**EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND IN 1984**

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Voting patterns at the June 1983 General Election have put the issue of separate Scottish institutions back on the political agenda. There have been claims and counter-claims that the different voting pattern in Scotland may mean that over the next four or five years English attitudes and values are to be imposed on the political, social and cultural life of the Scots. There have been strident calls since the election for a Scottish Assembly with fiscal, legislative and administrative powers to moderate alleged elitist, centralist, pro-privatisation, anti-public sector policies of Mrs Thatcher's Toryism. This is the rhetoric. The reality is that, whatever else happens in the political life of the country, there will be over the next four or five years a continuation of the changes which have taken place in the education/training scene in the United Kingdom during the past four years and that the present policies of moving towards a more broadly based, multi-resourced, education and training service involving a wider spectrum of statutory, voluntary and commercial agencies with a greater range of teachers, tutors and instructors will continue. How this will affect Scotland is to be a matter of continuing concern and interest for consumers and providers of the education service alike. In anticipation, it is helpful to consider what is being said by contemporary writers about Scottish education, what they think are its distinctive characteristics, where they think it is going and what they think it should be trying to achieve.

Education, together with the law and the church, remained a separate Scottish institution after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. Its overall control and development is the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Scotland; apart, that is, from the universities, which like the other UK universities look to the Secretary of State for Education and Science in England and Wales for funding through the Universities Grants Committee. Here in Scotland, the Secretary of State for Scotland, delegates ministerial responsibility to an Under-Secretary whose portfolio also includes industry. This is seen in some quarters as evidence of a political will for a tightening bond between industry and education. While the Secretary of State for Scotland has direct control of the non-university higher education sector in central institutions and colleges of education, it is local authorities, the twelve Regional and Islands Councils, who have the statutory responsibility for securing an adequate and efficient school and further education service. They have the task of growing in achievement without increasing their expenditure in real terms, and taking care lest they incur expenditure which central government considers "excessive and unreasonable". Falling rolls in primary schools and to a lesser extent in secondary schools are assisting this process, but new tasks are being undertaken, particularly with the Munn and Dunning developments for the 14-16 year olds and across the secondary/further education divide for the 16-18 year olds. In the higher education sector, the universities are feeling the draught of public expenditure constraint and the colleges of education have undergone a traumatic slimming experience with the reducing demand for school teachers. The central institutions with their tradition of applied science and related work experience are perhaps the most favoured sector in the current political and social climate, though even there are hints that the growth of social science teaching is being discouraged by government.

This, then, is the system whose development and antecedents come under the scrutiny of the academics who write books about Scottish education. Recent books have shown a distinct preference for a
particular genre. This is the historical essay. They are essays in the manner of Montaigne, the "essaying" or "trying out" of the author's judgment about an issue. These essays tend to be of moderate length and on restricted topics. They usually put forward a hypothesis based on empirical evidence and they invite the reader to confirm or deny the hypothesis. The hypothesis and the invitation may be overt or covert and the essay may or may not have a contemporary social or political purpose. Detecting the hidden agenda can be part of the fun. These essays are frequently provocative and their conclusions are always tentative and subject to revision. Their authors seem to have two hopes. One is that their findings will supplement or challenge the standard histories of Scottish education which they claim tend to be of the "Acts and Facts" variety. Their other hope is that their tentative conclusions will influence the politicians, policy-makers and practitioners who determine the course of Scottish education and help them take their next steps. The historical essay is thus bringing together two traditions in educational research in Scotland, historical research and policy-orientated research.

The collection of twelve essays edited by Walter Humes and Hamish Paterson entitled Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1989 is possibly the most obvious and best example of the new genre and every self-respecting educationist in Scotland should be asking for it as a Christmas present. But the format is in evidence in other significant publications. It appears in the important study of secondary education called Reconstructions of Secondary Education - Theory, Myth and Practice Since the War by J. Gray, A.F. McPherson and D. Raffe. It appears, too, in the Aberdeen University Study of the Rural Community and the Small School by Diana Forsythe and seven collaborators. George Davie's classic account of the generalist tradition of Scottish university education, first published in 1961 but printed in paperback in 1981 by Edinburgh University Press, is also seen by its author as a series of essays about Scottish universities in the nineteenth century dealing with their resistance to anglicisation, their efforts to cope with modern specialising tendencies in mathematics, the sciences and the humanities, their involvement in the political struggle of church and state, and out of it to seek to discern a central common purpose among the complexities and confusions of modern Scottish history. The historical essay which seeks to influence policy-making is also making its appearance in the series of occasional papers which have been published in recent years by the Scottish Education Department. The related but distinctive roles of the researcher and the policy-maker are underlined by the disclaimer that the views expressed by the contributors to the occasional papers are their own and not necessarily those of theSED.

An appropriate starting point for a review article dealing with issues raised by recent books on education in Scotland is perhaps the Saltire Society pamphlet entitled The Crisis of Scottish Education written by Nigel Grant, Professor of Education in the University of Glasgow. Nigel Grant claims to identify not one but three crises currently facing Scottish education - a crisis of direction, a crisis of resources and a crisis of identity. "Crisis" is one of these emotive words and Nigel Grant does well to remind us what it really means. A crisis is a turning point, a "Wendepunkt" our German competitors call it. A crisis marks an end and a new beginning and it is compelled by external events. Nigel Grant's hypothesis that Scottish education, under pressure of external events, is having to change direction, is at a turning point in the provision of resources, and in the process it is searching for a lost or a new identity.

Most of us may well find it easy to agree with this analysis so far. Rapid economic change, the decline of our traditional heavy industries, the growth of sunrise technology, large-scale unemployment, falling school rolls brought about by demographic changes, pressures to reduce public expenditure, and changing societal values, are all among external events contributing to the crises of direction, resource and identity which Nigel Grant postulates. In the compass of a short pamphlet, he succeeds in commenting on almost every topical issue in Scottish education and he views them both from a national and an international standpoint. Where many of us will begin to disagree with him is in the significance he attaches to particular issues, their relative importance or unimportance and the solutions he proposes for resolving the crises. Our views on these matters are likely to be coloured by our personal circumstance - who we are, where we live, what our political philosophy is, and whether we are consumers, practitioners, policy-makers or researchers. For example, he gives prominence to the need for the political control of Scottish education from nursery school to university to be in the hands of a Scottish Assembly; he regards the culture of the English peninsula as
having had a baleful influence on Scottish culture in general and on education in particular, and he attaches the highest importance to new policies for Gaelic both as a mother-tongue and as a second language, seeking a commitment for the children of Gaeldom to be taught and assessed in Gaelic across the curriculum throughout their school life. Whether political control by a Scottish Assembly would improve the system is a matter of speculation. The suggestion was certainly strongly opposed by the universities last time round. School education in England and Scotland, while remaining distinctive, has tended to look more and more alike with each Education Act since the Acts of 1870 and 1872. With increasing mobility of families within the UK this can be seen as a matter for applause rather than despair. Without challenging the need for early education in Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas or its availability throughout Scotland as a second language, or the importance of bi-lingualism in our multi-cultural rural society, I wonder if there is an overwhelming case for its use as a teaching medium throughout the secondary school in Gaeldom. Might not some families in the Western Isles and in the Gaelic-speaking parts of the Highlands and Strathclyde claim that we may be depriving their young people of full access to a world language at a critical point in their development? I believe, however, that Nigel Grant is right in holding that there is unease about direction, resource and identity in Scottish education and that identity is closely related to language, still, in my view, the most important subject in the school curriculum. The language children bring to school called "Scots English" in other parts of Scotland, was the subject of a primary school bulletin emanating from the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum. Diana Forsythe's book The Rural Community and the Small School ends by quoting the famous passage from Lewis Grassic Gibbon's Sunset Song in which Chris Guthrie externalises her internal conflict about her use of English and the "speak of the Mearns":

"So that was Chris and her reading and schooling, two Chrisses there were that fought for her heart and tormented her. You hated the land and the coarse speak of the folk and learning was brave and fine one day and the next you'd weaken with the peewits crying across the hills, deep and deep, crying in the heart of you and the smell of the earth in your face, almost you'd cry for that, the beauty of it and the sweetness of the Scottish land and skies. You saw their faces in fire-light, father's and mother's and the neighbours', before the lamps lit up, tired and kind, faces dear and close to you, you wanted the words they'd known and used, forgotten in the far-off youngness of their lives, Scots words to tell to your heart, how they rung it and held it, the toil of their days and undying in their fight. And the next minute that passed from you, you were English, back to the English words so sharp and clean and true - for a while, till they slid so smooth from your throat you knew they could never say anything that was worth the saying at all!"

Nigel Grant's three themes of direction, resources and identity make a helpful leitmotiv for examining what other authors have been saying of late about education in Scotland. Certainly the most popular topic has been secondary education. Probably the most important book on the subject is Reconstructions of Secondary Education - Theory, Myth and Practice since the War by J. Gray, A.F. McPherson and D. Raffe. This, too, is a book about turning points. It is an empirical study of the development of secondary education in Scotland during the thirty years from the end of the Second World War. This period saw substantial changes in the secondary school system in Scotland, the major change being from a selective system to a comprehensive system. The period also saw greatly increased proportions of pupils staying on in secondary school beyond the statutory school age. In 1952 the school leaving age was 15 and 21% of the pupils stayed on beyond it. By 1977, the school leaving age was 16 and 40% of pupils stayed on beyond that. A corresponding expansion occurred in the national certification system which itself changed considerably. In 1952, 8% of school leavers obtained national external qualification. In 1964 this had increased to 27% and by 1976 65% of school leavers obtained national external qualifications.

Gray, McPherson and Raffe are three social scientists at the Centre for Educational Sociology (CES) in Edinburgh University. They monitored and evaluated these changes mainly through the Scottish Educational Data Archive (SEDA), a computerised record dating from the early sixties of Scottish school leavers commenting on school and their life afterwards. The data archive is also of interest because through it the Centre of Educational Sociology has encouraged collaborative research whereby local authorities and other national and local agencies have been encouraged to make use of the data for their particular needs. A central concern of the book is to explore the comparison and contrast between what recently-left school leavers think of the education system, and how the policy-makers and practitioners who provide it view it. Policy-makers and practitioners
tended to see comprehensive reorganisation as a move to an
egalitarian, meritocratic system in line with democratic Scottish
traditions. School leavers took a much less rosy view of the system,
particularly the 30% of non-certificated, non-academic pupils whom the
system seemed to have rejected.

The section of the book on selection and rejection rehearses a
lot of the powerful comment made by the so-called, non-certificated
school leavers in Tell Them from Me, an earlier product of the Centre
for Educational Sociology by Leslie Gow and Andrew McPherson. Non-
certificated children who have contributed to the data archive have
demonstrated how negative was much of their school experience. They
felt excluded from the moral community of the school because they did
not measure up to the dominant value of certificated academic success.
It is a tribute to the influence that the findings of the data archive
have had on educational policy in Scotland that the major thrust of
educational development presently being implemented is the Munro
and Dunning reforms, within which top priority has been given to designing
foundation courses for the very pupils whom the system appears to have
neglected.

Another major concern of Reconstructions of Secondary Education
is the influence of what the authors call the great Scottish myth. The
myth is explained thus in the standard histories: The Scots, unlike
the English, have for centuries attached great value to education,
from the local parish school to the university. They have made
considerable sacrifices to obtain the best that was possible for them.
In Scotland there has never been the class consciousness that has
existed in England. Pupils of all creeds and of all classes of society
have sat together on the benches of the local school and the right of
the clever child, the "lad o' pairts", the earnest, industrious and
capable student, to obtain the highest forms of education provided,
has never been denied because of his lowly birth or his station in
life.

The exposure and discussion of myths and their influence on
policy is a favourite theme of social scientists and it is a theme to
which Andrew McPherson, one of the authors of Reconstructions of
Secondary Education, returns in an essay in Scottish Culture and
Scottish Education 1800-1980 entitled "An Angle on the Geist:
Persistence and Change in the Scottish Educational Tradition". He
explains that sociologists use the term "myth" not for beliefs that
can be simply dismissed as false but for folk stories that perform two
functions. They celebrate identity and values, and they describe and
explain the world in which this identity and these values are
experienced or sought. Part of Andrew McPherson's evidence are extended
interviews which he and Charles Raab had with sixteen influential
politicians, educationalists and administrators of post-war secondary
education between 1976 and 1980. McPherson claims many of them
sustained the myth and lived it by their so-called "Kirriemuir"
careers, with their slogan "Get out of Glasgow". There is comment on
some of the paradoxes and ambivalences in the development of Scottish
secondary education. Notwithstanding a plea for a democratic system of
omnibus secondary schools by the Advisory Council's Report on
Secondary Education in 1947, we had a meritocratic two-tier system of
junior and senior secondary schools for the next twenty years for most
of the population; even with the introduction of a national system of
comprehensive schools, the evidence of the data archive is that the
curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and certification is still felt to be
quite unsuitable for a large section of the population. His concluding
hypothesis is that "the Scottish myth has functioned to restrict the
constructs through which people experienced the education system and
has thereby facilitated the reproduction of the dominant categories
through which control is exercised".

A related essay describing the operation of the myth is H.M.
Paterson's essay in the same book entitled "Incubus and Ideology: The
Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland 1900-1939". Paterson
derived a great deal of his evidence from SED circulars and memoranda
and other records in the Scottish Record Office. He gives interesting
insights into the ideologies of some of the senior civil servants who
shaped the educational system in the early years of this century and
contrasts the public rhetoric and the private comment. Paterson claims
that the system of secondary schooling built in the early years of
this century was characterised by a two-fold division of children and
schools - first the academic child who receives an academic secondary
schooling either for its inherent value or for its usefulness in
qualifying for entry to university and the professions; secondly, the
non-academic child who receives an elementary or primary schooling,
"with at its conclusion a variety of bits and pieces added on, very
few of which will suffice to lead anywhere except to the ordained social rank". Later he claimed it was to be increasingly argued in the 1920s and 1930s that such children could be spotted by obvious differences in their "natural ability" or "intelligence", and we had the growth of the esoteric industry of intelligence testing. He reaches the same conclusion as McPherson. "Scottish schools", he says, "have often been described as democratic, and the system they formed has frequently been characterised as demonstrating the "democratic" nature of Scottish society. But a closer examination of the facts shows that far from embodying an abiding concern for the education of the whole people, the Scottish school system was designed to neglect the education of the bulk of the population in favour of a few children with a narrowly-defined range of talents". Talent was defined by the leader class and handed down to the populace by the same leader class who, he claims, wanted to ensure their continued hegemony.

A particular interest of the social scientist is the relationship between schooling and work. In Paterson's view the two-fold division of secondary education was not only the need to cope with the "incubus of non-secondary pupils", but to provide a differentially trained workforce for an industrialised capitalist economy. The planning of secondary education in the first half of the century made simplistic assumptions about who was to enter the professions, become ploughmen or domestic servants or work in shops, factories or offices. The whole business of future occupation, job orientation and motivation is a matter of supreme contemporary importance for educational planning. This is recognised in Reconstructions of Secondary Education which has a section devoted to education and unemployment. The Great Debate of the late 1970s about education initiated by Prime Minister Callaghan, was occasioned, it was claimed, not by inherently educational problems but by economic failure. Education at times of economic crisis tends to become a scapegoat being accused of allegedly low standards, the neglect of basic skills and for not inculcating appropriate attitudes to work, particularly to manufacturing industry. The Brunton Report of the 1960s had argued for vocational elements in secondary education which provided "meaningful incentives to learning". In the event "Brunton Courses" were swept aside by the expansion of SCE "O" grade presentations. Employers have never influenced the control of school courses in the way the universities have done. They have tended to use school qualifications as a source of information about the general competence level of job applicants and this has frequently been their criterion for selection.

The 1970s saw the growth of youth unemployment and the rise of the Manpower Services Commission. The MSC was set up in 1974 under the Employment and Training Act of 1973 to run the public employment and training services. The Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) and its successor, the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), have massive potential for the education and training of young people in the 16-18 age group, yet the authors of Reconstructions of Secondary Education note that the control, direction and resourcing of these programmes is by a government agency which is largely independent of traditional educational interests. From the mid-twentieth century onward there has been a trend to what the authors of Reconstructions call the tightening bond between education and employment. Interestingly, a recent MSC discussion paper refers to the diminution of unskilled jobs, the decline in the need for manual workers, the decline in apprenticeships, the growing demand for people with technical and professional skills, and calls for a change from mechanical and "doing" skills, to technical and "understanding" skills. The activities of the MSC are aiming at a much greater direct involvement of the employer in the educational process with work experience central to the curriculum.

This greater involvement of the employer in the educational process adds interest to an essay by David Hamilton in Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800 to 1988, on the subject of Robert Owen. The essay is entitled "Robert Owen and Education: a Reassessment". The standard histories depict Robert Owen (1771-1858) as one of the earliest British socialists. In partnership with his father-in-law David Dale, who was also a pioneer in employees' welfare, Owen was Manager of the cotton mills of New Lanark which at the end of the eighteenth century were employing over 1,300 workers. He found the conditions in the mills deplorable. The workers and the apprentices were allegedly ignorant and destitute, generally indolent and much addicted to theft, drunkenness and falsehood. Owen was a convinced believer in the power of environment in shaping the individual's character and personality. Like Helvetius in the previous century, he adopted as his creed that "L'education peut tout". He improved conditions at the factory, working hours were reduced to a
maximum of ten per day and he refused to employ children under the age of ten. He established better and healthier working conditions and increased the level of wages. He provided free instruction for the children of the workers up to the age of twelve and his nursery school, the first of its kind in Great Britain, was opened in 1816 and catered for children from one year upwards. Harsh treatment and brutal punishment were never employed and the aim of the teachers was to win the liking and respect of the children. Emphasis was laid on the use of illustration, the telling of stories suited to the age and interest of the pupils, and instruction in natural history based on observation of plant and animal life in the garden and the neighbourhood. Dancing and singing were taught and the children were encouraged to play games in order to improve their powers of conversation. Though Owen met Pestalozzi in 1819 his ideas appear to have been worked independently of him.

David Hamilton explains that this picture of Owen as a benevolent philanthropist, as projected by the standard histories, may not be the whole truth. There is recent evidence from some economic historians that his stance may have been a shrewd but profitable human relations approach to capitalist production. David Hamilton's essay is an attempt to assess whether Owen was a benevolent philanthropist or a profit-conscious businessman, or perhaps both at the same time. It is a fascinating account of the influences in play in the economic, intellectual and political life of Scotland at the time. There was the influence of the Scottish enlightenment, the changed fortunes of the cotton trade, the industrial relations of the epoch and attitudes to the pedagogical shortcomings of the monitorial system, which Owen broke with after 1812. Although he accepted its cheapness and relative efficiency he came to recognise that it was an insufficient mechanism for disciplining the minds of the learners. What is perhaps most interesting for twentieth century philosophical and educational thought of the Scottish enlightenment had on Owen. His ideas about teaching and learning, including the importance of group methods and pupil understanding, derived not only from Continental materialists like Helvetius, but also from Scottish moral philosophers like Francis Hutcheson, David Hume and Adam Smith, who were already identifying the importance of group dynamics to the conduct of society in general and to schooling in particular.

If the secondary school and the transition from school to work are the most popular areas of concern of contemporary education writers, the earlier and later parts of the system are not entirely neglected. S.J. MacInroe has written an interesting, if unusual, critique of the 1965 Primary Memorandum called "Freudianism, Bureaucracy and Scottish Primary Education". He questions the view frequently expressed in the standard histories that the 1965 Primary Memorandum is a liberalising document. He claims that its recommendations are "head-teacher-centred" rather than "child-centred" and asserts that it is more bureaucratic and less liberal than its predecessor, the 1950 Memorandum, which is less definite in its rationale, curriculum and pedagogy of the primary school and it will be interesting to see how their conclusions compare with those of MacInroe.

Of perhaps wider political and cultural interest is the book by Diana Forsythe and seven colleagues on The Rural Community and the Small School. This book analyses the policies and decisions on rural primary school provision in Highland and Tayside Regions since 1950 aiming to identify the reasons, evidence and assumptions which have shaped these policies. Public reaction to them was explored through a large-scale interview study. Key studies were undertaken to explore school/community relations. A chapter in the book is devoted to the economic considerations involved in the debate about the future of rural education. Finally, an educational study was undertaken to try
to determine whether children educated in the small rural primary school were at a disadvantage compared with those taught in nearby country towns. The report does not offer a simple formula to resolve the debate on the future of primary schools in rural areas. It does, however, provide an empirical base for that debate and it documents the wide range of ways in which rural schools contribute to the communities to which they belong. Parents saw the quality of the teacher as more important than the other resources and facilities in a rural school and more important than the size of the school or the state of the building or the distance to be travelled. Consequently, the authors of the *Rural Community and the Small School* state that the selection and the deployment of teachers in rural schools is of crucial importance and the improvement of primary education in rural areas is more likely to be achieved by providing teachers with appropriate support rather than by administrative reorganisation. In some areas the local school is seen as a symbol of separate community identity and in such areas the threat of closure will be vehemently resisted. The people concerned feel particularly bitter if they sense that decisions about schooling in their area are being made in a remote centre by people who do not know about their small communities. Diana Forsythe and her colleagues conclude that it is vitally important that the provision of rural primary education should be planned in the future in the context of rural development as a whole.

Few will disagree with the parents of Highland and Tayside that teachers are our most important resource. They are the subject of two essays in *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1809-1980*. Douglas Myers writes about Scottish schoolmasters in the nineteenth century: "Professionalism and Politics"; and Helen Corr writes about the sexual division of labour in "The Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914". Douglas Myers is concerned with two major issues - firstly the efforts which Scottish teachers made in the nineteenth century to attain the power and status of an independent profession and secondly their attempt to formulate and promote an independent position on national education policy. The control and direction of education in Britain and elsewhere shifted during the nineteenth century from the churches and the voluntary groups to the state. Scotland was one of the few places where teachers were in a position to bid for occupational and political autonomy and influence. In the second half of the eighteenth century and during the early nineteenth century the prestige of the national education system in Scotland was probably at its highest. It was at that time that Scotland gained an international reputation for educational excellence which the country has retained, deservedly or not, to the present. During the second half of the eighteenth century, for example, there were four universities, nine hundred parochial schools and between eighty and ninety burgh schools. Those schools established in law were maintained and supervised by the Church of Scotland in partnership with those who contributed towards their upkeep, in the country, the landowners called "the heritors" and in the towns, the burgh councils. The Act of 1696, eleven years before the union with England, had given parochial schoolmasters an official status possessed by few other occupations. The schoolmaster had the position of "independent servant of the Commonwealth" which clarified his relationship to the church authorities and the civil powers. The schoolmaster was also guaranteed, under law, accommodation and a basic income augmented by the fees of parents and often by payment for various additional duties such as acting as clerk to the parish session. This ensured the teacher a position of considerable status and influence in the community. While they were supervised and directed by the minister, the local heritors and the presbyteries, they enjoyed security of tenure, holding office under the law on the basis of ad vitam aut culpam. The mid-eighteenth century picture of the Scottish school education system was a combination of public and private schools meeting the needs of a relatively stable, frugally prosperous, largely Presbyterian, agrarian village society. The phenomenon of industrialisation, population explosion and shift, rapid urbanisation and the social dislocation which was to come with the nineteenth century was to render the school education system in Scotland quite inappropriate for the changed social and economic needs. The economic and social pressures of the nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical disruption of 1843, the English attitudes to popular education emanating from the Privy Council in London, were all to contribute, despite the best effort of the EIS, which was founded in the nineteenth century, to a reduction in the traditional independence, security and influence of the Scottish schoolmaster.

It is the schoolmistress who is the theme of Helen Corr's essay. She notes the lack of the notion of employing schoolmistresses before the nineteenth century but points out that there is a dramatic change in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1851 65% of the
teachers in Scotland were male teachers. By 1911 70% were female teachers. This changing composition in the sex ratio of teachers during the nineteenth century represented a unique and distinctive feature of the Scottish educational system. In her essay Helen Corr describes the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession which occurred between 1850 and 1890. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act was an important landmark in altering the balance of recruitment of the sexes into teaching. Within the first decade of the Act there was a sharp rise in the number of female teachers without a corresponding increase of men. The 1872 Act marked the end of an era in which the church had retained legal control over public education in Scotland over three hundred years. Although the SED had overall control of Scottish education, the teacher training colleges were administered by the churches. When the churches wished to establish additional training colleges after the 1872 Act, the SED agreed but only on condition that they were limited to female entrants, of whom the majority would be self-supporting. Helen Corr describes the five types of teachers who, during the 1870s, were recognised in the Scotch Code - (a) certificated teachers; (b) provisionally certificated teachers; (c) assistant uncertificated teachers; and (e) pupil teachers. After the 1872 Act the church authorities and the SED actively began to encourage the entry of women into teaching, partly because of an abundant supply of female labour, but more importantly, because there was a particular need for teachers in the infants sector of the elementary school, where there was an intense concentration of pupils after universal education had been introduced in 1872. Helen Corr quotes from official statements by senior officials in the SED of the time to the effect that women were more naturally suited to teaching young children. The Rector of the Church of Scotland Training College in Edinburgh gave expression in the early 1870s to the view that the education of children up to the age of nine is "women's work". This represented a notable departure from pedagogic practice in the early nineteenth century where the male tended to be the dominant figure in the primary sector of the educational system and the female played a secondary role. Helen Corr claims that one of the long-term effects of the 1872 Act was a sharp acceleration in the displacement of male entrants into teaching by women. She claims this may have diminished bargaining power in terms of wages since females could be employed at a cheaper rate.

If the regulation of the teacher supply is readily influenced by political action, the same can be said of all resource provision to the public education service. Finance is fundamental to resource provision and the financing of the education service is perhaps not as fully explored by contemporary writers as the importance of the topic merits. The essay in Scottish Education and Scottish Education 1899-1989 by Thomas Wilson on the payment by results arrangements of one hundred years ago is of contemporary interest, because it does illustrate how, in the resourcing of a public education service it can very readily be political considerations which matter rather than educational considerations. State aid to education had been established in 1833 in England with a grant of £10,000 to aid the work of the two main voluntary societies, the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. This £20,000 spent in 1833 had risen to £668,000 by 1859. Pressure on public expenditure, partly caused by the need to pay for the Crimean War and spend more on coastal defence, caused the Liberal Government to seek a reduction in education expenditure. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. The method they chose, however, was to replace the grant system based on need to a system based on results. The school's revenue was to depend on pupils' attendance, pupils' attainment and the quality of the buildings. This system which, effectively favoured the advantaged at the expense of the disadvantaged, was introduced in Scotland in 1872 some eleven years after it had been introduced in England. Wilson hypothesises that the eleven year delay was largely to allow the UK minister to confirm that there would be a cost saving by introducing payment by results in Scotland. Experience of working payment by results confirmed its iniquities. It perhaps supports the case for separate Scottish institutions to know that the first Secretary of the Scotch Education Department, when he was appointed in 1885, took as his first and major task to rid the schools of any traces of payment by results.

Political decisions influence resource provision throughout the public education system from pre-school to post-graduate level. Hence it is important to get the philosophy right about what constitutes a good education, a good school, a good college, a good university and point those who take the political decisions about the resourcing, organising and running of our institutions in that direction. Plato, John Knox and A S Neill all had some good, if different, ideas about education; and I am now persuaded, after many years in the trade, that
a good Scottish secondary school, for example, has to have the elitism of Plato, the egalitarianism of John Knox and the naturalism of Adam Smith all operating in tension if it is to be truly successful, given that our task is to educate the young in accordance with the wishes of their parents.

Two books published in recent years, in my view, crucial comments to make about the philosophy of Scottish education. They are George Davie's *The Democratic Intellect* and Margaret Donaldson's *Children's Minds*. George Davie's book describes the Scottish universities of the nineteenth century coming to terms with the knowledge explosion, internal strife and external pressures, and seeks to discern central common purposes amid the complexities and confusions. He claims that the University (Scotland) Act of 1858 began an experiment in national revival through education, reaffirming the genuinely democratic character of the Scottish universities and reaffirming the principle of democratic intellectuality, of opening careers to all talents, avoiding a flood of one-sided experts and bureaucratic specialists by giving pride of place on the curriculum to general studies of a non-utilitarian kind.

The inspiration for the ideal of the democratic intellect came from the period of the Scottish Enlightenment, the period between 1745 and 1831 which produced a flowering of Scottish academic and cultural life, the period which produced David Hume, Adam Smith, Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns. Many modern writers are hinting that it is to this pre-industrial period that we should turn as we seek answers to the problems of the post-industrial age. We should be returning, they say, to the common sense philosophy of the period to recover our national self-confidence and intellectual energy.

The common-sense philosophy - "la philosophie ecossaise", as Charles Deermusat, an eighteenth century French writer called it - was a way of looking at things comprehensively, looking at the whole before the parts, and rejecting the extremist views. George Davie describes it thus in *The Democratic Intellect*. "It is a primitive vision of the whole, obscurely implicit in all human beings, presupposed as a point of agreement behind their philosophical and political differences and capable of being appealed to as a check on extremism". Burns in his epistle to James Tennant of Glenconnor, talks about the two philosophers he identified with the philosophy of common-sense - Professor Thomas Reid of Glasgow University, and the better known Adam Smith from Kirkcaldy, Moral Philosopher and Economist at Edinburgh University and author of the world-famous economic theory based on an individualistic system of free enterprise, "An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations". Burns writes thus:

"Smith, wi' his sympathetic feeling
An' Reid, to common sense appealing,
Philosophers have fought an' wrangled
An' neikle Greek an' Latin mangled
Till with their Logic-jargon tir'd
An' in the depth of science mir'd,
To common sense they now appeal
What wives an' wabsters see an' feel".

The common-sense philosophers also stressed what they called the abstraction of principle, the ability to conceptualise using literary, mathematical and other symbols. It is a kind of thinking on which our contemporary society places the highest value. It is akin to what Margaret Donaldson, the Edinburgh psychologist, in her well-known book *Children's Minds* calls "disenbedded thought". Disenbedded thinking is "praising thought out of its primitive unconscious embeddedness in the immediacies of living in the world and interacting with other human beings. It means learning to move beyond the bounds of human sense. It is on this movement that all the higher intellectual skills depend".

But common-sense suggests that, in addition, we must recognise the human love of working with the hands. Margaret Donaldson's plea for "the reinstatement of the human hand" is a message which was stressed in the Advisory Council's Primary School Memorandum of 1947 and which has been repeated in the recent OEC report on "Education for the Industrial Society". The expressive arts have to acquire the same status as literacy and numeracy if human beings are to experience full emotional satisfaction.

The recognition that Scottish education is facing a crisis of direction, resource and identity is for me a source of optimism. Meeting the needs of the individuals in Scottish society in an age of
rapid economic change - for change is the only constant - calls for calm appraisal of how we came to be where we are and a discussion about where we want to go and how we might best get there. Calm appraisal means evaluating the myths and discarding the stereotypes. Enhancing the life chances of individuals calls for the exploitation of all the learning webs of our society and devising curricula in the broadest possible terms for all age groups and in the doing, Scottish common sense, however we re-interpret it, has to prevail.