

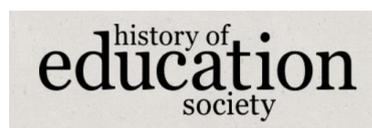
# Education and the Life Course

## Abstracts

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#HES2019

# CONTENTS

## KEYNOTE LECTURES

pages 3-7

**Mukherjee, Dr Sumita**, University of Bristol

**Reese, Professor William J.**, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

**Spencer, Professor Stephanie**, University of Winchester

**Holford, Professor John**, University of Nottingham

## SYMPOSIA

pages 7-13

**Brewis, Georgina**, UCL

**Cunningham, Peter**, Homerton College, University of Cambridge

**Martin, Mary Clare**, University of Greenwich

**Palmer, Amy** University of Roehampton

**Palser, Michelle**, University of Chester

**Read, Jane**, University of Roehampton

**Wright, Susannah**, Oxford Brookes University

## PANEL PAPERS

pages 14-82

**Bhimani, Nazlin**, UCL IoE

**Barclay, Steven**, University of Westminster

**Barker, Emily F.**, University of Greenwich

**Burkett, Jodi**, University of Portsmouth

**Canales, Antonio Fco.**, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain

**Carmody, Brendan**, St. Mary's University, Twickenham.

**Carpentier, Vincent**, UCL Institute of Education

**Carter, Laura**, University of Cambridge and **Carpentieri, JD**, UCL

**Clarke, Marie**, University College Dublin

**Clausen, Kurt W.**, and **Lemisko, Lynn S.**, Nipissing University, Canada

Nipissing University, Canada

**Cliff Hodges, Gabrielle**, Independent researcher, retired University of Cambridge

**Collignon, Anne**, UCL IoE

**Daly, Molly**, Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick

**de la Guardia Wald, Rolando**, University of Panama

**Deplazes, Daniel**, University of Zurich  
**Dolan, Loretta**, University of Western Australia  
**Ellis, Heather**, University of Sheffield  
**Felstead, Ruth**, Newman University  
**Ferreira, Sueli Marnede Lobo**, University of Brasilia-UNB and SuperEducar  
**Fitzgerald, Tanya**, La Trobe University, Australia and **Harford, Judith**, University College Dublin  
**Freeman, Catherine**, University of Greenwich  
**Goldstone, Ross**, Cardiff University  
**Gonzalez-Delgado, Mariano**, Universidad de La Laguna, Canary Island, Spain,  
**Godding, Gwyneth** University of London  
**Goodman, Joyce**, University of Winchester, UK  
**Hamdoud, Samir**, University of Warwick  
**Hofmann, Michele**, University of Zurich  
**Holloway, Catherine**, University of Winchester  
**Huxford, Dr Grace**, University of Bristol  
**Khachidze, Mia**, Open University,  
**Kumbhat, Christine Pusfipa**, University of Leeds  
**Lin, Ren-Jie**, National Taiwan University of Sport  
**Makar, Farida**, University of Oxford,  
**McAllister, Annemarie**, University of Central Lancashire  
**McCartney, Catriona**, University of Durham  
**Mansell, Pam**, Royal Holloway, London  
**Moore, Keith**, Queensland University of Technology  
**Nakagomi, Sayaka**, Rikkyo University, Japan  
**Nahum, Carole E.**, Université de Nantes, France  
**Newman Michael**, New Ideals in Education  
**Ni Cheallaigh, Dr Laoise**, Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick  
**Noble, Dr Malcolm**, Leicester Vaughan College  
**Nodeland, Tuva Skjelbred**, Uppsala University  
**O'Donoghue, Tom**, University of Western Australia and **O'Doherty, Teresa**, Marino Institute of Education Dublin  
**Oman, Georgia**, University of Cambridge  
**Patel, Josh**, University of Warwick  
**Portelli, Dr Lorraine**, University of Malta

**Purves, Ross**, UCL Institute of Education  
**Rafferty, Deirdre and Regan, Ellen**, University College Dublin  
University College Dublin  
**Rosati, Francesca**, University of Rome "Tor Vergata"  
**Rosoff, Nancy G.**, Arcadia University  
**Rousmaniere, Kate**, Miami University, Ohio, USA  
**Royce, Maureen**, Liverpool John Moores University.  
**Salvarani, Luana**, University of Parma, Italy  
**Sanders, Teresa**, University of Exeter  
**Santoki, Makiko**, Hiroshima University  
**Sasaki, Keiko**, University of Electro-Communications, Japan  
**Sunderland, Helen**, University of Cambridge  
**Sutcliffe, Dr Marcella**, UCL ICHRE  
**Szetana Kovacs, Adrien**, National University of Maynooth, Ireland  
**Tinkler, Penny, Fenton, Laura and Cruz, Resto**, University of Manchester  
**Tisdall, Laura**, Queen Mary University of London  
**Titley, Brian**, University of Lethbridge  
**Tsangari, Andria**, King's College London  
**Walsh, Thomas**, Maynooth University, Ireland  
**Wangi, Da**, Qinghai Normal University, China  
**Wong, Ting-Hong**, Academia Sinica, Taiwan  
**Wood, Margaret, Pennington, Andrew and Su, Feng**, York St John University  
**You, Min**, UCL and Minzu University of China

## **KEYNOTE LECTURE 1, FRIDAY 13.45-14.45**

**Dr Sumita Mukherjee**, University of Bristol

### **Indian Students in Britain: The Life Course, Mobility and National Identities before the Second World War**

In the early twentieth century, thousands of Indians travelled to Britain to study at British schools or universities. They were travelling at formative ages in their life cycles, but also at a formative stage in the development of Indian nationalism. In this keynote I will discuss the ways in which education abroad, during the height of the British Empire, was a significant experience for young Indian men and women – allowing them to meet other like-minded students from different parts of the world, expand their understanding of what it meant to be Indian and a colonial subject, and learn how to effectively agitate for political change.

This conference marks the ten year anniversary of the release of my first book *Nationalism, Education and Migrant Identities* and I'd like to take the opportunity of this keynote to reflect upon some of the key arguments I made a decade ago about university students and how I am moving on from some of them in my current research on migrant Indian school children. In so doing, I will be drawing attention to the ways in which issues of travel and migration intersect with issues of life cycles and gender.

### **Biography**

Sumita Mukherjee is senior lecturer in history at the University of Bristol. She is the author of *Nationalism, Education and Migrant Identities: The England-Returned* (Routledge, 2010) and *Indian Suffragettes: Female Identities and Transnational Networks* (Oxford University Press, 2018). Her first book discussed the experiences of Indian university students at British universities in the early twentieth century, and the social and political impacts these students had when they returned back to India following their education. She is currently researching the experiences of Indian school children in the UK, Africa and Caribbean in the early twentieth century.

## **KEYNOTE LECTURE 2, SATURDAY 11.00-12.00**

**Professor William J. Reese**, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

### **The Mysterious World of Child Prodigies in an Age of Wonder**

This paper explores the mysterious world of child prodigies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is part of a biography-in-progress of Zerah Colburn, who was born in the village of Cabot, Vermont, in 1804. In 1810, Colburn astonished his family and neighbours with his amazing ability to calculate numbers. Exhibited on the stage in the United States and in England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, Colburn became America's first child celebrity, one of the best known children of his age. After attending the Lycée Henri-IV in Paris and Westminster School in London, he became an actor, a teacher, and then a calculator at the Board of Longitude. After returning to the United States in 1824, he became an itinerant Methodist minister and then a professor of classical and modern languages. This paper will explore how ideas about genius and prodigies changed during Colburn's lifetime.

### **Biography**

William J. Reese is the Carl F. Kaestle W.A.R.F. and Vilas Research Professor of Educational Policy Studies and History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a member of the National Academy of Education, and a Fellow of the American Educational Research Association. A former editor of the *History of Education Quarterly*, he teaches courses on the undergraduate and graduate levels on the history of American education and the history of childhood and adolescence. His most recent book is entitled *Testing Wars in the Public Schools: A Forgotten History* (Harvard University Press). Books-in-progress include a history of the Washington, D.C., public schools, and a biography of Zerah Colburn.

## KEYNOTE LECTURE 3, SATURDAY 13.00-14.00

### HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

**Professor Stephanie Spencer**, University of Winchester

#### **Out of the Classroom; 'Informal' Education and Histories of Education**

The term 'informal education' offers a convenient shorthand giving historians of education a free rein to use a range of sources and interpretations of the experience, and construction, of the young adolescent. Research has moved out of the classroom, enriching the original focus on traditional formal systems and settings, to provide a more holistic view of how young girls and boys are prepared for useful citizenship. I discuss how the carte blanche that the concept of informal education provides might be further defined by paying closer attention to what is clearly educational about a source. In other words, can history of education offer something specific that contributes significantly to our broader understanding of the social, political and cultural histories of a period?

The paper draws on Sarah Mills and Peter Kraftl's identification of three features of informal education. It then presents a case study of the interwar Empire Annuals for Girls and Boys, published by Cassells, to examine their role as informal educators into the entanglements of gender, class and nation presented through fiction for a young readership.

#### **Biography**

Stephanie is Professor of History of Women's Education at the University of Winchester and convenes the Centre for the History of Women's Education at Winchester. Her research interests focus on informal education and the construction and experience of the teenager/ young adult in the twentieth century. She has published widely in a range of academic journals; her most recent book is co-authored with Nancy G.

Rosoff, *British and American School Stories, 1910-1960: fiction, femininity, and friendship* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). Her term of office as President of the History of Education Society (UK) will end at this conference. Over the last three years the Society has seen the re-invigoration of the post graduate and Early Career membership, building and strengthening links across disciplinary and geographical boundaries.

## KEYNOTE LECTURE 4, SUNDAY 12.30-13.30

**Professor John Holford**, University of Nottingham

### **1919 and 2019: Adult Education and Two Crises of Democracy**

As we approach the centenary of the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education committee's *Final Report*, published in November 1919, Britain is again mired in democratic and constitutional crisis. A hundred years ago, the country was laying the foundations of democracy and a welfare state. The *Final Report's* language has deep resonance today. "Adult education", it asserted, "is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship": it "should be both universal and lifelong" and "spread uniformly and systematically over the whole community". The report saw adult education as essential in building the attitudes, knowledge and practices needed for democracy: "The successful working of a democratic society implies ... the intelligent participation in public affairs by the rank and file of the population."

In contrast to the vacuous pseudo-vocationalism of today's "skills" and "social mobility" agendas, the 1919 report saw adult education as enriching the communities where men and women lived and worked. It provided a template for a deeply democratic and liberal system of adult education that played a vital, if often unacknowledged, part in the national social fabric through most of the 20th century. Its implications were profound: "We need to think out educational methods and possibilities from the new point of view ... of the adult learning to be a citizen". This keynote will outline the nature and key messages of the 1919 report, evaluate its contribution to British society, citizenship and democracy during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and explore its meaning for today and the century ahead.

### **Biography**

John Holford is Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education at the University of Nottingham – the world's oldest university chair in the field. He is currently joint secretary to the Centenary Commission on Adult Education, and chairs the #AdultEducation100 campaign, which aims to reassert the importance of "lifewide" adult education to society, the economy, and democracy. He is co-editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, and of the *Palgrave Studies in Adult Education and Lifelong Learning* book series, and President of the International Society for Comparative Adult Education. He is leading a major Horizon 2020 project (Encouraging Lifelong Learning for an Inclusive and Vibrant Europe: ENLIVEN). A sociologist and

historian by background and inclination, he has worked in adult education throughout his career: with the Workers' Educational Association in the 1980s, at the University of Hong Kong in the 1990s, and then with the University of Surrey (where he was also founding head of the Department of Politics).

## **SYMPOSIUM 1, FRIDAY 15.15-16.45**

### **Family Histories of Internationalism, Education and Activism**

This panel presents three interlinked papers that examine how familial relationships affect activism across the life course and across generations.

**Wright, Susannah**, Oxford Brookes University

### **Pacifism and Internationalism in Three Families 1910s-1960s**

Histories of pacifism and internationalism have examined organisations, developments within them, and relations between them, over many decades. Considerations about how these movements are sustained and change over decades, how new ones emerge, and how and why ideals and commitments change can be found to an extent in the discussion of campaigns and leaders which dominate much existing literature, such as key texts by Martin Ceadel.<sup>1</sup> I take a different approach, focusing on continuity and change within families. Frederick James Gould (1855-1938), Vera Brittain (1893-1970), and Eileen Daffern (1814-2012) were between them active in twentieth-century movements like the International Arbitration League, the League of Nations Union, the Peace Pledge Union and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Drawing on published autobiographical memoirs for each of these individuals, contextualised through other relevant sources (a mix of letters, diaries, periodicals and pamphlets, interviews), and focusing in on a time frame spanning the First World War to the 1960s, I consider mechanisms of informal education - the different ways in which children have learned from their parents, and parents, conversely, learned from their children. Possibilities of generalising from individual family narratives are limited, and challenges related to memory, positioning, and selection arising from autobiographical evidence constructed after the event (sometimes long after) are well rehearsed. However, tracing developments across generations within families can inform, and trouble, wider institutional narratives.

<sup>1</sup> M. Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-45. Defining of a Faith* (London: OUP, 1980); M. Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists. The British Peace Movement and International Relations 1854-1945* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

**Brewis, Georgina, UCL**

**Three Generations of Internationalism: The Ashcroft-Judds, 1890s-1990s**

Lord (Frank) Judd, Minister for Overseas Development in Callaghan's government and a former director of Oxfam, Voluntary Service Overseas and International Voluntary Service, considers his long life of socio-political action to be the culmination of 'three generations of internationalism'. Building on work that argues for the significance of missionary familial relationships, this paper explores the trajectory from missionary service to internationalism across three generations of one family. It seeks to examine the importance of family dynasties in social and educational campaigning and service, as well as examining such action across the life courses of individual family members. Members of the Ashcroft-Judd dynasty were involved in several of the most important educational, social and political associations of the twentieth century. The Revd Dr Frank Ashcroft (b.1858) was a missionary who served in India and Africa, before becoming Secretary of the Church of Scotland Mission Society. His grandson, Charles Wilfred Judd (1896-1974), was an ex-service student at UCL and the London Day Training College after the First World War, who went on to help found the National Union of Students in 1922. Charles then worked for the League of Nations Union (LNU), the Council for Education in World Citizenship, and in 1945 became the first secretary of the United Nations Association (UNA). Charles met his wife Helen while she was also working for the LNU; she was later an LSE lecturer and Labour candidate. Reflecting the family interests, Charles' son Frank Ashcroft Judd (b. 1935), also studied at LSE where he was involved in the UNA. Frank chaired the National Youth Committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, before a career that combined the leadership of international NGOs with Labour politics. In 1991, Frank stood down as Director of Oxfam and became a Labour Peer.

Arising out of my earlier work into post-war students and internationalism, this exploratory paper marks the start of a new project blending family biography and history. It draws on private papers held by the Judd family and new oral history interviews, as well as attempting to trace fragments of individuals' lives across institutional archives.

**Martin, Mary Clare**, University of Greenwich

**Love, Activism, Education and the Life-Course from fin-de siècle to post-war:  
Frederic Lewis and Sarah Louise Donaldson, 1860s to 1950s**

Despite the burst of research round the suffrage centenary of 1918, the relationship between religion, socialist and suffrage politics and informal education is rarely explored. This paper will trace the interaction between activism, religion and relationship over the life-course for Frederic Lewis and Sarah Louise Donaldson, active Christian Socialists, and campaigners for social and political justice. Frederic Lewis Donaldson (1860-1953) was an Anglo-Catholic clergyman who co-led a march of the unemployed from Leicester to London in 1905, while Sarah Louise (1861-1950), held leading roles in a range of campaigning organisations. Both held office or were founder members of significant Christian Socialist organisations: the Oxford branch of the Guild of St Matthew, the Christian Social Union, and the Church Socialist League, which were strongly influenced by incarnational religion and the imperative to care for the body as well as the soul.

While religious belief was central to their social activism, the focus of "Mrs Lewis Donaldson's" campaigning changed over time. From 1907, or earlier, she was involved in the *WSPU*, *NUWSS*, and then the *Church League for Women's Suffrage*, of which she was a *VicePresident* in 1912. She was also a local, then national (in 1917) *President* of the *Women's Labour League* (1906-1918) and still involved in *Women's Sections* after 1918. Appointed one of the first women magistrates in 1920, she was a leader of the *National Campaign for the Abolition of the Death Penalty* from the 1930s onwards). Political, social and suffrage campaigning and lecturing went hand in hand with diocesan lecturing, outreach, and involvement in parish organisations, including teaching the choir and groups for young men. Their letters, cross-referenced with the archives of institutions and voluntary organisations, newspaper articles and photographs, illustrate the interweaving of relationship, education and activism over the life-course, with surviving personal letters being particularly rich for their 19-month courtship (1884-5), an interval of separation due to illness in middle age (1909-1910) and in old age, when their lives were disrupted by World War II. Their last letters illustrate the vulnerability of old people during the London Blitz, which has rarely been researched. The paper will also consider the materiality of the letters, some of which were written on the backs of coloured flyers, giving invaluable information about their

activities. The correspondence demonstrates role-reversal over the life-course. Whereas, during their engagement in the 1880s, "my dear Lou" rebuked and argued with her betrothed on a regular basis, her letters in old age, written after a fall, show extreme vulnerability and dependence. The extent to which the lives of this couple enhance our understanding of gender relations across the life-course in this period will be considered throughout the paper.

## **SYMPOSIUM 2, SUNDAY 9.00-10.30**

### **Froebelian Women from the Mid-nineteenth to the Twenty-first Century: A Community of Progressive Educators**

A panel presentation based on the forthcoming book *British Froebelian Women from the Mid-nineteenth to the Twenty-first Century: A Community of Progressive Educators* (edited by Palmer and Read) which is due to be published by Routledge in late 2019. This book presents a series of critical case studies of women who advocated for the cause of Froebelian pedagogy, using prosopography as a method for understanding individual lives in a broader context. The papers (abstracts below) draw on chapters in the book to examine the concept of a "Froebelian Community" and what it meant to each of these women. We view this as a feminist project and the implications of gender for these female pioneers are also an underlying theme. We reflect on methodological issues relating to biographical research, particularly dealing with disparities in the availability of data.

**Read, Jane**, University of Roehampton

### **Riches and rags: The researcher's pursuit of Esther E Lawrence (1862-1944) and Jeanie P Slight (1890-1973)**

Esther E Lawrence (1862-1944) was a core member of the Froebelian community in Britain from the 1870s up to her death in 1944. As Principal of Froebel Educational Institute, London for 30 years from 1901-1931 she trained successive generations of Froebelian teachers. In the early years of her Principalship, Jeanie P Slight (1890-1973) was a student at FEI and she went on to disseminate Froebelian pedagogy in a number of different settings. This paper discusses the differing experiences of researching these two women, drawing comparison between the wealth of data available for Lawrence in contrast to the lacunae in the details of Slight's career. It considers the

choices which need to be made where there is a wealth of material and, in contrast, how we might present a life which is less documented and may require the researcher to engage in speculation. Despite these differences in our knowledge of the precise details, the lives of both women shed light on the themes of revision, dissemination and identity - in particular, the various modes of engagement in the Froebelian community - which underpin our book.

**Palser, Michelle**, University of Chester

**Grace Owen (1873-1965): Furthering the Nursery School Cause through communities of practice.**

Grace Owen was viewed as one of the architects of the Nursery School Movement. After gaining a Bachelor of Science at the prestigious Teachers' College, University of Columbia, New York, Owen's career was dedicated to the training of teachers and culminated with a principalship at Mather Training College, Manchester. She believed that nursery schools could transform communities and viewed their role not as one solely orientated around education but fundamental in transforming health and wellbeing. She believed their success rested upon the quality of the workforce, and strongly advocated for rigorous training, that centred on Froebel's idea of unity. Owen played a significant role within local, national and global early years communities and the paper examines how she used each of these as important platforms to further the nursery school cause. Navigating these and their associated relationships had its complexities, but Owen saw collaboration at the heart of progress both in terms of establishing more Nursery schools but also in supporting pedagogy and practice to evolve. As a Froebelian revisionist she valued and encouraged enquiry and exploration within the learning community, but despite this commitment to development and change, she never discounted the significance of Froebel's work

**Amy Palmer**, University of Roehampton

**Enid Blyton (1897-1968), Articulating Froebelian pedagogy through literature for children and teachers**

Enid Blyton was a prolific writer of children's literature. Perennially hugely popular, she has nonetheless been a controversial figure with her books criticised both for their poor quality and for representations of class, gender and race which offend modern

sensibilities. She was a Froebel trained teacher and she worked in a small preparatory school and in her own informal school setting as she began her writing career. The impact of her Froebelian training can be seen both in her teaching practice and in the texts she produced. She wrote many handbooks and resources for teachers and was a regular contributor to *Teacher's World* until 1945. In her books for children, her identity as an educator remained evident. This paper explores Blyton the Froebelian in all these spheres, demonstrating how Froebelian ideas about childhood, family, creativity, spirituality, nature studies and holistic learning permeate her work. It considers her relationship to the Froebelian community, and particularly how she was viewed by her fellow Froebelians. Evidence will be drawn from archival research and from textual analysis of her work.

**Cunningham, Peter**, Homerton College, University of Cambridge

**Molly Brearley (1905-1994). Educating teachers and popularising developmental approaches in the post-war era.**

Molly Brearley was Principal of the Froebel Educational Institute (FEI) in a post-war era of educational reform and national expansion in early childhood education. Her significance for the Froebel movement in this distinctive historical context was threefold. She fostered and continued to cultivate an established Froebelian community in the 'domestic' collegiate setting of its flagship training college. At the same time she reached out into the new media of public broadcasting, promoting a popular interest in Froebelian approaches that resonated with widening policy recognition of family and children's development. The high public profile she thereby gained, led to her appointment to a major government enquiry of the 1960s on 'Children and their Primary Schools' (Plowden Report), which in turn gained unprecedented public attention for a child-centred approach that had roots in Froebel's philosophy. This paper considers her career as a product of personality and cultural context. It takes a particular interest in the roles of women and gender relations during these post-war decades at FEI, in the BBC and on the Plowden Committee.

## PARALLEL PAPER ABSTRACTS

Barclay, Steven, University of Westminster,

SATURDAY 14.15-15.45

### **BBC Schools, Radiovision and Learning Resources**

This paper draws on the results of a History of Education Small Grant in 2018 to digitise the Institute of Education's 'Radiovision' collection.

From its inception the 1920s, public service broadcasting in the UK has specifically addressed the education of school age children. However we have moved to a position in which the media has practically no power or authority over formal education.

Jurisdiction over schools lay originally with teachers - and has shifted subsequently to the government. Therefore the BBC's educational policy has always been a negotiation between power sources with conflicting aims, which has ended, after the demise of the digital curriculum (Michalis 2012), with severe curtailment.

The Radiovision collection in the Institute of Education (10E) Special Collections, is the most complete and accessible source of primary evidence for BBC schools output. The term Radiovision refers to a medium combining a projected filmstrip, combined with an audio programme, originally transmitted by radio, but which was also available on quarter inch audio tape, for use by teachers in school classrooms. This was invented by the BBC in 1964 to combine the 'visual anchor' possibilities of television (which was then still not widespread in schools), and the imaginative 'theatre of the mind' of radio. Like BBC Schools as a whole, the method proved a brief flowering of creativity in the production of learning resources. The mixture of political, theoretical, technological factors which led to *this* sophisticated method's *rise and fall are characteristic and illustrative of* key themes *in 20<sup>th</sup> century history.*

The project supports the research of an internationally significant, but thus far under researched part of educational history. The output of BBC Schools from the 1920s to the 1990s represents a national effort on a grand scale, to shape curriculum and educational practice in the UK. By the late 1970s BBC Schools' programmes were being used in 90% of UK schools and were used to structure teaching and learning. Producers such as Nicholas Whines in history (*History Long Ago, History Not so Long Ago* 1971- 90), were free to innovate in creating learning resources, before the national curriculum altered teaching significantly. The output also shows transitions and tensions between older and contemporary values in teaching practice. *Stories and Rhymes* (1951- 83) expressed a belief *in the value of literature, whereas Playtime* (1973 - present) *was* directly influenced by contemporary developments in linguistics.

### **An Oral History Analysis of the Cultural Impact of Religion and Religious Organisations on Migrant Children's Play**

The relationship between migration and religion is not necessarily an obvious one. In some circumstances, religious persecution is the motivation for migration.

Sometimes religion helps facilitate a smoother cultural transition as it provides a basis for common values and daily practice. Religion can be a positive experience, one that provides unity or at least familiarity; however, at other times, religion can become a point of contention or prejudice. Migrants seeking financial or political security can have both a beneficial and problematic experience with religious organisations and institutions. This paper analyses the relationship between religious groups and migrant children's play as conveyed through oral history interviews. Religious organisations can be a means of providing cultural continuity and opportunities for assimilation as well as points of new cultural exposure in regard to peer play cultures, material playthings and games. Children's experience through religion and religious organisations can accentuate the differences between the home country and the new place of residence, and also provide a means for those in the receiving country to interact with children. In addition, parents sometimes invest a greater sense of trust in religious organisations compared with government or secular groups in a foreign country. In this analysis, oral history interviews illustrate how religion can be a means of cultural cohesion and clash for child migrants. The ramifications of these experiences for children in the 20<sup>th</sup> century will be explored and contextualised within larger historical developments of globalisation, religious and secular social discourses and contemporary notions about play. This paper hopes to contribute to the field by providing critical analysis of the complex relationship between the encounters and exchanges within the intersection between children's play, migration and religious groups, organisations, or facilitators.

### **Tensions in Classroom Teaching Practice in Interwar London Elementary Schools**

A close examination of the interwar London classroom reveals interesting insights into the social history of teaching and learning, particularly the role of progressive methods. Students taking the diploma at the London Day Training College/Institute of Education at this time were taught new pedagogical methods and were observed during their teaching practice in schools by their lecturers.

By tracing the professional lives of teachers, from training at the London Day Training College (which became the Institute of Education, London in 1932) to classroom, I aim to unearth and examine the ways in which a mix of teaching practices were applied.

Tensions between old and new methods were in evidence, given the different experiences of the generations. The relationships between teachers and head teachers and inspectors was of paramount importance in ensuring that 'modern methods' were being used, despite the economic and social problems prevalent during this time. Writings on pedagogy by inspectors, teaching observation reports and school inspection reports are used to argue that teacher attitudes, autonomy and professionalism were the driving forces behind the implementation of new practices.

**Building Multi-Cultural Britain: Students and the Re-Imagining of 'Greater Britain' in the 1970s and 1980s**

In 1967 the British government announced that, starting in the 1967-68 academic year, there would be different tuition fees for 'home' and 'overseas' students at British universities and colleges. While the government presented it as simply a cost saving measure, it was also another step in Britain's global withdrawal from empire and from the notion of Greater Britain. The charging of differential fees required drawing a clear line between who belonged and who did not, who were insiders and who were outsiders. When the policy is looked at in more depth, however, these lines are far from clear. This government decision was widely condemned across the political spectrum. Many of these criticisms hinged on notions and understandings of Britain as a global leader in education, the head of the Commonwealth and, as bearing some responsibility for 'underdeveloped' or 'Third world' countries. They were concerned that treating Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians as 'foreigners' undermined something precious about Britain's international standing. On the other side, particularly among student leaders, overseas students from the 'old' Commonwealth were virtually forgotten. Instead, their main concern was with imagined poor, destitute, black students from the New Commonwealth. They framed the issue as one of racial discrimination.

This paper explores the shifting sands in the way that 'overseas' students were understood and categorised. In exploring this issue we can begin to see how 'overseas students' were being racialised. Student leaders, including the National Union of Students (NUS) exhibited an amnesia about empire when it came to Australia, Canada and New Zealand, but a heightened sense of imperial responsibility in relation to students from Africa in particular. On several fronts they worked tirelessly to oppose racism and racial discrimination and their policies on overseas students became intimately intertwined with this activity. In their pursuit of a cosmopolitan, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-racial Britain they continued to perpetuate ideas which normalised whiteness. In assuming that all students from abroad were black and from poor backgrounds student leaders erased any sense of belonging from the 'old' white Commonwealth, perpetuated stereotypes of poor and destitute black people, and continued notions that racial diversity and racism were associated with outsiders to Britain - overseas students, immigrants and 'foreigners' more generally - rather than long-standing issues within the British metropole.

**Education and Life Stories Narratives: Sense and Love in the School of Albert Camus**

This communication explores the school memories of the French writer, and Nobel Prize awarded, Albert Camus in his uncompleted autobiography *The First Man*. From a socio-historical point of view, the school experience of Camus constitutes a paradigmatic example of the meritocratic nature of the French republican school, the mechanisms of social promotion that it offered and the central role played by teachers in them. However, Camus's narrative goes far beyond this meritocratic *déclassement* and offers a very different perspective. Camus' school in the poor neighbourhoods of Algiers during the 1920s is not a reified, repetitive and meaningless place, but rather a door into a fascinating new world radically alien to its dark, miserable and impoverishing environment; on the contrary, it is the discovering of the luminous, fascinating and wonderful world of culture and knowledge. This is a class experience little explored nowadays. But, in addition to a school with sense, for Camus his school is also a place full of feeling, because Camus built a narrative on the relationship of love he had with his teacher. Thus, Camus introduces a classic topic such as the relationship between Pedagogy and Love. Both perspectives come together to erect the school as the determining factor in the life of Camus.

### **Education and the Life Cycle: A Nation Grows Up**

In the 1890s, Cecil Rhodes, a British entrepreneur, gained control over the territory that today is north-western Zambia, giving birth to what has become an African nation-state, Zambia (Northern Rhodesia until 1964). Much of its earliest history was coloured by the rise of colonial capitalism and the development of copper mining which Rhodes helped to shape. At the outset, Rhodes' business, the British South Africa Company, did little to empower the young nation to gain the rudiments of life in this new world.

It nonetheless permitted missionaries to have elementary schools but did little to provide them.

When the British Colonial Office assumed control over the territory in 1924 it endeavored to create the kind of schools that would make the young nation more productive and enable it to become more self-sustaining within the confines of the village. It was very alert to the fact that if the nation gained too much literacy, this would entail problems for those who were its care-takers including the colonial government itself and so it resisted. However, with basic literacy, the nation grew more aware of its rights and resented being deprived of the tools that it felt could make it independent. This created tension which eventually led the nation to demand its own independence which, after much friction, happened. The young nation inherited what its care-takers had developed but had illegitimately possessed. While the new nation now had its freedom, it lacked the tools to become a nation in its own right and lived an on-going sense of dependency on its 'parents,' if you will. This continues into late adulthood and may go on because it has not developed the capacity to liberate itself from the foreign power that brought it into being because it is still enslaved by the kind of socialization it received. There is need for a new kind of schooling which can help the nation profit what has been inherited historically but can do so with a sense of self-direction. This is a challenge for Zambia as for many other nations today. It is caught in a dynamic which is at once alluring but also despised because of its entanglement. The proposed presentation would focus upon the nature of the schooling that has operated over roughly one hundred years, questioning its appropriateness particularly in terms of preparing people not only for livelihoods but for self-respect and flourishing lives.

**A Historical Lens on the Connections and Tensions between Resource, Mission and Social Differentiations in UK Higher Education**

The historical trajectories of many countries suggest that the expansion of higher education is often connected to processes of institutional differentiation. Complementary and sometimes conflicting social, political, economic and cultural rationales have shaped higher education systems around key dichotomies such as elite/popular, public/private, local/global, teaching/research and vocational/academics. The analyses of those forms of institutional differentiation range from positive accounts of diversity of missions to more critical interpretations of stratification. The 2008 crisis has (re)activated tensions around funding, inequality and mission which have led to question the origins of differentiation in higher education systems and its implications for students, staff and society. Using new quantitative historical data, this research offers a historical lens to those debates by exploring the process of expansion of the UK higher education since the 1960s through the three interconnected lenses of resource, mission and social differentiations. The paper seeks to examine the extent to which those processes might be time contingent and influenced by the emergence and crisis of successive socioeconomic models across history. The findings shows how the crises of 1973 and 2008 both generated increasing tensions between resource, mission and social differentiations which respectively challenged the phases of expansion started in the 1960s and the 1990s.

**Carpentieri, JD**, UCL  
**Carter, Laura**, University of Cambridge,

**FRIDAY 15.15-16.45**

### **Longitudinal Data and British Secondary Education across the Life Course**

This paper draws upon research using data from two postwar British birth cohorts (1946 and 1958) by a team of historians and sociologists, arising from the ESRC-funded project *Life Course Trajectories in the UK*. We will explain how our mixed-methods approach to these longitudinal datasets opens up new avenues for tracing the impact of secondary education across the whole life course, with a particular focus on people born in the two decades after the Second World War, when universal, free secondary education first arrived in Britain. We argue that a reorientation towards sociological sources, away from traditional archives or oral histories, can challenge existing narratives about the impact of secondary school for this much-studied generation. The paper will explore a series of 'life story' case studies from our research to demonstrate this, particularly focusing on under-studied groups, such as secondary modern school attendees. Following life course trajectories in these cases, we find that education shapes choices and aspirations in unexpected and uneven ways, in constant dialogue with the wider social and economic changes of Britain in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

## **Education for the Country Girls: Vocational Education in Rural Ireland,**

### **1930-1960**

This paper examines the education provision made for girls in rural Ireland during the period 1930-1960, a neglected area of women's history both internationally and in the Irish context. The education of girls has received extensive treatment through studies which examine social class, religion, politics, national, regional and local conditions. Few historians have examined vocational education and its impact on rural girls. In many European countries it was an accepted feature of vocational education systems that provision in rural and urban areas was different. Rural communities historically were generally more conservative and adhered to traditional values rooted in religious beliefs, which in turn perpetuated traditional roles. Rural isolation, both physical and social, imposed many restrictions on women's educational opportunities. Rural girls were seldom exposed to role models of women working in non-traditional jobs. In the Irish context rural women have been the focus of research that deals with patriarchal agriculture, the invisibility of women's farm work, gender inequalities in ownership of farm assets and increasing professionalisation of farmwomen outside of agriculture. The power differentials between men and women in family farming have also been addressed.

The rural context in this study includes villages with a population distribution between 200 and 500 people. This paper draws on a number of public discourses: The Census of Ireland Reports, annual reports of the Department of Education, ministerial and official correspondence. The minutes of local Vocational Education Committees (hereafter VECs) were also examined. The evidence from this wide range of sources at both national and local level suggests that girls from rural areas accessed many forms of vocational education during the day and in evening classes in far greater numbers than their urban peers. The type of education provided for girls in the rural vocational schools between 1930 and 1960 reveals a pattern where little choice existed with reference to the courses on offer and a recurrent view that girls' education should focus on their role as rural housewife. Towards the later part of the period under review rural girls' attendance patterns declined as they emigrated from a society that offered them little by way of employment or social support.

## **Creeping Like Snail: Canadian Student Resistance to Teacher Colleges, 1950--1970**

The post-war period has been seen in many historical accounts as the glory years of student protest and empowerment at the post-secondary level. The educational reforms gained at major institutions such as the Sorbonne, Hornsey and Kent State, served as inspiration for demonstrations at many campuses in the West. As the historian Mark Boren (2001) remarked: "the university was the perfect site for protests... idealism and freedom of expression were - at least theoretically - on equal footing with political realism" (p. 176). This movement was to include Canada, where the media paid great attention to dramatic events emerging from events at McGill, Concordia and Simon Fraser Universities (see Milligan, 2014; Lexier, 2007; Pitsula, 2008). But, how closely did this large-scale student resistance affect teacher education programs across Canada?

Teacher Education programs have been frequently blamed for turning out radical elements in society harkening back to this rebellious root (see Reynolds, 2012). To unpack this contemporary assumption, this study examines the extent to which teacher candidates studying at teacher colleges in Ontario and Saskatchewan (1950 - 1970) were treated as adult learners, and how (or if) they protested their treatment. Rather than unearthing nascent activists, the results of this study indicate that teacher candidates were, in fact, very conservative in their beliefs and actions. Activism of any sort seems to have been an exception on these campuses at this time rather than the rule. This study will explore the reasons behind this conservatism as compared to other institutions during this era.

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**Cliff Hodges, Gabrielle**, Independent researcher, retired University of Cambridge  
**FRIDAY 11.00-12.30**

### **The Co-Founding of a Nineteenth Century Village Reading Room within the Life Course of Sedley Taylor (1834-1920)**

Sedley Taylor (1834-1920), a Cambridge academic, co-founded (along with the local landowner, William Henry Hall) a reading room in a small village in south-east Cambridgeshire in 1885. The reading room is dedicated to the memory of his mother, Jane Margaret Taylor. This paper discusses some of the personal and professional interconnections which may have led him to do that. Why he actually chose to do so has not yet become evident, but 'people often do things for complicated combinations of reasons' (Gaddis, 2002, p. 57). A quest to understand what this particular 'complicated combination of reasons' might have been has meant learning more, not only about the socioeconomics of nineteenth century village reading rooms (King, 2009), but also about the diversity of educational provision and work within different sectors of society at that time, as well as about some of Taylor's particular relationships with family and friends. Source material includes data such as: fragments from Taylor's published writing e.g. on profit-sharing (Taylor, 1882); some of his own private letters to his mother; snippets of newspaper articles; and information provided by census returns. From a limited palette, a shadowy portrait begins to emerge (not unlike the one Margaret Bernadine Hall painted of him in 1898) but it remains indeterminate.

Gaddis, J. L. (2002). *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

King, C. (2009). The Rise and Decline of Village Reading Rooms. *Rural History*, 20 (2), 163-186.

Taylor, S. (1882). *On Profit-Sharing between Capital and Labour: A Word to Working Men*. Cambridge: W. Metcalfe and Son.

**The Emergence of the International Baccalaureate and the Making of a Global Community: The Case of Copenhagen International School**

The historical research concentrates on the early identity development of one of the first International Baccalaureate (IB) schools from 1962 to 1973. The research draws on cross-analysis of the school preserved records, donated materials, unofficial written histories and oral testimonies from alumni and staff members. The case study research is constructed under the light of the school's national and international context of the late 60s-early 70s, in the context of the Cold War, the worldwide economical and industrial growth with the expansion of international trade, the increase of a worldwide transient population and the early development of the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO). The analyses of evidence from the historical materials shows how the school daily life reflected much broader processes at stake in the national and international arenas and possibly highlighted wider societal transformations.

### **The Seminal Seeds of Adult Education and the Origins of the Mechanics' Institute Movement**

The seminal seeds of adult education can be traced to the sixteenth century when Sir Thomas Gresham made the first attempt to establish a centre of adult education in London by endowing a college in 1581. While Gresham helped to sow the seeds of adult education, according to Nicholas Hans, author of *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*, the pioneer of adult education through public lectures was Dr. John Taeophilus Desaguliers, who was born at La Rochelle in 1683 and was the son of a Huguenot pastor. Desaguliers influenced future educators in their quest to disseminate scientific knowledge among the members of society who had no opportunity to attend formal education. By the end of the eighteenth century a new type of adult education had commenced which included evening classes for mechanics and artisans. These early pioneers of adult education were inspired by the aim of 'diffusion of knowledge' their novel outlook and approach to education helping those of humble origins overcome the obstacles of their birth. The pioneers of adult education also dispelled the myth that schools and learning were for children and demonstrated through their endeavours the ability and willingness of adults to learn. This paper outlines the seminal seeds of adult education in Britain and Ireland and discusses the origins of the Mechanics' Institute movement. Of particular interest is the founding of Clonmel Mechanics' Institute (1842) in County Tipperary, Ireland, who the founding fathers were, their objectives and aspirations. The achievements of the institute (1842 -1.852) and its survival during the Famine period in Ireland will also be discussed.

**Emotional Knowledge, Transgenerational Collectivisation and School Textbooks in early Twentieth Century Panama: The Case of *El Lector Istmeno*"o**

Drawing from Reinhart Kosselleck's writings, this essay will explore the links between education and the association of positive or negative emotions with perceptions of progress, decline, crisis and expectations.' It will explore the way emotional knowledge was transmitted in Panamanian schools to tell students about good values, positive and negative emotions, and "proper" reactions to and manifestations of sentiments. It aspires at understanding to what extent this kind of knowledge was seen as a form of cultural capital needed to materialise Panamanian expectations. By doing this, the paper expects to provide a solid answer to how this served to construction collectives identities based on `transgenerational' empathies and common goals. In order to achieve this, this paper will focus on one kind of mandatory readings in Panamanian schools: *El lector istmeno (The Istmian Reader)*, a school textbook of short readings addressed to students of different levels. The fables, poems, short stories, accessible scientific readings, civic lessons, and brief historical narratives included in the book were loaded with notions of morality that regulated the understanding of proper emotions.

Reinhart Kosselleck. `Chapter 13. "Progress" and "Decline". An Appendix to the History of Two Concepts', in *The Practice of Conceptual History. Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Sandford University Press, 2002)

**A Burning Toy Factory: Practices of Inmates in a Swiss Asylum for Boys (1960–1980)**

Inmates of closed institutions such as asylums, prisons or psychiatric hospitals regularly found ways to disrupt the imposed order. One such institution was the Swiss asylum, Albisbrunn, which was established to devote itself to “difficult boys and male adolescents with developmental problems”. Like many such institutions Albisbrunn had various workshops for its inmates such as a farm, a locksmith as well as a toy factory. The boys, however, used specific practices to break, subvert or sabotage the rules of the institution and one example of this is the attempt to set the toy factory on fire in 1964 when a boy lit a shed on the factory grounds. The asylum had to deal with such acts of resistance, even though it favoured “New Education” concepts. The study uses Albisbrunn and the challenging behaviours of the boys as a point in case to study the function and meaning of such practices for the inmates of a stationary institution by examining pupil dossiers, proceedings of a meeting and annual reports from the 1960s and 1970s. The results are considered within the context of contemporary criticism of the institutional care of children and adolescents surrounded by the “Protests of 1968”.

**`Now ys the tyme to lorne hys occupacion': Lifecycle apprenticeship in Early Modern England**

As an educational practice, apprenticeship in Early Modern England was unique. However, to describe it as purely a mode of learning for adolescents fails to adequately convey the complexities of a system that incorporated surrogate parenting, tuition, professional organisations, civic administration and government intervention. Traditional apprenticeship developed as a system of technical training in English towns around the thirteenth century and continued in the same form for many centuries afterwards. It was an institution that invested in the health, moral well-being and technical education of each apprentice by means of an accountable framework consisting of guild, master and apprentice. The relationship between the apprentice and master was based on the authority of the household. Under the Roman family law of *patria potestas* the father of a household exercised control over all of his children and those brought into his household including apprentices. As part of this relationship, the master was responsible for the transmission of technical skills that would enable the apprentice to become financially independent at the end of their term. Using apprentice indentures from Liverpool and York alongside secular and ecclesiastical records from cities, Chester, and Durham, the aim of this paper is to establish what skills apprentices in early Modern England could expect to learn. Structures that may have prevented the uptake of these skills will also be considered.

### **British Students' Study Abroad: Cultural Diplomacy and the Student Experience in Post-War Britain**

Historians of education have paid increasing attention in recent years to the overseas travel of British academics both within the British Empire and outside it. Yet there has been little research on the movements and migrations of British students who studied overseas. While there has been growing interest in the history of the study abroad movement, particularly in the USA, Britain has figured almost exclusively as the host and receiver of foreign students.

As this talk will suggest, there is strong evidence that Britain was one of the most active countries in sending its students overseas as part of sponsored inter-governmental and university exchange programmes. Recent research into post-war study abroad programmes in France, Germany and the USA has emphasised the strong connections which existed between sponsorship of study abroad programmes and growing state interest in regulating higher education. Most notably this has taken the form of historical analyses of academic and cultural diplomacy in the period of the Cold War.

In this talk, I will highlight some of the key features of the study abroad policy landscape in post-war Britain. In particular, I will draw attention to government support for overseas study as a form of cultural diplomacy. I will focus on the role of the British Council - the body chiefly responsible for implementing the British government's international educational and cultural policy - in supervising the allocation of British students with scholarships to foreign universities. When the work of the British Council has been considered by historians of education, it has been almost exclusively from the perspective of encouraging overseas students to study in the UK. In contrast, I will suggest that it worked deliberately and systematically, with government support, to construct a complex system of international student exchange involving students studying at UK universities. Crucial to the success of this project was the British Council's Universities Advisory Committee which was founded in 1946.

**“An ABC for Baby Patriots”: Did Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Elementary Schools in Birmingham And Worcestershire Encourage The Development Of A Patriotic And Imperial ‘Character’ In Pupils?**

‘Character’ was a prominent concept both in popular psychology and education in mid-to-late Victorian England. An underlying assumption of the period was that character-formation (for better or worse) could be enhanced by habit (Collini (1986). Roberts (2004) suggests that ‘educating for character’ was of great value throughout the education system as a factor in the continuance of British national and imperial success. Whilst there was little direct discussion of the fostering of patriotism specifically in either the Birmingham or the Worcester School Board, there was arguably evidence that this was an unspoken but accepted part of the school mission particularly from the later 1880s. Thompson (2006) stated that the impact of imperialism at home ‘far from being forceful and aggressive, was often subtle and unobtrusive’. This paper will seek, using material from school boards, log-books and autobiographical material to analyse whether, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Birmingham and Worcestershire, the development of a ‘patriotic character’ linked to imperialism was being successfully addressed in state-funded elementary schools.

**The Early Childhood Education in Pre-School in Brazil: The Limits and Challenges of Goal 1 of the National Education Plan**

The paper presents an analysis of goal I of the national Brazilian Education Plan-PNE (2014 to 2024), that is, until 2016, to universalize early childhood education in pre-school for children from 4 (four) to 5 (five) years of age. Throughout the text was made a documentary research, using the quantitative method and bibliographic survey. Important to note that, after the adoption of the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988 (CF) the municipalities have competence for the early childhood education (day care and preschool). In this sense, ensure places for all children from 4 to 5 years is an instigation to the municipalities still in the year 2019, given that the municipalities would have the period up to 2016 to meet in full the target 1 of the PNE. In this environment of contingency, financial resources for education, as is the deficit of 4 children and 5 years out of school? The perceptions are worrying insofar as only 5 years of validity of the National Education Plan and the goal has not been met, is in arrears.

**Fitzgerald, Tanya**, La Trobe University, Australia  
**Harford, Judith**, University College Dublin

**FRIDAY 11.00-12.30**

**Reading the lives of academic women: Virginia Cocheron Gildersleeve (1877-1965) and Mary Hayden (1862-1942)**

Early advocates for the expansion of women's higher education imagined a future that was deeply embedded in their aspirations for social, economic and political equality. At the vanguard of campaigns for wider access to higher education were women professors, they themselves outsiders within an academic hierarchy marked by male privilege. These women were well-qualified, well-educated, well-connected, and they forged new professional identities for themselves and established new academic networks that were deeply marked by their own personal ties, social practices and traditions. We present the career biographies of Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve (1877–1965) and Mary Hayden (1862-1942) to offer a vivid insight into the challenges women professors encountered and their roles as educators and activists working for change. We tease out the complexities of these women's lives and probe ways in which these women forged new professional and personal connections and alliances that proved highly productive and satisfying. Our critical analysis of Virginia and Mary's lives offers new insights into complex interaction between gender, professional work and women's agency.

### **Working-Class Girlhood and School**

Despite interest in the New Woman and the suffrage campaigns of the late nineteenth century, there is a limited amount of research into the relationship between **working-class girlhood and school**. This omission is curious given that elementary education became compulsory in 1880 in Britain and therefore was an important element of working-class lives. Work that does address this area includes Anna Davin's *Growing Up Poor*, Jane McDermid's *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland*, and Pamela Horn's *The Victorian Town Child*.<sup>1</sup>

This paper will draw on archival sources from a range of institutions for Surrey girls from 1870 to 1914 to attempt to recover the lived experience of schoolgirls from different levels of the working class by considering curriculum, attendance and health. The schools to be considered were in Norwood, Surbiton and Addlestone. Salters' Hill in Norwood was a board school, St Mark's in Surbiton a National school and the Princess Mary Village Homes (PMVH) in Addlestone an industrial school. They therefore provide a range of topographies and approaches to working class education from which to explore the relationship between girlhoods and school. From the logbooks we learn of absenteeism due to 'Maying' at Surbiton and at Norwood, fetching free soup for their families or girls taking care of younger siblings "while mother goes to work, the fathers in these cases being out of employment".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor. Home, School and Street in London 1870 - 1914*. (London: Rivers Dram Press, 1996), Jane McDermid, *The schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900*. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), Pamela Horn. *The Victorian Town Child* (1987) (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999)

<sup>2</sup> *Log Book, Surbiton National School, Girls*. 2<sup>nd</sup>. May 1870. (Document) Kingston heritage Centre KT197/1/2/1. P. 94, Log Book, 1875 - 1901 (Hamilton Road Board School/Salters' Hill Girls') (Document) London Metropolitan Archives LCC/EO/DIV8/SAL/LB/6 pp.99,

### **School Gardening in the Early Twentieth Century**

This presentation will explore the history of school gardening during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, based on my dissertation written for the MA in Landscape and Garden History at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, completed in 2015.

The value of gardening for children and young people had long been recognised by both gardeners and educationists but it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that it was seriously considered as a curriculum subject rather than an after school activity. Following the raising of the school leaving age in 1900 there were concerns about the engagement of older pupils in traditional classroom based activities. Social and economic pressures also contributed to proposals for the development of gardening, as well as other practical subjects, in schools. My presentation will explore the rationale for the development of school gardening and the reasons for its rise and fall during the first half of the twentieth century. The paper will draw on a close study of the large number of school textbooks produced during that period to support the teaching of gardening, as well as school logbooks and school histories. Local newspapers have been an additional resource for a focus on the development of school gardening in the county of Surrey, where the County Superintendent was John Wright, a highly acknowledged expert on gardening, who had been awarded a Victoria Medal of Honour in 1897.

**The Life Course of State Education in England and Wales: The Persistence of Social Class**

The relationship between education and social class in England has been increasingly recognised as important to understanding differential attainment, experience and outcomes. Much research justifiably focuses on how the contemporary education system is mediated by social class identity, both on the macro and micro level. However, it is equally important to marry this contemporary focus with a historical analysis, so to understand the historical and cultural underpinnings of today's education system. In this paper, the historical roots of this relationship will be explored using a range of sources, including legislative documents. This will evidence how, from the beginnings of state education in England, social class was one of the defining descriptors. Through tracing the historical origins of contemporary educational inequalities, this paper argues that a better understanding of the 'problem of class' in English education can be acquired.

**Gonzalez Delgado, Mariano**, Universidad de La Laguna, Canary Island, Spain,  
**FRIDAY 15.15-16.45**

**The *Radio and TV Baccalaureate* and Educational Modernization during the Franco Period: A Curriculum Project Based on UNESCO's Ideas on Adult Education**

Educational transfers has become, in the beginning of the 21st century, an important issue in the field of History of Education (Goodman, McCulloch & Richardson, 2009). This has allowed, on the one hand, the appearance of numerous studies focused on observing the mediation that internationalization has produced in aspects such as educational policy (Ball, 2012), curriculum (Yates, 2016) or teacher training (Egedal & Ydesen, 2015). On the other hand, it has encouraged the creation of new theoretical frameworks to analyse the phenomenon of educational transfer (Sivesind & Wahlstrom, 2016) and study the contribution of International Organizations (Watras, 2010) and Public Diplomacy (Akerlund 2014) in this process of pedagogical importation and modernization.

This paper aims to analyse the influence of UNESCO as an agent of Public Diplomacy in modernizing the curriculum policy in the Spain of late Francoism. The significance of UNESCO in Spain at this time has been, to a certain extent, treated weakly within History of Education. There is some research in this regard (Terrin, Comelles & Perdiguero-Gil, 2017). This investigation, however, indicates Spain's isolation in the educational field due to the dictatorship. It introduces a new historiographical approach, demonstrating the influence exerted by UNESCO. Since the early 50s it functioned as a stakeholder of curriculum change in Spain. Public Diplomacy allowed the introduction of current educational debates during those years. Consequently Spain was a country like other countries in southern Europe during this period. To demonstrate this perspective, we studied the beginning and development of the Baccalaureate by Radio and TV as a curricular project during the Dictatorship, demonstrating how, since 1960, Spain has created educational radio stations with a double objective. On the one hand, this program tried to eradicate adult illiteracy. On the other, the Baccalaureate for Radio and TV originated as a policy of equal opportunities to increase the years of schooling of the population and thereby achieve better Human Capital for the country's development. This indicates the importance of the Cold War and Modernization Theory context in the development of curriculum policy during the Franco regime.

**Writing a Life in Art: Educational Transitions in the Career of Rosa Branson (b.1933)**

This paper discusses writing 'a life in art' by focussing on three transitions in the life of artist Rosa Branson (b.1933): transitions in the 1930s and 1940s to school and to and from art college into work as an independent artist during the 1950s. The paper frames these transitions methodologically through two assemblages - art-life and art-politics - through which thread aspects like the body, affect, materiality and place. The paper also explores the artistic metaphor of layered painting drawn from Renaissance art through which ongoing work on Rosa's biography is being structured. It also highlights the range of textual and visual sources on which the biography draws. As the daughter of activist Communist Party (CP) members, Clive and Noreen Branson, art-life and art-politics form a tangled meshwork in Rosa's educational story, from her time boarding at Dora Russell's School aged two and a half, and later at Beltane School, a progressive co-educational school that fostered the arts. War and its consequences thread through both assemblages. While Clive Branson survived the Spanish Civil War as a member of the British Battalion of the International Brigade, Rosa's artistic endeavours from childhood onwards have been driven by his death in Burma in 1943. Moving in 1949 to the Camberwell School of Art from Beltane, where she had been taught art by the conscientious objector, social commentator and artist Arthur Wragg, Rosa entered the Slade School of Art in 1953, to be told that women can't paint. To educate herself as a painter she spent six years copying works in the National Gallery, with the support of German emigre Helmut Ruhemann (1891-1973), a key figure in the field of painting conservation, Art-life and art-politics also thread through Rosa's early life as an artist, who exhibited in London and the provinces, including with the Pictures for Schools initiative, begun in 1947 and organised by the Society for Education in Art, for whom Herbert Read would act as president and whose chair from 1943 was Nan Youngman - a member of the CP Hogarth artists' group and like Clive Branson and Arthur Wragge also a member of the Artists International Association.

**Education for Parenthood and the Rational Representation of Eugenic Feminism in Early Twentieth Century Britain**

This paper deconstructs the idea of 'rational reproduction' many eugenicists promoted in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain through examining key components of a particular form of 'education for parenthood'. It explores this motif through the writings of one of the eugenics movement's most outspoken, controversial and tireless advocates, the gynaecologist and populariser Dr Caleb W. Saleeby. It follows his celebration of 'race-motherhood' and builds on work that explores how the idea of rational reproduction, embodied in conceptions of education for parenthood, empowered many women, both feminists and non-feminists, to ally themselves with the cause of eugenics as the bearers and educators of biologized moral citizens of the future. These ideas sought to prepare individuals, particularly girls, for an acutely race conscious form of parenting which encouraged them to play a more active role in self-regulating future reproductive behaviour. But the domain of education also presents an opportunity to examine some of the uncertainties raised by the simultaneous involvement of educated professional women in the eugenics movement and their casting as moral and physiological guardians of the British race. Could women active and prominent in public life act as both educators, particularly in the form of schoolteachers, and mothers or were the two roles incompatible as some eugenicists, like Francis Galton, warned?

### **"Ab/normal" Child Development in the Context of Science and Education Around 1900**

Using Switzerland as an example, the paper explores notions of children's intellectual "ab/normality" conceptualized in the context of science and education around 1900 and the concomitant notions of child development. In the course of the 19<sup>e</sup> century, different scientific disciplines became interested in children, childhood, and child development (see, e.g., Tunnel 2008; Shuttlesworth 2010). Not least due to Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, development became a "magic word" (Weil3 2013, p. 363). Whereas child development was often associated with human perfectibility-which, for instance, becomes evident in the context of progressive education-, there was also a growing interest in intellectually "abnormal" children and their specific (educational) needs. The growing interest in intellectually "abnormal" children overlapped the emergence of modern mass schooling in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Westberg et al. 2019). Champions of educational measures for "abnormal" children argued that compulsory schooling applied not only for the sane and healthy, but for *all* children who were deemed educable. While intellectually "normal" children were taught in elementary school, children whose intellectual abilities differed from those of their "normal" peers [should be](#) taught in special classes or institutions. This institutional differentiation raised the question of how to distinguish between intellectually "normal" and "abnormal" children.

The proposed paper focuses on allocation of children to special classes in Switzerland around 1900. After enrolment in elementary school, children had to complete a one-year-long trial during which they were observed, and assessed. At the end of this trial it was decided whether a child's intellectual ability was "normal" or not and whether the child remained in elementary school or transferred to a special class. Even though intellectual disability was a medical diagnosis, it was mainly the teachers' task to identify "abnormal" children (see Hofmann 2019). This consisted of observing the pupils in everyday school life and assessing the children's intellectual abilities and their behaviour.

### **The Girls' Secondary Technical School: Education and the Life Course**

This paper will explore the continued importance of technical education throughout the life course for post-war women. The secondary technical schools that existed in England in the post-war period, particularly for girls, have received very little attention within historiography. This can be attributed in part to the lack of documentary evidence. Gary McCulloch notes that 'surprisingly few records of the work of the secondary technical schools at a local level have survived' mostly due to school closures *or* amalgamations, and educational reorganisation.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently little *is* known about the impact technical schooling had on the lives of working-class women in the post-war period. Studies of post-war secondary school education for girls and its impact on their life course remains underdeveloped; Stephanie Spencer has explored the effects of education in the 1950s however this research focuses more on the middle-class girl and the impact of their grammar school education.' Using oral histories alongside archival evidence this paper will discuss the ways in which technical education provided girls with transferable skills, which they applied to both paid and unpaid work. Additionally, technical education, with its wide ranging curriculum, gave many girls a passion for learning, which shaped their engagement with education throughout the life course. This paper thus argues that technical education is best understood through a life cycle approach, as women applied their learning in various contexts throughout their adulthood and encouraged them to view themselves as life-long learners, beyond their school years. Examining the life course is thus essential in understanding the significance of technical education for girls in post-war England.

**`Dry-Eyed and Resigned': Educational Disruption, `Turbulence', and the Life Courses of British Military Children, 1965-1990**

*'Army schoolchildren: as much as home on a Hong Kong ferry as on a London bus. Today it could a drive across the desert, but assembly is always at nine, whether it be Aden or Malta.... These are the children of servicemen. For them, school is everywhere.'*

So opened the 1965 Ministry of Defence film for teachers joining military schools with the British Families Education Service (later Service Children's Education Authority). The film explored how service children could move as often as every eighteen months and at the heart of such material was an unspoken, yet fundamental question: were military children better or worse off for all this educational disruption? Did they learn about more about the 'world and its peoples' and become more self-confident with every new move, even if they 'learnt about Romans a bit more often' as they switched around different curricula? Or did their educational abilities and personal relationships suffer, as they trooped 'dry-eyed and resigned' onto 'their' next posting? Was boarding school the best option for military children or was family unity the most important factor in childhood development? This paper does not necessarily seek to answer these questions, but to understand *why* they were asked and their place within the histories of education, childhood and mobility. Elizabeth Buettner argued that military children have long been caught up in a state of 'permanent impermanence - repeated comings and goings,' but in this paper, I argue that this movement acquires a new vocabulary and new set of concerns in the post-war world, as the meanings of family and education changed. Using archival material from the Institute of Education but also extensive 'life-history' interviews with former military children, parents and teachers who lived and worked in British bases in Germany, the paper will investigate how the educational disruption of military children was understood in the second half of the twentieth century. It explores the emergence and popularity of the term 'turbulence' from the 1970s onwards and how parents, educational professionals and researchers felt about this well-used word. Finally, it uses oral history interviews to reflect on how 'turbulence' itself became part of the life stories of many former service children.

### **To Whom Does It Belong? Questioning Adolescent Voice and Identity in the History of Education**

History of education in its most traditional form concerns itself with the child and the adolescent, but only recently have methodologies and primary sources enough been revealed for the historian to properly engage with those voices and identities. The adolescent themselves is a fairly recent invention, having been properly 'discovered' only in the early 1900s, and the establishment of a distinct teenaged identity has been in constant flux ever since. Recently, the fields of history of education, youth studies, and sociology have begun to place more emphasis on what constitutes adolescence, from a social- and/or identity- based view rather than a biological one- a movement towards what Lesko terms a 'denaturalised' adolescence.' Problems in establishing a fixed definition of adolescence and adolescent identity tend to revolve around its social and biological liminality, its intrinsic in-betweenness; but this liminality extends to encompass teenage histories as well. Research has shown that human group identity is contingent upon the possession of continuous histories and heritages, with discontinuous histories threaten social identity.<sup>2</sup> With the concept of adolescence undergoing unprecedented strain and growth, obtaining and solidifying canonical continuity is a vital step for both youth history and youth futures.

In this paper I attempt to frame this trend within the discipline of the history of education. The field has recently seen a boom in diversifying sources and methodologies in order to create spaces for the voices and narratives of children and teenagers. Here I ask if in researching the education of the teenager of the past, are we taking into account the teenager of the present? To whom does the 'limin<sup>9</sup> voice of the historical adolescent belong? And further, in assessing these past voices, we must question ourselves as to what relevance these voices have to youth today.

Drawing on trends within the history of education as well as youth and YA studies and Identity studies, I examine the ways in which educational institutions, systems and histories, have limited the formation of a solid and continuous adolescent identity-but also how they might provide the groundwork in its future creation.

### **The Adult Student as Citizen**

The Workers' Educational Association (WEA) organised and disseminated impartial, non-sectarian and unbiased adult education in the liberal arts and humanities. Despite their commitment to apolitical education the WEA nonetheless made a strong connection between education and democracy. This is most clearly evident in *The Adult Student as Citizen. A Record of Service by WEA Students Past and Present* (1938), a pamphlet published by the WEA that lists 2,174 former and current WEA students involved in public service.

RH Tawney in the preface of *The Adult Student as Citizen* stated that: The WEA] looks on education not only as a means of developing individual character and capacity, but as an equipment for the exercise of social rights and responsibilities.' *The Adult Student as Citizen* was the WEA's proof - or at least propaganda that they were indeed achieving their vision of a fairer, more politically active, and socially responsible civil society through their form of education.

To what extent did the WEA achieve its wider social aims through students who became public servants? This paper investigates the connection between education, democracy and public service by analysing twenty six biographies of labour movement councillors in York, Sheffield and Leeds all of who are named in *The Adult Student as Citizen*. It aims to expand the historiography of adult education by taking a biographical approach to the presence of education, specifically adult education, in life stories.

### **A Critique of Yan Fu's Contributions on Chinese-British Academic Interactions, 1854-1921**

This research is mainly to discuss how Yan Fu (1854-1921) promoted academic interactions between China and the UK since the latter half of the nineteenth century, with special reference to assisting China's government to set overseas-study scholarships and selecting Chinese students to study abroad. This is also one topic of my PhD thesis in 2014 of UCL IOE, transnational knowledge transfer and contextualization, supervised by Professor Gary McCulloch.

In the past, historians and social scientists had their interests on how Yan, as a great scholar and translator, dedicated himself to disseminating modern Western philosophies into China, including translating Bagehot Walter's *Physics and politics*, John Stuart Mill's *System of logic* and *On liberty*, Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and ethics*, Adam Smith's *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, Herbert Spencer's *Study of sociology*, and Edward Jenks' *A short history of politics*, from the UK. Moreover, the influences of these translated Western classics in China at that time are also often attracted and analyzed by researchers.

However, the influence of Yan's study in the Royal Naval College of Greenwich, England on his academic career, as well as Yan's promotions of China's official overseas-study scholarships, is always neglected. Based on these reasons mentioned above, this research will distinguish previous studies on Yates translation works and re-examine Yan's youth life in England and practical contributions from another dimension.

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**Makar, Farida** University of Oxford      **SATURDAY 16.15-17.45**

**Progressive Education, Modern Schools and Egyptian Society 1900-1952**

My PhD project explores manifestations of progressive pre-university education in Egypt between 1900 and 1952. It occupies a hybrid position between intellectual and social history as it locates the ideational and practical contributions of progressive thinkers and actors most notably teachers, artists, and political activists. The project re-examines the historiography on education in the Middle East by proposing to look at education as a set of ideas and practices that can be advanced by multiple actors - rather than merely a byproduct of nation building, as most of the literature seems to suggest. It identifies transnational connections to similar developments in other parts of the world most notably India, Japan, Turkey and Mexico in the early 20th century. The research is guided by two main and interrelated questions: First, why and in what ways did Egyptians develop progressive practices in education in the early 20th century? Second, how do these practices relate to questions of modern subjectivity and transnationality?

The presentation will more specifically introduce a number of primary materials that shed light on progressive practices in Egyptian education at the time including teacher training manuals and pedagogical journals. It will show the ways in which Egyptian teachers were engaged in a global conversation around progressivism drawing on their own personal pedagogical experiences and their heritage.

### **The Band of Hope - Educating Through the Life Course**

This paper examines how education lay at the heart of the Band of Hope movement, the children's temperance organisation which numbered over three million members at the turn of the 20th century. Today, with our focus on sensible drinking, it is difficult to conceive the fervour with which total abstainers felt a responsibility to convert their fellow citizens, often through education. Nowhere was this more evident than in the work of the Band of Hope (founded in 1847) where millions of children and young people were taught 'temperance truths' at least once a week, through the means of songs, visual displays, interactive performances, activities, talks, magic lantern shows, and scientific experiments. Many of them also received magazines monthly, containing similar instructive and entertaining material, all devoted to the dangers of alcohol. Abstruse economic and medical knowledge was part of their learning, as well as legal, social, and of course moral aspects of the drink question.'

But, even more interestingly, the organisation was also responsible for educating millions of adults, the volunteer workers known as 'conductors' who planned and delivered these sessions. Few of these men and women were trained teachers, and often had minimal formal education themselves. This paper will trace how the organisation developed training and support for them by means of formal and informal strategies. Many conductors had themselves come through the Band of Hope, and some of the children's material was directed to such progression. But specific teaching advice, including illustrated lesson plans, were circulated via dedicated support magazines such as the Band of Hope Chronicle (1878-1980s) and directly from the parent organisation itself. Evening or weekend training sessions were also arranged for specific areas, such as 'Scientific Temperance Teaching,' to fit around the conductors' paid employment. The whole organisation was animated by a culture of self-education for a specific, missionary, purpose, acting as a fascinating parallel to the state schooling system.

### **'The University of the People': Sunday Schools and Education in Twentieth Century Britain**

During the early twentieth century Sunday schools played an important role in the learning experiences of children, adolescents, and adults. For instance, in 1923 David Lloyd George wrote an article, in which he argued that 'the University of the People is the Sunday school'. Before the passing of the Education Act in 1870, Sunday schools were one of the few places where children could learn to read and write. Workers felt that by teaching children to read they could access and engage with God's word. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries more education acts were passed, and literacy rates increased. Sunday school workers therefore believed that their sole focus was now the religious education of their scholars. As well as a religious education, Sunday schools provided opportunities for self-improvement by offering a wide range of life-long learning opportunities through their various activities and groups. However, despite the importance of the schools their history and experiences have been under researched by historians of childhood. This paper intends to consider the significant role Sunday schools played in the educational life of Britain during the twentieth century. It will examine how Sunday schools encouraged life-long learning amongst both its members and teachers. This will involve a consideration of what was taught during sessions but also the weekday learning opportunities that the schools provided. The paper will also explore how teachers were trained and encouraged to study further to improve their work. The paper will also assess the impact of the various education acts throughout the twentieth century upon the schools and whether these acts contributed to their decline. It will conclude that a more detailed examination of this institution would provide new insights into the educational history of Britain during the twentieth century.

Cadbury Research Library, National Christian Education Council, Part I, D75 -- The Sunday School Chronicle 1923, 'The Sunday School: The People's University', 10 May 1923, p. 286.

**Imagined Life Courses Of State-Assisted Grammar School Pupils: A Case Study of Four Girls' and Four Boys' Schools, 1890s To 1950**

This paper investigates how local politicians and dignitaries, head teachers and the pupils themselves imagined the life courses of pupils in eight state-assisted grammar schools from the secondary stage onwards. The educational historian Brian Simon argued that national politicians and administrators organized secondary education to 'maintain the social hierarchy', and that state grammar schools 'were meant to provide clerical workers' and workers for 'other lesser professions'. In a 1929 speech at a state grammar school opening, the President of the Board of Education imagined a future for the boys as leaders in offices, industry and commerce but not in government or the professions. However, Robert Morant, the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education responsible for overseeing the introduction of the new state grammar schools from 1902, imagined the secondary stage of pupil's education taking place in schools 'bringing some reflection of the qualities of Winchester' (his own school) to a social class of children below that which could attend public schools. The nineteenth century pioneers of girls' education, such as Miss Buss, had modelled the curriculum of the new high schools on the liberal curriculum of the boys' public schools. However, feminist historians have very largely focused on the differences in the educational experience of girls and boys at the secondary and higher education stages and on the different patterns of employment. Accounts of grammar school openings in local newspapers will be used to access local politicians' ideas on the pupils' life courses. School magazines will be used for the views of the head teachers and pupils.

### **The Pupil-Teacher System in the Australian Colonies**

As R.W. Rich explains: 'The most significant element in the victory of the "simultaneous" over the "monitorial" method was the realization that the culture and skill of the teacher were of supreme importance'. He continues: 'Gradually it came to be understood that true education can arise only from the interaction between immature and mature minds and that the monitor might be an instructor, but never an educator'. Notwithstanding the overwhelming strength and logic of these views, a modified form of the monitorial system continued in England, with juveniles performing classroom teaching tasks and receiving the title: 'pupil-teacher'. Promoters of education brought many English understandings with them to Australia. Following the arrival of the British in 1788, monitorial schools were established. Then, accompanying the spread of simultaneous teaching, administrators, mostly products of the English schooling system and society, sought to perpetuate familiar practices. The pupil-teacher system was introduced into the colonies, with only slight variations from Britain's system. Utilising Phillips's theories on transnational borrowing, this paper examines the pupil-teacher system in Britain and its adoption in the Australian colonies.

***Study Abroad and Its Impact on the Life Course of a Japanese Woman Educator in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Sumi Oe and Her Study Abroad in England***

Sumi Oe (nee Miyakawa, 1875-1948) is a well-known Japanese female educator who had contributed to the development of Japanese female education in the first half of the 20th century. She attended Battersea Polytechnic, London to study domestic science as one of the government-funded students (1902-05) and extended her stay by private means to study public health at Bedford College, London (1905-06). After her return to Japan, she was appointed the Professor of Domestic Science at the government-funded Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School. In 1925 Sumi resigned her post and established her own school, Tokyo Kasei Gakuin ('the School of Domestic Economy, Tokyo').

Sumi's contribution to the development Japanese female education is well-known through her writings, biographies and school history books. While Sumi is often seen as a conservative figure when compared to contemporary female educators, some also see her to have pursued 'liberal education' through domestic science teaching. However, not many have focused on the reality of her study abroad experience and its impact on her life course.

This presentation aims to take a biographical case study approach to see the impact of study abroad on the life course of a Japanese woman educator in the early 20th century. Firstly, Sumi's study abroad experience will be examined. Then, Sumi's reflection on her experience in her writings will be analysed with special focus on the concept of 'cultural transfer'.

### **Teaching Physics in France during the Second Half of the 18th Century**

Nowadays, teaching Physics to teenagers relies on experiments, observations and interpretation of phenomena in order to deduce rules. Some topics such as Optics, Electricity or Mechanics for example, naturally belong to the field of Physics while others, such as Geometry and Algebra, because of their abstraction, rather belong to the field of Mathematics. This distinction between Physics and Mathematics was not the case in the past. History of education shows that the perimeter of these subjects was not clearly defined before the French Revolution (1789) and even before the First Empire (1804): a same topic could belong either to a lesson of Mathematics or to a lesson of Physics. In this paper, we address the diverse manners of teaching several topics among which Optics, Mechanics, Hydrodynamics, Electricity...to adolescents, in some French institutions during the second half of the 18th century.

We consider three institutions: the “Écoles centrales” (25th February 1795) aim to transmit a scientific basic knowledge to those adolescents intended to craft industry; famous “École polytechnique” (26th November 1794) of which the schedule over two years (three at the beginning) was mostly defined by Monge, welcomes young men from any social class and any region, after a competitive exam. It aims to teach Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry before they join what is called “École d’application” which would consider specialised topics depending on its purpose (mining, bridges and roads, Navy, Army etc.); the “École normale de l’an III” (30th October 1794) proposes a four months course in Science and Literature, the goal of which is to give young adults necessary background in order to become teachers themselves. We propose to examine the political and economic situation of the country, analyse the purpose of each of those three institutions together with the personality, conceptions and preoccupations of the teachers, in order to figure out the reasons why there are such diverse manners in teaching Physics. We conclude by giving some hints on the modifications we have identified, which occur thereafter, during the period extending from the first Empire to the second Empire (1804- 1870). This research is based on the Archives, property of the “École polytechnique” Library in France, which confers its originality, digitalized historical writings together with essays which are written in French

Newman, Michael, New Ideals in Education

SUNDAY 9.00-10.30

**Supporting A Culture Of Children's Rights Through Framing Active Citizenship Training, Of Primary And Secondary School Children And Teachers, With The History Of 'Liberating The Child In The School', As Developed By The Community Of 'New Ideals In Education'.**

With the example of rights campaigns against slavery, for women's rights, for the rights of the poor, the working class, for the rights of dissenters, for the rights of human beings, all of which learnt from the histories of the others, and embedded their struggles within their own histories and heroes, how does the culture of children's rights fare? I use historical research with children to allow them to compare their present issues of rights with the communities that have struggled to implement them. To see how this history can inspire new struggles, comparing case studies, celebrating heroes and communities, to develop continuity with the past and the locality, that empowers children, and their teachers, and helps them to explore their identities as children, as school children. "It is the youth which is not afraid, which is sensible of its inalienable spiritual right to liberty, and which walks with dignity of comradeship in our midst and will meet and mingle with us on no other terms." Josephine Ransom, 'Schools of Tomorrow in England', 1919. Local, national and international history into the community of teachers, suffragettes, Drs, school inspectors, business people, artists, politicians inspired by Dr Maria Montessori, Harriet Finlay Johnson and Lillian de Lisa, calling themselves 'New ideals in Education' and founding all their conferences and publications on 'liberating the child', their values statement created by the first Director of the Institute of Education, Sir Percy Nunn. "In the first place, this amazing Conference - at which we have seen sitting side by side Government Officials, advanced Montessorians, antediluvian Teachers like myself, University Professors, Soldiers in khaki, Musicians, Artists, Headmasters of Public Schools, the superintendent of the Little Commonwealth, Primary School teachers, and the American Ambassador himself-stands, first and foremost, for Freedom, - I do not like "emancipation", for the word suggests slavery, and the use of it probably promotes it. We have all agreed that the child is to be free: yes, but the teacher must be free as well as the child..." Lionel Helbert, Head Master of West Downs, Winchester (New ideals in Education 1916)

**Ni Cheallaigh, Dr Laoise, Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick**

**SATURDAY 9.00-10.30**

**`A Bad Education': The Impact of an Inappropriate Education in Colonial and Postcolonial States**

The positive impact of a `good' or appropriate education has long since been established. Likewise, the potentially detrimental impact of a `poor' or insufficient education is well documented and evidenced in society. This paper seeks to begin to address the impact of a `bad' or inappropriate education on the child in the school system and the wider and lasting impact of such an education on the colonial society in which it is delivered. This paper will compare the impact of such an education on children under different colonial systems, and its effect on those children into adulthood, therefore addressing the wider and lasting societal impact of an inappropriate education. This societal impact over generations leaves an indelible mark on the psyche of the colonised nation which remains long after political decolonisation may have been achieved. Throughout this paper, comparisons will be drawn primarily from cases in Ireland, in Kenya and in Tunisia.

Postcolonial critics do not always agree with the inclusion of Ireland in the postcolonial debate. An argument to exclude Ireland from the discourse could be made on the basis of the extraordinary political situation in Ireland resulting from The Act of Union (1800). However, such an argument could only be made based on a narrow political view of that situation. The cultural impact of colonialism on Gaelic society and on the Irish-speaking population was and is undeniable and catastrophic. This paper seeks to address the impact of an inappropriate education during the colonial era on those sections of Irish society in the postcolonial era.

### **Who Owns Our Past? (Re)Claiming an Institutional History through Public Engagement: Vaughan College 1862-2019**

The 1919 Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Report considered that the Vaughan Working Men's College was a 'remarkable' survivor. Where once there had been many such colleges, only two 'retained their original name and purpose', which included the education of women from 1880-81.<sup>1</sup> A hundred years later, this survival is all the more remarkable, given the closure of the College and the scheduled end of teaching in its successor, the University's Vaughan Centre for Lifelong Learning, in 2021. Yet it is no fossilized establishment. The College was re-founded as a co-operative in 2017, and now marks a point of continuity from the past towards a healthy future.

The 'Vaughan Tradition' in Leicester was one which valued, and values access to adult education for anyone who wished to participate. This tradition represents an important piece of living heritage. This paper is based on a public history project on the Vaughan Tradition, centred on developing new archives and encouraging engagement with existing ones. Oral histories, one part of the project, look at biographical approaches to understanding this heritage. The project's title, a 'tradition and atmosphere of its own', is taken from the 1919 Report's description of the non-residential Working Men's Colleges including Vaughan.<sup>2</sup> After world war II, Vaughan College became part of what became the University of Leicester, yet it maintained a distinct identity.

This paper uses this example to answer some much bigger, more general questions. If this intangible heritage is valuable and usable, but outlives the institutional formations which created and held it, to whom does this heritage belong? what useful purposes might it serve? How might it provide support adult education in the future, in the context of reconstruction in an age of neoliberalism and precarity? What does the longevity of such a tradition tell us about higher education for teachers and students given the collapse of so much lifelong learning institutions in recent decades?

**Education, Young Citizens and Portrayals of Nature in Norwegian Educational Media, 1889-1939.**

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was an age of transition and transformation in Norway. Industrialization, mass emigration, electoral expansion and independence from the union with Sweden in 1905 challenged traditional values and the established social order. In 1889, school reform introduced compulsory education for all Norwegian children from ages seven to fourteen. As the entire population now was to be educated on the same platform, debates about the methods and purposes of schooling took on new forms, and focused in particular on how education could nurture appropriate identities, characteristics and attitudes in young future citizens.

The role of education in delivering officially sanctioned knowledge and culture to large segments of children has been the starting point for substantial research into the ideological content of education in Norway. Mostly, these studies have focused on the patriotic uses of history in constructing a shared heroic national past. Outside of Norway, however, historians of national identity and patriotism have in recent years increasingly turned their attention to the role of nature and the patriotic force of valued landscapes. This paper draws on such developments, and explores the position of nature, landscapes and the rural countryside in understandings of Norwegian citizenship and national identities in a selection of popular school textbooks produced between 1889 and 1939. The paper traces how such ideas were presented to children through their education, with symbolic uses of nature, and stories connecting the rural countryside to behaviours and roles in society. In this, the paper outlines what was seen as essential values to impart to children between seven and fourteen, and discusses how these representations fit in with wider cultural debates about children, nature and the rural, and the national character.

**'You Don't Want To Be a Gaelic Dafty in This Town': Memories of First-Language Speakers of Irish on Their Schooling in Irish Speaking Districts, 1922-1965**

There was a time when Irish was the language most commonly used throughout all of Ireland. That, however, was over 1,200 years ago. By 1841, only about half of the population of the country was Irish speaking and by 1891, the number of native speakers of the language had declined to just over 700,000, while the concentration of these in Irish-speaking communities was probably below 500,000. Within another decade, those areas in which native speakers of Irish were still located contracted to such an extent that they became clearly identifiable from the majority English-speaking parts of Ireland. Now also, language activists constructed them as being a collective, with the title of An Ghaeltacht, or 'the Gaeltacht'. In 1904, 18 years before national independence, the authorities introduced a bilingual programme of instruction for schools in the Gaeltacht. This represented a radical departure from the policy and practices adopted in relation to the Irish language during the history of the longue durée not only in relation to minority-tongue schooling in Ireland, but also within the British Empire more broadly. In contrast to the latter situation, no differentiation was made in the early years of independent Ireland between the curriculum and teaching approaches prescribed for schools where students spoke Irish as a first language and for those where students spoke English as a first language. This resulted in those who spoke Irish as their first language being disadvantaged when they had to move to English-speaking districts in Ireland or overseas to work. The nature and extent of this disadvantage is greatly under-researched and greatly in need of investigation, including through oral history projects. This paper indicates some directions of where research along these lines might lead by drawing upon autobiographical works in which memories of growing up in the Gaeltacht, including in relation to one's schooling there, and primarily for the period from national independence to the mid-1960s, are related.

**`[A]mongst The Children Of The Same Alma Mater': Gender, Regulation, And The University Student As Child In England And Wales, 1870-1914**

The landscape of higher education in England and Wales was transformed during the second half of the nineteenth century, as reforms at Oxford and Cambridge were paralleled by the establishment of the first wave of civic universities and the admission of women students. These upheavals challenged the long-dominant model of the traditional residential university, in which colleges acted in loco parentis, or in the place of the parent, for the male undergraduate charges in their care. This legal responsibility underpinned the regulatory and disciplinary structure of the two ancient universities, in which the college assumed the role of moral and physical guardian. In this paper, I will argue that this parent child dynamic was challenged in the latter part of the century by alternative models of higher education, such as women's colleges and the non-residential, co-educational civic universities. Understandings of collegiate life as a necessary stage in the formation of elite male masculinity, during which the undergraduate occupied a developmental phase between boy and man, were questioned by the emergence of both women and lower-class males as a new category of student. The concept of university student as child remained central to the disciplinary practices of both new and old institutions, but was distorted and transformed to adapt to the changing class and gender composition of higher education.

**The Moral and Economic Thought behind the 'Flow Survey' Of 21-Year-Olds by the Robbins Committee**

The results of the 'flow survey' of 21-year-olds in 1961 by the Report by the Committee on Higher Education (1961-63) described the educational experience of one cohort of children born 1940-41. The survey detailed the vast numbers of promising women and 'lower-class' young people who did not yet have access to higher education opportunities in Britain due to their socio-economic backgrounds. Wielding this evidence, the report dismissed 'elitist' arguments, including W. D. Furneaux's (1961) research, which argued only a 'Chosen Few' might benefit from Higher Education. The results ended most opposition to the idea of an expansive 'pool of ability'. The survey has been heralded as a premier achievement of the welfare state.

This paper will argue liberal economics - not often seen as an ally of welfarism - heavily influenced the form and application of the 'flow survey'. The Robbins Committee preferred 'pool of ability' surveys and calculations over any 'manpower-planning' approaches, due to the latter's perceived inaccuracies. This preference derived from the debates between economic liberals and socialists in the 1930s on the inability of the state to direct resources as effectively as facilitating price-signals and markets. Such an insight contributes to a new understanding of post-war British governmentality.

**Life History as a Tool for the Study of Curriculum Development - A Case Study Of Home Economics in Malta**

Teachers' life experiences provide valuable information on different aspects of school life. They also enable a deeper understanding of the relationship between the teacher and formal education in its various aspects such as the curriculum, pedagogy and relationships with stakeholders such as students, parents and education authorities. They shed light on the individual's perception of the past and the present, and they help the researcher understand the teacher's expectancy of how the future will fold out. According to Goodson (2008, viii), "Life history and historical methods link the personal, the practical and the theoretical in new ways that operate at all three levels". This paper discusses how life history was an essential tool in the study of the evolution of Home Economics as a secondary school subject in Malta over a span of fifty years from 1960 till 2010. It illustrates how a purposive sampling technique was used to collect the life-history narratives in order to select a group of experienced and knowledgeable respondents. The life-history interviews were conducted among a sample of Home Economics teachers with experience in teacher training, teaching and/or administration. The data collected was contextualized through the use of additional sources such as archival documents, historical accounts and realia that provided the wider picture of the development of Home Economics in Malta along the years. The paper shall finally discuss ethical and other issues that had to be faced during the collection of the life histories used in the study, and how valuable data was obtained from the analysis of these life narratives.

### **Contrapuntal Narratives: The Potential of Life Stories and Kairos Moments to Inform Research into the History of Music Education**

This paper reports ongoing historical research initiated following the recent, chance discovery of a 110-year-old instrumental music examination certificate in a Bedford charity shop. The certificate includes not only the details of the examination board, qualification and result but also the handwritten names of the candidate, her teacher and the two examiners. This discovery has led to a painstaking but deeply rewarding process of attempting to come to 'know' each of these individuals by piecing together fragmented accounts of their lives and music-making.

Whilst there exist several general accounts of the remarkable growth of graded music examinations in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, this research takes a different approach. Here, my lens is the 'kairos' moment represented by this single examination, contextualised within life narratives of the four protagonists whose paths intersected at the event. A rich range of primary and secondary archival sources have been triangulated with accounts of social and musical life of the period. The outcomes are 'person level' interpretations of important aspects of music education at a key juncture in English history, including:

- the musical and social functions of graded music examinations;
- the proliferation of certificates, diplomas and rise of 'credentialism' within music education;
- music in the life of rural and urban local communities in the Edwardian era;
- the rise of the private instrumental music teacher in the Edwardian era;
- the status and work of female professional music teachers; and
- the relationship between musical activity and travel, particularly by rail.

The paper will offer an overview of research outcomes so far. It will also discuss the use of narrative as a means of responding to tangible historical artefacts, and of understanding specific events, from music education's past.

**Out of Africa: Oral Histories of Overseas Volunteering In Education, 1950-1980.**

This paper draws on oral histories of women who were 'overseas volunteers' working in education contexts, in the period 1950-1980. Most of the women were graduates who decided -for different reasons - that they wanted to spend some of their professional lives working as either volunteers or missionaries, in African countries. Until the late 1950s, opportunities for women to engage in such work were limited, and most women who went overseas were members of religious orders of Sisters. Within a decade, with the growth of 'lay' volunteer organisations, it became possible for women to go overseas with an agency, to be placed as a volunteer in an education context. It is argued in this paper that the experiences of such women should to be woven into the history of education.

Oral history, recognised as an important tool in understanding the history of the recent past (Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Abrams, 2010; Leavy, 2011), is the approach which we use here in order to write about this kind of education experience. The strengths and weaknesses of the approach are evaluated, and the concept of 'lived experience' is discussed, with reference to theoretical and methodological scholarship, and feminist approaches to oral history (Thompson, 1978; Gluck and Patai, 1991; Perks, 1998).

The paper examines several major themes that have emerged in the research, which included interviewing some forty women educators, over several years. Themes that are discussed in this presentation include: motivation, professional preparation, reception (by the host country), local and transnational networking, risk and reward.

### **The Evening Schools for Young Artisans In The Papal State (1819 -- 1871)**

During the XIXth century, a growing sensitivity towards the social and moral conditions of the people helped to realize initiatives aiming to spread literacy and Christian education among the lower social classes. Evening schools were essential to fill a void, to educate children who could not attend schools during the day because engaged in the work of the fields or as apprentices in craft workshops. The first evening school was opened in Rome in 1819 by Giacomo Casoglio in order to counter the difficult conditions of young craftsmen.

In the following years, other schools were opened with the help of the *Pio Istituto delle Scuole Notturme di Religione*, an association of benefactors. From the 1840s onwards, following the positive Roman example and in the wake of the reformist atmosphere of the first years of the pontificate of Pius IX, similar initiatives spread throughout the State. After the revolutionary period (1848 - 1849), these schools and those institutes, such as the kindergartens, where there were a strong secular presence and a substantial private contribution, were put under control.

Evening schools provided a basic education and had a strong educational purpose: to train children according to Christian values, to make them honest workers and devoted subjects, thus maintaining the social order.

My proposal deals with the characteristics of night schools in a specific area of the Papal State, from the 1840s to 1871, when Rome became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy:

- a strong connection with the economic vocation of the territory;
- the importance of private initiative;
- the specific lessons for social and working inclusion;
- their spread strongly affected by political events.

### **Educating The "Career Girls and Homemakers of Tomorrow": Co-Ed Magazine And American Teenagers**

The first issue of *Co-ed* magazine appeared in the autumn of 1956, coinciding with the start of the American school year. Designed to complement high school classes in home economics, the magazine offered short articles in several sections, including Fashions, Food and Festivity, Face and Figure, and Future. The magazine continued in a similar format into the 1960s, but by the 1970s, it veered more toward a teen entertainment focus until it ceased publication in 1985. The magazine offers a rich source through which to investigate informal education and gender ideology.

The magazine used "The Magazine for Career Girls and Homemakers of Tomorrow" as its tagline. Any given issue offered fashion and dating advice, information about cookery complete with recipes, 'guidance about personal appearance and deportment, and instruction in specific domestic skills. The advertisements complemented the editorial content, offering such products as lingerie, facial creams, food products, clothing, household appliances, and silver.

The magazine also educated its readers about contemporary topics, including the United Nations and space exploration, as well as potential careers, complete with guidance about necessary qualifications. Readers received relationship strategies, both in terms of families and the opposite sex. A particularly intriguing section offered the sometimes contrasting opinions of girls and boys about a contemporary topic.

This paper will explore how *Co-ed* magazine educated teenaged readers about skills for their current experiences and future lives. It will draw on selected issues of the magazine from the long 1950s to consider how the magazine shaped gendered expectations and prepared adolescent readers for the next stage in their lives.

**Old Teachers: An Initial History**

This paper is an introduction to the use of age as a category of analysis as applied to the history of women teachers. In some ways, historians of teachers have been talking about age for a long time without really knowing it. The earliest work in the history of teachers focused on the 19<sup>th</sup> century development of a feminized teaching force with the hiring of young, unmarried women teachers. Much of that earlier scholarship centered on the way in which feminization requirements limited the lives of women teachers and the explicit and implicit exclusion of lesbian, unmarried and otherwise socially non-conforming women (and sometimes men) teachers. Also central to these historical studies was the focus on teacher preparation and early career teachers, and the hiring and training of *young* teachers, with virtually no consideration of teachers' later careers and the aging process. My focus here is on the history of older women teachers who, in some ways, have been excluded from the historical discussions about feminization, training, and preparation of teachers.

In this initial sketch, my area of subject is the English speaking world broadly, and primarily the United States, Britain, and Australia with some slight references to work conducted in Scandinavia.

**Stories and Memories of a Group of People Educated and Living in the Everton District of Liverpool, Attending School in the Area Between 1944 and 1960**

The paper considers the stories and memories of a group of people educated and living in the Everton district of Liverpool, attending school in the area between 1944 and 1960. This was a period of rapid change in education policy when universal secondary education was introduced and a selection process was established which categorised children as academic or not at the age of eleven. While the context in which these voices exist, is informed by historical, political, social and educational sources, the main primary source is oral testimony.

The positioning of the research in a working class neighbourhood, Everton, tests the intentions of the Act through personal narratives, which show the lived experiences of the education policy of the period. Geographically, Everton is positioned in the north of Liverpool and has faced significant economic and social challenges due to the decline of the industrial base. Alongside unemployment, the residents of Everton faced displacement through blitz damage and local housing policy, which had the effect of fracturing old neighbourhoods, loosening family and community connections. The hierarchical nature of British society was mirrored in educational policy and there was little attempt to understand the context in which the impact of school structure, curriculum or culture was understood. The relationship of the participants to the school authorities and teachers reflected the hierarchical positioning of the times.

**"Solchen Ring Oder Cirkel": Adult Education and the Urban Dimension in the Early Reformation**

The role of the Reformation in the diffusion of literacy is well known. Nevertheless, the impact of Reformation on collective life and its aims to educate both literate and illiterate adults, promoting new social interactions, is a field still open to further research. According to Luther, the city was the physical and symbolic place in which reborn humanity could find the keys to salvation. In his *Von der Conciliis and Kirchen* [WA 50], he states that urban institutions (the church, the school, and the town hall) form "a ring or circle" that fulfils a protective role "against the Devil" and generates a dynamic force, enacting a process of continuous improvement of the citizens. Indeed, the ordinary citizen (Burger) was the protagonist of the early Reformation, both the subject - with his rebellion to Catholicism - and the object of a whole social reform based on literacy, religious discipline and community building.

While, on the private side, the cultural heritage of the Brethren of the Common Life nurtured practices of group reading (on which mostly indirect sources are available), on the public side the authorities organized various activities to foster adult education and secure social cohesion. In this paper, we will outline the connection between urban life and adult education in Reformed cities, focusing on community theatre and mainly on the revived German and Swiss tradition of *Fastnachtspiele*, through a variety of printed and visual sources.

**'I Wasn't Educated, I Was Very Lucky': Atypical Childhood Education and Sylvia Townsend Warner's Autobiographical Fiction**

From 1893 to 1914, the British author Sylvia Townsend Warner (1893-1978) received a unique childhood education from her father, the eminent historian George Townsend Warner. Warner was debarred from entering the formal classrooms of Harrow, where her father was a renowned history teacher, and therefore received a conventional upper-middle-class domestic education from her mother and governess. Yet, in addition, she received an atypical education through unofficially sanctioned lessons from her father, and within the confines of his study. These experiences significantly influenced her critiques of traditional education, as fictionalised in a number of her autobiographical short stories, published between 1936 and 1962.

This paper employs an interdisciplinary approach combining historicism, archival, and literary studies and its argument is threefold. Firstly, it will argue that Warner was exposed to her father's progressive pedagogical methods that were not only oppositional to the traditional methods employed within Harrow, but were formative for Warner's later status as a writer who challenged traditional educational institutions, pedagogical methods and corresponding values. Secondly, in exploring Warner's fictionalisation of such educational experiences, it will suggest that her short stories manifest the possibility for transgressing the supposedly immutable boundaries of inherently gendered educational spaces. Finally, it is fundamentally by crossing these boundaries that the stories can be seen to exhibit an aesthetic that is caught between educational traditionalism and progressivism.

Overall, this paper will employ Warner's experiences to reflect on the fictionalisation of atypical education, as well as fiction's intervention on educational debates in the early-to-mid twentieth century. It will therefore correspondingly provide crucial insight into the influences of early childhood education on Warner's life, as well as how we view and understand female writers as social, political, and, crucially, educational critics.

**The Life and Education of Children at the Manchester Certified Industrial Schools, c. 1880-1920**

This paper will demonstrate the factors and potential of the educational support for destitute and neglected children by tracing the experience of the children during and after they entered the Manchester Certified Industrial Schools (MCIS).

Child Poverty is one of the most important, long-lasting international issues today. In nineteenth-century England, besides charities and voluntary associations, the state began to engage in activities for the care and education of vagrant and destitute children. In urban society, including Manchester, these children were one of the most serious problems in the maintenance of public order. The Industrial school Act (1857) set regulations to be obeyed by each industrial school, which were established for 'the care and education of vagrant, destitute and disorderly children'.

The records of the admission registers, discharged registers and punishments, minutes of house committees and annual reports of the MCIS and the minutes of Manchester School Board were kept in Central Library at Manchester. The records of the admission registers of the MCIS tell us the situations and reason why children were sent to the MCIS. From the Discharged Register, we can acquire information on their first job and some records of their lives after school. Using this as a clue, I will trace the life of children using census records and other records.

Among the discharged children, I examined the lives of boys and girls whose mothers were prostitutes to know how an institutional education could influence their lives. In nineteenth-century England, there was an increased interest in the situation of prostitutes. People considered prostitution as a source of social disorder and prostitutes as victims. Such views were also held towards destitute and disorderly children. That is to say, the child whose mother was a prostitute was not a special case but a typical one among the lower working class.

This paper will show that the teachers and officers of MCSI struggled to teach the children how to manage their future life and support children after they were discharged, to help them survive without their parents.

**Sasaki, Keiko**, University of Electro-Communications, Japan

**SUNDAY 11.00-12.30**

**The Formation of Women's Adult Education after the Second World War in Japan: The Activities of the Female Bureaucrats of the Ministry of Labour, Women and Youth Bureau.**

"Although we housewives are working like bees at cooking, washing, cleaning, and childcare every day, we also have a variety of feelings and thoughts about this. Knowing the joy and pleasure of writing them down in brief essays, it seems that frozen snow can be thawed in the spring of our hearts." (Comment of a Chofu City Women's Course student, 1960s)

This presentation explores Japanese history of adult education after the Second World War, following four of its phases and examining the case of Women's Classes held in Chofu City. The 1st phase started in 1945 and lasted until 1952, when the Allied Occupation ended. The democratization of Japan was urgent, and forming a system for women's adult education was indispensable. At this time, there was conflict between two differing viewpoints. One, it was necessary to organize women's groups to learn ways of expressing their own thoughts, solving problems, and to begin using democratic procedures to change feudalism in Japanese families. The other, that adult education targeting only housewives and mothers was discriminatory. The former view was supported by the new Ministry of Labour, Women and Youth Bureau. In the 2nd phase (1950s), female bureaucrats held meetings, lectures, and workshops to bring up female leaders. In addition, the All Japan Women's Assemblies were held in Tokyo. Female leaders, selected from each prefecture, discussed improvement of family life, especially those of the rural farmhouse. In the 3rd phase (1960s and 1970s), women's halls were established by local governments, and mother's classes and women's courses became popular. Japanese women learned eagerly, and those completing courses became leaders of various grassroots movements. In the 1980s, the 4th phase, there was an international trend toward gender equality in society. The female bureaucrats of MOL, Women and Youth Bureau became the leading players of gender equality in Japan. The women's halls gradually changed to city halls. At long last, the open classes for women turned into adult education classes including males in the 1980s.

**`Sensibly Taught, With the Politics Left Out or Watered Down': Political Maturity and School Citizenship Education in England, 1870-1914**

This paper will explore how ideas about political maturity shaped the emergence of school citizenship education in late-nineteenth-century England. The scholarship on civics instruction has gone some way to illuminate the elementary school experience, but in isolation. By comparing citizenship education across elementary schools, endowed girls' secondary schools, and the pupil teacher curriculum, this paper will uncover what political subjects were deemed suitable for which students, and why. These decisions were framed in terms of juvenile political maturity, itself underpinned by assumptions about age, gender, class, and academic attainment. Civics instruction targeted two stages of the life course; it relied on a certain level of political understanding from pupils while they were still at school, but ultimately focused on the future, training young people for when they reached full political maturity.

Drawing mainly from school records and teachers' magazines, the paper will consider three areas of political instruction: history teaching, civics lessons, and general knowledge tests. Variations in citizenship education across different institutions show that political maturity was a contested concept. Concerns about children's political impressionability and natural partisan tendencies sparked disputes about teachers instilling party political views in their pupils. Analysing civics instruction through the lens of political maturity highlights connections with wider trends in the histories of childhood and British politics in the period. It offers an important example of how the emerging field of child study and new ideas about adolescence as a distinct life stage influenced educational practice. It also uncovers parallels between educational and political discourse, with ideas about political education and maturity featuring prominently in debates about further franchise reform.

### **Humanities Activists: How Education Shaped Humanitarian Aid During World War 1.**

Set in the context of international humanitarian engagement, this paper focuses on the agency of British 'humanities activists' during the First World War.

Highlighting the civic engagement of a group of British volunteers active on the Italian Front between 1915 and 1918, it argues that the main expedition leaders involved in the humanitarian operations, including G.M. Trevelyan, were motivated, inspired and galvanised in helping Italians by their education, their (professional) association to the humanities and their appreciation for the Italian, art and history. The push and pull factors which drew 'humanities activists' to volunteer their agency at a transnational level were necessarily influenced by the intellectual background of the agents. The question which will be analysed is how knowledge and commitment to the humanities coloured the choice of these volunteers' geographical destination: Italy, rather than another war front, was linked to the agents' linguistic proficiency, historical understanding of Italy's recent and ancient past as well as cultural and artistic appreciation of the country's heritage, and sympathy for the Italians. The aim was to give physical and spiritual support to the Italian wounded soldiers. In other ways, however, the Italian wounded soldiers who convalesced in the British headquarters benefited from the presence of the volunteering 'Italophiles': the Italian soldiers experienced a culture of volunteering and caring which, in the light of the Edwardian debate on the value of the humanities in society and war, had peculiarly 'British' traits.

**Szetana Kovacs, Adrien**, National University of Maynooth, Ireland

**SATURDAY 14.15-15.45**

**Changing Hungarian Society through Education: Two Educational Experiments Carried Out By University Students in Co. Baranya in the 1930s And 1940s**

The topic of this paper addresses the history of two short life educational experiments planned by professors and delivered by university students of the Hungarian Royal Elizabeth University during the interwar period. The paper is based on archival resources, including a transcript of a radio interview, of the University Archives, Pecs, successor of the Elizabeth University and contemporary newspaper articles. The paper gives broader political and socio-economic background of the programs and their significance. It also introduces the youth hostels, where these students lived during their studies, and the hostels' role in the initiatives within the university. Moreover, the rich archival resources let us to learn about the students' family background as their permanent residency, religion, and their ratio within the inhabitants by faculties. The aim of this paper is to explain in details these experiments, which targeted two different levels of society with significantly diverse intentions. The one-night event series of lectures was presented by university students of different disciplines for the middle- and upper-middle class residents of small towns. However, from four days to two weeks lectures series was conducted by medical students for the population of small villages, mainly on health protection of mothers and children and secondly on general health care and hygiene. Furthermore, the paper through these unique archival resources alongside the contemporary newspaper articles and radio interview give us a glimpse on the achievements and reception of these sessions.

**Tinkler, Penny, Fenton, Laura and Cruz, Resto, University of Manchester**

**SATURDAY 9.00-10.30**

**'The Inner Me Hasn't Been Allowed To Develop': Exploring the Resonance of Post-war Education in Later Life**

Reflecting on her life, 71-year-old Sam concluded sadly that 'the inner me hasn't been allowed to develop' and that she has never felt equal to her husband of fifty years. Her current situation she attributed to her lack of qualifications; this inhibited her pursuit of a career and opportunities to develop confidence, and hastened her decision to start a family. For Sam, teenage education experiences continue to shape her later life. This paper focuses on the relationship between youth and later life of women born 1939-52, especially in terms of their aspirations and experiences of schooling and post-compulsory education. Our discussion draws on research conducted for the ESRC project 'Transitions and Mobilities: Girls growing up in Britain 1954-76 and the implications for later life experience and identity' (Reference: ES/P00122X/1). This research is mixed methods and includes: secondary quantitative analysis of longitudinal surveys - the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA) and the National Survey of Health and Development (NSHD); qualitative analysis of survey data from ELSA and NSHD; archival research; in-depth qualitative interviews using innovative elicitation techniques. Presenting our initial findings, we propose 'resonance' as a fruitful way of conceptualising the relationship between youth and later and reflecting on its significance. Using examples relating to education and careers we focus on one aspect of resonance; this relates to the terrain of the imagination, dreams, desires, aspirations, regrets, 'hauntings' (Morriss 2018) and what David Vincent calls 'Shadows' (2006).

**“Give the Child Freedom”: Utopian Progressives, Child-Centred Education and Concepts of Childhood in Britain, C.1918 to C.1979**

After the traumatic experience of the First World War, early progressive educationalists in interwar Britain believed that the only way to ensure the survival of the British state was to educate the next generation in ‘fearless freedom’ (Bertrand Russell, 1926). They believed that if left to obey their own natural laws of growth, children would grow into superior beings, entirely different from anything that their elders could possibly imagine. To this end, having established their own experimental schools, these utopian progressives focused on self-government, not curriculum. A.S. Neill, founder of Summerhill, wrote in 1937 that he had ‘no interest in how children learn’. Popular narratives of the history of progressive education in Britain, and elsewhere in the western world, have drawn a direct line of inheritance from these early radicals to the mainstream dominance of child-centred methods after the Second World War and from there to the ‘permissive shift’ and the deschooling movements of the 1960s and 1970s. However, little in this story stands up to scrutiny. Unlike A.S. Neill, mainstream educationalists were fundamentally concerned with how children learnt, and with what they should teach them. Non-utopian progressive educationalists argued that the child needed to develop healthily not only physically and mentally, but also emotionally and socially, in order to become a fit citizen of the welfare state. Adult development was seen as a healthy, completed process, rather than as an unhealthy knot of repressed and sublimated desires that must be unpicked. The child was repositioned as a problem that needed to be managed by adult society, rather than as a being that had anything to teach fully mature individuals. Historians of education have tended to conflate these two radically different schools of thought but it was the non-utopian form of progressive education, underwritten by developmental psychology that became influential across British infant, primary and secondary modern schools after 1945. Therefore, it was these ideas about childhood and adolescence, rather than the radical permissivism of utopian progressives that fundamentally reshaped both teachers’ concepts of childhood and children’s experiences in the classroom after the Second World War

**"Convent Cruelties": Nuns as Sexual Predators in the Catholic Schools of Post-War America**

Much has been written about America's pedophile priest scandal. Since the mid-1980s more than 6,500 Catholic priests have been credibly accused of sexual crimes against minors and the Church has paid out more than \$3 billion in compensation settlements. But what about the nuns, who were much more numerous than priests and in more regular contact with children? It turns out that there were nuns with similar criminal tendencies and who sexually exploited young people over whom they had authority. Their depredations took place in three distinct institutional settings: Catholic parochial/diocesan schools, orphanages, and boarding schools on Native American reservations. In this paper I focus on the phenomenon of the pedophile nun in the first of these settings where nuns constituted the vast majority of the teaching force before 1965. The paper takes the form of a series of vignettes followed by two detailed case studies that involved prosecution. In a general sense, I examine how religious orders responded to complaints about sexual exploitation by their members and I attempt to estimate the prevalence of the problem and why it is that we know so little about it.

**Cyprus, the 'Key to Western Asia': Imperialism, Politics and their impact on the Island's History Education**

This paper explores the Colonial Government's history curriculum review of 1935 in Cyprus and aims to understand its origins by using the comparative education method to analyse historical data, primary resources and historical studies. The investigation of history curriculum in Britain followed by an extensive research on history education tendencies of the inter-war years revealed an educational transfer to Cyprus. This paper transpires that the shift from the explicitly nationalistic to an 'enlightened nationalistic' approach in 1927 in Britain was an outcome of the 'transfer' and 'transformation' of a policy, which was created at an international level with the League of Nations as a key actor. The original idea aimed at propounding peace and international cooperation through the integration of 'World History' in History subject. The main purpose of the 'enlightened nationalistic' approach in Britain, however, was the promotion of the British Empire and the strengthening of relations between the Metropole, the colonies and the dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This paper will reveal that the change of history education in interwar years in Britain was 'transferred and 'transformed' to the island in attempting to create the next generation of British subjects of Cyprus without motherlands.

### **From Periphery to Centre Stage: Using the Irish Language in Schools to Build National Identity and Nationhood in Ireland in the 1920s**

From the inception of the national system of education in 1831, the Irish language remained at the margins of curriculum provision in schools in Ireland. This policy was aligned to the philosophy and purpose of the national system established by the Westminster government which aimed to assimilate the Irish populace to Empire views and values (Harford, 2009; O'Brien, 2013). The momentum for curriculum change was evident from the early 1900s as the campaign for political independence intensified. The importance of the national language for sovereignty, political identity and nationhood was propounded for Ireland post-Independence. The education system was viewed as central in the political campaign to restore the Irish language as the vernacular (Kelly, 2002). Within months of the achievement of political independence, curriculum policy was revised to include provision for the teaching of the Irish language to all pupils in primary schools as well as to use Irish as the medium of instruction in infant classes (the first 2 years of primary school).

This paper critically examines from a range of historical educational documents the life cycle of the position of the Irish language in schools, with a particular focus on the curricular developments following political independence in the 1920s. The various contextual influences that impacted on the curricular changes, most particularly geopolitical and cultural factors, are explored. It traces the process of curriculum development and the various debates and compromises inherent in the resultant curriculum documents (National Programme Conference 1922; 1926). A specific focus is placed on the role of Rev. Timothy Corcoran SJ, Professor of Education in University College Dublin in the 1920s and a highly influential actor in the process of curriculum revision. The practical implications and challenges of implementing this curriculum change are explored as are the impact of the policy on the schooling of children in the era. National and international concepts of nationalism and nationhood (Keroude, 1961) from the era inform the focus of the presentation.

### **From Cultural Freedom to Cultural Anxiety: Oral History of Two Generations of Tibetan Teachers in a Village**

Due to the development of the society, the minority villages are undergoing rapid changes. However, the changes of ethnic villages not only change the village form, but also weaken the original social relation mode and cultural homogeneity in ethnic villages, thus impacting the ecological environment of ethnic education. Although ethnic education has always received attention from educational research, the academic circle still lacks research on the cultural mentality of ethnic minority teachers of different generations in specific educational ecological environment. This paper takes two generations of Tibetan teachers in a Tibetan village in Qinghai-Tibet region as the research object, and presents the life world and daily teaching of the two generations of Tibetan teachers by oral history method.

The study found that great historical changes have taken place in the ecological environment of school culture in which Tibetan teachers from different generations live: the original homogeneous culture of ethnic villages has been impacted by mainstream culture and modern culture; School education has gradually moved from relatively free empirical management to standardization and specialization. Teachers have changed from "intellectuals" in villages to "readers" from outside. Textbook knowledge changed from national knowledge to official knowledge; Tibetan students have changed from being familiar with ethnic culture to being people who know neither Tibetan culture nor mainstream culture and are on the edge of the two cultures. Under this background, the connection between Tibetan teachers and villages in ethnic villages is weakening, and the connection with ethnic cultures is estranged. Their cultural mentality has gradually changed from "cultural freedom" to "cultural anxiety". The study believes that improving the quality of ethnic education is not only a question of introducing excellent teachers, but also more attention should be paid to the cultural ecology in ethnic areas, as well as the living status and spiritual world of ethnic teachers.

### **Comparing Academic Shifts: The Historical Cases of Polytechnics in Post-war Singapore and Hong Kong**

This paper compares academic drifts, defined as the tendency of newer, more practical-oriented, and less prestigious educational institutions to enhance their status and power through imitating the more well-established, academic-oriented, and prominent academies-of polytechnics in post-World War II Hong Kong and Singapore. Polytechnics in both places attempted to lift their status through academic shift, with very different outcomes. The Hong Kong Polytechnic possessed the same level of autonomy as universities when it was formally established in 1972. In late 1970s, it launched degree programmes. In 1994 the school completed its course in academization. It was renamed the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. The Singapore Polytechnic was founded in the early 1950s when the island was still a British dependency. In the early 1960s, the government planned to install degree programs in the institution. This scheme, however, was later dropped. Afterwards, the Singapore Polytechnic continued to train middle level technicians and craftsmen. The institution failed to secure more autonomy and status. I attribute the dissimilar results of academic drifts in Hong Kong and Singapore to two factors, namely the two city-states' different sovereignty statuses and their two governments' diverse polices of economic development and manpower planning. Hong Kong remained a British colony until 1997 while Singapore went through decolonization and become an independent nation in 1965. External agencies, such as educationalists and trading and industrial firms in the metropolis and other Commonwealth regions, preferred technical institutions abroad to be prestigious and autonomous from the local educational bureaucracy. It was because overseas technical academies with high status yet insubordinate to the local colonial authorities would be more serviceable to their interests and responsive to the demands from outside. Exploiting the leverages and connections available in the colonial state, these external agencies successfully fuelled the Hong Kong Polytechnic's academization. In Singapore, however, similar manoeuvrings for academization were countered by the nascent national government led by Lee Kuan Yew's People's Action Party, which come into power through championing an anti-imperial course.

**Wood, Margaret, Pennington, Andrew and Su, Feng**, York St John University

**FRIDAY 15.15-16.45**

**The Legacy of the Educational Philosophy of Sir Alec Clegg and the Administration of Schooling by West Riding County Council (1944 -1973)**

This paper attempts to identify the lasting legacy of public education provided in the West Riding of Yorkshire during the period of its stewardship by the West Riding County Council Education Committee under the leadership of the Chief Education Officer, Sir Alec Clegg. It arose from our previous published research on the legacy of Sir Alec Clegg's educational leadership (Wood, Pennington and Su, 2018).

The paper is based on a small-scale qualitative research project using semi-structured interviews with a number of respondents who went to school in the West Riding, worked in West Riding schools or the Council and its successor authorities and those whose work in education has been influenced profoundly by the ideas and approaches of Sir Alec Clegg. Additionally, the writings of Sir Alec Clegg and those whom he influenced have also been drawn upon. In addition, the data drawn on was also gathered through research from documents in the special collections on Clegg held by Leeds University Library, the National Arts Education Archive at the Yorkshire Sculpture Park and the West Yorkshire Archive in Wakefield.

Two themes emerging from the research are explored in the paper: firstly, the lasting impact on the outlook, life course and careers of those educated in a West Riding school. There is a particular focus on individuals' artistic appreciation and cultural flourishing and development and engagement with the creative economy. Secondly, the paper identifies the impact of the West Riding educational philosophy on the policy and practice of educational administration, both locally and nationally, brought about because of the career trajectories and later work of those who worked with or were influenced by Sir Alec Clegg. There is a strong focus on the work of the West Riding schools and those who worked in and with them on expanding opportunities, strengthening communities and tackling inequalities. The paper seeks to draw lessons for the development of education for human flourishing and mutuality in the current policy context. Clegg's ideas and educational leadership practice should be seen as a living source of inspiration and an exemplar for our times. This study makes an important contribution to current debates about the governance of education and the role of schools in their communities.

**Major-General William Farquhar: Asia's Education Patron**

The youngest son of Robert Farquhar and Agnes Morrison, Major-General William Farquhar (1774-1839) was a long-serving Scottish employee of the East India Company, best known for establishing Singapore and most infamously blamed for dismantling Malacca before that city's return to Dutch control, but his attitudes toward education shaped western-style education in Asia. Original documents revealing Farquhar's plan for progressive education. Although these records have existed in archives for years their significances have gone unappreciated. Perhaps because his mother had the same family name as Robert Morrison, Farquhar developed a friendship with that missionary pioneer and supported his educational efforts. When Morrison's associate, William Milne, appeared in Malacca, Farquhar actively encouraged him to settle and to make educational outreach a central focus. Originally, Milne was focussed on translation and publication, using education as a tool to help translation efforts. It was Farquhar who shifted focus by coordinating land donations and direct anonymous contributions to build schoolhouses. When he moved to Singapore, Farquhar used his authority there to gift land for a school, made financial contributions, and set in motion Stamford Raffles' notion of an extensive education program with Morrison, but without his continued guidance, vision and patronage these ambitious goals faltered.