up Scottish Examination Board in 1963 and Consultative Committee on Curriculum in 1965. His retiral was a relief to many administrators. Essentially a humble man he spent his retirial in trying to improve the lot, both physically and mentally, of children in various residential homes, to the annoyance of some social workers who claimed 'he had not been trained for it.'

Burnett, T. R: Director of Education for Dumfries. He first suggested to ADES that they should extend their interests to include research. He chaired the initial joint meeting of ADES and EIS in Glasgow on 6 May 1927 which agreed to found a "Scottish Educational Research Council."

Carr-Saunders, Sir Alexander: Leader in field of Eugenics in Britain, joining the Society in 1912 and becoming secretary of the research committee in 1914, elected to Council in 1920 and editor of Eugenics Review from 1922-1927, and from 1936-1953 being President or Vice-president of the Society. He succeeded William Beveridge as Director of London School of Economics. Joined the Population Investigation Committee (PIC) in 1936 and chaired it for over 20 years. Member of the Royal Commission on Population and chaired its Statistics Committee during 1944-1949. Died in 1966.

Craik, Sir Henry: Son of James Craik, ex-Moderator of General Assembly of Church of Scotland. Ninth in a family of ten children. Pupil at Glasgow High School and Snell Exhibitioner from Glasgow University to Bailliol College, Oxford. Secretary of Scotch Education Department based in Whitehall 1885-1904. Senior Examiner in 1884 from which post he moved to be Secretary of the Scotch Education Department. Instigator of Higher Leaving Certificate

Dockrell, W. Bryan: Graduate in English from Manchester. Student of Pilley in B.Ed course at Edinburgh University. Worked in higher education in USA and Canada. Came to SCRE in 1971 as Director from being Professor of Special Education at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE). Member of Dunning Committee; member of Educational Research board of Social Science Research Council; consultant for British Council, World Bank. Took early retirement in 1986. Currently working at Newcastle
Drever, James Sr: Orcadian, born 1873 and educated at Stromness Academy, Heriot-Watt College and Edinburgh University. Became assistant to professor Darroch in 1906 and, through the George Combe lectureship, ran a psychological laboratory at Moray House College in 1912, succeeding to the lectureship in 1919. Changed from education to psychology occupying the first chair in Psychology in Scotland in 1931, retiring in 1945. Founder member of SCRE in 1928 and a member of its Executive committee from then until becoming President in 1948. He associated with most of the projects including the 1932 and 1947 Surveys of Intelligence. Died in 1950.

Fairlie, Hugh: Edinburgh graduate in mathematics. Worked in operational research during World War II and student of Godfrey Thomson in first post war B.Ed class with John A. Smith and William Lindsay. Lindsay became assistant director in Fife before moving to be director in Moray to be succeeded in Fife by John A. Smith from Inspectorate. Smith went to Jordanhill to Methods department and then to vice principal to be succeeded in Fife by Fairlie as depute director from having been assistant to Lindsay in Moray. Moved from Fife to be depute director and subsequently director in Renfrewshire, retiring in 1975 when the Regional administration beame established. Lecturer in educational administration in Jordanhill from which post he became chairman of SCRE in 1978 serving a second term until 1984. On the relationship between ADES and SCRE he said that the larger authorities were supportive but would have preferred more operational style research with quicker outcomes but for the smaller authorities before regionalisation they were content to run their own area and depended on the Inspectorate for much of the forward thinking. A relationship typical of the network in Scotland was that Rusk had taught Fairlie’s uncle in Maybole. Fairlie had a particularly turbulent chairmanship because the Council was subjected to severe scrutiny during the early years of the Thatcher administration, being a quasi non-governmental organisation (QUANGO) and therefore being required to justify its existence. Died in 1993.

Harlen, Wynne: A physicist. Worked on the 'Science 5 to 13' programme at Bristol University for seven years. She moved to Reading University on a Schools Council project and from there to London University as deputy
director of APU on a ten year science programme. In 1985 moved to Liverpool as professor of Science Education. Over a nineteen year period on short-term research contracts. Appointed Director of SCRE in 1990


Kirk, Gordon: Graduate in English. Lecturer in Education at Aberdeen University 1969. Head of Education Department at Jordanhill College, 1974 and from there in 1984 to Principal of Moray House succeeding Ruthven. Leading member of Munn committee on curriculum, yet entered a ‘Note of Reservation’ to the report. Chairman of SCRE in session 1984-1991. Succeeded by Alastair McFarlane, Principal of Heriot-Watt University as chairman.

Macdonald, Sir George: Educated Ayr Academy. Ferguson Scholar at Edinburgh. Classical Moderations, Oxford. Keeper of Hunterian coin collection. Taught five years at Kelvinside Academy, Glasgow. Lecturer, Glasgow University - Humanity, 12 years. Assistant Secretary Scottish Education Department 1904-1918, Second Secretary 1918-1922. Secretary 1922-1928. President of Society for Promotion of Roman Studies 1921-1926. After retiral President Classical Asociations of England & Wales and of Scotland. Although said to be aloof and autocratic, yet he wrote a foreword to a book which showed him in a humane light. An Unspeakable Scot.(1938). Wit, Wisdom and Humour. Glasgow, Archibald Sinclair. It was a collection by one of his former pupils who had become deaf in mid life and sold this book especially at the Empire Exhibition in Glasgow in 1938 to raise money for the Mission to the deaf.
Mackay Thomson, Sir John: Born 1887, educated at Glenalmond, followed by Classical Moderations at Oriel College Oxford, lecturing in Humanity at Edinburgh, then Sixth Form master at Fettes College, Edinburgh for most of WWI. Year as Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School; moved into the Department as an HMI for three years and then to a post as Junior Assistant Secretary (equivalent of Principal today) where he was stranded for ten years before moving through the next two grades to be acting Secretary in 1939 succeeding Peck, and Secretary 1940-1952. Instrumental in rejecting Advisory Council report on Secondary Education 1947.

McClelland, William Wither: Born 1889 at Newton Stewart. Graduated Mathematics/ Natural Philosophy, Edinburgh 1913; B.Ed. Edinburgh 1918. Director of Education for Wigtonshire 1919. Lecturer in Education, Aberdeen University 1921; Principal lecturer Edinburgh Training College 1923 and acted at Edinburgh University on the sudden death of Darroch, until another professor was appointed; Professor of Education University of St Andrews and concurrently Director of Studies of Dundee Training College 1925. Chief Executive National Committee for the Training of Teachers 1941. Member of wartime Advisory Council and convener of its teacher training committee whose advice did not find favour with the Department. Chairman of Seventh Advisory Council, the first post war Council, which had difficulties with the Department over schemes for Further Education, with McClelland acting as peacemaker, although he knew by then that its role in developing education in Scotland was extremely limited. Mentor of Douglas McIntosh at St Andrews/Dundee. I never met him and I never heard anyone speak ill of him. John A Smith and Hugh Fairlie, both of whom served in the Navy in WW II told me that McClelland had been considered suspect in some educational quarters because he had not been in the Services in WW I.

McGregor, Gregor: Director of Education for Fife, 1919 to 1941. Instrumental in setting up SCRE and ADES. Quickly saw advantage of associating with Americans whereby Fife schools became a test bed for their

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2 McClelland applied for the post at St Andrews but Professor Bompass Smith of Manchester was appointed. Subsequently Smith withdrew and McClelland appointed. CEC of NCTT minute 14.2.25 p.157.
material, the advantage being in financial support. His chairman of Education Committee was a miner, John Sneddon, who worked on permanent night shift in order to be free for educational matters by day. His son, Tom, was a Primary school headmaster in Dunfermline, a member of the Primary Memorandum Committee and of SCRE committees and eventually chairman of the General Teaching Council.

**McIntosh, Douglas M:** Pupil at Dundee High School. Student at Dundee under McClelland, and of Godfrey Thomson at Edinburgh. Assistant Director in Fife, becoming depute to Robert Hay who had succeeded McGregor as Director in 1941. Director in 1944. A mathematician who stood out against comprehensive education in favour of selective schools based on his own analysis of test results. Disagreement with his education committee caused him to leave Fife to become Principal of Moray House College of Education in 1965 retiring in 1975. Member of Council and chairman of Executive Committee from 1950 to 1959 when he added the post of chairman of Council, holding the joint posts until 1972. Vice chairman of Scottish Examination Board and member of Seventh Advisory Council and of other advisory bodies in Scottish Education. A constant critic of the Department and of his fellow college principals, but totally supportive of individuals in Scottish education who showed competence, as defined by him. His contribution to SCRE was greater than that of any other person in its existence. His singular style of educational administration had an effect in Scotland, and six of his former deputes or assistants became directors in other educational authorities.

**McKechnie, Sir William, Wallace:** Daniel Stewart's College, Edinburgh. Ferguson Scholar at Edinburgh University. Classical Moderations at Oxford. Junior Inspector from 1901 to 1903 and HMI to 1922. Transferred to Department in 1923 and Secretary of Department from 1929 to 1936. First Secretary to visit schools and shake off the aloofness of his predecessors in office. Began drive for a 'no lumber' curriculum. Became Edinburgh Baillie in 1944. Said to be the first Secretary to have the common touch. His self-written obituary was:

Here lies W.W.
Who will no longer
Trouble you
Trouble you

Monroe, Paul: American from farming stock in Indiana who was professor at Teachers' College, Columbia, New York. Became what might be called, curator of patronage, of Carnegie Corporation of America. Began an association with EIS shortly after World War I, probably through Boyd, and made an FEIS in 1925. The citation is missing. A leader in the International Examination Inquiry committees of the inter-war years and through such provided finance to SCRE to conduct the 1932 Intelligence Survey.

Nisbet, John D. Professor of Education at the University of Aberdeen from 1963 to 1988, and also held appointments as visiting professor in Australia, New Zealand and USA. He was President of the British Educational Research Association in 1975, chairman of the Educational Research Board of SSRC (1972-75) and of the Scottish Council for Research in Education (1975-1978), editor of the British Journal of Educational Psychology (1968-74), of Studies in Higher Education (1980-84) and of the 1985 World Yearbook of Education.


Education report. Took solace with SCRE when he found that they alone had some measure of autonomy and was a source of quality advice on Council as well as doing careful editorial work for many of its publications.

Rusk, Robert Robertson: Born 1879 at Ayr. Attended Ayr Grammar school for seven years and gained bursary to Ayr Academy in 1891. Left early by succeeding in pupil-teacher examination, as he felt a misfit over Latin. Returned to Ayr Grammar school as pupil-teacher and qualified for university by night school study and Preliminary Examination passes. Trained at Free Church College, Glasgow, under Sir John Adams attending concurrently Glasgow University under Robert Adamson, philosophy. Became extra-assistant in Logic (gave students back essays and discussed them) and taught at Ladyloan primary school, Maybole, to obtain parchment. Difficulties at College over time allocation within concurrent training made Rusk permanently opposed to such training. Took honours degree in philosophy at Glasgow; studied German including attending Berlitz school and received PhD at Jena by viva voce in philosophy, geography and English. Returned to take B.A. by Correspondence College and later by two year attendance at Emanuel College, Cambridge in research in experimental psychology. PhDs only began after World War I. Became tutor at Cambridge. Later lecturer at Dundee Training College, moving to Jordanhill College in 1923, and from there in 1928 (confirmed in 1929) to spare time director of SCRE until 1958. Head of Education department at Glasgow University 1946 -1950, taking the EdB classes and maintaining touch with a number of his students until his death in May 1972.

Sleigh, C. W. He was chairman of Aberdeen Provincial Committee in the 1920s and resisted the suggestions of the time that Jordanhill and Moray House should train all honours graduates. He suggested that if savings were necessary then Dundee Training College should be closed. These are the actions of a strong personality.

3 Fifth meeting of CEC 11.9.20. p109 Rusk was leeted for Director of Studies, St Andrews. The post went to Dr Davidson, Master of Methods at St Andrews. On leet for Director of Studies at Jordanhill, 12.4.24. The post went to Dr Burnett Director of Studies at Aberdeen. Rusk applied for the Aberdeen post but it went to Mr Edward, the Executive officer of Roxburghe.

Struthers, Sir John: As a pupil-teacher he took a concurrent course of teacher training and Honours at Glasgow University, becoming a Snell Exhibitioner to Balliol College, Oxford. From Senior Examiner in 1898 he moved into the Department in 1900 as Assistant Secretary and succeeded Craik as Secretary in 1904. His experience as a pupil-teacher led him to reorganise the training colleges by creating Provincial Committees for teacher training, although Roman Catholics and Episcopalians chose to remain outside of this system. His other main advances were through the 1908 Education (Scotland) Act making it permissable but not mandatory for school boards to instigate medical inspections for pupils, school meals, travel expenses to school and free books. Many boards were unable to put any of these into effect. His last act of Circular 44 is the one for which he is best remembered.


Walker, David A: Royal High school pupil and Edinburgh University mathematics -physics degree. Gained BEd at Edinburgh and doctorate on structure of multiple choice tests. Taught at Daniel Stewart's College for 11 years. Assistant director of Education, initially in Midlothian. Moved to Fife under McIntosh as depute and from there to Director of SCRE in 1958 succeeding Rusk as first full-time director. Built up Council's reputation
abroad. Built up permanent staff at home. Retired in 1970 but continued working on IEA projects and acting as consultant on statistical issues for RIU of Department, especially on Munn and Dunning projects. Major interest in the Scouting movement.
Appendix 3

ORIGINAL MEMBERS and ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

FIRST OFFICERS OF COUNCIL

PRESIDENT
BERTRAM TALBOT Monteviot, Ancrum, Roxburghshire

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JAMES H. STEEL, Allan Glen's School, Glasgow

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Association of Education Authorities:
C. W. SLEIGH Strichen Mains, Strichen, Aberdeenshire

Educational Institute of Scotland:
ANNIE C. MACLARTY, East Road School, Irvine
WILLIAM MILNE, The Academy, Linlithgow
JAMES H. STEEL, Allan Glen's School, Glasgow

Association of Directors of Education in Scotland:
T. R. BURNETT, Education Offices, Dumfries
W. A. F. HEPBURN, Education Offices, 14 Wellington Square, Ayr
GREGOR McGREGOR, Education Offices Wemyssfield Kirkcaldy

Training Colleges and Universities:
WILLIAM BOYD, The University, Glasgow
W. W. McCLELLAND, The University, St. Andrews
R. R. RUSK, Jordanhill Training College, Glasgow
GODFREY H. THOMSON, The University, Edinburgh

British Psychological Society
JAMES DREVER, George Combe Psychological Laboratory, The University, Edinburgh

Association of School Medical Officers:
JOHN HUNTER, School Medical Officer, West Lothian Education Authority

Honorary Secretary and Treasurer
THOMAS HENDERSON, 47 Moray Place, Edinburgh

We, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into a Company in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association.
Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of Subscribers

BERTRAM TALBOT, Monteviot, Ancrum, Roxburghshire, Chairman of Education Committee of the County Council of Roxburgh.

JAMES HALL STEEL, 36 Maxwell Drive, Pollockshields, Glasgow, Headmaster, Allan Glen's School, Glasgow.

HENRY SHANKS KEITH, Avonholm, Hamilton, Honourable Sheriff, County of Lanark.

WILLIAM DOW KENNEDY, Earlsmount, Keith, Director of Education.

PETER SMITH LOWSON, Ledaig, Wormit, Fife, Lecturer, Training College, Dundee.

THEODORE RIDLEY BURNETT, Airdmhoire, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries, Director of Education.

ANDREW DONALD, 191 Ingram Street, Glasgow, Director of Education.


Dated the 19th day of November 1932.

Witness to the above signatures—

ROBERT ROBERTSON RUSK, 14 Crown Gardens, Glasgow, Director Scottish Council for Research in Education.

THE COMPANIES ACT, 1929
Company Limited by Guarantee, and not having a Share Capital

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION
OF
The Scottish Council for Research in Education

PRELIMINARY

1. In these Regulations:—

1 The original spelling.
"The Act" means the Companies Act, 1929.

When any provision of the Act is referred to the reference is to such provision as modified by any statute for the time being in force.

"The Council" means The Scottish Council for Research in Education.

"The Board" means the Committee of Management for the time being of the Council.

Unless the context otherwise requires, expressions defined in the Act or any statutory modification thereof in force at the date at which these regulations become binding on the Council, shall have the meanings so defined.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

2. The number of members with which the Council proposes to be registered is declared not to exceed fifty, but the Board may from time to time register an increase of members.

3. Thirty-seven members of the Council may be elected from time to time as follows, viz: (1) six by the Association of County Councils in Scotland; (2) four by the Association of Counties of Cities in Scotland; (3) eight by the Educational Institute of Scotland; (4) five by the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland; (5) two by the National Committee for the Training of Teachers; (6) four representatives of the staffs from Training Centres and Colleges; (7) four from the Universities of Scotland; (8) two by the Scottish Branch of the British Psychological Society; and (9) two by the Association of School Medical Officers of Scotland.

In the event of the Association of Counties of Cities in Scotland and of the Association of County Councils in Scotland being amalgamated at any time so as to form one Association the Association so formed may elect ten members in place of those formerly elected by the separate Associations whose powers of election will then cease. Subject to Articles 4 and 5 of these Articles, the membership of the said thirty-seven members of the Council respectively shall cease on the expiry of such period not exceeding three years as the electing body may fix when the election is made. If any person so elected shall cease to be a member of the Council from any cause, the body electing such member of the Council shall be entitled to elect another member of the Council in lieu of such person. The Board may from time to time alter the number of representatives from the above-mentioned bodies.

It shall not be a disqualification for the election of any person as a member of the Council that such person has attained, or is over, seventy years of age.

4. The first thirty-two members of the Council to be elected
under Article 3 shall be as follows:—

(a) ELECTIONS BY THE ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY COUNCILS IN SCOTLAND

Rev. JAMES HAMILTON, D.D., 52 London Road, Kilmarnock.


BERTRAM TALBOT Monteviot, Ancrum, Roxburghshire.

(b) ELECTIONS BY THE ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES OF CITIES IN SCOTLAND


MALCOLM B. MACRAE, Waterloo Chambers, 19 Waterloo Street, Glasgow.

(c) ELECTIONS BY THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCOTLAND

ALEXANDER DINGWALL, M.A., Grammar School, Jedburgh.


PETER S. LOWSON, M.A., B.Sc., Training Centre, Dundee.

MiSS A. C. MACLARTY, F.E.I.S., 26 William Street, Kilmarnock.


JAMES H. STEEL, M.A., D.Litt., Allan Glen's School, Glasgow.


JAS. WATSON, M.A., B.SC., 5 Burn Street, Downfield, Dundee.

(d ) ELECTIONS BY THE ASSOCIATION OF DIRECTORS OF EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

T. R. BURNETT, B.SC., Ph.D., Education Office, Dumfries.

A. DONALD, M.A., B.SC., Lanarkshire House, 191 Ingram Street, Glasgow.

W. A. F. HEPBURN, M.A., B.Ed., Education Office, I4 Wellington Square, Ayr

W. D. KENNEDY, M.A., F.E.I.S., Education Office, Keith, Banffshire.
(e) ELECTIONS BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS


(f) ELECTIONS BY TRAINING CENTRES AND COLLEGES

GEORGE A. BURNETT, M.A., B.Sc., Training College, Jordanhill, Glasgow
A. REX KNIGHT, M.A., Training College, St. Andrew Street, Aberdeen.
THOMAS HOPE, M.A., B.Ed., Training College, Park Place, Dundee.

(g) ELECTIONS BY UNIVERSITIES

WILLIAM BOYD, M.A., B.Sc., D.Phil., The University, Glasgow.
GODFREY H. THOMSON, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Professor of Education, The University, Edinburgh.

(h) ELECTIONS BY THE SCOTTISH BRANCH OF THE BRITISH PSYCHOLOGICAL SOCIETY

SHEPHARD DAWSON, M.A., D.Sc., Training College, Jordanhill Glasgow.
JAMES DREVER, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Psychology, The University, Edinburgh.

4. ELECTIONS BY THE ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL MEDICAL OFFICERS OF SCOTLAND

2 The Annual report 1928-29 p. 15 shows Norman Walker here for the first time although all the ancient universities were said to have a place. He may not have been on the Executive Committee from its first meeting. See p75 footnote 4
JOHN HUNTER, M.B., D.P.E., School Medical Officer, West Lothian Education Committee, Bathgate.

JOHN MACINTYRE, M.B., D.P.H., School Medical Officer, Lanark Education Committee.

5. The membership of the said first thirty-two members of the Council shall cease on 15th May 1936.³

³ This appendix was scanned into the computer from the original document.

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## Appendix 4

### Principal Officers of the Council 1928 to June 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Post held when appointed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928 - 1935</td>
<td>Bertram Talbot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935 - 1945</td>
<td>Rev David Frew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945 - 1947</td>
<td>Rev John Chambers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947 - 1950</td>
<td>James Drever (Senior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 - 1959</td>
<td>Alexander S. Lawson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959 - 1972</td>
<td>Douglas M. McIntosh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972 - 1975</td>
<td>Robert Forbes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 - 1978</td>
<td>John Nisbet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978 - 1984</td>
<td>Hugh Fairlie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984 - 1992</td>
<td>Gordon Kirk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992 -</td>
<td>Alastair MacFarlane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Director

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928 - 1958</td>
<td>Robert R. Rusk</td>
<td>University and College Lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958 - 1970</td>
<td>David A. Walker</td>
<td>Depute Director of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970 - 1971</td>
<td>Gerard J. Pollock (^1)</td>
<td>College Lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971 - 1986</td>
<td>W. Bryan Dockrell</td>
<td>University Professor, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986 - 1990</td>
<td>Sally Brown</td>
<td>University Senior Research Fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 -</td>
<td>Wynne Harlen</td>
<td>University Professor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^1\) Gerard Pollock was acting Director from October 1970 until June 1971 because W. B. Dockrell had a continuing commitment in Canada.
Appendix 5

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, RESEARCH AND SERVICES
GRANT REGULATIONS

Educational Development, Research and Services (Scotland) Grant Regulations, dated 24th July, 1946 made by the Secretary of State under section 21(2) (a) of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 (8 & 9 Geo. 5. c. 48), as amended by section 86 of, and the Fourth Schedule to, the Education (Scotland) Act 1945 (8 & 9 Geo. c.37), and under section 55 (1) and 56 of the last named Act, making provision for payments out of the Education (Scotland) Fund for the purpose of promoting (1) the progressive development of education, (2) the conduct of educational research and (3) the provision of educational services of an advisory or organising character by organised bodies other than education authorities, and by approved persons, and for other similar purposes, and specifying the requirements to be complied with by the bodies and persons to whom the grants are paid.

1946 No. 1267
S.53

(i) In these Regulations, unless the context otherwise requires it, “Approved” means approved by the Secretary of State for the purpose of these Regulations;

“Association” means an organised body of persons, whether corporate or unincorporate, whose objects include the promotion and the progressive development of education, or (ii) the conduct of educational research, or (iii) the provision of educational services of an advisory or organising character, or any or all of such objectives but does not include an Education Authority;

“Recognised” means recognised by the Secretary of State for the purpose of payment of grant under these Regulations.

The Interpretation Act, 1889, applies to the interpretation of these Regulations as it applies to the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

Any association seeking recognition under these Regulations shall advise the Secretary of State as to its constitution, financial stability and fitness to receive a grant. The Secretary of State may at any time withdraw his
recognition from an association.

The Secretary of State may make to recognised associations of approved persons grants in respect of approved expenditure incurred or to be incurred by them for any of the following purposes that is to say:
the progressive development of any branch of education by the application thereto of experimental methods or by other means; the conduct of research and the publication of reports thereon; and the provision of educational services of an advisory or organising character.

(1) A grant made under these Regulations shall be of such amount and such rate and in respect of such period as the Secretary of State shall determine after consideration of-
(a) the precise nature and extent of the work in aid of which the grant is to be made and the estimated or actual cost thereof;
(b) the monies available to the association or persons towards meeting the said costs, including any payments made, or which may be made in aid of the said work from public funds other than the Education (Scotland) Fund; and
(c) the sums available for grants under these Regulations from the said Fund.

(2) The association or persons shall forthwith inform the Secretary of State of any change in or departure from the proposals upon which the amount of grant was based, and, if in the opinion of the Secretary of State such change or departure warrants an alteration in the amount of or the withholding of the, the grant, he may reassess, vary, make a deduction from or withhold the grant as he thinks fit.

(5) A grant assessed under the foregoing Regulations may be paid
(a) in a lump sum or by instalments of such amount and at such times as the Secretary of State may determine; and
(b) in the case of an instalment in respect of expenditure incurred or to be incurred: provided that the lump sum or final instalment shall not be paid until the association or persons have satisfied the Secretary of State that the expenditure to be aided by the grant has been properly incurred, and that
the conditions attached to the receipt of the grant have been or will be fulfilled.

6.(1) It shall be a condition of the payment of a grant under these Regulations that the association or persons shall:
(a) afford to His Majesty's Inspector or to any person appointed for the purpose by the Secretary of State all reasonable facilities which he may require to inform himself as to the progress of the work in aid of which a grant has been made;
(b) keep such records and furnish such information and reports to the Secretary of State as he may from time to time require; and
(c) submit to the Secretary of State such audited accounts, together with the relevant vouchers and other documents, as the Secretary of State may from time to time require.
(2) Subsection (3) of section 23 of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908, as amended by section 86 of, and the Fourth Schedule to, the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, shall not apply to the payment of grant under these Regulations.
7. The Secretary of State may make a deduction from or withhold a grant if any requirement or condition imposed by or under these Regulations is not fulfilled.

8. In addition to any payments from the Education (Scotland) Fund made under the foregoing Regulations, the Secretary of State may apply such sum from the said Fund as he thinks fit, for the purpose of securing the dissemination of information regarding, and the provision of instruction in, and of demonstrations of, methods of education.

These Regulations may be cited as the Educational Development, Research and Services (Scotland) Grant Regulations, 1946.

Given at London this 24th day of July, 1946.

J. Westwood,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

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Appendix 6

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Organisations changed their titles from time to time. The ones given below were those of longest standing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAP</td>
<td>Assessment of Achievement Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCS</td>
<td>Association of County Councils Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACOC</td>
<td>Association of Counties of Cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADES</td>
<td>Association of Directors of Education Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASTMS</td>
<td>Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial staffs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>British Association (for the advancement of science)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BERA</td>
<td>British Educational Research Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOM</td>
<td>Board of Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPS</td>
<td>British Psychological Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAEP</td>
<td>Centre for Assessment of Educational Progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>Consultative Committee on Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEC</td>
<td>Central Executive Committee (of NCTT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CES</td>
<td>Centre for Educational Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPADOCI</td>
<td>Committee of Principals and Directors of Central Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSLA</td>
<td>Confederation of Scottish Local Authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRU</td>
<td>Central Research Unit (Scottish Office)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>Department of Education and Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHEW</td>
<td>Department of Health, Education and Welfare (USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHS</td>
<td>Department of Health, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHSS</td>
<td>Department of Health and Social Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPC</td>
<td>Department Planning Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSM</td>
<td>Devolved School Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIS</td>
<td>Educational Institute of Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td>Executive Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>Educational Priority Area (also in plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERB</td>
<td>Educational Research Board (of Social Science Research Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESRC</td>
<td>Economic and Social Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETS</td>
<td>Educational Testing Service (Princeton, USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDA</td>
<td>First Division Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTC</td>
<td>General Teaching Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAS</td>
<td>Headmasters’ Association, Scotland (Headteachers’ Association, 1974)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCO</td>
<td>Higher Clerical Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEO</td>
<td>Higher Executive Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEW</td>
<td>Health, Education and Welfare (USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIDB</td>
<td>Highlands and Islands Development Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIE</td>
<td>Highlands and islands Enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMI</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMCI</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMSCI</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Senior Chief Inspector of Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMSO</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Stationery Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAEP</td>
<td>International Assessment of Educational Progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>International Business Machines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEA</td>
<td>International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEE/I</td>
<td>International Examination Enquiry/Inquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMG</td>
<td>Internal Management Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>Intelligence Quotient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITB</td>
<td>Industrial Training Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCC</td>
<td>London County Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEC</td>
<td>Local Enterprise Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERU</td>
<td>Management of Educational Resources Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHT</td>
<td>Moray House Test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRC</td>
<td>Medical Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSC</td>
<td>Manpower Services Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NALGO</td>
<td>National Association of Local Government Officers</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Later changed to GDP, (Gross Domestic Product)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCTT</td>
<td>National Committee for the Training of Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDPB</td>
<td>Non-Departmental Public Bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDPCAL</td>
<td>National Development programme in Computer Assisted Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEF</td>
<td>New Education Fellowship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFER</td>
<td>National Foundation for Educational Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NICCER</td>
<td>National Inter-College Committee for Educational Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIIP</td>
<td>National Institute of Industrial Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic and Cultural Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OISE</td>
<td>Ontario Institute for Studies in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTC</td>
<td>Officers’ Training Corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIC</td>
<td>Population Investigation Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSBR</td>
<td>Public Sector Borrowing Requirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUSS</td>
<td>Permanent Under Secretary of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANGO</td>
<td>Quasi Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAMC</td>
<td>Royal Army Medical Corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIU</td>
<td>Research and Intelligence Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROSLA</td>
<td>Raising of School Leaving Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>Received Pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARSU</td>
<td>School Assessment Research Support Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCCC</td>
<td>Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCE</td>
<td>Scottish Certificate of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCEEB</td>
<td>Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCET</td>
<td>Scottish Council for Educational Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCOTVEC</td>
<td>Scottish Vocational Education Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCRE</td>
<td>Scottish Council for Research in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCTT</td>
<td>Scottish Council for the Training of Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDD</td>
<td>Scottish Development Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Scottish Enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SED</td>
<td>Scottish Education Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEJ</td>
<td>Scottish Educational Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERA</td>
<td>Scottish Educational Research Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFC</td>
<td>Scottish Film Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJNC</td>
<td>Scottish Joint Negotiating Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLC</td>
<td>Scottish leaving Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNP</td>
<td>Scottish National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOED</td>
<td>Scottish Office Education Department (from 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S of S</td>
<td>Secretary of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRO</td>
<td>Scottish Record Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSERC</td>
<td>School Science Equipment Research Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSRC</td>
<td>Social Science Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSTA</td>
<td>Scottish Secondary Teachers' Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUCE</td>
<td>Scottish Universities Council on Entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWSG</td>
<td>Social Work Services Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Training Agency (name change from MSC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESS</td>
<td>Times Educational Supplement, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVEI</td>
<td>Technical and Vocational Education Initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCLA</td>
<td>University of California, Los Angeles campus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULP</td>
<td>University of London Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMG</td>
<td>Unit Management Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WISC</td>
<td>Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOSB</td>
<td>War Office Selection Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>WWI</td>
<td>World War One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WWII</td>
<td>World War Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YTS</td>
<td>Youth Training Scheme</td>
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### APPENDIX 7

**Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year &amp; No of publication</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930 I</td>
<td>Scottish Spinning Schools (With illustration)</td>
<td>IRENE F M DEAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931 II</td>
<td>Education in Angus</td>
<td>J C JESSOP</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931 III</td>
<td>Curriculum of Pupils of Twelve to Fifteen Years (Advanced Division)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932 IV</td>
<td>Group Test for colour Blindness</td>
<td>M COLLINS and J DREVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933 V</td>
<td>The Intelligence of Scottish Children</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1936 VI</td>
<td>Achievement tests in primary School</td>
<td>GREGOR MACGREGOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936 VII</td>
<td>A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education</td>
<td>JOHN MASON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935 VIII</td>
<td>The History of Mathematical Teaching in Scotland</td>
<td>DUNCAN K WILSON</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935 IX</td>
<td>The Prognostic Value of University Entrance Examinations in Scotland</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1936 X</td>
<td>Tests of Ability for Secondary School Courses</td>
<td>FRANK M. EARLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 XI</td>
<td>City and Rural Schools</td>
<td>ALEX S MOWAT</td>
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<tr>
<td>1938 XII</td>
<td>The Standardisation of a Graded Word Reading test</td>
<td>P E VERNON</td>
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<tr>
<td>1939 XIII</td>
<td>Studies in Arithmetic, Volume I</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1939 XIV</td>
<td>Scottish Primary School Organisation</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1939 XV The Intelligence of a Representative Group of Scottish Children
A M MACMEEKEN

1940 XVI An Analysis of Performance Test Scores of a Representative Group of Scottish Children
GODFREY THOMSON

1940 XVII The Assessment of Educational Films

1941 XVIII Studies in Arithmetic Volume II

1942 XIX Selection for Secondary Education
WILLIAM McCLELLAND

1942 XX The Early Development of number Concepts

1943 XXI The Teaching of Arithmetic
JOHN MORRISON

1944 XXII Evacuation in Scotland
WILLIAM BOYD (ed.)

1946 XXIII The Terman-Merrill Intelligence Scale in Scotland
D KENNEDY-FRASER

1953 XXIV The Scottish Council for Research in Education: its Aims and Activities (Revised Edition)

1947 XXV Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872
IAN J SIMPSON

1948 XXVI Studies in Reading, Volume I (reprinted 1956)

1948 XXVII Mental Testing of Hebridean Children
CHRISTINA A SMITH

1948 XXVIII Addition and Subtraction Facts and Processes

1949 XXIX Promotion from Primary to Secondary Education
DOUGLAS M McINTOSH

1949 XXX The Trend of Scottish Intelligence

1949 XXXI Aids to Educational Research, comprising Bibliographies and Topics for Research(Revised)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>XXXII</td>
<td>Traditional Number Rhymes and Games</td>
<td>F DOREEN GULLEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>The Writing of Arabic Numerals</td>
<td>G G NEILL WRIGHT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>XXXIV</td>
<td>Studies in Reading, Volume II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>Social Implication of the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>The Teaching of Arabic Numerals</td>
<td>G G NEILL WRIGHT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>XXXVII</td>
<td>Patterns of Error in the Addition Number Facts</td>
<td>J M THYNE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>XXXVII</td>
<td>Hearing Defects of School Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>XXXIX</td>
<td>Left-handedness: Laterality Characteristics and their Educational Implications</td>
<td>MARGARET M CLARK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>XL</td>
<td>Studies in Spelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>XLI</td>
<td>Educational and Other Aspects of the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>XLII</td>
<td>Eleven-Year-Olds Grow Up</td>
<td>J S MACPHERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>XLIII</td>
<td>Home Environment and the School</td>
<td>ELIZABETH FRASER</td>
</tr>
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1970    60  A Bibliography of Scottish Education Before 1872
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1970    61  A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland
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1984  84  Criterion-Referenced Assessment in Classrooms  
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1985  85  The Teacher's Craft  
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1984  86  The Seventh Sense  
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1987  87  Opening the Primary Classroom  
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1985  88  Science and Computers in Primary Education  
FRANK ADAMS (Ed)

1989  89  Ways of Teaching  
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1985  90  Understanding Children Spelling  
JENNIFER E BARR

1986  91  Assessment Purposes  
H D BLACK & M DEVINE

1986  92  Forum on Educational Research in Scotland  
Inaugural meeting

1987  93  A Window on the Workplace  
C MACDONALD & H D BLACK

1986  94  The Way Forward: Second Forum

1987  95  Discipline in School( Practitioner MiniPaper 1)  
M JOHNSTONE & P MUNN

1987  96  So You Want to Do Research? (PMP 2)  
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1988  99  Assessing Modules (PMP 3)
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1989  105  Providing for Adults (PMP 7)
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         H BLACK, J HALL, S MARTIN & J YATES

         MARGOT CAMERON-JONES

1991  109  Hurdles & Incentives
         SALLY BROWN & PAULA VISOCCHI

1991  110  Modules: Teaching, Learning & Assessment
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         H BLACK, J HALL & S MARTIN

1992  111  Action Against Bullying
         M JOHNSTONE, P MUNN, & LYNNE EDWARDS

1992  112  Discipline in Scottish Secondary Schools
         (Res Rep 35)
         M JOHNSTONE & P MUNN

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Books were produced in this series for reasons which changed over the years. They were initially shorter books which were required quickly, and would probably have a longer period in demand as manuals and textbooks. Later they were books published jointly or by individuals who were not members of staff or of Council. They testify to SCRE’s flexibility rather than to its doubts about classification, over a period of 65 years.

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1978 9 Special Education in Scotland. W B Dockrell, W R Dunn and A Milne (eds)

1978 10 No Cosmetic Exercise. Douglas Gulland and Stefan Zaklukiewicz. (Joint publication with Scottish Community Education Centre)


1979 12 Pupils and Staff in Residence. Robin Jackson and Peter Robinson


1979 15 Curriculum and Assessment: the Response to Munn and Dunning

1979 16 Standards of Numeracy in Central Region. G J Pollock and W G Thorpe


(Wanting) 18 The Stirling Arithmetic Test

(Wanting) 19 Technical Report on the 1974 Standardisation of the Burt Word Reading Test


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<td>Management and Organisation in a Variety of Open Plan Primary Schools</td>
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Notes:
The publisher until book 67 was University of London Press. From book 67 it was Hodder & Stoughton, and from book 81 SCRE became its own publisher. The changes indicate the development of the economics of book publishing, especially the cost of warehousing small runs.

At August 1993 there were extant 44 Project Reports most of which were in process of acquiring ISBNs and being absorbed into the system. This was dictated by the need to produce research reports quickly.
## Secretaries of Scotch/Scottish/Scottish Office/ Education Department

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APPENDIX 9

SELECT GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

AAP: Assessment of Achievement Programme. Set up by SED in 1981 to monitor pupil progress. It is controlled within SOED at present but the work is mainly farmed out to research groups.

ARGYLL COMMISSION: A committee under the Duke of Argyll was set up in 1864 to survey the state and provision of education in Scotland. It reported over three years on all forms of elementary schools and some higher class schools. It began with a questionnaire through which 136 gentlemen were asked for responses. Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow resented and resisted it. Many of its recommendations were enlightened and eventually put into effect. Its most notorious research finding was that adequate accommodation was eight square feet per child.

CALVINISM: John Calvin was a French theologian who worked initially in Paris but mainly in Switzerland during the Reformation. His system of church government was called presbyterianism, where there was no compulsory form of worship and government was by clerics and lay with similar power, grouped in Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods. The church of Scotland adopted this system. Visitors to Scotland and commentators on the civil and social scene use the word as a term of criticism of the country as being rigid and unforgiving in its behaviour. The criticism is both simplistic and hard to substantiate.

CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS (CIs): These were technical colleges in the further education field, providing for high grade technological education. They were centrally funded by SED, with special provision with Department of Agriculture and Fisheries Scotland (DAFS) for the original agricultural colleges. These last have merged and most of the CIs have become universities. The Colleges of Education were brigaded in this group for convenience of SED. Most have now integrated with universities.
CES: Centre for Educational Sociology. This centre evolved from the work done by Andrew McPherson on selection for higher education. It was initially supported by SCRE, later by SED and subsequently by SSRC/ESRC. Its major work has been on School Leavers in Scotland, providing a unique longitudinal data base over a period of some 20 years.

D of E: Director of Education. These officials were advocated in 1918 and made mandatory in 1945. Every education authority, usually based on a Region or District of local government, appoints one. Education is the biggest spending activity in local authorities.

FORUM: The word, related to SCRE, was first used in the Freeman report. Kirk and Cameron-Jones also claim to be originators of it. The initial concept was of a body of people made up of teachers and educationists. They would meet annually, discuss educational issues of moment and reach a consensus on what should be in a research programme. The first forum was addressed by the Scottish Education Minister. No such representative has been present since. Brown (ch 9) gave shape to the Forum, to a degree circumscribing its activities. I attended the 1993 Forum in Dundee. It was just another conference where the education community, with teachers as a minority group, discussed education. The changes to local government will make it increasingly difficult for teachers to attend out of school activities within school hours.

GTC: General Teaching Council. It was established in 1966 with a remit to advise the S of S on teacher training, control admission to the profession, hold a register of qualified teachers, monitor teacher education in Scotland and take responsibility for standards and professional discipline of teachers. It was to finance its own activities.

IEI: International Examination Inquiry. It was a series of studies in the interwar years on examination performance comparing American and European pupils, funded from America and providing an excess of funds which enabled SCRE to survive in the late 1930s.
MERU: Management of Educational Resources Unit. This group was set up in association with RIU during the period when Walter Beveridge was director. It took responsibility for the preparation of learning materials for school boards. These bodies, the quality assurance group, the Special Educational treatment group and Eurydice have regrouped as organisations in accordance with the needs of SOED and Inspectorate over the last decade.

MORAY HOUSE TESTS: These are group tests of intelligence, achievement and performance in a number of school subjects, widely used internationally. Godfrey Thomson, sometime professor of Education at Edinburgh University, and Principal of Moray House College developed them.

NDPCAL was National Development Programme for Computer-assisted Learning, initiated at NCET, by an ad hoc executive group, which was taken over by DES with a Steering Committee under Hudson, the depute Secretary, on which I represented SED, most ably supported by Ken Browning, an applied computing specialist from Glasgow University. Barry McDonald headed up the evaluation team, which produced a massive report on an anthropological model, rejected by the Steering Committee, and not published.

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE: Scotland was divided into four provinces based on the catchment areas of the four ancient universities. A committee was established in each province to oversee teacher training

SARSU: School Assessment Research Support Unit. This was established by SCRE in 1984 stemming from a paper which Black wrote for COSLA seeking their financial support in December, 1982. The idea is sound but it has consistently had to seek finance where it can because local authorities are unable to support it

SCEEB/SEB: Scottish Certificate of Education/Scottish Examination Board. There is one Board for all Scotland established in 1964 replacing H M Inspectorate which had previously controlled the examination at the end of
secondary education. Initially there were two levels, 'higher' and 'lower' and a minimum group was two of each to receive a certificate. The group requirement was later cancelled and 'lower' changed to 'ordinary', with an expanded 'population' base. After the Munn and Dunning reports 'ordinary' was gradually replaced by 'Standard Grade' and post the 5-14 programme legislation [provided for the Board to deal with primary testing.

SELECT COMMITTEE: Parliament may set up such a body to examine a specific matter or to be a standing committee over an indeterminate period. It is usually all-party and can require attendance of people from whom it wishes to take evidence or question. It can elicit information, cause embarrassment to those questioned but has little real power.

SERA: Scottish Educational Research Association. It was established in 1971 by SCRE with the intention of providing an opportunity for teachers and researchers to meet and discuss matters of common interest. After three disappointing years it ran a residential conference at St Andrews in 1974 which was very successful and has become an annual event.

SWSG: Social Work Services Group. It was set up within the Scottish Office, related to the then Department of health and Social Security, pursuant to the Kilbrandon Report, with a remit to organise and monitor Social Work Services which were being brought together locally and centrally because of the belief that 'There should be one door on which anyone can knock.' At a later date it became part of the Scottish Education Department, for administrative convenience.

TVEI: In 1974 a small agency was set up called the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). It was an early example of hiving off civil service work to agencies. This group grew to be the major force in education, training and youth employment in UK. In 1983 it established the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative in some selected schools in England. Scotland stood aloof preferring its own Action Plan for post school education, but this cut it off from the Department of Employment which was the financial provider for MSC (later to be called Training Agency (TA)).
Reluctantly five education authorities entered the scheme in 1984 to be followed in 1985 by two more, then a further three, until by 1989 all education authorities were participants.
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