School Inspection in Canterbury and East Kent 1850-1870 and 1992-2000: A Comparative Study

Patrick Michael Finucane

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Doctor in Education (EdD)

Institute of Education

University of London

November 2000

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 4

Abstract 5

Abbreviations 6

Chapter One	**INTRODUCTION**	7
	Aim of the Study	7
	Value of the Research	9
	Literature	11
Chapter Two	**EAST KENT: THE BACKGROUND**	19
	The Children and their Landscape	19
	Child Labour	23
Chapter Three	**CHURCH, STATE and SCHOOL INSPECTION**	27
Chapter Four	**POLICY IN TWO ERAS**	35
	Rationale for Reform 1850-1862	35
	The Work of the Newcastle Commission 1858-61 and Current Parallels	38
	Neo-Liberal Developments in the late Twentieth Century	44
Chapter Five	**CANTERBURY DIOCESAN BOARD OF EDUCATION and SCHOOL INSPECTION**	52
	Establishing Diocesan School Inspection	52
	The Diocesan Board and the Revised Code 1862	55
	Schools and Inspection: Comparative Perspectives	59
	Canterbury Diocesan Board and Ofsted	63

Chapter Six **INSPECTION TODAY: THE OFSTED EXPERIENCE** 68
Context of the Research Fieldwork in the Six Schools 68
The Interviews 70

Chapter Seven **SOME RESPONSES TO INSPECTION IN TWO ERAS** 86
Introduction 86
Responses by the National Society 88
Reactions to Ofsted, 1993 Onwards 94
Personalities and the Media 97

Chapter Eight **IN CONCLUSION** 102
The Interpretive Problem 102
Political and Economic Comparisons 103
Teachers 105
Inspectors 106
Epilogue 108

Maps and Appendices

Appendix 1 – Map of Kent 111
Appendix 2 – The establishment of the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education 1838 and extract from prospectus 1839 112
Appendix 3 – Letter from Revd. Benjamin Smith to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the effects of the Revised Code 116
Appendix 4 – HM Inspectors' reports on the Diocesan School, Canterbury 119
Appendix 5 – Research fieldwork questionnaire, Spring 2000 123

Bibliography 126

Acknowledgements

Space does not permit me to personally thank all the people who have assisted in this research. Suffice it to say that I am extremely grateful to them all.

I am especially grateful to Susan Williams, Richard Aldrich and Peter Earley of the Institute of Education for their wise council, support and encouragement throughout. My sincere thanks are also due to Rupert Bristow, Canterbury Diocesan Director of Education for his enthusiasm and for facilitating my interview visits to schools in his 'parish'. In this respect I am greatly indebted to the six headteachers who gave so generously their time and experience.

Special thanks must be extended to my family for their infinite patience, and especially my son Tom for his help in word processing and presentation of this thesis.

Abstract

The aim of this study is to compare critically the development, operation and impact of school inspection in two historical periods. The first period 1850 to 1870, following the introduction of formal state inspection of schools is contrasted with the introduction and operation of the Office for Standards in education (Ofsted) in the years 1992 to 2000. The study examines the introduction, processes and effects of inspection in a group of Church of England infant and primary schools in Canterbury and east Kent. Its wider context is the development and implementation of school inspection policy in two eras, separated by over 150 years, and its effects on teacher professionalism.

Although a gulf of time stands between the two periods, it is believed that such a comparative perspective is both valid and meaningful for a number of reasons. Inspection is a dimension of effective government and public accountability. In both eras the involvement of the state and its role in securing improvements in the provision of publicly funded education has been linked to the national, economic and social well being of the state. The study has involved extensive archival and empirical research, including interviews with headteachers in east Kent to learn from their experience of the inspection process both before and after the introduction of Ofsted.

Finally, the study has set out to show that the past is clearly relevant to today. It raises the question of whether educational change is cyclical, and not a process of permanent progress. Just as the Revised Code, introduced in 1862 was to last until 1895, and then in hindsight be widely regarded as 'unenlightened', is it today possible to predict a cyclical term for the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s? Will they too have a finite span?

Abbreviations

CDBE	Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education
CE	Church of England
DES	Department for Education and Science
DFEE	Department for Education and Employment
HCSCE	House of Commons Select Committee on Education
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector
HMIs	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
KCC	Kent County Council
LEA	Local Education Authority
NC	Newcastle Commission
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
Ofstin	Office for Standards in Inspection
RGI	Ofsted Registered Inspector
SATs	Standard Assessment Tests

Chapter 1: Introduction

Aim of the Study

The purpose of this study is to compare critically the operation and impact of school inspection in two historical periods. The first period 1840 to 1870 following the introduction of formal state inspections is compared with the introduction and operation of the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) in the years 1992 to 2000. The study traces the introduction, processes and effects of inspection in a group of Church of England schools in Canterbury and east Kent, located in the south eastern corner of England. Its broader context is the development and implementation of school inspection policy in the two eras, and its effects on teacher professionalism.

The concept of inspection is not confined to today's modern state, nor to its incipient predecessor in the nineteenth-century. Although the first national government inspection of schools by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools (HMI) began in 1839, school and institutional inspection long precedes this date. One definition which the Oxford English Dictionary offers for 'inspection' is that of 'careful examination or scrutiny'. Indeed, within the geographical area covered in this study, the grammar school established in Faversham in the sixteenth century was subject to inspection by its 1604 rules. Under these, pupils joining the school had to be examined in the presence of the mayor of the town, and their individual competence assessed in being able to show "whether he can say or read the book of Psalms or not and whether such child can write a legible joined hand." [1]

In the modern state, nearly 300 years later, official inspection is no less central in seeking to assure quality in education. Since the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988 there has been a clearly defined school curriculum, and requirements for measurable learning 'targets' through Standard Assessment Tests (SATs), together with the introduction of four defined 'key stage' standards. Ofsted inspections, in their assessment of a school's performance, take account of the SATs attainments of individual

pupils. Similarly, the Revised Code of 1862 established six standards for the assessment of reading, writing and arithmetic (and plain sewing for girls), which were examined and reported on by HMIs, and grant aid awarded on the basis of success in these examinations.[2]

Although a gulf of time stands between the two eras, such a comparative perspective is both valid and meaningful for a number of reasons. Firstly, inspection is a dimension of effective government and public accountability, and in both eras the involvement of the state and its role in securing improvements in the provision of public education has been linked to the national economic and social well-being of the state. In the mid-nineteenth century the corporate state was developing effective administrative and inspection systems in order to regulate and monitor the increasing complexity and demands of society in a rapidly expanding population. So too, in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a dynamic of change at work, which led to substantial educational reform including the Education Reform Act 1988, the introduction of a National Curriculum, a diminished role for local education authorities (LEAs) and, in 1992, through the establishment of Ofsted, the creation of a new framework for the inspection of schools on a national basis. Next, in both periods the objective of securing the best use of public funding was central to the debate leading to policy change. In 1862 Robert Lowe, Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, referred to the Revised Code in terms of efficiency and cheapness. [3] In the public sector reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, a leitmotif throughout has been that of ensuring better value for money and more recently, under the Local Government Act 1999, the introduction of the concept of 'Best Value'. The study attempts to show how national policy was formulated in the two periods. Finally, there is the effect of inspection as a human activity. Inspection involves greater accountability, as well as elements of 'managerialism'. What have been the results of its operation and processes on the lives of people affected by it: pupils, teachers, managers, governors and inspectors themselves? Human judgement may well change over time and the basis for an Ofsted inspector's judgement is not likely to be similar to those of a Victorian school inspector. However human feelings and emotions, when a school or teacher is criticised or commended, are more constant over time. How

did these inspection processes change education, improve the curriculum, shape policy and affect the professional lives of teachers?

The study is set in the context of a group of Church of England schools in the east Kent district of the archdeaconry of Canterbury. It examines the role of the Canterbury Diocesan Board and its inspection arrangements for elementary education in the 1850s and 1860s, and its relationship with central government initiatives on inspection. In contrast, the work also examines the role of the Diocesan Board in the 1990s and the development at that time of a new inspection system, in the form of Ofsted. Researching the modern dimension, the study looks in detail at the inspection by Ofsted of six Church of England primary and infants' schools in the same area in the 1990s, thereby creating a case study within the work. These schools are: Diocesan and Payne Smith CE Primary School, Canterbury; Holy Trinity and St John's CE Primary School, Margate; St Mary's CE Primary School, Folkestone; Selsted CE Primary School, Selsted, near Dover; Chislet CE Primary School, Chislet; and Herne CE Infant School, Herne Bay. Each of these schools was visited as part of the research and the headteacher interviewed; the findings and evaluation of the fieldwork form an integral part of this analysis.

Value of the Research Study

What is the benefit of such a comparative approach in this context? The setting chosen for the research is the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education and schools in its area, and within that how those schools were affected by inspection at two points in history. This research theme was chosen for a number of reasons: it is believed that this subset is representative of developments in other parts of England both in terms of the mid-nineteenth century and the late twentieth-century comparative experience. The representative nature of this group is claimed on the basis that the schools fall within the Anglican family of schools, which were established by the Church in the nineteenth century. At that time these schools were subject to the policies and influences of the National Society, the Revised Code and HMI inspection in common with similar Church schools in other dioceses in England. Today Church schools, located in rural, suburban and urban settings, are all subject to Ofsted inspection in the same way as other Church

schools in England. More immediately, the schools selected for fieldwork research on Ofsted inspections as part of this study, were a small sample drawn from diocesan schools in east Kent. It is believed that this sample is representative of the Canterbury diocesan schools population as a whole.

Since the Diocesan Board was established in 1838 and continues to operate today its existence spans both eras examined in the study. In the mid-nineteenth century the Board was itself engaged in school inspection, as well as in inspecting, implementing and responding to the Revised Code. Likewise in the 1990s, the Board was again involved with a new government policy on the inspection of Church schools in the diocesan area, this time by Ofsted, although the Board's inspection function had long ceased. Thus, in the introduction of national school inspection at two points in history, what occurred in the east Kent area is linked to the implementation of national policies and to similar developments in other Church of England dioceses in England and Wales. The study reflects how those policies and developments were received and acted upon in both periods.

The research is therefore rooted both in the past and in the present. In considering the nature of historical research, Cohen and Manion (1994) make the point that "although [this] is one of the most difficult areas in which to undertake research, the outcomes of enquiring into this domain can bring great benefit to educationalists and the community at large." [4] What sort of benefit? They quote Hill and Kerber (1967) who had identified four: it enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past, and throws light on present and future trends. Next, it stresses the relative importance and the effects of the various interactions that are to be found within all cultures. Finally, it allows for the revaluation of data in relation to selected hypotheses, theories and generalisations about the past.

Comparative studies are important in that they offer the possibility of redefining traditional problems and can also prove events, that seemed quite ordinary, to be unique and vice versa. Van Woodward noted that comparison opens new subjects, allows questioning and searching, and is a means for accounting for change whenever and wherever it occurred.[5] Marwick (1970) suggests that comparative study involving comparison within a single country is of immense value, since in highlighting both

similarities and differences it can be a source of new synthesis and new questions. Indeed Marwick quotes T.H. Buckle, who in his History of Civilization (1856-61), contended that "there will always be a connection between the way in which men contemplate the past and the way in which they contemplate the present." [6] There are also difficulties in comparative history, since there is the danger of generalisation and finding similarities, which may not in reality have existed. Marc Bloch has stressed the observation of differences as the core importance of the comparative method. [7] David Brion Davies has warned about comparisons since they are often influenced by ulterior motives. [8]

Although there are numerous studies on the introduction and effects of the Revised Code 1862, as well as on the origins and the work of Ofsted today, there are few references on the effects of either in east Kent. This is therefore an original study, not only in terms of the geographical area studied, but also regarding the data collected from archival, literature and fieldwork sources. The research revealed no extant study of the development of school inspection in the mid-nineteenth century based on the schools in the archdeaconry of Canterbury. Similarly, the empirical fieldwork, which involved over 15 hours of interviewing with individual headteachers to evaluate the operation and delivery of Ofsted inspection, has not been done in this geographical area by any other researchers. Nevertheless, a number of studies have sought to draw comparisons between events of the Revised Code and developments of education in the 1990s. Thody (1994) in an article examining school management in nineteenth-century elementary schools, talks of the late twentieth-century as witnessing a 'back to the past' movement in education and in doing so traces managerial parallels. [9] Earlier, Aldrich (1992) presents an historical perspective on the educational legislation enacted in England in the 1980s. Aldrich refers to a strong historical element "a return to so-called 'Victorian values' [being present] in the Conservative programme of the 1980s." [10] Although this thesis makes the point that such similarities exist, it does so, uniquely, in the setting of east Kent.

In current times the pace of change in education policy has been rapid and unrelenting as successive governments seek to improve the standard of public education, as well as to change the way in which it is delivered. But echoes of this modern objective are to be found in the events of the 1850s and 1860s, as the need for elementary

schooling for the working classes became a political priority in an emerging democratic state. For this reason a comparison is valuable and in this case original.

Literature

As a comparison across two historical periods, separated by over 140 years, this research has, of necessity, involved a range of different approaches. In the case of the first era – the mid-nineteenth-century – it has depended on archival and documentary sources, either primary or secondary, both relating to the time in question. Next, there were secondary literature sources available largely as a result of inspectors' memoirs, which appeared towards the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth-century. In addition, in looking at the first era, there has been a wide range of historical writing relating to the Revised Code in the time up to the year 2000. At the other end of the research spectrum, the research included interviews with current headteachers of Church schools and officials of the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education to explore and evaluate at first hand school and professional experiences of Ofsted inspections. Beyond this, the literature research has included responses to and commentary and evaluation on Ofsted today.

The focus of the nineteenth-century documentary research has been threefold: the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, the East Kent Archives based at Whitfield, near Dover, and the Church of England Record Centre, South Bermondsey, London. Between them, these collections provided extensive information on the work of the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education, the National Society, Canterbury Diocesan Board's role in inspection, and its relationship to HMI and in the 1990s to Ofsted. The Canterbury Cathedral Archives hold, for example, all the records and minutes of the Diocesan Board of Education in the period from 1838, together with the diocesan inspectors' reports, school statistical returns (1856-72), files on general correspondence, the inspectors' annual reports, together with minutes of the Canterbury Diocesan Education Society for the period covered in the first part of this study. In the case of the second period – the 1990s – the Canterbury Cathedral Archives also have guardianship of the Canterbury Diocesan Board's Minutes, including their deliberations on the introduction of Ofsted in

1992-3. This archive possesses an education library, initially based on the library of the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, archdeacon of Maidstone 1845-87. Harrison, in addition to being a member of the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education from 1848 to 1880, was a fervent supporter of the extension of Church elementary education. [11] The Whitfield collection, which had only recently been established by Kent County Council, holds the logbooks for certain schools in the east Kent district, which were consulted as a useful source of evidence on HMI inspections of diocesan schools in east Kent in the 1860s.

Outside Kent, research was undertaken at the Church of England Record Centre, which houses the papers of the National Society. This collection includes the minute books for the General Committee of the National Society for the period 1850-70. These accounts provide a valuable strategic overview of the thinking, concerns and actions of the National Society during this period, as well as references to contacts with other diocesan boards of education and their inspectors in England and Wales, including the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education. The minutes of the General Committee also offer a valuable source of data on correspondence between the Society and the Education Department. The Centre contains bound volumes of the Society's The Monthly Paper for the years covered by the research. This was a most informative journal carrying, as it did, information on the Society's formal correspondence with the Education Department, as well as polemical articles on the Revised Code, together with its busy correspondence columns. Such articles and letters provided a valuable insight into the Society's 'official' thinking, as well as the views of inspectors and the anxieties of teachers about impending changes, reference to these sources occur in the text below. It is also evident from much of the material in the General Committee's minutes, and The Monthly Paper, that another issue of major concern to the Church throughout the debate on the Revised Code was its likely effects on teacher training. Although this topic is not examined as part of this study, in comparative terms it is another area of educational provision, which has been affected by Ofsted and worthy of separate analysis.

Platt (1981) discussed some specific problems associated with documentary research. These include the fact that the researcher has no control over the quantity and form of the data, and that "the status of different types of account and their recurring patterns, and how to evaluate it, is a quite general problem. Platt cautioned that "a single

reference to a phenomenon, may indicate the start of a trend, or the existence of a pattern, but may be just historically idiosyncratic." [12]

For the early part of this study the Newcastle Commission's findings provided a rich resource, placed in time – 1858-61 – between the work of the early inspectorate and the introduction of the Revised Code. Simon (1960), commented on the Code that "on the basis of some very doubtful statistics [it] found that there was no cause for concern about the state of education as compared with other countries; enough school places appear to be provided under the voluntary system." [13] Nonetheless, as a research resource, the Newcastle Commission provided evidence on the work and potential value of inspectors, improving education standards. The Commission had received reports from Assistant Commissioners, which included the views of teachers on inspection. [14]

A further government source providing helpful information was the Hansard record on the almost innocuously titled Education – the Revised Code of Regulations – Distribution of Parliamentary Grants, covering the debates on the Revised Code in March 1862. [15] These debates not only highlight the detail of the new proposals, but provide an evaluation of the Newcastle Commission's findings, and importantly the concerns and anxieties of the Church of England, of non-conformist interests, of the school managers and teachers, and those of rural and urban communities. In this comparative analysis, the 1862 debates provided some strong parallels with the issues raised in parliament in 1992 on the introduction of Ofsted.

Books and memoirs published towards the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century, particularly by ex-inspectors, provided an insight into near contemporary views of the Revised Code controversy. Sneyd-Kynnersley's Some Passages in the Life of One of HM Inspectors of Schools (1908), was as suggested below, part-memoir and part-idyll. Sir George Kekewich's The Education Department and After (1920), with its valuable reflections on his early days as an 'Examiner' in the Education Department, provided a more reliable source of evidence on the impact of the Revised Code, with its telling views on the management style of Ralph Lingen. Kay-Shuttleworth's Letter to Earl Granville (1861), and Matthew Arnold's The Twice-Revised Code (1862), provided clear evidence of intellectual vision on elementary education, and confirmed the view that opposition to the Revised Code was

not based simply on teacher and Church opposition. Edmonds (1962), Bishop (1971), Lawson and Silver (1973), and Lawton and Gordon (1987), all tended to reflect the statements and opinions of inspectors in their analyses. On the other hand, Dunford (1980), and Ball (1963), reflected more sympathetically on the impact of inspection upon teachers. Birchenough's History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day (1938), is a veritable, if somewhat descriptive, compendium of detail on the period. Murphy's Church, State and Schools in Britain 1800 to 1970 (1971), has been a valuable source of secondary evidence with its theme being closely aligned to that of this study.

A further source of understanding the broader implications on the nineteenth-century debate on education has been the variety of texts on individuals who made an outstanding contribution to that debate. Connell's Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold (1950), and Pollard (1956), Pioneers of Popular Education 1760-1850, with its chapter on the pioneering work of James Kay-Shuttleworth in establishing the HM Inspectorate, and the background, and international research, that brought him to that point have both been valuable sources of information. Likewise, Gillian Sutherland's edition on Matthew Arnold in Education (1973), further expanded on the work and thinking of this nineteenth-century visionary. In understanding the wider political, social and economic panorama of the mid-nineteenth-century, a number of texts provided useful background information, notably Evans (1983), The Forging of the Modern State, and Kitson Clarke, The Making of Victorian England (1962).

Particular reference needs to be paid to the value of unpublished dissertations and theses consulted as part of the research, and relevant to both periods. K.J Burden's work (1986) 'The National Society School Inspection: Origins and Development, 1835-49', and W.E. Whitmore's (1987) 'The Relationship Between Her Majesty's Inspectors and Teachers: 1840-1860' were especially apposite to this study. David Budge's (1997) 'An Inspector Calls...again and again' was valuable as an extended comparative study, in that it traced the impact of the inspection process on a single school in Watford over a 105 year period, from 1891 to 1996.

With reference to the modern era, an important element in the data search covering events in the 1990s centred on interviews with headteachers of Church schools in east

Kent. The rationale and methodology for this research approach is outlined in chapter 6, and the findings contained therein. Information on the work of Ofsted was available from a range of sources. Firstly, government information set out in reports, for example, the extensive DFEE Departmental Report and Expenditure Plans for 1999-00 to 2001-2, which set out the government's official view on the working of Ofsted and the benefits of inspection. More critically, the report of the House of Commons Education and Employment Select Committee on The Work of Ofsted (1999), provided an invaluable source of quality analysis on the operation of Ofsted, the defensive position of HM Chief Inspector of Schools, and the responses of schools governors, teacher training institutions, teachers and other organisations, as well as indications of likely future policy changes on inspection. Ofsted itself was helpful in providing information on its policies, its annual reports and on its more recently introduced complaints procedures, as well as information on the internal and external review of complaints. [16]

It was evident from the outset, indeed from the time of its establishment, that Ofsted was beginning to stimulate a vigorous body of literature. Many pamphlets picked up the notion that Ofsted was a 'threatening' rather than a 'supportive' professional experience. An early example of this was, Surviving Ofsted – Four Case Studies of Schools. [17] Despite this somewhat threatening title, the pamphlet provided a practical guide to the new process. Another publication, which sought to gain an early measure of the new inspection process, appeared as The Ofsted Experience: A Governor's Eye View (1994), based on a research project funded by the Nuffield Foundation. Other articles provided a more robust challenge to Ofsted, for example Ofsted and Onward (1996), which, while welcoming the positive benefits of inspection, put forward a trenchant critique on Ofsted and called for a change in emphasis to a more professional 'developmental' approach. [18]

Wragg and Brighouse, both jointly and individually have provided a strong critical analysis on Ofsted since its establishment in 1993, as well as suggesting alternative inspection procedures. Both educationalists, as strong protagonists against Ofsted, went further in calling for Ofsted to be closed down in its existing form, and reconstituted as a co-ordinated national and local inspection service aimed at school improvement. [19] Brighouse also contributed to and co-edited the book School Inspector (1995), which examined a range of perspectives on the history and methodology of school inspection

both pre and post Ofsted. However, more value neutral accounts have appeared alongside these more polemical stances. Cullingford (ed.), in An Inspector Calls (1999), sought to evaluate Ofsted on the basis of empirical data. In his preface he stated that "despite all the publicity surrounding Ofsted, I was surprised at the amount of empirical work that has been taking place on the whole subject of inspection." [20] Examples of this empirical approach were covered in Ousten, Earley and Fidler Ofsted Inspection the Early Experiences (1995), more recently, the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) report, The Impact of Ofsted Inspection (1999) by Margaret Scanlon, looked at the effects of inspection on schools placed on Ofsted's special measures register. Another significant NFER article beneficial to the research was 'New Heads, OFSTED Inspections and the Prospects for School Improvement'. [21]

The publications of Office for Standards in Inspection (Ofstin), an organisation set up in 1996 by a group of educationalists, offered a further alternative standpoint from which to assess the effects of Ofsted. In this connection particularly useful were their publications, Improving School Inspection (1996) a report on the Ofstin conference held in Oxford in June 1996; and later A Better Style of Inspection (1998), which recalled that the motto for the 1996 conference had been 'Quis custodiet ipsos custodes', and concluded that that challenge remained unanswered. [22]

Endnotes

1. Faversham Borough Records, 2 vols., vol.1, pp.112-115, (1963)
2. Edmonds, E.L., (1962), The School Inspector, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.1-2. Edmonds traces the historical roots of the inspection of Christian institutions from St Paul's visitations in the early Church. Exercising their ancient canonical rights bishops in the medieval English Church established a pattern of visitations to parishes, including the inspection of parochial schools.
3. Simon, B., (1960), Studies in the History of Education, London, Lawrence and Wishhart, p.349
4. Cohen, M. & Manion, L. (1994), Research Methods in Education, London, Routledge, p.45.
5. Vann Woodward, C., The Comparability of American History, in C.Vann Woodward (ed.), (1968), The Comparative Approach to American History, New York, Basic Books, p.123
6. Marwick, A., (1970), The Nature of History, London, Macmillan, p.23

7. Vann Woodward, op cit., p.124.
8. Davies, D.B., in Woodward, op cit., p.122
9. Thody, A.M., 'School management in nineteenth-century elementary schools: a day in the life of a headteacher', in History of Education, 1994, vol.23, no.4, pp.355
10. Aldrich, R. 'Educational legislation in the 1980s in England: an historical analysis', in History of Education, 1992, vol. 21, no.1, p.68
11. Harrison, B., (1808-1887), archdeacon of Maidstone; son of Benjamin Harrison the elder; student of Christ Church, Oxford 1828; M.A., Ellerton Hebrew scholar; chaplain to Archbishop Howley, 1843-8; archdeacon of Maidstone, 1845-87; a reviser of the Old Testament, 1885; presented his library to Canterbury Cathedral; edited Bishop Broughton's sermons, 1857, and 'Christianity in Egypt,' Concise Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford, 1969
12. Platt, J., (1981), 'Evidence and Proof in Documentary Research, I', in Sociological Review Journal, vol.29, no.1, 1981, pp. 38-49
13. Simon, B., (1960), Studies in the History of Education, London, Lawrence and Wishhart, p.347
14. See Mr Hare's Report, pp. 277-8, & Dr Hodgson's Report, pp.544-5 in the Report of the Royal Commission on the State of Popular Education in England, 1861
15. Hansard, vol.clxvi, March 25 – May 26, 1862, pp.21-111; pp.137-247
16. Making Complaints to Ofsted, 1998, Ofsted
17. Noble, T., (1994) Surviving Ofsted – Four Case Studies of Schools, Northampton, JEMA Publications
18. Douse, M., (1995) Ofsted and Onward: A Contribution to the School Inspection debate, C/BT Education Services, Reading
19. Wragg, T., and Brighouse, T., New Model of School Inspection, School of Education, University of Exeter, 1995, occasional paper
20. Cullingford, C., (ed.) (1999) An Inspector Calls, London, Kogan Page, p.1
21. Ferguson et al, 'New Heads, OFSTED Inspections and the Prospects for School Improvement', in Educational Research, vol. 41, no.3, Winter 1999, NFER, Slough
22. Duffy, M., (ed.), A Better System of Inspection, 1998, Ofstin, An Account of Ofstin Conference, Improving School Inspection, New College, Oxford, June 1996, p.31

Chapter 2: East Kent – The Background

The Children and their Landscape

In March 1866 the Reverend Benjamin Smith, School Inspector for the Diocese of Canterbury, was summoned to present evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Education. In response to a question asking him to describe the character of his area he reported that there were approximately 500,000 inhabitants living in settlements and communities that were "watering place towns, three to four county towns or rural districts." The villages to be found in the area were said to be "not populous", the rural districts "altogether dependent on agricultural labour," and the majority of farms described as being of "middle size." [1] Smith had been appointed Diocesan Inspector for schools in 1851, a post he was to occupy until 1875, and his district covered the whole of the county of Kent with, in 1860, 221 National schools. The area examined in this study covers the eastern third of the county in the archdeaconry of Canterbury. The latter comprised the deaneries of Bridge, Canterbury, Dover, Elham, Lympne, Ospringe, Sandwich, and Westbere. Similarly, the schools chosen for the control study in the 1990s are located in this part of Kent. (Appendix 1)

Charles Dickens writing the Papers of the Pickwick Club in 1836 had his eponymous hero stating of the county "Kent, sir – everybody knows Kent – apples, cherries, hops and women. Glass of wine, sir?" [2] Richardson (1995), based on his reading of G. Buckland's prize essay On the Farming in Kent (1845), concludes that "women and children were also largely responsible for gathering the soft fruits of early summer; especially raspberries, gooseberries, currants, and strawberries. In 1845 Covent Garden was said to obtain two-thirds of its soft fruit from the mid-Kent district." [3] The Post Office Directory for Kent (1862) loftily stated of East Kent that "from the lay of the county, and the nature of the cultivation it is one of the most beautiful districts of the world, abounding with pleasing and romantic scenery." It is not surprising therefore that much of this landscape was devoted to agriculture or its coasts bounded by the sea. The directory described the

area as being a mixture of chalk downs and the light and fertile soils in the Isle of Thanet. The ridge of the North Downs ran through the north of the county and eastwards into the Sarre Pen, one of the drainage channels on the Chislet marshes. Today these marshes consist of pasture fields between freshwater dykes, and are protected from the incursions of the sea by seawalls, but in Victorian times this area formed a vast expanse of marsh, reported in the directory as covering 27,000 acres. Until the seventeenth-century this area had been flooded and separated the mainland of Kent from the island of Thanet. The 1862 directory mentioned agriculture as varied, with vegetable farming, wheat, oats, barley, rye and hops being grown. In 1860, for example, 50,000 acres of east Kent were under hop cultivation, producing some 18 million lbs. of hops in that year alone. There was also widespread growing of apples, pears, plums and cherries, as well as market gardening in the Isle of Thanet.

In addition to agriculture there was manufacturing, including brickworks, maltings and tanneries. Around the north and eastern seaboard there were 'watering places' noted earlier by the Reverend Smith, notably Ramsgate, Margate, Broadstairs, Deal, Sandwich and Folkestone. The popularity of these resorts had received an impetus from the late 1840s with the extension of the railway lines of the London, Dover and Chatham Railway. In addition to being resorts some of these towns were also engaged in the fishing trade in cod, herring and sole. The new railway lines to the metropolis and further afield assisted the rapid movement of these agricultural, manufacturing and fishing. At the heart of the area was the cathedral city of Canterbury with a population of 16,000 in 1861, compared with 36,621 in 1991.

Today, 140 years on, whilst the topography remains the same, its educational provision, the economic settlement, employment patterns and transport have been radically transformed. The population of Kent in 1862 was 615,766; in 1997 it was 1,326,000. [4] There have been major changes in agriculture since the Second World War. The acreage under hop cultivation has declined steadily owing to cheap imports and changes in taste among beer drinkers. Where previously hop cultivation was labour intensive, and in the mid-nineteenth century employed large numbers of children, today much of the harvesting of hops is mechanized. Similarly with fruit farming a smaller acreage is under cultivation in East Kent with foreign competition being a major factor.

In the Stour valley, the marshland described above has largely gone through reductions in the water table as a result of gravel extraction and much of this acreage is now pastureland. Thanet continues to be an important market gardening area, but the acreage is reduced and its economy has been affected by cheaper foreign imports. Compared with the mid-Victorian period the area least changed is the Elham valley, lying between Canterbury and Folkestone with its downland, although today there is less grassland and more arable cultivation in this district. The National Farmers Union has stated that today in all these agricultural activities the greatest problem is that of labour. Whereas in the nineteenth-century there was a ready supply of child labour, today there is a marked reluctance for young local adults to work on the land and their place has been taken by migrant workers from Eastern Europe. [5]

Again, over the past 25 years, East Kent has seen physical changes in the landscape as communities have changed with the development of housing estates, business parks, shopping centres, new motorways and in recent years the construction of the Channel Tunnel with supporting road and rail networks. The 1993 Kent County Council Structure Plan reported that unemployment rates in Thanet had been consistently higher than any other area in the south east. This area continues to show evidence of social and economic deprivation. Thanet's unemployment in January 2000 stood at 9.2% compared with an average of 3.5% for Kent and 3.3% for South East England as a whole. On the government's standard score for measuring deprivation in England – the Index of Local Deprivation – Thanet has the highest score in Kent (18) and ranks 64th among 366 English districts. The Kent Structure Plan for 1993 identified East Kent as the area of the county where the highest priority should be given to attacking persistent economic problems. This situation was exacerbated by the decline in the traditional tourist industry, the closure of the east Kent coalfields in the early 1980s, and the fall in employment at the coastal ports owing to the development of the Channel Tunnel. In this region the Canterbury City Council area is today the most prosperous, attracting new investment, tourism and commercial development. [6]

In the pre-mechanisation period, the lack of legislation on school attendance meant that such varied agriculture and other employment opportunities provided constant temptation as well as the financial necessity for young children to become involved, with

or without the connivance of their parents. The Diocesan Inspector's reports bear witness to this. Following a visit to Birchington Mixed School in November 1859 he found that "various circumstances, amongst which is fieldwork at this season, have combined to reduce the scholars down to a mere handful and those of the youngest sort." [7] Reporting on Lower Hardres Mixed School, some six miles south of Canterbury on 6 May 1862, he testified, "the work in the hop gardens had quite disorganised the school. The eldest class present averaged only 8 years and for their age were carefully and well grounded in the rudiments and scripture, history and doctrine." [8] Two days later on a visit to Appledore Mixed School in the Romney Marsh, when only 63 out of a total on roll of 127 were present, he commented that "the numbers were much thinned by wool gathering." [9] Visiting Boughton-Blean Mixed School, seven miles to the west of the city, later the same month, when 69 pupils out of 116 on the books were present, he reported that "the whole of the first class were absent at work." [10] During this time the story is consistent. On a visit to Hoath Mixed School in the Isle of Thanet in May 1866, when less than half of the 67 pupils on the roll were in attendance, he noted, "the school was visited without notice, but with permission of its patron. The elder children had gone out to work in the fields. Those remaining were little more than infants." [11]

In terms of the distractions of paid labour, the evidence from the Reverend Smith's reports indicate that 'field work' was by far the most common reason for school absence, apart from illness and epidemics. Given the agricultural character of the region this would involve activities such as weeding, pea picking and bird scaring, hop picking, and harvesting other crops, including work in market gardens. For children living nearer the coast there was work in the seaside resorts. On his visit to St John's School, Margate in November 1859, he commented of the boys' section that "the attendance is broken beyond even what the demands of the watering place season accounts for; the population for which it serves being singularly thriftless and necessitous" [12], while for the girls' section he described attendance as being irregular. He summed up the problem in these towns in a memorandum to the Diocesan Board of Education in 1866

> The schools, (No.1-30), visited in November and December 1865, in the deaneries of Westbere and Sandwich, consist largely of those watering places on the sea coast; in which the summer season is almost one long vacation, which has been this year protracted by the fine weather a month later than usual. Consequently while all schools are taken at a certain disadvantage before Christmas, this year has been especially unfavourable to an early maturity of attainments. [13]

Child Labour

These extracts illustrate a society fundamentally different from life at the end of the twentieth century and separated from our own times, employment and the life style in so many ways. Today's legal framework prohibits child labour and attempts to employ children are rigorously monitored by the state. In the mid-nineteenth century the economy and society depended on child labour for agriculture, commercial and industrial work, as well as for casual labour and domestic service. The Newcastle Commission (1858-61) considered at length the question of compulsory school attendance but, in the light of prevailing vested interests, took no action to achieve it. The Commission's report noted "the peremptory demands of the labour market" and that "if the wages of the child's labour are necessary, either to keep the parents from the poor rates, or to relieve the pressure of severe and bitter poverty, it is far better that it should go to work at the earlier age at which it can bear the physical exertion than that it should remain at school."[14] In a time before the advent of the Welfare State earnings from the labour of children were central to a poor working-class family's efforts to secure its physical well-being and to remain solvent. The alternative was hunger, poverty and shame with reliance on the Poor Law with either indoor or outdoor poor relief. Hastings (1994) refers to the growth of financial hardship among the poor in Kent when the number of paupers rose from 26,999 in 1860 to 30,389 in 1870. [15]

Deprivation, poverty and social problems still remain features in education at the beginning of the twenty-first century, but the scale and intensity of these problems is not comparable with the mid-nineteenth century. Today, school attendance is still affected by

all these difficulties, but heavily countered by professional support agencies, for example social workers and education welfare officers. Nevertheless, central government's core and rigorous policy today is to enable all children to achieve their educational and life potential. The Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett, in his foreword to the DFEE's Departmental Report 1999-2000 wrote

> there is still a lot to do. To build a modern Britain, fit for the twenty first century, we need to start with a solid foundation for all our children in their early years. But we need to continue with that support right through the system, through school, further and higher education, and in to working life and beyond. To be an inclusive, competitive and prosperous society, we will also have to be a learning society. [16]

The report covers a wide range of state initiatives to ensure the standard and quality of education; in its comprehensive ambition and empathy it cannot realistically be compared to the modest efforts of the Victorian state.

Today's rhetoric talks boldly of an inclusive society, although Adonis and Pollard (1997) argue that education today has fundamental inequalities and is far from being classless. [17] However, it is the government's aim through the development of inclusive policies to lessen such inequalities and no comparable objectives can be discerned in mid-Victorian education policy. In the case of the latter period, class permeated every section of society, and children at elementary school had little opportunity of rising above their station. Writing of this period Evans (1994) talks of Victorian class identity as resting on a "friction of interests." He contends that "class consciousness was a transparent veil which could be thrown over, but could not conceal, the immense variety of working organisations and experiences in nineteenth-century Britain", and concludes that "class is too crude and too misleading a concept to encompass them." [18] In terms of the east Kent setting most of the children attending elementary school were drawn from working-class families employed on the land, the holiday trade, ports and other trades such as tanneries and maltings. [19]

Equality of opportunity did not exist and knowing one's station also meant knowing what to expect in terms of one's future. As Kekewich (1920) observed in bucolic vein, "a ploughman's son was destined to be a ploughman as his father was." [20] As far as equal

opportunities for inspectors were concerned there were no women inspectors at this time. Yet during the 1860s approximately four out of every ten teachers employed in elementary education were women and by 1870 the number of men and women teachers had equalled. As Whitmore (1987) remarked, in the 1860s the professional relationship was between male inspectors and schoolmasters and schoolmistresses either individually or collectively. [21] The appointment of women inspectors by the Education Department, although preceded in this respect by School Boards from 1870, was to be long delayed. The first woman appointed to HMI was Miss Emily Jones, as Directress of Needlework in 1883, and it was not until February 1896 that the first 'non-domestic' women appointments were made to the inspectorate. [22]

Endnotes

1. Report from the Select Committee on Education, Minutes of Evidence, 5 July, 1866, Cm392
2. Dickens, C., The Pickwick Papers, London, Hazel, Watson and Viney, 1873 Edition, p.24
3. Richardson, T., Labour, in A. Armstrong, (ed.) (1995), The Economy of Kent, 1640-1914, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, p.241.
4. Kent County Council (KCC), Populations Economic Update 1999 (March 1999)
5. Field notes of an interview with Peter Drummond, Secretary of National Farmers Union, East Kent Branch 7 February 2000.
6. Thanet District Council, Economic Development Unit Report, March 2000 & KCC Structure Plan, May 1997
7. Diocesan Inspector's Report, Canterbury Diocese: G/IM32, November, 9 1859
8. Ibid. 6 May, 1862
9. Ibid. 8 May, 1862
10. Ibid. May, 1862
11. Diocesan Inspector's Report, Canterbury Diocese, G/IM 38, May, 1866
12. Ibid. November, 1859
13. Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education, Inspector's Memorandum, March 1866, G/IM/38
14. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Popular Education in England (1861) (The Newcastle Commission Report), vol.1, p.243
15. Hastings, P., in Religion and Society in Kent, 1640-1914, Yates, N., Hume, R., and Hastings, P. (eds.) (1994), Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, p.179
16. Department for Education and Employment (DFEE), March 1999, Cm 4202, p.4
17. Adonis A. & Pollard, S. (1997), A Class Act, London, Hamish Hamilton,
18. Evans, E.J., (1983), The Forging of a Modern State, London, Longman

pp.182-83
19. Reports from Commissioners: Agriculture (Employment of Women and Children) vol. xiii (1868-9), p.7
20. Kekewich, G., (1920) The Education Department and After, London, Constable, p.11
21. Whitmore, W.E., 'The Relationship Between Her Majesty's Inspectorate's and Teachers: 1840-1860', unpublished dissertation, University of London, Institute of Education, (1987), p.7
22. Lawton, D., & Gordon, P., (1987), HMI, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, p.88

Chapter 3: Church, State and School Inspection

One of the early actions of the 1832 Reform Parliament was to agree in the following year a grant of £20,000 to assist in the erection of school houses for elementary education. The grant was administered by HM Treasury, and no grants were made unless at least half the cost was matched by voluntary contributions. Grants would only be made through the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England, inaugurated in 1811, and the British and Foreign School Society, established in 1814, which represented the Nonconformist interest. [1]

Concerns over the disbursement of the Treasury's annual grant led in 1838 to the government requesting the National Society to inspect Church of England schools. Ball (1963) comments on the Society's reluctance to submit to suggestions of state-sponsored inspection, in contrast with the more positive response of the British Society. Such tardiness on the part of the National Society encouraged central government to impose more control over the distribution and use of funds. [2]

With the establishment of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839, the state assumed greater responsibility for the disbursement of these funds and, through the appointment of HMIs, became formally involved, for the first time, in the quality assessment of education. The following year the newly established Committee issued instructions through its Minutes to its two inspectors, Revd. J. Allen and Hugh Tremenheere (one to inspect Anglican and the other Nonconformist schools), including the instruction that inspectors were not to interfere in the religious instruction, discipline, or management of the school. This recognised the tension that existed between the Committee and the Church of England. However, in this way a clear link was initially established between the receipt of public funding and a requirement to submit to state sponsored inspection, which has lasted ever since.[3]

It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that the creation of a school inspectorate was an early decision by the Committee in Council following its creation in 1839. In that year James Kay-Shuttleworth was appointed Secretary to the Committee, a post he was to hold for ten years. In the development of educational policy, Kay-Shuttleworth was strongly

influenced by what had been achieved in the Netherlands, and particularly by the success of Wynbeck (Dutch Inspector General for Schools). The secretary drew attention to the large elementary schools which had been established under Wynbeck's guidance in Amsterdam, Haarlem, The Hague, and Utrecht which provided for up to 1000 children, and whose success he reported as due to careful planning leading to highly individual methods of teaching. Pollard (1956) commented on Kay-Shuttleworth

> what has not been noted, however, is his admiration of the Dutch inspectorate and his attempts to embody its prevailing spirit of tolerance in the British system... if any real understanding is to be obtained of the way in which a system of school inspector took root in this country, it is essential to keep in mind not merely the Dutch Education Act of 1806 but also the pioneer work of such men as van der Palm and van der Ende. [4]

Kay-Shuttleworth drew attention to the insistence of these pioneers that those responsible for supervising school activities in the Netherlands should above all remember that their prime responsibility was to help and advise. The Instructions to Inspectors of Schools issued by the Education Department in August 1840 reflected this thinking. Inspectors were informed that

> it is of the utmost consequence you should bear in mind that this inspection is not intended as a means of exercising control, but of affording assistance; that it is not to be regarded as operating for the restraint of local efforts, but for their encouragement; and that its chief objects will not be attained without the co-operation of the school committees – the inspection having no power to interfere and not being instructed to offer any advice or information excepting where it is invited. [5]

Significantly, the instructions also refer to the need to ensure that the sums voted for education are 'most usefully applied'. Such a statement echoes a requirement by Ofsted requiring inspectors to make a summary judgement on the value for money provided by an inspected school.

Kay-Shuttleworth is also credited with establishing a working partnership – a concordat – between the Education Department and the National and British Societies respectively. In the early 1840s, for example, it was agreed that inspectors of National

Schools should be appointed only with the approval of the Archbishops of Canterbury or York. Thus if an Archbishop withdrew his support for an appointment, then it would be revoked and an alternative appointment be made. But tensions remained, and as the power of the Department grew there was resistance by the societies to what they viewed as encroachment on their interests. The 1846 Minutes of the Council laid down conditions for the management of National schools, an action viewed by the National Society and the Diocesan Boards as undermining the authority of the Church of England. In writing to the National Society, in relation to its dealings with the Committee in Council, the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education urged the Society

> to express the opinion of this Board that the Church of England is entitled to as much freedom of choice in the framing of regulations for its schools as any other religious body to which the government makes grant for education and to again impress on the committee of the National Society the importance of some legislative enactment whereby the terms on which government aid is to be granted to Church of England schools may be definitely settled and the principle be more effectively carried into effect, which was embodied in the address to Her Majesty presented by the House of Lords in July 1839. [6]

Despite underlying tensions, with the establishment of diocesan boards of education in the late 1830s and 1840s (Canterbury in 1838) the function of inspection came to be shared between the boards and HMI. (Appendix 2). The Newcastle Commission in 1861 correctly noted that HMIs inspecting Church of England schools are 'always in fact clergymen' and that these inspectors 'inquire into religious as well as the secular instruction given in the schools'. [7] It added that inspectors of other schools did not. Whether it was possible at the time for HMI, with an establishment of only 12 men, to monitor education provision on a national basis is highly questionable. An example of the need for and the value of local diocesan inspection can be seen in the following example of Benjamin Smith's wider monitoring of the curriculum. In a report on the Woodchurch Schools in 1857, in the deanery of Lympne, near Folkestone, he wrote

> The school continues to flourish in numbers, in discipline, and allowing for vicissitudes of the season, in learning under the same master (who has been over it since its opening 23 years ago), now assisted by his son, a promising pupil

> teacher. The points deserving praise were the gentle but effective discipline, the religious knowledge of some elder and of almost all the younger boys, the accuracy of their ciphering and the spelling, the knowledge of grammar and geography. The reading will still bear a little more finish, the copybooks may be neater, and a little hesitation in working practical sums got over. [8]

The value of a diocesan inspectorate independent of central government was jealously guarded at the time. The Education Committee of the National Society affirmed in 1866 "one great feature of diocesan inspection has always appeared to us its friendly sympathetic character. The diocesan inspector has in most cases the charge of a parish, and knowing well all the difficulties and all the anxiety which his brother parish-priest experiences, whose school he comes to examine." [9]

The formal inspection of Church of England schools was to proceed almost simultaneously between the National Society and the Education Department, both, within the space of a year, appointing their own schools' inspectors. The result was the Society's appointment of Edward Feild in February 1840, together with an 'inspecting agent' responsible for organising local inspections. The secretary of the National Society, John Sinclair, produced a set of 'general instructions' to guide the new inspectors. A significant feature of these instructions was the detail they contained, requiring for example, that the purpose of inspection was to encourage uniformity from the centre, but not to impose requirements or restraints on school managers. They continued

> You will be careful to explain, that the purpose of your visit is only to expose errors, so as to promote improvements... in short to show how the well-being, moral and religious, physical and intellectual of the rising generation may be most effectively promoted. [10]

Indeed, Sinclair's instructions were so definitive as to suggest that he was influenced by Kay-Shuttleworth's 'Instructions to Inspectors' issued to HMIs in the same year. Small as the National Society's inspection team was, they provided a model for all inspectors working on behalf of the Society; each diocesan board had the discretion to appoint its own inspectors and draw up instructions accordingly. [11] Although the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education had been formed in 1838, some 12 years were to elapse before it took steps to appoint its own school inspector. Yet, in the original terms of

reference inaugurating the Board in 1838, school inspection had not been overlooked. One requirement was that a

> Report on the state and progress of the Schools is to be made, at Christmas in every year, to the Diocesan Board, the District Society, or the National Society: and the Schools are, with the consent of the managers, to be periodically inspected by persons appointed either by the Bishop of the Diocese, the National Society, or the Diocesan Board of Education. [12]

Thus, at a time when the Church of England was beginning to feel increasingly threatened and its monopoly challenged by the rapid growth of dissenting and secular interests, it could take some comfort. The Concordat of 1840 had ensured that government inspectors of Church schools would be Anglican clergymen approved by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. In addition, dioceses across both provinces were taking steps to appoint their own local school inspectors. By 1853 the National Society had discontinued its appointment of inspectors and henceforth relied upon local diocesan schemes. Burden (1986) comments that although, on an England-wide basis the National Society accepted the need for a regular and standardised diocesan system of inspection, this aim realised little in the 1850s, and diocesan boards were left to their own initiatives.[13] If school inspection by the National Society had therefore lasted for little over a decade, a similar span of time also applied to diocesan arrangements for inspecting the main school curriculum. From 1863, with the introduction of the Revised Code, the role of the diocesan inspector increasingly focused on the general management of the school and religious instruction.

Following slow and gradual development in the role of HMI in the 1840s and 1850s, the Newcastle Commission, set up in 1858, paved the way for the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862, with 'payment by results', together with a greatly expanded role for the state's school inspectorate. Thus with the Revised Code, not only did the role of diocesan inspectors change, but also the inspection responsibilities of HMI. From two HMIs to cover England and Wales in 1839, their number had increased to 48 by 1861. Lawton and Gordon (1987) comment that "in order to implement payment by results, even more inspectors were required, and their power was undoubtedly increased; but the role of the inspector was changed in an undesirable way – away from adviser to tester and

enforcer of the Code." [14] Conversely, the work of the diocesan inspector changed to a subordinate role, from having chief responsibility for the curriculum of a National school to now focusing on the standard of religious instruction, but continuing as guardian for the well being of Church schools in the diocesan area. Benjamin Smith, Canterbury Diocesan Inspector, writing of his school visits during the period touched on the change in his Annual Report for 1865-6 "I have observed that it was not desirable to distract the attention of teachers too frequently from a line they were pursuing under the direction of HM Inspectors." [15]

With the Education Act of 1870 the national role of HMI again changed and by 1871 there were eight senior HMIs with responsibility for the eight divisions into which the inspectorate of England and Wales was now allocated, each division comprised eight to ten inspectoral districts. By that year, in addition to eight senior HMIs, there were 82 District Inspectors and 76 Assistant Inspectors. Starting in 1867 there was a gradual relaxation of the discipline of the 1862 Code, as the curriculum broadened. The 1875 Code introduced 'class subjects', grants for which were made on the ability of classes and not the examination of individual pupils. In the 1890s payment by results came to an end, and in 1898 HMIs were instructed that they "should not include any of the processes heretofore employed in formal examination." [16] The Education Act 1902, which created local education authorities, empowered them to inspect elementary schools in their areas.[17] Between 1902 and 1993 the work of inspecting maintained schools was jointly shared between HMI and local education authority inspectors; and during the greater part of the twentieth-century this was an evolving relationship. Bolton (1995) comments of inspection, that the period from 1945 to the mid 1960s was "the high point of a 'national service locally administered' in that the partnership between central government and the LEAs was very much intact, and supported and subscribed to by both parties." [18]

As the twentieth-century progressed this partnership led to the increasing concentration of HMI on advice rather than inspection. A House of Commons Select Committee on Education concluded in 1968 that the HM Inspectorate should become explicitly a national advisory body, with the task of inspections left to local education authorities. [19] Over 30 years later the House of Commons Select Committee on Ofsted (1999) noted that this recommendation had not been implemented. By 1992 the number

of HMIs had increased to 500, and local education authority inspectorates supplemented the role of inspection within their 116 localities. This partnership, which lasted throughout most of the twentieth century, was to change with the establishment of Ofsted. Looking at the wider context of change the 1999 Select Committee commented that, with the proliferation of regulatory bodies over the previous decade, many would accept that we now live in an 'audit society'. It added that over recent years, there had been a growing expectation on the part of the public that public services would be more directly answerable to those who use them. [20] But can the same be said of the 1850s and 1860s? Certainly the introduction of the Revised Code is clear evidence of the government of the day seeking to get to grips with the use of public money by schools, as well as the standards achieved by individual pupils.

Endnotes

1. Birchenough, C., (1938), History of Elementary Education, London, University Tutorial Press, pp.59-60
2. Ball, N., (1963), Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-49, Birmingham, University of Birmingham, pp.16-17
3. House of Commons Select Committee on Education & Employment, (HCSCE) 'The Work of OFSTED', vol.1, p.ix, London, The Stationery Office, 1999
4. Pollard, H.M. (1956) Pioneers of Popular Education, London, John Murray p.26
5. Minutes of the Committee of Council, August 1840, in Maclure, J.S. (1968), Education Documents England and Wales 1816-1967, London, Methuen, pp.48-9
6. Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education Minute Book 1849-59, 8 February 1849, U45/A3
7. Newcastle Commissioners Report (NC) 1861, Part 1, Chap.6, p.347
8. The Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education Minute Book, 1849-59 (9/12/1857)
9. National Society Education Committee Minute Book, 6/6/1866
10. National Society Annual Report, 1840, pp.27-30
11. Burden, K.J., 'National Society School Inspection: Origins and Development, 1839-49', unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London, p.57
12. Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education: Founding Memorandum and Minutes, 29 November 1838, U45/A1
13. Burden, K.J., op cit., p.78

14. Lawton, D., & Gordon, P., (1987), HMI, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp.11-12
15. Minutes of Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education, Diocesan Inspector's Annual Report for 1865-66, U45/A4
16. Kekewich, G., (1920), The Education Department and After, London, Constable, pp.56-7
17. Education Act, 1902, (2 EDW, &. CH.42), part 3, section 7
18. Bolton, E., 'HMI 1976 to 1992' in School Inspection, ed. Brighouse, T. & Moon, B., Pitman, London 1995
19. Report of House of Commons Education Select Committee, pp.67-68, 400, July 1968
20. HCSCE, 'The Work of OFSTED', (1999)

Chapter 4: Policy in Two Eras

Rationale for Reform 1850-1862

In the development of the modern state where did the principle of school inspection come from? The reformed parliament after 1832 was strongly influenced by utilitarian ideals, reflected in the early appointment of inspectors to supervise the working of the Factory Act 1833. In the following year the Poor Law Amendment Act appointed assistant commissioners and inspectors to implement the new system of poor relief. Similarly, the Parish Act of 1835 created an inspectorate reporting to the Home Office on penal conditions. Evans (1996) notes the growth of Benthamite solutions to administrative problems, including the setting up of local boards, inspectors and expert salaried officials, and refers to "a permanent self contained bureaucracy for each field of activity; more inspectors, more reports, more legislation to correct, redefine and sharpen." [1] At the same time, the mid-years of the nineteenth-century witnessed an expansion of the Civil Service and the growing professionalisation of government. By 1870 the number of government employees had increased to 54,000, with responsibilities covering a wide range of administrative and inspectoral duties, and the "government was now, through the agency of its inspectors and commissioners, a regulator, co-ordinator and, within limits, director of business...the change was remarkably rapid." [2]

From a policy perspective there are issues of similarity in the two eras under consideration. Simon (1994), wrote of the period 1850-70 as being the crucial 'moment of change' for education in England, and suggested that historians of education have not traditionally acknowledged the clear involvement by the state in this process of change. [3] In the 1850s and 1860s education was being viewed as of increasing material importance in the development of the corporate state. Thus the decision to introduce the Revised Code was not wholly the result of the pragmatic and financial needs of the state. Simon (1994) wrote

> The increasing prosperity of the 1850s, which affected both the agricultural world and industry, was now leading to a period of social stability.... This, then, was a suitable time to encourage the development of new educational structures that could both go some way to meeting the new pressures arising from occupational and political change, and at the same time stabilise, or even reinforce, the emergent hierarchic social structures.[4]

A clear pattern to emerge is that the system of elementary education that developed in the 1860s was heavily influenced by Utilitarian thinking, particularly with its emphasis on securing the vocational outcomes of learning. In the debate in the House of Commons on the Revised Code in March 1862, Spencer Walpole, the Conservative Member for Cambridge University, and also vice-President of the Church of England's National Society, stated "a good education is the training of children so [as] to enable them by means of that education, to fulfil the after-duties of life in a moral and industrious community." [5] In the same debate, John Stanhope, Conservative MP for Lincolnshire, in referring to the Newcastle Commission report, stated that the highest aim of education was to "raise the general character of the children, both morally and intellectually." Bernal Osborne, Liberal MP for Liskeard Cornwall [6], put the matter more plainly when he exclaimed, "in the name of common sense, what are children sent to school for but to acquire the rudiments of education – to learn reading, writing and arithmetic? The right hon. Gentleman talks of discipline. Is not learning to read and write in itself a moral discipline, and discipline of the most wholesome kind?" [7]

Simon (1994) argues that the impetus to reform public education arose from social and political reasons, rather than perhaps from any wider view that Britain was beginning to lag behind other major European countries. Writing earlier, Simon (1960) had commented that although the Newcastle Commission had sent envoys to other countries to inquire into their provision of public education, "it had not been proved that English education lagged behind that of other countries, and meanwhile industry was prospering and profits rising." [8] In considering evidence on the system of compulsory school attendance operating in Prussia, the Commissioners concluded that "it proves nothing as to the effects of introducing legal compulsion into a nation previously unaccustomed to it." [9] In the House of Commons debate on the Revised Code in March 1862, Robert Lowe alluded to a comparative literacy statistic between England and the Netherlands.

He cited the example of the Staffordshire Militia consisting of 846 rank and file, of which only 316 could read "well", 281 "very imperfectly", and 250 not at all. Compared with this in a Dutch regiment in south Holland consisting of 7000 conscripts, 6000 could read and write "perfectly." [10] Speaking at a public meeting held in St George's Hall, Canterbury in November 1862, A.E. Gathorne-Hardy, Conservative MP for Leominster, spoke on the impending education reforms as follows:

> I see that the old examples are to be cited to us as a ground on which we should abandon that which we have hitherto relied upon (Hear) [Hear]. The Prussian system has been cited, and the American system has also been cited. From beginning to end the Prussian system is a government system, and its object is to make the people submissive to the government, as if they were so many soldiers! [11]

Yet with the transformation of the international scene in the 1860s, including the American Civil War, the dominance of Prussia in the unification of Germany, and later and significantly in 1870 the defeat of a great power, France, politicians became increasingly aware of the value of education as a national force. During the passage of the Education Bill in 1870, W. E. Forster, its proposer, told the House of Commons

> Upon this speedy provision of education depends also our national power. Civilized communities throughout the world are massing themselves together, each mass being measured by its force; and if we are to hold our position among men of our own race or among the nations of the world we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual. [12]

Similarly today, there has been widespread debate about the international origins of educational reform in England in the 1980s and 1990s. Lawton (1992), for example, traces seven trends and explanations including the globalisation of educational reform. [13] Perry (1995) writing on the formation of Ofsted comments that the performance of the education system in England and Wales "leaves little cause for satisfaction as we move through the 1990s. We are still an under-educated and under-trained nation."[14]

Dunford (1980) comments that political instability following the repeal of the Corn Laws had resulted in shifting political groupings. As a result no legislative action was taken to reform education provision "and the only changes that took place were all

enacted by Minutes, many of which increased the inspectors' workload still further." [15] However, in the 1850s there were several unsuccessful attempts to reform elementary education. In 1855 alone three separate schemes were raised in parliament, including plans for a combination of local education rates, parish schemes supported by the poor rate, assisted by grants from the Committee in Council. Sir John Pakington's 1857 Bill went further with its proposal to establish local ad-hoc boards with the power to precept borough councils or poor law overseers to fund local schemes of elementary education. [16] On the failure of this proposal it was to be Pakington's motion in February 1858 that led directly to the establishment of the Newcastle Commission. Government expenditure on education had increased steadily from, in round figures, £20,000 in 1833, to £100,000 in 1846, £450,000 in 1856, and by 1861 to £800,000. [17] Financial retrenchment was the order of the day and when the Commission reported in 1861, William Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was strongly committed to reducing the level of state expenditure, not least by promising to abolish income tax. In tracing the development of dramatic change in the national inspection system for schools it is therefore necessary to examine the workings and outcomes of the Newcastle Commission.

The Work of the Newcastle Commission 1858-61 and Current Parallels

The Newcastle Commission began its work in June 1858. Its terms of reference were: "to inquire into the present state of Popular Education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap Elementary Instruction to all classes of the People." [18]

On 24 November 1859 Ralph Lingen, Secretary to the Committee in Council, appeared as a witness before the Commission. He was asked by the Duke of Newcastle whether he felt that inspectors "could do more in the way of personal examination" of pupils. Lingen replied that he had no doubt that more might be done to make inspections searching "but I feel equally certain that an inspector who took the indispensable means, would be, at any rate at the beginning, exceedingly unpopular in his district, and that, for a very considerable time, the kind of indirect and unofficial influence which an inspector now exerts among the managers of a school would be lost." Earlier, in answer to the same

line of questioning, Lingen had commented on the advice function of inspectors saying, for example, that "on the day of inspection he does not at all come down as a government functionary, who may wheel and order everybody about, and prosecute his business without interruption during that time.... the managers of the school have endless questions to ask of him". [19]

Nevertheless, although Lingen had highlighted what he perceived as problems in introducing a more systematic and rigorous form of inspection, it was in this direction that the Newcastle Commission's recommendations were to proceed. Today, with the establishment once again of a more rigorous system of schools inspection, there has been much comment in the literature (as well as in the interviews with headteachers conducted as part of this research) about the separation of advice and inspection, with Ofsted adopting such an approach. Maw (1995) writing of the Ofsted model of inspection refers to the relationship between the inspection team and the school as being one of hierarchy and detachment and "whilst the inspection team may give feedback during the course of inspection, the inspection process provides neither advice nor support." [20] A similar stance is taken in the OFSTED Experience – *A Governor's Eye View* (1994), a report on a governors' conference which concluded "They [the governors] also had some philosophical objection to the divorce between the inspection process and the advisory and support services, which they felt schools needed if they were to make constructive use of the inspections process and improve the schools for which they were responsible."[21]

The Newcastle Commission considered the issue of school inspection in depth, its deployment (including current inspection procedures), the duties of inspectors and their relationship with school managers. Many of the specialist witnesses to appear before the Commission commented favourably on the benefits of inspection. In summarising what it saw as the advantages of inspection as well as its existing defects, the Commissioners observed that the superiority of inspected schools could be affirmed beyond dispute. Nor were they convinced by criticisms of HMIs: "we are not, indeed, inclined to give much weight to complaints of an arbitrary tone and manner, and even of lasting decisions, especially when we remember that the temptation of an inspector lies in the direction of leniency rather than of severe requirement." [22] Some witnesses doubted whether it was

possible for inspectors to examine every child individually. HMI Edward Tufnell, an experienced inspector of Poor Law schools, stated that:

> An inspector can take a class and report on the qualification of that class on any subject, but he knows nothing of the individuals in it; and it would be an intolerable waste of time if he were even to endeavour to make himself acquainted with their names.... I cannot conceive the possibility of any inspector being able to report on the individual qualifications of the children. [23]

Some of this concern is reflected in current views on the work of OFSTED. Wragg and Brighouse in their pamphlet, New Model of School Inspection (1995) comment that Ofsted reports are written to a formula, with too much prominence given to comparison with national norms, and not enough to a thorough analysis of the individual school. [24]

Returning to the work of the Newcastle Commission, the former Secretary to the Committee of Council, Kay–Shuttleworth spoke opposing the individual examination of pupils, but his views did not prevent the Commission from finding that such "examination was nevertheless desirable." A common complaint was that examination by inspectors led to pupil's learning being more a matter of memory than of reasoning. The Commission reported that the Reverend Isaac Holmes, headmaster of the Liverpool schools at Kirkdale, had told them of teachers who could spend their time more profitably if they did not have to teach history, geography and grammar. In other words, the Commissioners were considering the slimming down of the curriculum to reading, writing and arithmetic – the 3R's - the eventual focus of the Revised Code 1862.

In looking at the standards of efficiency in inspected schools, the Newcastle Commission considered the semantic interpretation of words used in inspectors' reports. For example, on seeking clarification on the meaning of the terms 'excellent', 'good' and 'fair', the Commissioners asked "but what do these words mean?" They noted that the Revd. W.H. Brookfield in his 1856 report had "described with great liveliness the standards by which these terms ought to be assigned." In the debate in the House of Commons in 1862, John Stanhope MP sought to play on the meaning of these inspectoral terms. He pointed out that Robert Lowe "had stated that in reporting that in so many schools certain [branches of instruction] were taught 'excellently' or 'well', the Inspectors might have meant that there were persons in those schools capable of teaching

those branches 'excellently' or 'well' but they did not mean that they were 'excellently or well taught' or 'excellently well learnt'. He could not think that that was a satisfactory explanation." [25]

Similarly today, there has been considerable discussion on the meaning and interpretation of words or phrases used in Ofsted reports. Wragg and Brighouse (1995) in their recommendations for developing a new model of inspection, found that "the language of inspection reports, littered with phrases like 'generally satisfactory', or 'sound' bears little resemblance to the normal language of debate and discussion on educational matters and is too imprecise to be helpful." Levacic and Glover (1995) trace the development of Ofsted's definition of 'value for money', in the context of an output/input relationship, and conclude that there are three categories of value for money judgements made by Ofsted inspectors – good, satisfactory or fair, and unsatisfactory or not giving value. In discussing parents' perspectives on Ofsted reports, Ousten and Klenowski refer to parents wanting more information about the meanings of some parts of the reports, such as clarification of statements such as: "satisfactory but below the national average." [26]

Two other witnesses to the Newcastle Commission, referred to as Witness AB and Witness CD, were asked the question "Does the system of Government or other central inspection, affect the efficiency of schools inspected? and how?" AB replied that

> Inspection materially affects the character of a school, but it is doubtful if it increases the efficiency of the school in the real object desired; there is a great danger of essentials being neglected for showy acquirements, e.g. a master said 'my credit depends on the inspector's report. If he takes most account of mental arithmetic and etymological derivations, what can I do?'

Witness CD commented, "They [the teachers] are cramped by the Government system. Few masters or mistresses venture to adopt any system of their own, however much required, for fear of the inspectors." [27]

In recommending that capitation should be based on the two elements - individual pupils level of school attendance, and their proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic - the Commission proposed that this should be reinforced through the development of a more rigorous form of national inspection supplanting inspection arrangements that had

previously existed. It believed that what it described as the "present defects" could not be rectified until "a real examination is introduced into our day schools." Their hierarchical patronage of education was reflected in their view that "everyone who has been at public school knows how searching and improving is the character of a careful examination." [28] Kitson Clark (1962) made the observation that the Commission "was probably steered by men in some ways hostile to the system." [29] The Commissioners also stressed the belief that examination in the 3Rs would impart a practical and real character to teaching, which even the poorest child, paying in part for its education, had a right to expect. [30]

Responding to the Newcastle Commission report, the Committee of Council's first action was to modify its existing Minutes, and to discontinue the payment of grants direct to teachers, placing more responsibility on local managers, and making grants depend largely on the results of individual examination. In 1861 Robert Lowe, in his capacity as Vice-President of the Committee in Council, had arranged for the codification of the existing Minutes then in force, thereby creating the original Code. The following year this was cancelled and a new series of minutes – The Revised Code – was presented to parliament. A key recommendation was that grants could now only be paid to pupils under 12 years of age, who had attended a minimum of 200 morning and afternoons a year, subject to the results of individual examination by an HMI of each child in reading, writing and arithmetic. The examination was arranged in a series of 'standards' and pupils were expected to move up one stage every year. Following the parliamentary debates on the Revised Code in February and March 1862, Lowe further modified the proposals, which finally came into effect on 1 August 1863.

Criticisms were widespread, both in the public domain and in parliament. Kay-Shuttleworth, Lingen's predecessor as Secretary to the Committee in Council, severely criticised the Revised Code. Matthew Arnold, HMI published anonymously in Fraser's Magazine (1862) an attack entitled 'The Twice Revised Code', which was soon reprinted as a pamphlet. He argued that its implementation would result in the state appropriating "to the supervision of public education much too large a proportion of its whole grant for public education; a great deal of money would have to be spent in maintaining inspectors, which would be better spent in maintaining schools." In an analogy with prisons, Arnold compared the effect of a similar system being applied to penal institutions "the staff of

[prison] officers to conduct this minute inquisition would absorb funds which might have provided prison-discipline enough to reform scores of criminals." It was Arnold's view that the Revised Code would double the cost of inspection, and he declared "that examination, we are told is now the rule in our public services", the Code would introduce a system which he felt could only be paralleled in China where

> examination [is] the rule not only for every public servant, but for all those to whom the public servants action extends? Yet this is the rule Mr Lowe institutes… this is as if the State undertook, not only to send the excisemen before the Civil Service Commissioner, but to send before them also the people who drink beer. [31]

In an extended debate by the House of Commons on the Revised Code in March 1862, the role of HMI was considered in detail. Spencer Walpole stated that expenditure on education at £800,000 in 1861 was 'an enormous figure'. He added

> whether it is or is not too high a figure depends on the question whether, large as it is, it is too much to pay for the education of the poorer classes of the community. Viewing it on that ground nobody, I think, will say that it is too high. But, Sir, it may be considered too high on the ground that the money is not properly laid out. [32]

Lord Robert Cecil, later Lord Salisbury and Prime Minister, speaking in the House in his capacity as MP for Stamford in Lincolnshire, questioned the allocation of time and resources available for inspection under current arrangements, and said that the duty of HMIs was limited to making reports, but that under the new system their powers would be unlimited. Inspectors "told off from the desks in Downing Street would go down to the country, summon the managers before them, and decide whether the managers were to be reimbursed or whether they were to be fined for their indolence by means of the 'drastic stimulus' of Privy Council." He spoke with passion about the pressures that the new system would place on school managers, "treating them as slaves and not as partners…. and the system depending on such probable contingencies as the weather; or the attendance of either the child or the inspector, or the humour of the latter while performing his duties of examiner." [33]

In the same debate W.E. Forster, Liberal MP for Bradford and later architect of the 1870 Education Act, stated that the great majority of managers throughout the country were hard-worked and ill paid curates, and that "these men, not seldom, had to deny education to their own children while they discharged their duty in educating the children of the poor." He felt that the proposed reforms "would totally alter the relation between the state and the officers of Education." Mr Puller, Liberal MP for Hertfordshire, said that it was well known that the practice of HMIs was not uniform. Some examined every child in every school, others a cross section "taken indiscriminately in each of the classes." Puller continued "if a man bought a quarter of barley, he did not think it necessary to examine every grain. If the sample were good, that it was enough to determine his judgement." [34]

In responding to criticisms in the debate Robert Lowe dealt with the role of inspectors and the conduct of examinations and affirmed that it "is the conviction of everyone of experience in my own office that there will be no practical difficulty in examining the children." He said that he had received "letters by the dozen" from people who had tried the experiment with the assistance of inspectors and who had never found any difficulty in administering the examinations. Lowe made concessions in an effort to retain sound relations with the church authorities, for example, he was determined that "not a penny will be granted for any proficiency... unless the inspector or managers are satisfied with the religious teaching of the school. This is a rule that is inflexibly insisted on." As for Lord Robert Cecil's fear about an inferior class of inspector being recruited to assist with the examinations, Lowe confirmed that it was the government's intention to appoint "men of the same rank and station as the managers with whom they have to associate." [35]

Neo Liberal Developments in the late Twentieth Century

How can the education reforms of the 1980s and 1990s be compared with these earlier developments, given that nearly 150 years had elapsed since the reforms of the 1850s and 1860s? The establishment of Ofsted in 1993 similarly needs to be viewed in the context of changing social and political attitudes to the public sector. Johnson in his

paper A New Road to Serfdom? (1991) traces the influence of the New Right on the development of a new system of quality control and accountability in education. Thus the latter can be judged against the requirements of a modern economy, and 'standards' can equate with 'employability'. A key strand of this political focus on education was linked to what he describes as 'Black Paper Perspectives' on the accountability of teachers. A further tendency of the New Right that inspired the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s was the move towards centralisation and the erosion of LEA powers in relation to schools, colleges and polytechnics. [36] Power (1997) argues that the increased availability of data combined with enhanced managerial capability has lent itself to systems of self-inspection and refers to the creation of an 'audit society', obsessed with constant checking and verification. [37] Such an analysis was echoed in the findings of the Select Committee 1999. The latter commented that while the establishment of Ofsted, an external body which publishes very detailed information about every school in the country, could be seen as a departure from the traditions of the education system, it can also be seen simply as one facet of a developing 'audit society'. [38] Significantly in this context, the latest initiatives from Ofsted indicate a move towards greater self-assessment by schools as part of a revised inspection framework.

There is some evidence to suggest that a broad consensus existed between national and local government from the time of the creation of LEAs in 1902 until the 1970s. This consensus had been reinforced by the exigencies of two World Wars, and in particular the post-Second World War co-operation on the reconstruction and improvement of the social fabric of Britain. However, this view has been challenged severely. Was the post-war era the beginning of the end of national and local partnership of education policy? Early signs that the consensus was beginning to break down came in the 1960s, with a series of major reports on aspects of the national education service. That decade, like the 1850s, was to see the arrival of new ideas and innovation in education and tried to capture it within the expansionist, optimistic and still consensual spirit of that period. Dale (1989) traced major social and economic changes from the post-war period onwards as evidence of a fundamental and changing agenda in education. These involved shifts in generational factors, gender and racial groups, growing equality of opportunity, attempts to achieve greater social harmony, and the essential role of education in achieving these

objectives. Commenting on this periodization he remarked that "for twenty years after the 1944 Act, education was regarded almost unequivocally as a good thing, and entirely worthy of all the support that could be mustered for it." Yet this began to break down with the publication of the Black Papers from the late 1960s, and the deficit view of public education, which intensified over the following 20 years. Such a perception was reinforced by events at the William Tyndale School in London, where teachers refused to accept the authority of either the Inner London Education Authority or the school's managers. This incident further promoted the right-wing view that failings in the education service were a contributory cause of Britain's economic decline. [39]

A report – Our Schools A Radical Policy – published by the Institute of Economic Affairs in 1987 reiterated many of the concerns of the neo-liberal groups. Many of the themes outlined in Our Schools reflected concerns expressed at the time of the Newcastle Report in 1861. The 1987 paper, for example, states

> There is widespread dissatisfaction with the present state of maintaining schools. Many are good, but the popular perception is
>
> - Poor standards of the 3Rs
> - Poor standards of discipline and behaviour
> - Poor academic standards generally, for the most intelligent the average and below average ability children
> - Insufficient attention to practical and vocational subjects
> - Too much party politics in the running of schools and education generally [40]

Dunford (1998) cites evidence that "the right-wing of the Conservative party was keen to reform HMI" and quotes from an article by Bob Dunn, MP for Dartford, who described HMI as "an area of the education system which has remained virtually untouched since Victorian times." [41]

Seen as part of a policy continuum, the Black Papers, the work of the education pamphleteers and the influence on the neo-liberal groups all contributed to the radical reshaping brought about by the 1988 Education Reform Act, including the creation of the National Curriculum. In pressing ahead with these reforms a key objective was to improve the quality and availability of information on education, so that standards could be measured more effectively, and thereby improved. Kenneth Baker, Secretary of State

for Education and Science, in his opening speech in the Commons Second Reading of the Education Reform Bill commented:

> Our education system... has become producer-dominated. It has not proved sensitive to the demands of change that have become ever more urgent over the past 10 years. The Bill will create a new framework, which will raise standards, extend choice and produce a better informed Britain. [42]

Robert Lowe, in the Commons debate on the Revised Code, had stated that "we are in the habit of saying education in England is very good.... but education does not consist of children attending schools it consists, rather, in what they learn at school. Upon that point, unfortunately, until we have got some system of education, we can obtain no precise information; but whatever evidence we have is directly in the teeth of the prevailing impression." [43]

In reshaping the provision of education the Education Reform Act (ERA) 1988 created new responsibilities in the monitoring and evaluation of the National Curriculum. Kenneth Baker in a speech to the Council of Local Education Authorities in January 1988 outlined what he envisaged as a new role for LEA inspectorates, including building on their existing strengths and support for schools in the implementation of the National Curriculum. Bolton (1995) in discussing the role of HMIs at the time of the ERA said that no government of modern times had been more directly involved in influencing what was actually going on in schools and that with the passage of the Act it became increasingly clear to ministers that they needed some arrangements whereby "each and every school would be inspected and reported on regularly and frequently enough for parents to have access to such a report while their children were attending the school." [44] The Department for Education (DFE) White Paper - Choice and Diversity: A New Framework for Schools (1992) – commented that previous local inspection arrangements were "shameful" - irregular and unsystematic visits followed by unpublished reports with little or no evaluation. It noted some improvements had occurred since 1989, but these had been too slow and uneven. It concluded that the government could not let this continue and that from 1993 all schools would be subject to "regular and rigorous inspection under the watchful eye of the new and powerful Chief Inspector of Schools."[45]

Bolton (1995), Learmouth (1995) and Perry (1995) all comment on the importance of the Parent's Charter 1991 as an instrument of change in the context of an individual citizen's entitlement, as well as evidence of growing consumerism in society. Bolton (1995), for example, describes the changes to inspection as being much influenced by the "Citizen's Charter push from Mr Major in the run up to the 1992 election." [46] Such an approach included the setting of measurable benchmarks against which progress and improvement could be gauged. The Parent's Charter spoke of a new relationship between parents and schools and outlined its purpose as follows:

> The Charter tells you about the government's new plans for: annual written reports on your child's progress; regular reports by independent inspectors on the strengths and weaknesses of your school; published tables so that you can compare the performance of local schools; and independent assessors on panels which hear parents' appeals if they do not get the school they want for their child. [47]

A further policy pamphlet instrumental in accelerating change appeared in September 1991, with the publication by the Centre for Policy Studies of Inspecting Schools: Breaking the Monopoly, by John Burchill, an inspector with Wandsworth LEA. The pamphlet criticised the lack of coordination between HMI and LEA inspectorates, and cited recent Audit Commission evidence that showed that 53 out of 60 LEA inspectorates spent less than a third of the time on the observation of teaching. Burchill, in his pamphlet commented, "over the country as a whole it appears that objective and rigorous external monitoring and reporting on schools is the exception rather than the rule." It called for the establishment of an independent national and 'licensed' inspectorate operating objectively against clear specifications; it concluded, "inspection (if not exactly a business) would at least be conducted in a business-like manner." [48]

In the House of Commons debate on the Education (Schools) Bill in March 1992, a connective thread was picked up by Jack Straw MP, Opposition spokesperson on education, he stated

> There is a curious resemblance between the mad cap scheme in the Bill and a pamphlet written by the right-wing ideologues in Wandsworth, including the chief inspector Mr John Burchall [sic.]. He wrote a pamphlet for the Centre of

> Policy Studies proposing the privatisation of the inspectorate and the emasculation of HMI. The original Bill and pamphlet are remarkably similar. [49]

In rebutting this suggestion, the Secretary of State Kenneth Clarke, stated that as soon as he had been appointed it was his firm opinion that "if we were to move towards a system of greater parental choice between schools and greater accountability towards parents, we need more information for parents so that their choice could be effective and informed." He also said that everyone considered local authority inspection to be patchy and of variable standards and "that had always been the opinion of HMI." Jack Straw expressed his concern at the likely quality of new inspection under the proposed scheme "the reason why Arthur Daley would have been able to slip through the original scheme was that only the registered inspector – those in charge of each of the inspection teams – would have been subject to any scrutiny by HMI.... all sorts of dodgy characters would be likely to get through the net." [50] Nearly a century and a half earlier, in the 1862 Commons' debate, Lord Robert Cecil had expressed his concern about a proposal to appoint assistant HMI "the right Hon. Gentleman [Mr Lowe] did not call them clerks, but he said Inspectors would be appointed lower in social rank, lower in attainments and lower in salary." [51]

Endnotes

1. E.J. Evans (1996) The Forging of the Modern State, London, Longman, p.303
2. Ibid. p.299
3. Simon, B., (1994), The State & Educational Change, London, Laurence & Wishhart, p.24
4. Ibid. p.35
5. Hansard, 3rd series, vol. clxvi, March 25 1862: Education, The Revised Code of Regulations, p.33
6. Osborne had previously been Liberal MP for the Dover Constituency in east Kent 1855-59
7. Ibid. 26 March 1862, p.164
8. Simon, B. (1960) op cit. p.349
9. NC (1861), Part I Chap. 3, p.193
10. Hansard, vol.clxvi, 26 March 1862, col.222

11. National Society, The Monthly Paper, November 1862, reporting on a speech by Gathorne Hardy at Canterbury on 4 November 1862.
12. Speech by W.E. Forster, Feb. 17 1870, in Maclure, J.S. Educational Document England and Wales 1816-1967 (1968), London, Methuen, p.105
13. Lawton, S.B., (1992), 'Why restructure? An international survey of the roots of reform', Journal of Education Policy, Vol.7, No.2, pp.139-154
14. Perry, P. 'The Formation of OFSTED' in School Inspection, Brighouse T. and Moon, B. (eds.) (1995), p.38
15. Dunford, J.E., (1980) Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools in England and Wales, 1860-1870, Leeds, University of Leeds, p.4
16. Connell, W.F., (1950) The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.108-115
17. Hansard, 25 March 1862, vol. clxvi, p.26
18. Hansard, 11 February 1858, vol.clxvii, p.1248
19. NC op cit., p.58, Q.435
20. Maw, J., 'The Handbook for the Inspection of Schools', in Ofsted Inspections- The Early Experience (1996), Ouston, J. Earley, P. and Fidler, B. (eds.) London, David Fulton, p.23
21. OFSTIN, The OFSTED Experience, (1994), Report on Conference held on 14 April 1994. Research and Information on State Education Trust, London, p.8
22. NC Part 1, Chapter 4, p.230
23. NC Ibid.
24. Wragg, E. And Brighouse, T. (1995) The New Model of School Inspection, Exeter, University of Exeter, p.3
25. Hansard, March 26 1862, col. 67
26. Ouston J. and Klenowski (1996) 'Parents' Responses to School Inspections', in Ofsted Inspections, London, David Fulton, p.140
27. NC Part 2, Chap.4 p.232
28. NC Part 2, Chap.6 pp.338-42
29. Kitson Clark, G., (1962), The Making of Victorian England, London, Methuen, p.174
30. NC Part 2, Chap.6, p.341
31. Arnold, M. 'The Twice Revised Code', in G. Sutherland (ed.) Arnold on Education (1973), Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp.41-2
32. Hansard, Ibid.1862, col.26
33. Hansard, Ibid. col.85
34. Hansard, Ibid. col.96
35. Hansard, Ibid, col. 227
36. Johnson, R., 'A New Road to Serfdom? A Critical History of the 1988 Act', in Education Limited: Schooling and the New Right Since 1979, (1991), London, Unwin Hyman, pp. 40-81
37. Power, M., (1997), The Audit Society: rituals of verification, Oxford, OUP, pp.45-52
38. HCSCE, The Work of OFSTED, (1999) vol.1, p.x., London, The Stationery Office,

39. Dale, R., (1989), The State and Education Policy, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp.94-106
40. Sexton, S., (1987), Our Schools – A Radical Policy, London, Institute of Economic Affairs, pp.4-5
41. Dunford, J., (1998), Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools Since 1944, London, Woburn Press, p.192
42. Hansard, 1987-8, 1 December 1987, col.771
43. Hansard, 1862, col. 222
44. Bolton, E., 'HMI 1976 to 1992', in Brighouse, T, & Moon, B. (1995), op cit, pp.15-34
45. DFE, (1992), Choice and Diversity: a New Framework for Schools, Cm 2021, London, HMSO
46. Bolton, E., op cit
47. DES, (1991), The Parent's Charter, Cmd599, p.1 & pp.18-19
48. Burchill, J., (1991), Inspecting Schools: Breaking the Monopoly, Centre for Policy Studies, London, Chameleon Press, pp.5-13
49. Hansard, 6th series, vol. 205, House of Commons, Session 1991-2, 13 March 1992, col.1163-1195
50. Ibid.
51. Hansard, 1862, 3rd series, col.84

Chapter 5: Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education and School Inspection

Establishing Diocesan School Inspection

The Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education was established in 1838 and little over a decade later took action to set up its own form of diocesan inspection. In May 1849 the Board moved a resolution "that the archdeacons of Canterbury and Maidstone be requested to procure through the rural deans a return of the actual state of education in the several parishes of which the diocese is composed." [1] At this early stage there was uncertainty among rural deans about what would be entailed. The Canterbury Local Board agreed that their rural deans would inspect the schools in their district. The Ashford Local Board requested clarification about "whether an inspection or examination of schools was intended." [2] Likewise, the Bridge deanery, situated between Canterbury and Dover, requested further information on the proposals. As an early temporary measure the Diocesan Board agreed that the Revd. Brookfield would undertake inspection of schools in the diocese in 1849. The following year the Revd. J.B. Wells, a clergyman of the diocese, was appointed for one year as part-time inspector of church schools; part-time because such duties were in addition to normal parish duties. For his inspection work he received travelling expenses, together with £75 towards offsetting the cost of additional help with his parish duties. In April 1850, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the Diocesan Board saying

> I was very glad to hear that Mr Wells thinks himself able to take the Inspection of the Schools in the Diocese, on the terms mentioned which makes him a very useful assistant in the work of education. I was glad... that the Inspector should report to me in the first instance. Mr Wells I doubt not, will put himself in communication with the rural deans, whose assistance and local knowledge will be necessary in carrying out his objects. [3]

In February 1851 the Revd. Wells resigned as schools inspector. In receiving his resignation the Diocesan Board agreed that a Committee of Inspection should be

established "in order to provide for the gratuitous inspection of Schools within the deanery, the managers of which may be willing to have them inspected under their direction." [4] This last phrase resonates with a proposal under consideration, but not subsequently enacted, at the time of the passage of the Education (Schools) Act 1992 whereby governors of schools would have been able to select an Ofsted team to carry out their school's inspection.

At the same time it was also agreed by the Diocesan Board that the Archbishop should be approached with a view to appointing a Diocesan Inspector for Schools with a remit to inspect at least one-third of diocesan schools each year, and the Board also requested that "competent persons should be identified to carry out an annual inspection of deanery schools" [5] Following a meeting with the Archbishop in March 1851, when these proposals were agreed, the Revd. Benjamin Smith was appointed Diocesan Inspector. Smith, the minister of Rusthall parish near Tunbridge Wells, was to hold this office for the Canterbury Diocese until 1875. At this time it was also agreed that local parish inspectors – lay or clerical – should be identified, whose task it would be to liaise with the Diocesan Inspector and make reports to the Board on education in their parishes. In some areas suitable candidates were not identified, and there were frequent requests for the Board to consider increasing the number of stipendiary inspectors to two. Dartford Local Board in northwest Kent, for example, questioned whether one inspector could adequately cover the whole diocese. It wrote to the Diocesan Board saying "that in consequence of the difficulty in finding gentlemen, willing to undertake the office of inspector it seems to the Board desirable that the number of paid inspectors should be increased." [6] Dartford also asked whether following a visit, the diocesan inspector's school report could be made available to the managers, together with suggestions for improvement. Several other parishes also sought information for school managers following an inspection visit. Such requests mirror issues raised in the debates on the introduction of Ofsted, for example, the need to ensure that school governors were fully informed and involved in the Ofsted proceedings. [7] As diocesan school inspection became established in the early 1850s the Diocesan Board began to draw up procedures for its operation. One development was the establishment of the Diocesan Inspection Committee in 1852. Another, in the same year, was that the inspection year was agreed,

and a proforma devised for the collection of relevant data. In addition rural deans were required to submit annual reports for consideration by the Diocesan Board, and arrangements for annual meetings of all inspectors – stipendiary and local – were agreed. Benjamin Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone and a tireless worker on behalf of education in the diocese, was able to write to his colleague the Diocesan Inspector and tell him "I saw the Archbishop this morning, and his grace entirely approved of the resolutions which I left in his hands." [8] Following this the Archbishop wrote to all parish secretaries to announce the new inspection system, adding

> I ought, however, to state that the value of the system is clearly manifested by the general result; and in particular that many alterations and improvements are specified as having originated in the visit of Mr Smith last year. There is reason therefore to hope that in future no school will be reported as having declined the visit of the inspector. [9]

As the 1850s progressed attempts to have a second stipendiary inspector continued but without success.

By 1853 the Canterbury Diocesan scheme of inspection was in operation. In the summer of that year the Archbishop wrote to the Diocesan Board to say that he had received the returns from the ruridecanal inspectors as well as a report from Mr Smith who had by now visited all 405 schools in the diocese. In conclusion, the Archbishop commented that standards of secular instruction were, "upon the whole, low, though not without some notable exceptions; though not below what might be expected from the difficulty everywhere experienced of retaining any children beyond the age of 12 years or of securing their regular attendance." [10] As the diocesan inspection system developed, local boards were authorised to pay expenses to ruridecanal inspectors to assist with the inspection of parish schools. The Diocesan Inspector managed to visit one-third of diocesan schools each year sending a report to the Archbishop and local school managers. In addition to assessing the standards of pedagogy and learning, the Diocesan Inspector provided evidence in support of building grant applications, as well as providing testimonials in support of grant applications for the training of teaching monitors. Concerns over the need to ensure adequate inspection were to continue. [11] In May 1857 the Bridge Local Board wrote to the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education explaining

that they had failed to find a ruridecanal inspector for their district and "begged to lay the circumstances before the Board in the hope that... the Archbishop would appoint two inspectors for the deanery." [12] However, with the turn of the 1850s, greater changes were coming and the Board saw the Diocesan Inspector as an essential source of information on these new and wider events.

The Diocesan Board and the Revised Code 1862

With the imminent approach of the Revised Code, the Board resolved in 1861 that "the Revd. B.F. Smith as Inspector of Schools to this Board be requested to prepare for the information of the Board a Tabular Statement of the effect of the new Code on the Schools within this Diocese together with his comments and remarks upon it – that he be requested to send a copy of such a statement to the members of the Board at least one week before the meeting of the Board at which the same may be taken into consideration." [13]

Taking account of Smith's report, the Board wrote to the Lord President of the Committee of the Privy Council in December 1861, setting out its response to the impending proposals. While welcoming plans to make the distribution of public funds for education simpler and more effective, the Board had reservations about their likely financial effects. It was felt that changes in the payment of teachers were harsh and would act as a discouragement to the employment of pupil teachers. On the question of payment being focused on the 3Rs, it took a more critical line and put forward, inter alia, the following objections

(a) The inconvenience and unfairness which would arise from grouping children for examination according to age;
(b) The limitation of the grant to children in actual attendance on the day of the examination and during the previous month;
(c) The inapplicability of the proposed test to infants;
(d) The unnecessary high standard of proficiency in arithmetic proposed for Girls;
(e) The discouragement of continued attendance in the day school of children above 11 years of age;
(f) The difficult position in which Inspectors will be placed;

(g) The pecuniary risk which managers will be called upon to view. [14]

Foreseeing the effects of reduced Privy Council funding, the Diocesan Board agreed to urge "as much as possible local effort to help school funding." Throughout these years the Board carefully monitored the effects and impacts of the new reforms. In May 1864 Smith prepared a detailed assessment for the Archbishop on the effects of the Code, set out in Appendix 3. His response centred on the impact of the Code on teaching staff, the reduction in the number of assistants employed, the attendant pressures on principal teachers, as well as the operation of the new examination. Smith reported that one benefit of the Code was that additional attention was now being given to the more junior classes by those teachers who had been in danger of neglecting them. In addition a quality benchmark had now been established for teachers "who had not a definite idea of how their instruction should be graduated. Thus teaching has been made faithful and systematic, where it had been wanting in these qualities." He also noted "a tendency in the Teachers to propose to themselves for the coming year the too easy task of raising each scholar the single step required for the next examination." [15] In comparison with today, and as evidence of perhaps an enduring tendency, some of the headteachers interviewed as part of this research, reported cases of teachers adapting their teaching methods and styles to best meet the essential demands of the Ofsted process. Similarly the report of the Ofstin conference in June 1996 noted that "several contributors suggested that Ofsted promotes an 'orthodoxy' of teaching... fears were also expressed that Ofsted encourages artifice. Partly this follows the making of judgements on the basis of what is seen as unrepresentative and over-prepared 'performance', thus encouraging the belief that the performance mounted for inspection, if approved, is the touchstone of effective teaching, or even learning." [16] Russell (1995) comments in detail on the effects of the Ofsted process on the professional performance of teachers. [17] Brimblecombe et al (1996) examine the extent to which lesson preparation is shaped in advance of an Ofsted inspection.

The National Society, the national parent body to which the Canterbury Diocesan Board was affiliated, took a much stronger line in its response to the Revised Code proposals. In its memorandum to Ralph Lingen in December 1861 it objected that there

had been insufficient time for adequate consultation on the proposals. The National Society commented that "the promulgation of that Code has very much disturbed the minds of teachers and students, and has generally shaken the confidence in those who are interested in education throughout the country." It further objected to what it saw as the setting aside of the 1840 concordat between church and state in the inspection of schools. It deplored the dependency of funding schools on the basis of examination results, and felt that such a focus would detract from the time and efforts that teachers spent on valuable moral and religious education. In conclusion, the National Society reiterated that the Code

> has produced among the promoters of Elementary Education a feeling of discouragement and insecurity which it is of the utmost consequence to allay; that if the Revised Code were withdrawn, there would be little difficulty in gradually removing such defects in the existing system... [Education] is no fit subject for incautious experiments, and that, if once shaken or overturned, it may be found incapable of reconstruction. [18]

In tracking the progress of the Revised Code's impact in the archdeaconry in Canterbury it has been instructive to see and evaluate the views of the Diocesan Inspector. Benjamin Smith, commenting in his Annual Report for 1863, noted changes occurring in the curriculum as schools increasingly concentrated on the grant-bearing subjects of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. He was concerned that subjects like History, Geography, and Grammar might, as a result, be "altogether expunged" from the curriculum of national schools in the area. In conclusion he confessed "it would be rash to attempt to predict the effect on School funds of the Revised Code which experience will so shortly disclose. Much will depend on the way in which the new Regulations of the Privy Council are carried out; and in the judicious preparation of Schools for Examination." He added that school attendance had marginally improved and that the registers were being kept in better order. [19] By 1864 Smith was commenting that great changes were observable in the schools in the area. Owing to a reduction in the number of assistant teachers being employed, he reported that separate boys and girls departments were now being amalgamated and

> In some cases where the mistress and master had each the whole charge of their department thrown on their hands, the expedient has been resorted to of mixing the two schools, and giving charge of the younger children to the Mistress, sometimes replacing her by a semptress. This has answered very well as far as the lessons are concerned, and much better than those who have had no experience of it would expect...but there is a certain appreciable loss of that special feminine training for girls which it is difficult to impart in a Mixed School.[20]

As the Revised Code became more embedded, he noted in 1866 that national schools in Kent were now having regular visits by HMI and "the advantage of frequent Diocesan Inspection is in their case diminished." Significantly, Smith added "I believe the two systems work more harmoniously on the whole, the Revised Code has worked in assisted schools in the direction in which I have found myself labouring, and has brought about more evenly distributed and better graduated teaching." [21] On a positive note he looked reflectively at how the new system had developed in its first three years of operation. The requirements of the Revised Code were now better appreciated. Smith felt that the first examinations had been carried out in what he described as "naturally lenient tones"; then came

> a tightening of the screw, leading to some disappointment, but also the exposure of real weaknesses. A third and happier stage has already been reached in many cases, when again the results of Examination have realised expectations, and Teachers have been glad to own that their schools had benefited by the more searching tests to which they had been subjected.[22]

On the narrowness of the requirements of the Revised Code, Smith commented adversely on the absence of what he described as those subjects that tend to open the mind and increase knowledge. It was his view that this tendency "would soon be detected by the parents of our best Scholars, leading to their removal to a class of schools which shew a more ample programme, with whatever sacrificing of real efficiency." [23] Yet by 1868, six years after the introduction of the Code, he reported that as a result of it the incentive for teachers to work was greater. On a more precise note he estimated that as a result of it,

school efficiency had improved by one-third, as Robert Lowe had earlier anticipated without stipulating a proportion.

Nonetheless, pressures were mounting. In February 1865 Smith sought the Diocesan Board's agreement to his relinquishing half his inspectoral duties so that he could revert to parish work. There can be little doubt from the evidence that the pressures on him were increasing and he set out the case for a major revision of the diocesan inspectoral arrangements in a letter to the Board. He provided an estimate of the time he devoted to inspection work. This amounted to visiting each of the 400 schools over a two-year period, for which he allowed 100 days a year. In addition there were 25 days a year on what he termed "unofficial work", which included attendance at Diocesan Board meetings, school examinations, and the tabulation of inspection returns and report writing. He commented of his work that it entailed "so continuous a prosecution of Inspection during the 9 months of the year which alone are open for it, that any interruption whether arising from illness or other causes requires an exclusive devotion to Inspection for weeks or months afterwards. Feeling overburdened by this necessity, I ask the Board to relieve me of one half of the work." [24] While stressing that he had no wish to force the Board's hand in the appointment of an assistant inspector he put forward an alternative proposal for consideration whereby the Diocesan Inspector would visit "tri-annually those schools visited by HM inspectors; and continue to visit bi-annually the remaining schools open to inspection." In agreeing this compromise the Diocesan Board also increased Smith's stipend to £200 a year.

Schools and Inspection: Comparative Perspectives

The Canterbury Diocesan School, based in Broad Street in the city, was one of the first schools in the diocese to be inspected under the new inspection system when HMI William Temple visited it in August 1863. He reported that the boys in the first class had passed a "fairly good examination", while the boys of the second were far behind in attainments. He commented more favourably on the examination of the girls' section,

their reading being described as "excellent", but attendance as "very irregular." A further HMI visit to this school in August 1864 was more critical, as for the boys' section it "was impossible to look at the results marked on the Schedule, or at the Papers of the older boys, without feeling that in Arithmetic, Writing and Spelling, the School is not up to the mark, while the girl's section [was found to be], still lower in attainments." Both these early reports are reproduced in Appendix 4.

Under the Revised Code, Articles 55-56 set out the requirements for the keeping of logbooks by schools. The quality and detail of logbook entries varied considerably, from carefully and well-scripted entries, to rushed and almost cryptic inserts. Since HMI inspection was the key event for a school in terms of professional judgement and income, information on inspection or an inspector's visit was almost always recorded. For example, a short entry in the logbook of Holy Trinity School, Margate recorded briefly that on the 1 December 1863 HMI J.P. Norris visited. In February 1864 it was noted that the Diocesan Inspector had inspected the School on the third of that month. Clearly, under the new inspection arrangements, and with the diocesan school inspection scheme operating independently, schools in the diocese were now being regularly and rigorously monitored. In the summer of 1864 HMI Norris's report was officially issued to the school from the Education Department in London. The logbook recorded

Government Inspector's Report 1864

> The Girls School passed a fair examination in all things except needlework which is very backward compared with that of other schools.
> My Lords trust that, next year, they will receive better reports in the Girls Department.
> Their Lordships wish it to be understood, that they lay great stress on the proper instruction of the Girls in sewing, as a knowledge of this is of great importance in enabling them to provide for themselves in after-life.
> If the inspector has to complain of this subject next year, the Grant will be Reduced. (Article 52A)

R.R.W.L. [25]

In comparison, the Ofsted report on the same foundation, now called Holy Trinity and St John's Church of England Primary School, conducted in March 1988 was couched

in more positive and sympathetic language. Although the report found that the school should take action to raise standards in information technology, design and technology and religious education its main findings were that the school "provides good teaching and a secure environment in which to learn." [26]

Further around the east Kent coast, the logbook for Dover Holy Trinity District School for the 1860s, regularly records absences resulting from the arrival or departure of dignitaries or other 'big' events at the port. For example, in March 1863 substantial absence was recorded owing to the arrival of the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia in England. Five years later in 1868, it was owing to the landing in Dover of Troops returning from the Abyssinia campaign. The school logbook also records the receipt of notice of inspection, as well as the date of an inspection itself. Thus, on the 26 June 1867 Dover Holy Trinity was informed of a forthcoming visit by HMI G.R. Moncrieff on 6 July, approximately two weeks notice. In the previous year the notice period for inspection had been three weeks. By contrast, in 1999 the Select Committee on Ofsted, recommended that the period of notice for school inspection should be reduced to four weeks, so as "to reduce the amount of time for schools to assemble unnecessary and irrelevant masses of paper", as well as reducing the amount of time teachers have to have to develop "anticipatory dread" of a forthcoming inspection. [27] An educational pressure group called the Office for Standards in Education (Ofstin), was established in 1996 to monitor the work of Ofsted inspection independently. Writing in 1996, in a report on the Ofstin conference on Ofsted procedures, Meryl Thompson said that

> long lead-in times meant that inspection dominated lives for a protracted period. In evidence collected from four schools, all with good inspection reports, anxiety which affected teachers' health and personal lives and often led to cancelled holidays was cited as the worst part of inspection. Teachers said that they couldn't teach as well as usual because of anxiety and stress. [28]

The Newcastle Commissioners had mirrored this earlier in 1861, when they found that "the necessity of preparing for the inspection must in itself exercise the same sort of influence over the discipline of a school as the prospect of any other examination." [29]

At Minster National School, in the Isle of Thanet, in 1864, Mr Baines the master recorded in the school's logbook that he had received the government report on the HMI visit from the chairman of the school managers, the extract in the logbook noted

> Mr Baines appears to be working well here, under much difficulty from irregular attendances. This however will diminish if he perseveres. His method of teaching is animated and orderly. [30]

Evidence from the same logbook suggests that a forthcoming inspection by HMI led to an intensive 'anticipatory dread' of preparation within the school. Entries for February 1865 record preparatory exercises

> 20 February – Spent whole afternoon on tables with the 3rd class.
> 21 February – Arithmetic with 1st and 2nd classes
> All sums to be dictate
> 27 February – Examined 3rd class in tables (12 not perfect).

Later the logbook records the outcomes of the inspection, in the following extract from the HMI's report

> The school is in very good order, and has done very fairly on the whole. The weakest point seems to me the penmanship. I have passed several papers, where spelling was good, with great hesitation, on the grounds of carelessness and slovenly writing. [31]

In comparison, an Ofsted report on one of the six schools visited in the year 2000, commented as follows, "Most pupils learn to write with reasonable confidence and have satisfactory writing skills. Although pupils have a good range of writing opportunities, there is little evidence of extended writing." [32]

And yet, even though there was much criticism in the 1860s of the severity of Victorian HMI comments, and harsh letters from 'Their Lordships' in the Education Department in London, individual HMIs did show compassion and understanding to pupils and teachers. HMI Moncrieff, for example, reporting on Minster National School in 1867 noted

> Mr Golder [the Master] seems intelligent and painstaking; and no doubt this has been a trying winter. But it is at least unfortunate that the year in which there has been a change in master, has also been a year of decided decline. Next year ought to shew decided recovery. [33]

Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education and Ofsted

In the year 2000, some 140 years after the events considered above, Canterbury Diocesan Board entered a third century from its foundation in 1838. Today, 105 primary and secondary schools, either Aided and Controlled, form its twenty-first century constituency. This comprises 73 Controlled schools, two Foundation and 30 Aided schools; of these only two are secondary and one a middle school. The work of the Diocesan Board, mostly east of the river Medway is divided between the archdeaconries of Canterbury and Maidstone. Church schools in the western part of the county, including two London boroughs – Bexley and Bromley, now belong to the Diocese of Rochester. At the time of the Revised Code the whole of this area was one diocesan inspection area. The present Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education was reconstituted in accordance with the Diocesan Boards of Education Measure 1991, and its constitution, as amended by Diocesan Synod and approved by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, came into effect on the 1 August 1991. The primary aims of the Board are to

- (i) Promote education within the diocese of Canterbury, according to the faith and practice of the Church of England;
- (ii) Promote religious education and religious worship in schools in the diocese;
- (iii) Watch over the interest of church schools and secure the provision of new schools;
- (iv) Give advice as to matters affecting Church schools and Church educational endowments within the diocese. [34]

In interviews conducted early in the year 2000, as part of the research, the Canterbury Diocesan Director of Education emphasised the importance of ensuring a close working partnership between the educational work of the diocese and the Kent LEA. A further critical line of support was seen as the role of local clergy, who provided an essential link between the school and the local church community. The Director explained that in appointing a priest to a parish living the two archdeacons who attend

interviews for these appointments are conscientious in upholding educational interests. These close links with the local clergy reflect a pattern in the diocese in the 1850s and 1860s, in that at that time the Board took steps to appoint parish clergymen as local inspectors to work alongside the diocesan inspector. Today the Diocesan Director described the work of the Board as being "a critical link between the Church and secular society, and education is taken very seriously not only strictly on its own terms, but also for the future well-being of the Church... in this role the Board of Education is a key facilitator in providing that interface; if we didn't do the job, the relationship would go to pieces." [35] He described the Board as being an important advocate on behalf of Church schools in their dealings with the LEA. Although school funding came through the LEA, Church schools valued highly the partnership with the Diocesan Board. In terms of the role of the Diocesan Board and inspection, there were now two elements, full Ofsted inspections and Section 23 denominational inspections in Church schools. In the case of full Ofsted inspections the Diocesan Director said that as soon as a school was notified of an impending Ofsted inspection, the diocesan team liaised with the headteacher and governors "on advice and last minute help. Following the long lead in times in the first round of the inspection, schools now have only six months notice, as soon as this is known our Diocesan Schools Field Officer is in touch with school." [36]

Since the 1944 Education Act, maintained Church of England schools, and other denominational schools, are classified as being either 'Controlled' or 'Aided' schools. Until the 1993 reforms, both groups were subject to LEA as well as HM Inspection, and in the case of larger LEAs, of which Kent was one, there was normally a specialist LEA inspector for religious education. In the time immediately preceding the establishment of Ofsted, the Diocesan Board of Education again considered inspection matters. In 1992 the Board considered an invitation from the county for the Board to work alongside the Kent LEA in inspecting religious education in Aided schools. At the same meeting the Diocesan Schools Field Officer reported on a recent inspection she had made of religious education in two primary schools in Thanet, where the lack of suitable teaching resources was found to be a particular problem. The Board also heard that governors and staff in their schools had welcomed such Diocesan involvement "very warmly." [37]

In a comparison between the two periods examined in this study, the evidence suggests that the 1992 reforms came as less of a shock and a surprise to the Board than did the 1862 reforms. An instance of this was an almost passing reference in the Board's minutes in July 1992 noting "it was anticipated following the passage of the Schools Bill through Parliament that the hand of the Inspectorate would be strengthened." Perhaps in the latter period the education and public sector has become more inured and accustomed to continuous and major structural changes. Although as shown in chapter 7 below there was, at national level, both in the 1860s and 1990s considerable, and indeed vehement, opposition to the changes.

In late 1991 the Diocesan Board learnt from the Director's report that the government had introduced a Parent's Charter and that new and radical changes were proposed for the inspection of schools. Concern was expressed at what were seen as the disproportionate costs of new inspection, reported as being £6000 for a small primary school and £30,000 for a large secondary school, and the Director was requested to make representations on this point. In his Annual Report for 1992 the Director again reported on the new proposals. He saw three main effects resulting from the changes. Firstly, it would result in the dismantling of the LEA system; secondly, there would be a greater opportunity for the Diocesan Board of Education to become involved in the inspection of religious education in Aided schools. Finally, he felt that religious education would now be inspected with the same rigour as the national curriculum subjects, and that inspection would evaluate the extent to which schools fulfilled their own mission statement. [38]

The year following the establishment of the new inspection framework saw the Diocesan Board responding to the greater opportunities to which the Diocesan Director of Education had referred earlier. A working party was set up to examine the establishment of a Diocesan Schools Agency, which would provide in-service teacher training and curriculum development for Church schools, pre-Ofsted inspection support, as well as pay roll advice. Such an opportunity would supplement the work of the other agency, which had already been established – Canterbury Diocesan Services Ltd – which provided advice and action on buildings maintenance and grounds related issues. [39]

Yet throughout this period in the 1990s the demands of supporting schools through their Ofsted inspection grew as an issue for the diocese. In 1994, for example, the

Diocesan Field Officer reported that approximately 50% of her time was now being devoted to support for inspection. [40] Early the following year the Diocesan Board had an extended discussion on the operation of Ofsted inspections to that date, which highlighted a number of concerns. There had been difficulty in getting Ofsted inspection teams to bid for work in east Kent in particular, and the frequent changing of dates for inspection had created anxiety and uncertainty in the minds of headteachers and their staffs. The Board were also concerned at the style of the new inspections and the negative effect it was said to have on some schools. There was also concern that intensive preparation for Ofsted had tended to "lead to a stunting of the developmental process within schools... unlike previous inspection machines it was evaluative and judgemental rather than developmental." [41] To assist schools the Diocesan Board had purchased supplies of an inspection handbook produced by the Diocese of Bath and Wells. At this point the Board decided to forward their concerns to Ofsted.

Early in 1996 concern was again expressed that the work of Ofsted had created more work for schools as well as for officers of the Board. The Board saw the need to develop its own strategy in relation to curriculum development, and to launch its own policy in spiritual, moral and social development across the curriculum. [42] This reflects the role of the Diocesan Board of Education in the 1860s.

Endnotes

1. Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education, CDBE Mins 1849-59, U45/A3, 10 May 1849
2. Ibid. 9 August 1849
3. Ibid. 10 May 1850
4. Ibid. 13 February 1851
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. 29 July 1851
7. Hansard, (1992), Lords, 5th series, vol.356, col.715-16
8. Ibid. 24 February 1852
9. Ibid. 12 August 1852
10. CDBE 11 August 1853
11. Ibid. 11 August 1853
12. CDBE May 1857

13. CDBE Mins 1859-69, U45/A4, 11/1861
14. Ibid. 9 December 1861
15. Inspectors Reports 1860-6, G/IM – 36, letter B.F. Smith 25 May 1864
16. Ofstin, Improving School Inspection, An Account of the Ofstin Conference, New College Oxford, 19-21 June 1996, p.9, paras. 3.6.4 - 3.6.5
17. Russell, S., (1996), 'Schools Experiences of Inspection', in Ouston et al (eds.), OFSTED Inspection, London, David Fulton, pp.97-109
18. National Society Minute Book (NSMB), 1/6, November 1856-May 1871: 5 December 1861, Appendix XII, pp. xxxv-xli
19. Canterbury Diocesan Education Society (CDES), Annual Reports 1858-71, no.24, September 1863, H/OO-1-8
20. CDBE: Inspector's Report in 25th Annual Report, September 1864
21. CDBE 27 Annual Report, 1865-66, September 1866, H/OO-1-8
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. CDBE Inspectors Reports, August 1865, G/IM 36
26. Holy Trinity School, Margate Ref. C/ES 121/ 13/1, 6 July 1864. Article 52, section (a) provided for a grant to be reduced by not less than one-tenth nor more than one-half of the whole, upon an inspector's report, for faults of instruction or discipline on the part of a teacher, or (after one year's notice) for failure on the part of the managers to remedy any such defects.
27. Ofsted Inspection Report on Holy Trinity St John's Church of England School Margate, March, 1998
28. HCSCE, The Work of OFSTED, (1999), recommendation 68
29. Thompson, M., The Oral Evidence, Chapter 1, in A Better System of Inspection?, Duffy, M., (ed.), 1998, Ofstin, p.3
30. NC PE1, Chap. 4, p.233
31. Minster-in-Thanet National School logbook, 1863-1880, 23 March 1864, C/ES255 1/1
32. Ibid. 22 May 1865
33. Diocesan and Payne Smith Church of England Primary School, Canterbury Ofsted report 1998, Para. 4, p.6
34. Minster in Thanet School logbook, 6 June 1867
35. CDBE Board's Report for the year ended 31 December 1999, p.1
36. PF Research Fieldnotes, interview with Rupert Bristow, Canterbury Diocesan Director of Education, 28 March 2000
37. Ibid.
38. CDBE Mins. 6 July 1992, Dcb/GM3/8
39. CDBE Mins. 10 October 1991, Dcb/GM3/8
40. CDBE Mins. 22 February 1994, Dcb/GM3/8
41. CDBE Mins.18 October 1994, Dcb/GM3/8
42. CDBE Mins.2 February 1995, Dcb/GM3/8
43. CDBE Mins. 23 November 1996, Dcb/GM3/8

Chapter 6: Inspection Today – The Ofsted Experience

The Context of the Research Fieldwork in the Six Schools

As part of this comparative study into the operation and impact of inspection in two eras, the headteachers of six schools were interviewed over a two-month period early in the year 2000. The purpose of the interviews was to explore headteachers' professional experience of an involvement in the Ofsted process, as well as to gauge their views on inspections prior to the establishment of Ofsted in September 1992. The survey identified what headteachers felt worked well, their views about the effects of inspection on the school and its curriculum, and upon staff morale; and their views on how the current system might evolve. This group comprised primary, junior and infant schools located in the East Kent district of the Canterbury Board of Education area. A summary of the schools visited is as follows:

School	Status	Number on Roll
Diocesan and Payne Smith School, Canterbury	Aided	250
Herne Church of England Infant School	Controlled	266
Holy Trinity and St John's CE Primary, Margate	Controlled	420
St Mary's CE Junior School, Folkestone	Aided	508
Chislet CE Primary School, East Canterbury	Controlled	52
Selsted CE Primary School, Near Dover	Controlled	70

(Source: KCC Form 7, Feb. 2000)

The visits were arranged with the assistance of the Diocesan Director of Education and selected from the 102 schools in the Canterbury Diocesan area as being a small sample of schools to research on their experience of the Ofsted inspection process. They represented urban and rural, some based in older settlements as well as schools serving new housing developments. Some had received an exceptionally good Ofsted report, one school had no action points arising from its Ofsted report, whilst another had been placed in Ofsted's Special Measures category. In this context these schools form a case study. Miles and Huberman (1994) in considering the boundaries of case studies comment on a range of characteristics that may serve to identify them. These, for example, include case studies being defined by geographical parameters allowing for their definition, or cases that may be shaped by organisational or institutional arrangements, or, again, cases that can be defined by the characteristics of the group. [1] Creswell (1994) suggests that in following the case study approach, the researcher is bound by time and activity, for example, a programme, event, process, or an institution. [2] The selection of the six schools met these criteria, all were located in the East Kent area, belonged to the Diocesan schools 'family' and had all been inspected by Ofsted in the previous four years.

The interviews were arranged early in the Spring Term 2000, initially by a letter from the Diocesan Director setting out the terms of reference for the research and seeking their support for the research. The researcher followed this up within a fortnight and arranged a date for the interview visit to each of the schools, for which two hours was assigned. A questionnaire had been devised earlier, which was then distributed to each of the headteachers with a covering letter confirming arrangements. The questionnaire contained both closed and open questions; open ended questions were employed because they allowed heads to expand on their experiences. A copy of the questionnaire is set out in Appendix 5. It was hoped that this would allow the opportunity for the headteachers to consider the issues in advance of the interview. In designing the research there was a need to establish a frame of reference and ensure that the data collected would meet the objectives of the study. At the same time it was intended that the interview should be semi-structured to allow headteachers to cover wider issues relating to their perceptions of Ofsted. Scott (1997) talks of a research process being guided strategically by a developing theory, and refers to what Glaser and Strauss (1967) call 'grounded

theorising'. Thus as fieldwork proceeds, the researcher's initial hunches, hypotheses and conjectures are gradually refined and reformulated, and this acts progressively to focus analysis and reorganise data-collection methods. [3] On balance, the questionnaire and interview approach was essentially descriptive research, de Vaus (1996) defines this form of research as dealing with questions of *what* things are like, not *why* they are that way. He goes on to say that good description is important "it is the basis for sound theory. Unless we have described something accurately and thoroughly, attempts to explain it will be misplaced... of course there is poor descriptive research just as there is poor explanatory research, but this is not inherent in description itself." [4]

It was felt that if the questionnaires had been sent to the sample schools asking the headteachers to self complete, the research would not have received the same degree of attention by the headteachers, and perhaps increase the risk of its being affected by bias or subjectivity. The latter are always likely to be present in research, but this tendency was reduced by the use of interviews, the researcher's prior access to each school's Ofsted report, and the preliminary meetings with the Diocesan Inspector of Education. The focus for the semi-structured interviews involving a questionnaire as well as open-ended questions was the subject of Ofsted and Inspection, and the headteachers' professional views on how the new system had worked, their experience of inspection pre-Ofsted, Ofsted itself, and the extent to which the process had improved the school as well as the professional impact on teachers were considered.

The Interviews

All the headteachers interviewed had held either a headship or a deputy headship since the 1980s and had had experience of pre-Ofsted inspection arrangements. The themes investigated in the interviews are analysed below. They included an assessment of headteachers' experiences of inspection before the introduction of Ofsted. How headteachers viewed the reasons for change in government policy on school inspection; and whether they felt Ofsted had brought about measurable school improvement. The themes also explored the links between educational standards and parental

'consumerism'; the critical issue of the separation of inspection from advice, as well as the role of the LEA in providing support either preceding or following a school inspection. Finally, the interviews explore the relationship between inspection and teacher professionalism, and explored possible future developments in inspection.

Following the three opening nominal questions, the research themes investigated were:

1. Experience of inspection pre-1993

The picture to emerge clearly was one of no systematic inspection arrangements. At that time Kent LEA had 45 inspectors to cover the curriculum and different school phases in approximately 1250 primary and secondary schools in the county. Two of the headteachers referred to inspections at that time as being "ad-hoc." In practice each school in the county was assigned a link inspector who had responsibility for up to 30 schools, as well as having administrative and in-service teacher training duties to fulfil. One headteacher described the LEA link inspector as a "critical friend" who would, perhaps, visit the school once a term and act as a "sounding board" on curriculum and managerial issues. She added that "it was a totally different relationship to that which we experience today, it was not threatening in any way, perhaps it was a cosy set up." [5] Another talked of his link inspector visiting on a very irregular basis "not every year." A Canterbury headteacher said that "we just didn't have anything you could call systematic inspection arrangements, we had a pastoral [LEA] inspector assigned to the school, he would pop in twice a term have coffee with me and spent the morning in the school. Together we would walk around the school and he would really only talk to me about educational issues. I now miss this support; it was a very supportive arrangement." [6]

With regard to the operation of HMI prior to the establishment of Ofsted, the majority of the headteachers interviewed reported that they had had very little, if any, contact with an HMI prior to 1993. Where such contact was experienced it had tended to be largely centred on a day's visit to examine a specific curriculum area, for example, special needs, the introduction of the National Curriculum, mathematics in the

curriculum, or the teaching of science. Occasionally there were visits by HMI at short notice. One headteacher reported "in 1991 an HMI phoned me with one day's notice of a visit, he said 'I'll be in your school from 8 o' clock tomorrow morning', and that was that!" [7] Another, who had been a headteacher for 11 years at the time, said "an HMI visited us in 1990 to look at English and writing, it was a traumatic surprise for me, as I had not seen another HMI in my working career up to that point." [8]

Some of the comments made at the time of the Ofsted proposals debate in Parliament in 1992 reflect these local findings. Kenneth Clarke, Secretary of State, speaking in the Commons stated that "it would have taken it [HMI] more than 100 years to produce individual reports on primary schools at the rate at which it was going." [9] In the House of Lords Baroness Denton, on behalf of the Conservative government in power at the time, pointed out that only 154 school inspections had been carried out a year by local authority inspectors. [10] Tracking back to November 1859 reveals Ralph Lingen responding to a question from the Newcastle Commission on whether, given the current establishment of HMI "they could do more in the way of personal examination than they do?" To this Lingen replied

> It is exceedingly difficult to give a positive opinion upon that point, for this reason the schools often lie in extremely inconvenient and out-of-the-way places, to which an inspector cannot regularly get early in the morning and where he cannot always stay till the end of the afternoon school, even supposing that he himself were disposed to do it, if he is to get back to the line of his next day's work. [11]

In the House of Commons debate on the Revised Code of 1862 Lord Robert Cecil, commenting on the likely growth in the number of HMI, stated that "calculated upon Mr M'Leod's estimate, the new system would take ten times as long for inspection as the old. In other words there must be ten times as many inspectors." [12]

2. **The development of new policy on inspection**

Unsurprisingly, the headteachers had mixed feelings about the causes: two saw it as filling the vacuum outlined above, others saw it in more strategic terms. Issues such as

the growth of public accountability, the need to 'police' the National Curriculum and Local Management for Schools were mentioned as contributory causes. One headteacher said "we had the National Curriculum in place and there was a need to monitor how well it was operating – there were so many variables in play, for example, political, no national moderation on standards, different levels of funding for schools in different leas, and inspection arrangements were not nationally fair or transparent." [13] Another headteacher, who said that he was "only aware" of inspection in the 1980s, also talked about the increase in accountability in education and referred to the development of nationally monitorable data, such as SATs. Some respondents felt that it would only have been a matter of time before a government would have put in place a system to improve the quality control of education on a country-wide basis. Others referred to adverse press reports about poor quality teachers and one headteacher said "the government created Ofsted to crack down on bad teachers, they couldn't get rid of poor teachers and poor headteachers...it was job for life and led to a poor curriculum, the LEA was just not set up to monitor the curriculum in depth." A headteacher in a coastal town further developed this theme when he spoke about the government wanting to secure more control in the shaping of education policy. The changes that came about could be traced back to the undermining of local education authorities under Conservative administrations in the 1980s. He talked of a small minority of schools and teachers under-performing and that as a headteacher he felt that when Ofsted came in "it was a sledgehammer to crack a nut."[14] However, he identified the major impetus for change as arising from the introduction of the National Curriculum, in that the latter highlighted learning achievement and underachievement, and he reinforced the view expressed by most of the headteachers interviewed that this paved the way through establishing a national data base for a national schools inspection service. Another respondent said that the public now had less respect for the professionalism of teachers generally and had heard a great deal about this through sections of the media creating the impression about "how appalling the teaching profession was, as though it was one of the core ills of our society." One headteacher said that some teachers had been unwilling to accept change, they appear to be saying at that time "take me as you find me. Ofsted was here to stay, if you don't accept it you're asking for trouble." [15]

An earlier echo on the tensions between politicians and teachers can be found in the 1862 House of Commons Debate on the Revised Code. Bernal Osborne MP, criticising the financial burden of public education, commented that "we have created an army of schoolmasters, teachers... an enormous stipendiary army all looking to the State for assistance... is the House of Commons prepared to allow this army of teachers to play the truant?" [16]

3. 'Improvement through Inspection'

All the headteachers agreed that Ofsted inspection had led to school and teaching improvement, but at a cost. One headteacher said that it had made his staff focus more closely on the quality of their work. He criticised what he described as "all the spin off, the paperwork in meeting both LEA and school targets. It needs to be seen as the whole thing not just the inspection itself. It made us focus on what Ofsted wanted, focus before and focus afterwards. We lost a lot from the school, the teachers were worn out." [17] Another respondent said that there must be better ways of inspecting and spoke of the fear it brought to the school and the stress caused to staff. A head of a small rural school commented that school improvement could only be ultimately achieved by teachers "the people at the sharp end." Nonetheless, Ofsted had helped the school to focus and the "inspection team was very professional, most of them had been heads in small primary schools themselves, it was a very positive and fortunate experience for us." [18] A headteacher in one of the port towns in the area spoke of inspection as being a "political football", and felt that the current intensive inspection pattern was coming to the end of its useful life. It had completed two cycles of intensive national inspection and it was now time to develop "a light touch" inspection system for schools that had been judged satisfactory; it was his view that inspection had to constantly move forward.

Earley (1996) in a study of the link between school improvement and Ofsted inspection concluded at that time the case had not been proven and further research was needed. Almost 140 years earlier a correspondent to the National Society's The Monthly Paper, describing himself as 'M', wrote at the end of a lengthy letter that "I do not like to

trespass further on your space, still I cannot leave off without asking you to allow me to say a few words on the deteriorating influence it [the Revised Code] will have upon teachers, and which will of necessity be followed by a corresponding deterioration in the education of their scholars." [19]

4. Criteria for Ofsted inspection

All the headteachers felt that there now existed a comprehensive specification for Ofsted inspection, but some expressed reservations. One headteacher in Canterbury said that although it established a clear framework for inspection it really only provided what he described as a "snapshot" picture. He spoke of the process being subject to a range of variables, for example his school's Ofsted inspection had been arranged for the last week of term. He added that as a Church school arrangements for Easter were under way and that "in the event it went extremely well, it could have been very different." Another headteacher mentioned that at the time of his Ofsted inspection he was "a relatively new head and had never learnt how to manage an inspection. In hindsight it would have been possible to have got a better report had I known then what I know now, I was not completely ready for it." [20] A third headteacher spoke of the specification depending on the quality of the inspection team and their ability to cover the four different aspects competently. He said his school had been fortunate in that the inspection team had previously worked together in East Sussex LEA and that "they had done their homework… I felt we were appreciated." A fourth spoke of the need to point out to the inspectors areas of school or curriculum development that might otherwise have been overlooked. [21]

5. The implications of inspection for education and the wider community

In response to this question one head of an urban school said that the Ofsted system was inflexible "for example, the school's SATs performance in 1997 was below national

benchmarking levels. In addition our accommodation is poor. Overall on our VFM (value for money) rating we got a Grade 3 – Sound. This is what I mean by inflexible, it simply takes no account of the standards of behaviour, the general ethos of the school, the quality of leadership, PSE etc – all these were favourably commented on." [22]

All heads agreed that the educational 'climate' had changed over the last decade and that accountability was much higher on the agenda, as well as there being a growth in consumerism, with parents taking a much more active interest in how their child was progressing at school. Several of the heads talked of a partnership between school and home.

Three out of the six heads mentioned their school's quality initiatives, which had been started as a response to these wider developments. For example, two schools had established a 'school comments' procedure as opposed to a school complaints system. One head explained that parents had a right to complain, but that "we prefer to see this in a positive 'comments' light; we do all we can to build up the positive side." Another head said that he did not like the phrase 'parent empowerment', but his school genuinely supported the home-school contract role that it operated. He spoke of there being what he described as "three principal players:" parent, child and school, and that all three sides had their rights and responsibilities. In this way the school had responsibilities but it also had rights; a key issue was what the school could expect from its supporting community. It was his view that Ofsted could help in achieving a fairer balance and he illustrated this point as follows "I remember an Ofsted inspector giving me a hard time, one parent had written to Ofsted objecting to a Year 2 class environmental studies visit, when I explained the objectives of the visit to the lead inspector and got his support and approval for visits of this kind, I was able to re-fight the issue with the parent using Ofsted as a lever." [23] In contrast, the head of a small rural school said that his parents had always felt "empowered" and that as a village school there was a very close home-school link. He had found that the Ofsted inspection, because its outcomes were known to parents, had helped the school materially. When Information Technology was reported as being below standard, parents brought two 'state of the art' computers for the school. [24]

The headteacher of a school located in the centre of a coastal resort pointed to two issues: on the one hand there had been a growth in accountability, but this had resulted in

some teachers not being prepared to take initiatives that might turn into a risk, for example, out of school visits with pupils. The head of the small village school, referred to above, spoke of the problems when Ofsted found that his school did not give value for money. With only 52 pupils on roll and the resultant small classes averaging 17 he said that it was very difficult to achieve a satisfactory value for money rating. When it became evident to him that the inspection was going badly, he explained to the lead inspector that there was strong parental support for the school. He was perplexed by the inspector's reply of "what do parents' know!" [25]

6. The role of the LEA

With the dynamic changes of the 1990s including the reduction in the role of local education authorities, it was felt valuable to establish headteachers' views on the level of support they received from this quarter. The response from headteachers indicated the extent to which the LEA reduced their support for schools, particularly in the light of local management and school autonomy, and a reduction in funding for LEA-based support services. The only one of the six schools to have received a high level of support was the school placed under special measures. The others reported their ability to be able to buy-in LEA support through the Kent Curriculum Support Agency in preparing for an inspection or in drawing up an action plan following inspection. The Ofsted report (1999) on Kent LEA noted that prior to a 1997 restructuring the Kent Inspection and Advisory Service had operated in different ways across the county. It found that there had been a lack of consistency in the approach to school improvement. [26]

7. Inspection or Advice?

There were mixed views in response to this question. Some saw a clear benefit in the separation of inspection from advice, while others regretted the loss of the support that they once received from local education inspectors and advisers. It would appear that

the majority of the heads had welcomed the capacity of the latter to act as a what one of them described as a 'critical friend'. A Canterbury headteacher expressed this as "I miss this, the combination of both factors. It's a harsh regime... I feel that there's a clear need for pastoral support for schools." The headteacher of a large primary school spoke of levels of stress that the rigour of the inspection had caused, and reported that one otherwise competent teacher had become 'distraught' during the inspection and that other staff were affected by this and the head had to divert his time from the core inspection into supporting these teachers. The headteacher described that when he spoke to the lead inspector the latter became an adviser, who "had visibly relaxed. I can see the value of separating inspection from advice, but in reality it's a cold discipline." [27] Another headteacher reported on a contrasting experience when he asked a lead inspector about a curriculum issue and was told "I'm not here to do that." [28] Many reported the busy pace of the inspection process with between two and a half and four days to complete the inspection, with each inspection team spending over 50 hours in observing up to 100 classes, as well as school assemblies, break times and school dinner hours. Such a schedule would appear to allow little, if any, time for wider pastoral advice.

A correspondent to the National Society's The Monthly Paper in August 1861 expressed views which chime closely with these current concerns. Anonymously, he wrote

> Sir,
> A letter headed 'Inspection from a Schoolmaster's Point of View'; in your last, has given me pain.... I have been several years at work, and have had experience of 4 inspectors, and must bear my testimony to the uniform courtesy and consideration with which we have been heard... I mean by 'we' teacher, pupil-teachers, children and clergyman. I have been very anxious to learn from the inspector, but have uniformly found that all 4 gentlemen referred to showed a marked reserve, generally replying that it was no part of their business to make comments.
>
> C.R. [29]

Dunford (1980) noted evidence of the pressures that the Revised Code placed on teachers, contending that by the mid-1860s teachers were beginning to lose heart on the

future of the profession. [30] In April 2000 the National Association of Head Teachers published a survey of 3200 headteachers about the workload of heads. Concerning Ofsted the survey report stated that

> Ofsted – This is the *bete noire* for most headteachers and, for some has been a bad experience, not of their own making. The workload and stress has been very high for a period of weeks before, during and after the inspection. It is seen to have value though not particularly high. Others argue that inspection has had a strong role to play in raising standards. From textual answers it is clear that headteachers would value a greater level of self evaluation supported by professional advisers. [31]

Such an analysis reflects not only the findings of the east Kent schools survey as part of this research, but resonates with Dunford above. Many studies have tracked the pressure and stress associated with Ofsted inspections. [32]

8. Some perspectives by headteachers on inspection

All agreed that their school had been galvanised by notice of forthcoming inspection, as one headteacher put it "we prepared like there was no tomorrow." A headteacher in Canterbury described it as a tense and stressful experience

> I had had a lot of contact with the inspection team before they came to the school. For the staff it was very stressful, for the teachers to see the inspectors come in and walk about, they were anxious about the feedback sessions. The RGI was known to us as a former LEA staff development officer, but the other inspectors were unknown and only met as a team on site that Monday morning... we had been thinking about it for three months, we had to get it right on the day. [33]

All six headteachers spoke of the inspection as the major event in the schools' recent history. Not only did it focus the headteachers and staff, it involved support staff, governors, and parents. Considerable time was spent in preparation for the inspection event. Several spoke of how the inspection had brought the staff together as a much more

coherent working team, as well as giving their governors a clearer sense of responsibility and purpose.

9. Inspection and professionalism

In the final part of the interviews, headteachers' views were sought on professional aspects of inspection, how did teaching staff feel about the process? Did they find it supported their professional work, was it neutral or threatening? Did they receive feedback from the inspector after a lesson observation?

Most of the heads said that their perceptions of the inspection team changed as the inspection progressed, as one head in the south of the area put it, it was "quite a nice team in reality, before it started we felt threatened, but in practice it wasn't like that at all." [34] Again, all heads commented that feedback during the time of the inspection had been good and positive, and indeed there was a common pattern with a tendency for the Registered Inspector (RGI) to give feedback to the headteacher at the start and end of each inspection day, as well as brief feedback to class teachers at the end of observed lessons. One head spoke of Ofsted inspection as bringing about a 'cultural revolution' in teacher professionalism, he believed that experience of the process was making teachers more confident, and more assertive, in dealing with Ofsted inspectors. The view was reinforced by a headteacher of a coastal school who had observed that new career teachers were likely to be more questioning of inspectors' expertise and judgement. Ouston (1997) in examining models for examining change in schools in the context of Ofsted expectations suggested that many teachers may find themselves undertaking several different planning processes, for example, school development planning for Ofsted and flexible planning for their own management. [35] Jeffrey and Woods (1996) refer to a number of studies that point to a measure of re or deskilling among teachers, Evans et al (1994), Gipps et al (1995) quote Hargreaves (1994) who suggests that the new reforms have promoted a new professionalism. Looking at the earlier period in the study it is interesting to note that Dunford (1980) comments of inspection under the Revised Code, that "the main complaint was that the inspectors had no first hand experience of

elementary teaching and therefore no appreciation of the teachers' difficulties", although he adds that this was not true of some inspectors. [36]

Since the bulk of Ofsted inspection evidence is drawn from observing lessons, headteachers' views were sought on this aspect. All accepted that this was the core method by which a school could be assessed and felt that the majority of teachers were now, as part of the cultural change referred to above, more accepting of lesson observations. One head described lesson observation as being 'absolutely vital'. Nonetheless, as has been reported earlier, some teachers have found it a threatening experience.

The reports of the Canterbury Diocesan Schools inspector in the 1860s contain several references to the quality of teachers being assessed. For example, in a report of an inspection visit to the Faversham schools in November 1863 it was noted that "the mistress continues to conduct the school with rare ability." [37] Earlier the same year he commented of Christchurch School, Ramsgate that "on a school like this which had attained a high stamp of superiority under an able master and an ample staff, the reduction of the staff and the lowering of the aims of instruction in prospect of the revised code have not worked well. It is now no more than efficient." [38] E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley in his part idyll, part memoir, account of his career as an HMI recalled an inspection visit to a Welsh school

> We proceeded with the examination. I begin with standards I and II. They find the sums a little trying, though they count most carefully on their fingers. When you have a slate in your arms, it is hard to carry the reckoning across from one hand to the other without dropping the slate. I suggest to Mr Evans that counting on fingers is not practiced in the best circles of mathematicians. He is much surprised by this novel theory, then he gasps: then, recovering himself, he says, "well, indeed, what did Providence give them ten fingers for whatever? [39]

10. Possible future directions

On the basis of their professional experience, as well as having witnessed inspection at first hand, headteachers' views were sought on how they saw inspection developing.

As reported above, the field-work research revealed that all the schools had found it an intensive process and all welcomed Ofsted's decision to extend the inspection interval to six years. To some extent this desire for relief arises from the shock of the new; as reported earlier in this chapter headteachers' experiences of inspection pre-1993 showed these to have been rare occurrences. In providing witness evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on the work of Ofsted in 1999, Professor Brian Fidler summed this up as, "Under the previous regime, either for LEA or HMI inspections, some schools in the life time of teachers were never inspected." [40] Four of the headteachers interviewed felt that after the completion of the present second inspection cycle Ofsted should undertake a review of its policy. In fact, the decision to extend the inspection interval shows a response to school concerns. Two headteachers felt that greater emphasis on self-review would represent a workable compromise. It is interesting to note that the Select Committee on Ofsted (1999) stated in its report that "the role of self-evaluation in schools has been a common theme in much of our evidence. However, we disagree with those who argue that it could to a considerable degree *replace* the external inspection of schools." [41]

In contrast, at the time of the Newcastle Commission, it was evident that HMI did not have a full picture of the ability of pupils. HMI Tufnell in presenting evidence to the Commission stated

> An inspector can take a class and report on the qualification of that class on any subject, but he knows nothing of the individuals in it; and… there is no difficulty in arriving at a fair estimate of the mental condition of the school, by examining the classes on the subjects they have been taught; but I cannot conceive the possibility of any inspector being able to report on the individual qualifications of the children. [42]

Even today, with the availability of SATs, the computer analysis of data and the universality of Ofsted inspections it is difficult to argue that the position reported above has been improved upon.

In addition, in terms of a mid-Victorian school's self-evaluation, the administrative responsibilities and roles of school managers were clearly understood, and contrast with the role of governors today, who are not required to become involved in day-to-day

management of a school. In advance of an inspection the Victorian school managers were required to make a return detailing information on income and expenditure, the teachers, attendance, subjects taught, and on books and apparatus in use. The House of Commons Select Committee (1999) heard the evidence of the Institute of Registered Inspectors in Schools, of one school that had prepared six crates of documents prior to an inspection resulting in the registered inspector having to hire a small van to take them from the school. [43]

The headteachers interviewed felt that clearer target setting monitored against an LEA maintained database would provide a rigorous basis for self-evaluation. In November 1998, Ofsted published proposals for a 'differential' system of inspection, 'short' inspections alongside 'full' inspections. This would allow the development of a light touch approach, whereby schools meeting a defined standard of achievement (estimated to be 25% of the total) would be accorded this treatment. Ferguson, Earley and Ouston (1999) examine the case for employing school management consultants who would be expected to work with school staff to bring about improvements. [44] One headteacher interviewed in the east Kent research saw Ofsted as a "necessary evil, heavy in educational audit, but poor in support for management or curriculum development." [45]

The issue of short notice or snap inspections has occupied the thoughts of educational policy makers in both eras. The length of inspection notice now stands at between six and ten weeks, and the House of Commons Select Committee on Ofsted (1999) ruled out 'snap inspections' by Ofsted teams. On the other hand it suggested that visits with little or no notice might be carried out by HMI or LEAs. At the time of the Newcastle Commission, Matthew Arnold gave evidence that the efficiency of inspection was diminished by the fact that notice of it was given beforehand. In his view "the inspector's arrival is prepared for, so that he sees the school only at its best, and is thus led to form too favourable an estimate of it", and the Commissioners noted that "the same opinion has been expressed by others. We do not agree with this." [46] As with the House of Commons Select Committee in 1999, the Newcastle Commissioners noted that "the practical objects of inspection would be frustrated if no notice were given beforehand. Returns have to be made up in readiness for the inspector's arrival, and this of course

requires time." [47] The Newcastle Commission does not, unfortunately, record any instances of HMI having to hire a horse and cart to take away supporting paperwork.

Endnotes

1. Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M., (1994), Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Source Book, Sage, California, pp.25-7
2. Creswell, J.W., (1994), Research Design, Sage, California, p.12
3. Scott, D., Qualitative Approaches to Data Collection and Analysis, in G. McKenzie et al, (eds.), (1997), Understanding Social Research, London, Falmer Press, p.157
4. de Vaus, D.A., (1996), Surveys in Social Research, London, UCL Press, p.24
5. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 5
6. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 1
7. Ibid.
8. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 3
9. Hansard, 6th series, vol.205, Session 1991-2, 13 March 1992, p.1186
10. Hansard, Lords, vol.536, Session 1991-2, February 24 1992 to March 16 1992, p.650
11. NC, 24 November1859, vol.1, Chapter 4, Mins. of Evidence, Q.435 p.58
12. Hansard, March 25 1862, vol.clxvi, p.84
13. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 1
14. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 4
15. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 5
16. Hansard, 25 March 1862, p.164
17. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 4
18. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 3
19. National Society The Monthly Paper, November 1861, no. clxxx, p.276
20. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 2
21. Ibid.
22. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 1
23. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 2
24. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 3
25. P.F Research Fieldnotes, School 6
26. Ofsted Report on Kent LEA, 1999, section 4, para. 71
27. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 2
28. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 6
29. National Society Monthly Paper, August 1861. no.clxxvii, p.194
30. Dunford, J.E., (1980), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools in England and Wales, 1860-1870, Leeds, University of Leeds, p.50
31. National Association of Headteachers (NAHT), Press Release 6 April 2000, with summary of survey report by David Osborne, para. 6.4

32. Brimblecombe, N., Ormston, M. and Shaw, M. (1995), 'Teacher's Perceptions of School Inspection: a Stressful Experience', in Cambridge Journal of Education, vol.25, pp.53-61; and Fitzgibbon, C. (1995), Jeffrey B. & Woods, P. (1996)
33. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 1
34. P.F Research Fieldnotes, School 2
35. Ouston, J., 'Managing in Turbulent Times', in Gold, A. & Evans J., (eds.), Reflecting on School Management, (1997), London, Falmer, p.125
36. Dunford, op cit., p.56
37. CDBE, 19 November 1863, G/IM
38. CDBE, 26 January 1863, G/IM
39. Sneyd-Kynnersley, E.M., (1908), Some Passages in the Life of One of HM Inspectors of Schools, London, Macmillan, p.63
40. HCSCE, 'The Work of Ofsted' (1999), Minutes of Evidence, Q.2, 28 October1998,
41. Ibid.
42. NC, Part 1, Chapter 4, p.230
43. HCSCE, op cit., recommendation 70, 4th Report
44. Ferguson et al, (1999), 'New heads, OFSTED Inspections and the Prospects for School Improvement', in Education Research, vol.41, no.3, Winter 1999, Slough, NFER, pp.247-9
45. P.F. Research Fieldnotes, School 6
46. NC, Part 1, Chapter 4, p.233
47. Ibid.

Chapter 7: Some Responses in Two Historical Periods

Introduction

Previous chapters of this study have examined why and how policies changing the nature of school inspection were introduced in two separate historical periods. Also examined has been how those changes were implemented in schools forming the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education group of schools, including the current perceptions of headteachers in six Church of England schools in this area. But, on a national basis, how has policy been received in each of these periods? In the 1860s and in the 1990s, policy changes were received with a mixture of feelings, from support to outright hostility. These responses, whether positive or negative, have in both cases resulted in reconsideration or policy modification.

In the case of the Revised Code 1862, one of its core objectives was to reduce public expenditure in education and to provide sound and cheap elementary instruction. Sir John Pakington had established this in the original motion in February 1858, which led directly to the setting up of the Newcastle Commission[1]. The government's financial target was to be met, through the mechanism of 'payment by results', in fact the only finite proposal of the Newcastle Commission to be embodied in the Revised Code. In 1861 the parliamentary grant to education was £813,441, by 1865 it had fallen to £636,806.[2] Such a reduction of over 20% was bound not only to make the provision of elementary education cheaper but, through its payment mechanisms, more efficient, if schools were to remain open and teachers remain employed. At the time, its opponents fiercely contended that its provisions would lower teacher qualifications, diminish staffing levels, reduce the value of teaching any subjects other than the 3Rs, cut the total amount of grant available to schools, and fix the age of 11 as being the end of education for the great majority of the country's children.

Opposition and criticism came from a wide range of sources including politicians, church organisations, managers of schools and teachers. In the House of Commons

debate in March 1862, Lord Robert Cecil objected to the government scheme on the basis that it did not remedy existing evils, rather it added to their number and intensity. He declared that "the complaints against the existing system might be summed up thus – that it did not reach poor districts, poor schools and dull pupils. But in all these three particulars, the Revised Code would be worse than its predecessor."[3] In the same debate John Stanhope denied that the Newcastle Commission had provided any foundation for the introduction of the Revised Code

> the commissioners not only did not recommend, in accordance with the principle of the Revised Code, that government aid should depend entirely on examination, but they objected strongly to this course... what did the Revised Code propose? Why, to make the whole of the payments practically dependent on the mere examination into the mere mechanical work of elementary education which the commissioners so strongly deprecated.[4]

Stanhope reported the case of a school in his constituency, which had been regarded as successful, as having its annual grant reduced from £45 to £17 under the new provisions. Similarly a teacher employed at the school would be induced to turn away children of eight or nine years of age with no literacy or numeracy skills simply because there was no possibility of their being able to earn examination income. [5] The Hon. Edward Leveson Gower, Liberal Member of Parliament for Bodmin, Cornwall, defended the Code on behalf of the government and said that opponents of the reform had exaggerated its financial effects and that the Code would stimulate and develop education in England. [6]

Dunford (1980) outlined the intense amount of national opposition to the proposals in the Revised Code, and the clear impression is that there was no part of the country, no parish, no diocese and no teacher that did not write in to object to the Revised Code. Similarly, most of the articles and much of the correspondence in the National Society's periodical The Monthly Paper in the early 1860s were taken up with the Revised Code, hostility to it, and its professional implications for both teachers and education itself.

Responses by the National Society

For much of the period 1861-1865 the National Society was actively engaged in responding to the introduction of the Revised Code. This came at several levels: formal consideration on the detail of the proposals, petitions, delegations to Robert Lowe as Vice-President of the Committee in Council, and correspondence with its Secretary, Ralph Lingen. In addition to all this, there was a stream of letters and articles in The Monthly Paper. As early as the summer of 1860 the Society had learnt of likely changes, and seizing the initiative agreed to send a delegation, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, to meet with Lowe to make clear their position. In their memorandum seeking the audience the Society's secretary wrote "it is with much surprise and regret that the Committee of the National Society have heard of recent proceedings of the Committee of Council in relation to applications for grants." [7]

A little over a year later the Society examined the probable effects of the Code on its teacher training institutions, and concluded that both standards and funding would be seriously affected. Similarly, an analysis of school and parish returns convinced the Society's Education Committee that funding for individual schools would likewise be reduced sharply. Indeed, so gravely were the proposals viewed that a special sub-committee was appointed to analyse the likely impact of the reforms. One of its first tasks was to commission a national survey of pupils in the second class of Church elementary schools to find out what proportion of children were currently receiving aid from the parliamentary grant, and secondly how many children outside this core survey group "are able, or unable, in their judgement, to read with ease 1. The Holy Scriptures; 2. The ordinary reading book of such class." [8]

Writing on behalf of the National Society in December 1861 John Lonsdale, its Secretary, set out clearly and extensively the Society's objections to the Code. He concluded that its introduction had caused acute feelings of discouragement and insecurity, and that this was no time for "incautious experiments; and that if once shaken or overturned [Education] may be found incapable of reconstruction." [9] Early the following year the Society presented a petition to parliament, which

> Showeth,
> That your Petitioners regarded with much disquietude the Revised Code of regulations for the distribution of the Parliamentary Grant for Education, laid on the table of your Honourable House at the close of the last session of Parliament.
> That your Petitioners communicated their objections in a letter addressed to the Committee of Council on Education, and at the same time urgently requested their Lordships to withdraw the said Code.
> That the Code has since been modified; but that the objections of your Petitioners have not thereby been removed... we humbly pray your Honourable House to take such measures as may effectually prevent the said Code from being brought into operation. [10]

The National Society's 51st Annual Report 1862 records that all Diocesan Boards in England and Wales had shown a keen interest in the operation of the Revised Code, but at the same time the majority of these had written to the Committee of Council objecting to the proposed changes. In an article entitled 'Government Inspection Weighed in the Balances and Found Wanting', which appeared in The Monthly Paper in May 1861, a bitter attack was made on the Code. It criticised the style of inspections, calling inspectors' reports

> often somewhat pretentious... they do not hesitate to pass sentence in the most dogmatic manner on the physical, moral and intellectual qualifications of the teachers, and they do not scruple to insinuate that in the course of two or three hours they are able to examine a school and test a teacher's work during an entire year. [11]

In the same edition, in a section headed 'Communicated Articles', the debate continued entitled 'The New Code', it followed with

> Total Eclipse; Thick Darkness. These words express the effects which, judging from the letters that have reached us, the new Code has produced upon the minds of many persons connected with training colleges, and also upon the minds of many teachers and pupil teachers. Into the penny newspapers letters to teachers have rapidly poured. [12]

In responding to some of the points made in such articles an HMI, writing anonymously, in the June 1861 issue of the periodical, in a letter headed 'Inspection from an Inspector's

Point of View', replied "the true test of the school's efficiency is its ability to sustain a comparison in the aggregate with other schools of the same class." [13] Such a sentiment bears some comparison with the stated aims of Ofsted inspection today, and in the publication of SATs and league tables for schools such comparison is evident. Indeed, Ofsted states that one of the key purposes of inspection is to establish how well a school's standards meet national targets, and how standards compare between like schools. [14]

The correspondence columns of The Monthly Paper bear witness across these years to claim and counter claim. One inspector in writing to the periodical dismissed images of teachers being browbeaten by the inspection process, and concluded by saying that every teacher he knew would deny such a notion, as would every inspector. Another letter from a correspondent to the June 1861 edition attested

> A most noticeable instance… came under my notice in the principal school in the city of this country, where the inspector, on making some remarks upon the moral tones of schools, said emphatically, 'When I enter a school, and give a glance at the copy-books, I can at once pronounce decidedly upon the morality of that school'. A reverend doctor standing near me said to those clergymen forming the group of auditors round him, 'Very large conclusion from so small a premiss'. Hem! Was the asserting manner of those around. [15]

A frequently raised concern centred on the power of HMI to determine a teacher's future career. One teacher, writing anonymously to The Monthly Paper of June 1861, paints a bitter picture of what inspection might become under the Revised Code

> The teacher, then, basely cringes to the official whom he both despises and hates, because his money depends upon the great man's good-humour. Can there be a more humiliating picture than this? I am sure that the great body of teachers - every teacher I know - would indignantly deny its truth; and I feel equally certain that every inspector would disclaim all desire for such degrading homage

In parliament, friends of the National Society attempted, unsuccessfully, to modify the Revised Code in the March 1862 debates, Spencer Walpole MP, who also served as Vice-President of the Society, lost an amendment that would have freed government funding for schools from being linked to individual examinations. In addition outside

parliament, even 23 HMIs who considered that Lowe's Revised Code had been an attack on their methods, signed a memorial to Earl Granville, President of the Committee in Council, asserting their professional integrity. None of these interventions could prevent the implementation of the Revised Code.

Matthew Arnold who, as mentioned above, had earlier attacked the Revised Code in his 1862 polemic 'The Twice Revised Code', continued throughout the 1860s to keep it within his sights. His broad perspectives on education were now strengthened by his visits to examine the working of education systems abroad. In his Annual General Report for the year 1867, he criticised the nature of the new system on the grounds that it relied too heavily on mechanical processes and too little on intelligence. He further contended that the reason for the success of education in Prussia was not that it was compulsory; on the contrary, it was compulsory because it was flourishing. In contrast he saw Britain as a country preferring politics, station, business, money-making and pleasure instead of instruction and culture. [16]

Both national and local east Kent perspectives came together in the Report of the Select Committee on Education 1866. Local insofar as Benjamin Smith, Diocesan Inspector for Canterbury, was summoned as a witness before the Select Committee on the 8th March 1866. Their report concluded

> It raises several great questions of policy upon a subject of general interest: and many of the witnesses suggest material and fundamental alteration in the whole system of National Education, and in the constitution of the department of the government at present charged with its administration.

In its findings their report was to be far sighted; it raised questions rather than provided firm recommendations on issues that were to become the framework of education in the course of time. These included the question of whether central government educational administration should be supplemented by what it termed 'local organisation', thereby foreshadowing the creation of LEAs. [17] It raised the issue of whether local rating should be employed to support education, a proposal that was to become reality with the creation of School Boards after 1870, and direct school funding from the rates from 1902.

Smith told the Select Committee that he believed the teacher's certificate to be "the keystone of the whole fabric", and that the majority of schools in Kent with over 50 pupils now had a certificated teacher. He continued, "indeed, already in most villages capable of supplying 50 scholars there is financially, no greater difficulty in engaging the services of a certificated teacher than those of the meanest amateur." In response to a question from the Select Committee, on whether most clergymen were qualified to teach in schools, he replied that teaching large numbers of children required particular technical skills, and it was far better for clergymen to examine the quality of teaching. Smith commented on the fact that middle-class families were tending to withdraw their children from elementary schools, because of a narrowing of the curriculum brought about by the Revised Code. On the other hand, he reported that the children of farmers and tradesmen tended to enrol in National schools, and as for "pride" about attending a National school he told the Select Committee that he observed that this did not so much occur in "the case of boys; but I have known that feeling to exist strongly in the case of girls." [18]

In evidence to the 1866 Select Committee, and from other sources, it is apparent that a gradual change of attitude was occurring towards the Revised Code. In the National Society's 54th report for the year 1865, pleasure is expressed that, despite the strictures of the Code, the number of Church schools and attendance at them had steadily increased since the beginning of the decade. Similarly, Smith in his evidence to the Select Committee spoke of it not being possible to return to "the old state of things", and that inspection not only improved the practical aptitudes of pupils but tested the moral benefits of education. [19]

Edmonds (1962) in his critique of the Victorian school inspection system in the 1860s referred to the administrative order that the introduction of the Code brought about. One block grant was now to be allocated, and the inspectors were, as before, the field workers, sending their reports and pass lists to the Education Department. He suggested that perhaps the most serious defect of payment by results was the futility of attempting to regulate education by economic laws. Thus within a short time of the Code's introduction, the cost of education may have been reduced, but as a result was poorer than before. Edmonds reserves the accolade of greatest evil to the elevated status of the inspector, which stemmed from his increased powers; no longer a 'friendly critic' since

on the nature and results of his examination, the life-blood of the school depended.[20] Again, in relation to the experiences reported by headteachers interviewed as part of this study, regrets were expressed about the absence of a 'critical friend'.

Against this Dunford (1980), although concurring that the Revised Code had many faults, considered that it promoted the teaching of basic subjects and thereby strengthened the base of the educational pyramid. In addition he suggested that because it placed a stronger emphasis on secular subjects for grant-earning purposes, it lessened the influence of religious organisations, especially the Church of England, over education, and can therefore be viewed as part of a process that prepared the ground for the 1870 Education Act. [21] In terms of more immediate change resulting from the widespread concerns about the effect of the Code in its narrowing of the curriculum, the 1867 Minutes, for example, with its provisions for 'specific subjects' reveals a response to some of the criticisms of the 1863 curriculum with its lack of higher subjects, the decrease in pupil numbers and the disincentive to remain at school after the age of eleven.

At a time of growing political and social awareness, concern over national education policies was not confined to educational professionals and politicians. Such anxieties were, for example, reflected in periodicals such as Punch. In an article in this satirical magazine in April 1862, the month after the parliamentary debate on the Revised Code, the growing importance of education as a national issue can be seen

> We have lately heard, Mr. Punch, nearly as much about National Education as we have about National Defences... were all schoolmasters to be paid for results, we should find the schooling of our youth come comparatively cheap. [22]

Smith (1998) in tracing the history of Punch and elementary education in the years 1860 to 1900, quotes Price (1957) as saying that the periodical's stance on education in the 1860s was "ambidextrously hostile... disliking both Anglican and Nonconformist interests in the education debate." Smith comments that since Her Majesty's Inspectorate was not open to ordinary teachers, the upper-class nature of the body is emphasized in many cartoons of the period. [23] The 3R's became a favoured, and indeed enduring subject for caricatures in both the periods covered in this comparative study.

Reactions to Ofsted 1993 Onwards

In response to the Revised Code the issues which predominated in the centred on its impact on teachers, and their professionalism, financial implications, teacher training, and the effects of the Code on the school curriculum. There was extensive correspondence in the press as well as political 'fall-out'. This section examines the extent to which these reactions and emotions were replicated in the 1990s. Previous chapters have tracked the gradual development of neo-liberal education policies in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly the major change to the education landscape brought about by the Education Reform Act 1988. Also, in both eras, there were hearings of parliamentary Select Committees resulting in the modification of inspection policy.

Since the creation of Ofsted in 1993 the education and national press alike have carried regular news and reports on its work, much of it hostile. An editorial in The Times Educational Supplement in June 1993 gave a guarded welcome to the new inspection arrangements. It recognised that some schools would be apprehensive about the changes, but accepted the fact that inspections would now be more focused and transparent. The creation of a clear framework would, it claimed, make it easier for schools to get a good result, particularly if "as Ofsted recommends, schools start putting their house in order a year or two in advance of an inspection." [24] The same journal reported in January 1998 on the results of a MORI survey, with findings supporting the work of Ofsted, had its headline for the article as "Stop the Demonising of Ofsted." In commenting on the survey in the same edition, Chris Woodhead, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, stated that "trade unions" were as hostile as they possibly could be to Ofsted. [25] Further indication of this hostility is to be seen in a headline in The Guardian May 2000, "Union's New President Denounces Ofsted." The occasion was a speech given by Mike Brooks, National President of the National Association of Head Teachers, at the association's year 2000 annual conference, when he declared

Most of us have survived Ofsted – not just once but twice... Nobody denies that

> schools should be accountable and should stand up to scrutiny, but a system more suited to the Spanish inquisition must give way to something that more readily meets the needs of this century. [26]

In the period between 1993 and 2000 there has been a vast amount of research and comment on the workings of Ofsted inspection. Cullingford (1999) comments that when one looks at the systems of inspection and the motivation of inspection, it is evident that it is the teachers and not the pupils that are being inspected. Pupils, he argued, count in that they are 'products', and their 'output' is measurable through standard assessment tests (SATS). On the other hand, the inspection focuses on what is observable, a teacher's performance. [27] Maw (1996) contends that the core purpose of Ofsted inspection is to demonstrate the accountability of schools and quotes Gipps (1994) as saying that

> It is not that teachers want to narrow their teaching, nor to limit unduly student's educational experience, but if the test scores have significant effects on people's lives, then teachers see it as part of their professional duty to make sure their pupils have the best possible chance they can to pass the test. [28]

In examining Ofsted methodology, Maw draws an analogy with the American concept of "high stakes assessment", forms of assessment that determine the pedagogy and curriculum rather that vice-versa. Significantly, in this comparative context, they are important because they carry either awards or sanctions. Again, Maw quotes Gipps as suggesting that the nineteenth-century system of payment by results was one such high stakes assessment, and raises the question whether schools and teachers regard an Ofsted inspection to be high stakes or not. She concludes by saying that although much of the anecdotal and early evidence suggests that it is indeed a high stakes model, further research is needed to confirm this concept. [29] Russell (1996) in reporting on a Leeds Metropolitan University research project in 1994 investigating early experiences of the relationship between school inspection and the professional development of individual teachers, talks of "cautious mutual respect between teachers and inspectors" during inspection week. However, that research also established that

> teachers preferred inspectors who were approachable and who did not fit the

> stereotype of unsmiling bureaucrats in grey suits. Nevertheless, affability did not lead automatically to trust, and as one teacher pointed out: 'I felt they were quite convivial. I didn't trust them, but they were nice. I was very wary of what they said.' [30]

This modern perception bears some comparative value with an incident quoted in Dunford (1980) in a letter from a schoolmaster that appeared in The Museum in April 1864, talking of the arrival of an HMI at a school

> for a moment every eye is turned on the inspectoral 'countenance divine' for signs of cloud or sunshine, and as each has formed an opinion, a slight shifting of position indicates the completion of process. Much, very much depends on these first impressions. [31]

Several contemporary writers have commented that the Ofsted inspection process has led to high anxiety and a sense of deprofessionalism in the teaching profession. What is seen as a technicist approach by Ofsted has conflicted with the core holistic and the idiosyncratic values of teachers. [32] Others have concluded that the new system is unnecessary stressful because it takes insufficient account of a school's own evaluation of its progress and development and "diminishes if not denies the professionalism of teachers." [33] An NFER researcher has concluded that one of the main criticisms of the Ofsted system is that "it can be extremely stressful to teachers and adds to their already heavy work load." [34]

Extreme instances of this can be seen in a number of tragic instances relating to both periods. In the first, R.S. Betts (1990), 'My Boys did Rather Badly', tells of the Silverlock case of 1888, when Frank Silverlock threw himself under a train after having lost his Teacher's Certificate, as a result of a bad inspection report. [35] In the second period teacher suicides have been linked to stress over inspection. The Times Educational Supplement carried an article in April 2000, entitled 'Inquests Link Four Deaths to Inspection', one of which was a teacher who killed herself after her classes were said by an Ofsted inspector to have "lacked pace." [36]

Personalities and the Media

The pressures and political expectations placed on senior civil servants in the implementation of government policies have always been of considerable magnitude, and individual responses to such demands have been varied. However, in the case of the introduction of the Revised Code 1862, and in the operation and direction of Ofsted certain parallels emerge. In both cases the reforms radically changed previous practice, making severe demands upon the energy and professionalism of teachers. The reforms challenged their assumptions, reshaped their professional lives and led to an outcry about the reforms in both cases. Faced with this, in both eras, governments were determined to implement these new policies. Much teacher opprobrium in the 1860s and in the 1990s was focused on two individuals seen as being leading protagonists and champions of a new inspection system. In the first instance it was Ralph Lingen, Secretary to the Education Department 1849-70; and in the second, Chris Woodhead as Her Majesty's Chief Inspector for Schools from September 1994. What parallels therefore, may be drawn from a comparison of these two men?

If the methodology of the Revised Code 1862 had grown out of the Newcastle Commission's report, then it fell to Lingen to put it into effect. In this capacity he insisted that examination and school inspection were essential in order to assess the efficiency of teachers. [37] In his rigorous application of the new regulations Lingen was accused by teachers of being the "prince of red tapists" and "animated by no popular sympathies, ignorant of, or sceptically disregarding the powerful sentiments by which communities are influenced, and moved only by considerations of official convenience and statistical uniformity." [38]

Lingen's sharp and frequently unsympathetic 'My Lords' correspondence with schools drew much hostility. In addition, he was closely involved in the 'mutilated reports' controversy, over the alteration of inspectors' reports, which led in 1864 to the resignation of Robert Lowe as Vice-President of the Committee in Council. According to Lowe's biographer it was Lingen, and not Lowe, "whom those outraged inspectors and terrified schoolmasters wished to attack." [39] Lingen was also frequently attacked by the Saturday Review; in the dispute over the amendment of the inspectors' reports, he was

referred to as "the ingenious Sphinx who propounds the recondite enigmas which he calls minutes, more inscrutable than cuneiform inscriptions, under which so many curious devices for hampering and annoying philanthropic educationalists are concealed." [40] Continuing, the Saturday Review again attacked Lingen on the following lines

> If rumour does not much belie him, Mr Lingen is quite as powerful [as Mr Lowe] and a good deal more offensive. It is for Mr Lingen that all the sharp snubbing replies proceed, which have imprinted upon half the rural parishes in the country a deep conviction that the Education Department is their natural enemy, whom it is their first duty to elude, baffle and disprove to the utmost of their power. [41]

Lingen's laconic writing style, supercilious even by Victorian standards, angered school managers and teachers alike. The House of Commons Select Committee on Education, 1866, found that "there is besides, the inconvenience that communications from the Education Office are written in the name of 'My Lords', whereby perplexity if not ridicule is caused; the majority of those who receive such communication, have little idea who 'My Lords are', and know what with whom they are corresponding, nor under whose authority they are acting." [42] Nonetheless, to his credit Lingen was defended by Matthew Arnold who stated that

> A more honourable and indefatigable public servant than Mr Lingen does not exist. But the most indefatigable man sees difficulties in a course for which he has no love. Mr Lingen's difficulties show the presence, in the heart of the Education Department, of this want of love for the very course which such a department is created to find. [43]

Similarly, Chris Woodhead, Chief Inspector of Schools in England and Wales since 1994 has attracted critical attention largely because of his high profile, and political and polemical involvement in the Ofsted inspection process. Thus, the period from 1994 to the close of the twentieth century has been shaped not only by the implementation of changes in the inspection of schools, but by an accompanying controversy. Educational journals have regularly carried news items and articles about Ofsted and its leadership. Many of these, in line with the media fashion of today have been of a quasi-sensational nature. The Times Educational Supplement for example, has carried headlines such as "Chris' Ramblings", "Inspectors Worthy of Kafka", "MPs Angered by Support for

Woodhead", "Fresh Calls for Woodhead to Resign", "Embattled Chief Inspector", and the like. [44]

In his evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on the 'Work of Ofsted' (1999), Professor Maurice Kogan stated

> Criticisms of Ofsted centre primarily on the change model implicit in the work that it does, although Ofsted has made many attempts to meet criticism, we have to note that similar criticisms are not made of other national bodies. [45]

Kogan conclude that a 'dialogue problem' was a core issue in relation to Ofsted's operation. The Select Committee took account of a considerable amount of evidence on the work and management style of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector and, in its recommendations, concluded

> It has not been possible for us to judge objectively Mr Woodhead's assertion that Ofsted's achievement would have been less if he had adopted a more conciliatory, even handed style. We note, however, that a number of our witnesses were extremely critical of his style as Her Majesty's Chief Inspector. Inspection judgements and comments by the Chief Inspector and Ofsted must be clear, but they should not be intemperate. [46]

The issue of temperance was not to subside. In May 1999 The Times Educational Supplement carried an extended interview with Professor Carol Fitzgibbon of Durham University. Speaking of Chris Woodhead, she commented in the interview that "if we had a more temperate and cautious person it would have taken longer to see that the methods were wrong. My fear is that if he goes the method will stay." [47] Whether these two gentlemen – Lingen and Woodhead – were of the same psychological make-up lies outside the scope of this study but the parallels, their appearances before committees of the House of Commons, their ability to attract trenchant criticism from teachers and educationalists, and the controversy they both engendered, are all strangely comparable despite the passage of time. Above all it needs to be remembered that these people were merely public servants who became the scapegoats, and named personalities, at whom anger at government policy could be directed.

Endnotes

1. Hansard, vol. clxviii, col.1248, 11 February 1858, in response to a motion in the House of Commons on 11 February 1858 by Sir John Pakington, a commission was established 'to inquire into the present state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people'.
2. Birchenough, C., (1938), History of Elementary Education, London, University Tutorial Press
3. Hansard, vol.clxvi, 25 March 1862, cols.81-2
4. Ibid. 26 March 1862, cols.187-8
5. Ibid, 25 March 1862,.col.72
6. Hansard, vol.clxvi, March 25-May 26 1862, 'The Revised Code of Regulations', cols.72-81,
7. National Society Minute Book, 3 March 1860
8. Ibid, 6 November 1861
9. National Society Minute book 5 December 1861
10. Ibid. 19 February 1862
11. National Society The Monthly Paper, vol. clxxiv, May 1861
12. Ibid. vol.clxxiv
13. National Society The Monthly Paper, vol.clxxv, June 1861
14. Ofsted Briefing, Inspection 1998, August 1998, p.18
15. National Society The Monthly Paper, vol. clxxv, June 1861
16. Arnold, M., General Report 1867, pp.121-36, in Maclure, J.S., (1968), Educational Documents, London, Methuen
17. HCSCE, 8 March 1866, Cm/392
18. Report of the Select Committee on Education, Minutes of Evidence, July 1866, Cm/392, p.xiii
19. Ibid. 8 March 1866
20. Edmonds, E.L., (1962), The School Inspector, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp.77-81
21. Dunford, J.E., (1980), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools in England and Wales, 1860-1870, Leeds, University of Leeds, p.80
22. Punch, or the London Charivari, April 26, 1862, p.164
23. Smith, J.T., 'Punch and Elementary Education 1860-1900', in History of Education, 1998, vol.127, no.2, pp.25-40
24. The Times Educational Supplement, 25 June 1993
25. The Times Educational Supplement, 1998
26. National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT) Presidential Address, Mike Brooks to Annual Conference, Jersey, 30 May 2000
27. Cullingford, C., (ed.) (1999) An Inspector Calls, London, Kogan Page, p.4
28. Gipps, C.V., (1994), Beyond Testing, Lewes, Falmer Press, pp.36-37
29. Maw, J., The Handbook for the Inspection of Schools: Models, Outcomes and Effects, in Ousten, Earley & Fidler (eds.), Ofsted Inspections, (1996), pp.29-31

30. Ibid, Russell, p.101
31. Dunford, J.E. (1998), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools since 1944: Standard Bearers or Turbulent Priests?, London, David Fulton, p.29
32. Jeffrey, B. & Woods, p., Feeling Deprofessionalised: the social construction of emotions during an OFSTED inspection, in Cambridge Journal of Education, vol.26, No.3, 1996, p.325
33. Maw, op cit. p.29
34. Scanlon, M., (1999), The Impact of Ofsted Inspection, NFER, Slough, p.26
35. Betts, .R., (1990), 'My Boys did Rather Badly': The Silverlock Case, 1888', in Journal of Educational Administration and History, vol.xxii, no.1, January 1990, pp.17-23
36. The Times Educational Supplement, 21 April, 2000
37. Bishop, A.S. 'Ralph Lingen, Secretary to the Education Department 1849-70', in British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.xvi, Feb-October 1968, p.149
38. Education Guardian, 1 November 1862, quoted in Bishop, op cit., p.148
39. Martin, A.P. 1893, Life and Letters of Robert Lowe, London, Longman and Co., vol.2, p.222, quoted in Bishop p.152
40. Saturday Review vol.xiii, 16 April 1864, quoted in Bishop op cit, pp.144-5
41. Ibid, 16 April 1864
42. House of Commons Select Committee on Education, 8 March 1866, Cm/39
43. Matthew Arnold 'The Twice Revised Code', 1862, in G. Sutherland, (ed.), Arnold on Education, (1973), p.43
44. The Times Educational Supplement, 11 February 2000; 4 December 1998; 30 July 1999; 2 April 1999; 11 June 1999
45. HSCSE, 'The Work of Ofsted', (1999), Minutes of Evidence, para.273
46. Ibid, para.60
47. The Times Educational Supplement, 14 May 1999

Chapter 8: In Conclusion

The Interpretive Problem

This study has attempted to show that there are many points of similarity in the implementation, operation, and responses to a new national inspection process in the 1860s and 1990s. But is such a comparison valid and do its conclusions rest on reality? Again, can two distinct periods in history be compared meaningfully? In the introduction to this thesis it is suggested that historical comparison is not only possible, but that it increases the value and depth of our understanding of events. Tosh (1994) on the other hand, in discussing what he termed a 'minimalist' view of the use of theory in history, comments that the attempt to write comparative history has proved its worth less in revealing common patterns, than in sharpening our awareness of the fundamental differences between the periods or places under discussion. [1] He counters this argument by adding that the professional commitment of historians to primary research often results in large scale problems of historical interpretation being overlooked, in particular the need to explain long term processes.

But where do we begin in making sense of interpreting the comparison hypothesised in this study? Dunne (1928) in his classic analysis, An Experiment with Time, posits a particular starting point, albeit in now politically incorrect language. "Let us suppose", he declared, "that you are entertaining a visitor from some country where the inhabitants are all born blind; and that you are trying to make your guest understand what you mean by seeing… now, the point to be noticed is this. Here is a piece of knowledge concerning which the blind man had no previous knowledge." [2] Today, our society at large has relatively little collective memory of its history in previous eras and the past. Indeed, in terms of historical memory, events as relatively recent as 1992, and the introduction of Ofsted, are already the past. McCulloch (1997) examines the historical link and awareness that existed in education policy documents earlier in the twentieth-

century and discerns a clear link between education and national cultural identity thus, for example, previous government reports usually took full account of historical precedence. Instead today, a political awareness of the lessons of a "public past" had tended to be replaced by a "private past" with idiosyncratic outcomes. [3]

Previous chapters have examined the establishment of inspection systems, their operation, the responses of Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education, the National Society, and the reaction of the teaching profession in both periods. This chapter seeks to synthesise the points of similarity, as well as identifying the differences in the two eras examined.

Political and Economic Comparisons

In both eras – the early 1860s and the early 1990s – the governments in power had certain political policies in common. In both instances they were concerned with improving the efficiency of the education system, and securing 'better value for money', and to use a renewed inspectorate to achieve these objectives.

It has been argued in previous chapters that the Education (Schools) Act 1992 which established Ofsted, grew out of the Education Reform Act 1988, and the establishment of the National Curriculum. Reference has also been made to its more immediate origins in the Audit Commission report on LEA inspectorates (1989), and the growth of 'Charterisation', a policy particular espoused by John Major, as Prime Minister. In the debate on the Education Reform Bill the issue of greater parental choice, and the need for information on which to base choice had been raised. Norman Tebbit had, for example, said

> This Bill extends choice and responsibility. Some will choose badly or irresponsibly, but that cannot and must not be used as an excuse to deny choice and responsibility to the great majority. Today, only the wealthy have choice in education and that must be changed. [4]

Although the demands of a 'consumer society' may be particularly associated with today, such demands were not entirely absent from society in the 1860s. One significant debate at that time concerned the propensity of the working classes to send their children

to inspected schools. In his evidence to the 1866 Select Committee on Education, Benjamin Smith had, as reported above, commented on the tendency of the lower middle classes in Kent – farmers, shopkeepers and trades folk – to withdraw their children from national schools owing to a narrowing of the curriculum following the introduction of the Revised Code. At the same time he reported increased participation by working class children.[5]

A further common thread linking the politics of the two periods is the growth of centralisation, in education administration, the curriculum, and the inspectorate. The Education Reform Act 1988 diminished the power of LEAs, and this trend was further accelerated by the enactments of 1992 establishing Ofsted. In contrast, prior to the 1860s religious bodies, societies or private benefactors ran most schools with some support from central government. The reforms of 1862 increased the power of central government to regulate school funding supported by a rigorous inspection system. Another parallel between the Revised Code and the Conservative governments' reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s is the extent to which they both undermined local education initiatives. Aldrich (1979) traces how Pakington's vision of local rating authorities, although endorsed by the Newcastle Commission, was thwarted by the imposition of the Code. Thus instead of a comprehensive Bill on education embodying the recommendations of the Commission, there was instead the narrow confines of the Code. Aldrich writes

> The Revised Code was a defeat for Pakington, a defeat for his carefully laid plans for an education act, a defeat for local agency and increased public expenditure, a defeat for a genuine basis for national education. It was a victory, on the other hand, for Gladstone and Lowe, for economy, for the existing system, for the central department and its system of Minutes. [6]

One of the significant changes brought about by the Revised Code was that it substantially enhanced the role of school managers, through whom school grants were now channelled. Likewise, the education reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s reduced local authority powers and increased that of central government, school governors and head teachers. [7]

The reforms in education in the 1860s and 1990s took place at a time of major economic and social change occurring in Britain and further afield at each respective time. In the 1860s with communication improvements, steam ships, the telegraph and a growing railway network, Britain was entering the beginning of a rapidly 'shrinking' world and becoming more aware of foreign competition. The Newcastle Commission had taken considerable account of the education systems operating in Europe, and throughout the 1860s the British government became more conscious of the need for developing a more coherent and accountable system of education. Today, many of the statements made by politicians justifying or prefacing education reform have alluded to global factors, influenced by, for example, the development of the world-wide-web, deregulation and 'empowerment', and new systems of quality controls in business and the public sector.

Teachers

Evidence from teacher correspondence to newspapers, journals, and in the interviews conducted as part of this study, suggests overwhelmingly that in both eras the reforms and the introduction of a new inspection system created great anxiety for the teaching profession. One cause of this was the increase in the frequency of inspection for schools, which both the Revised Code and examinations and, today, Ofsted inspections have brought about. As this study shows, before 1862 in the first era, and before 1992 in the second, inspection was less systematic and indeed infrequent, and again when it occurred it tended to be supportive rather than judgemental. Such sharp contrasts were bound to lead to teacher anxiety and stress in both historical periods. The Revised Code, by linking a school's grant, and thereby a teacher's pay, to examination results, created great pressures and suspicion on both sides. Dunford (1980) commented that the growing pessimism in the teaching profession, evident by the mid 1860s, 'would not have been so marked' had the [Education] Department and its inspectors shown a greater understanding of the teachers' difficulties. [8]

One significant area of difference between the 1860s and today was the position of the Anglican Church. In the first period it was strongly opposed to the introduction of the

Revised Code, and the erosion of the Church's influence as the established Church. In the second phase, as suggested above in the case of the Canterbury Diocesan Board's response to the introduction of Ofsted, while there was concern about aspects of the procedure, the new system was broadly accepted as part of the continuous change in education evident in the 1980s and 1990s. Today, by contrast, the Church whilst still passionate about providing a distinctive education service, is less certain of its role in an increasingly agnostic, multicultural and multi-faith society. To examine and perhaps redefine its role in the twenty-first century a review was established in May 2000 under the chairmanship of Lord Dearing. The terms of reference for the review state that "Church Schools stand at the centre of the Church's mission to the nation." [9]

Inspectors

Clearly while some comparisons in terms of policy, concerns, personalities, and feelings are evident between the two periods, certain contrasts between them remain. Today, the national education service consumes a large share of the national exchequer, an estimated £37 billion in the year 2000-01, compared with £636,806 from government grants to education in 1865. [10] Yet, at the same time there are similarities. Changes over the 140 years appear to indicate continuing uncertainty about the role of inspectors, whether they are inspectors or advisors or a combination of both. The need for an advisor – a critical friend – has been echoed in both periods. Dunford (1998), in his analysis and proposals for a more effective system of school inspection, believed that the link between inspection and support should be made clear. [11] Winkley (1999) in a survey of a headteachers found further support "for a return to the old LEA adviser-inspector arrangements." [12] In the early period there were instances of inspectors being supportive and sympathetic to teachers, as well as inspectors who were critical and unsympathetic, and the same responses obtain today.

While it has been customary to see the 1862 Revised Code as a watershed between a benign and a judgemental inspectorate, Whitmore (1987) in his study of the relationship between HMI and teachers in the period 1840-60, suggests that following the 1846 Minutes, the HMIs' role changed to such a degree that many of the characteristics

associated with the Revised Code were already evident in the 1850s. [13] It would be very difficult to assert that the LEA/HMI inspection services were a prototype for Ofsted. Above all, throughout educational history the relationship between inspector and inspected has been a delicate issue, with teachers seeing an inspector as sometime friend, sometime spy, and sometime a professional enemy. Nonetheless in the 1990s, as a result of the strong and independent professionalism, as well as the collective, and almost folk, memory of Victorian HMI, any system, which sought to reimpose rigorous school inspection, was bound to meet with deep suspicion.

Ofsted inspections today, just as with the HMIs in the 1860s, scrutinise what takes place in schools, and report to central government on their findings. In both periods schools that were failing are exposed. Today there are instances of headteachers being forced to resign as a result of a poor Ofsted inspection. In the early period a teacher's certificate could be suspended or cancelled, with instant loss of professional status on a very slight provocation. [14] Similarly, evidence suggests that in both cases the pressures of inspection have forged the shape of the curriculum. Matthew Arnold's Report for 1869 described the payment by results system as "a game of mechanical contrivance in which the teachers will and must more and more learn how to beat us. It is found possible, by ingenious preparation, to get children through the Revised Code examination in reading, writing and ciphering, without them really knowing how to read, write and cipher." [15]

Some modern commentators have noted similar effects arising from Ofsted inspections. Burns (2000) in his investigation into teachers' perceptions of Ofsted as a vehicle for improvement, relates the evidence of primary school subject co-ordinators who "refer to pressures to cover the curriculum and gather evidence leading them to pushing children too quick." In his analysis Burns quotes one Geography Co-ordinator who stated that "Yes I probably get more irritated with the kids, constantly trying to push them to levels I'm not sure they're ready for."[16] Fidler et al (1998) in their memorandum to the Commons Select Committee on Ofsted commented on the tendency of the Ofsted inspection framework to create an orthodoxy. In such a way the framework would create a model which carried the risk of being uncritically accepted by schools, who would in turn lose "the capacity for critical and innovative thinking and diversity of practice."[17]

Kogan (1999) in an extensive study The Ofsted System of School Inspection, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, found that

> It is clear from both the survey and case study material that prior to inspection schools concentrate on those activities which they know will come to the attention of the inspectors at the expense of long-term development activities.[18]

Epilogue

McCulloch (1997) in his article 'Privatising the Past? History and Education Policy in the 1990s' argues that today education policies frequently appear to lack any historical perspective, and that for policy-makers and politicians the past is often an "irrelevant distraction." [19] Similarly, although the mistakes of the Revised Code have been well documented, there is no evidence to suggest that its lessons were taken into account in the creation of a new national policy on inspection in the 1990s. This study on the other hand has set out to show that the past is clearly relevant to today. Not only is the study of the past valuable in its own right as an analysis of events and policies in previous eras, but valuable for the comparison it allows of those events with events in our own time. The introduction and debates on school inspection in the mid-nineteenth century, as well as the responses of those closely affected, reveal perspectives which are relevant to interpreting today's policy. In this context by studying a discrete period in a particular geographical area, it has been possible to focus on the professional preoccupations in both periods and to compare closely how one period relates to another.

The study raises the question of whether educational change is cyclical, and not one of permanent progress. Just as the Revised Code, introduced in 1862 was to last until 1895, and then in hindsight be regarded as unenlightened, is it today possible to predict a cyclical term for the reforms of education in the late 1980s and early 1990s? Will they too have a finite span? Commenting on the work of the historian in dealing with subjective areas in history, Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) describe such areas as "essentially unpredictable elements since human beings are in essence creative and have the capacity to change and be changed over time." [20] There is already abundant evidence

that Ofsted procedures have been progressively modified over the seven years since their introduction, reflecting the professional concerns of teachers and educationalists. In addition, today's parliamentary scrutiny of Ofsted has been intense leading to change in policy. Only time will tell the full story.

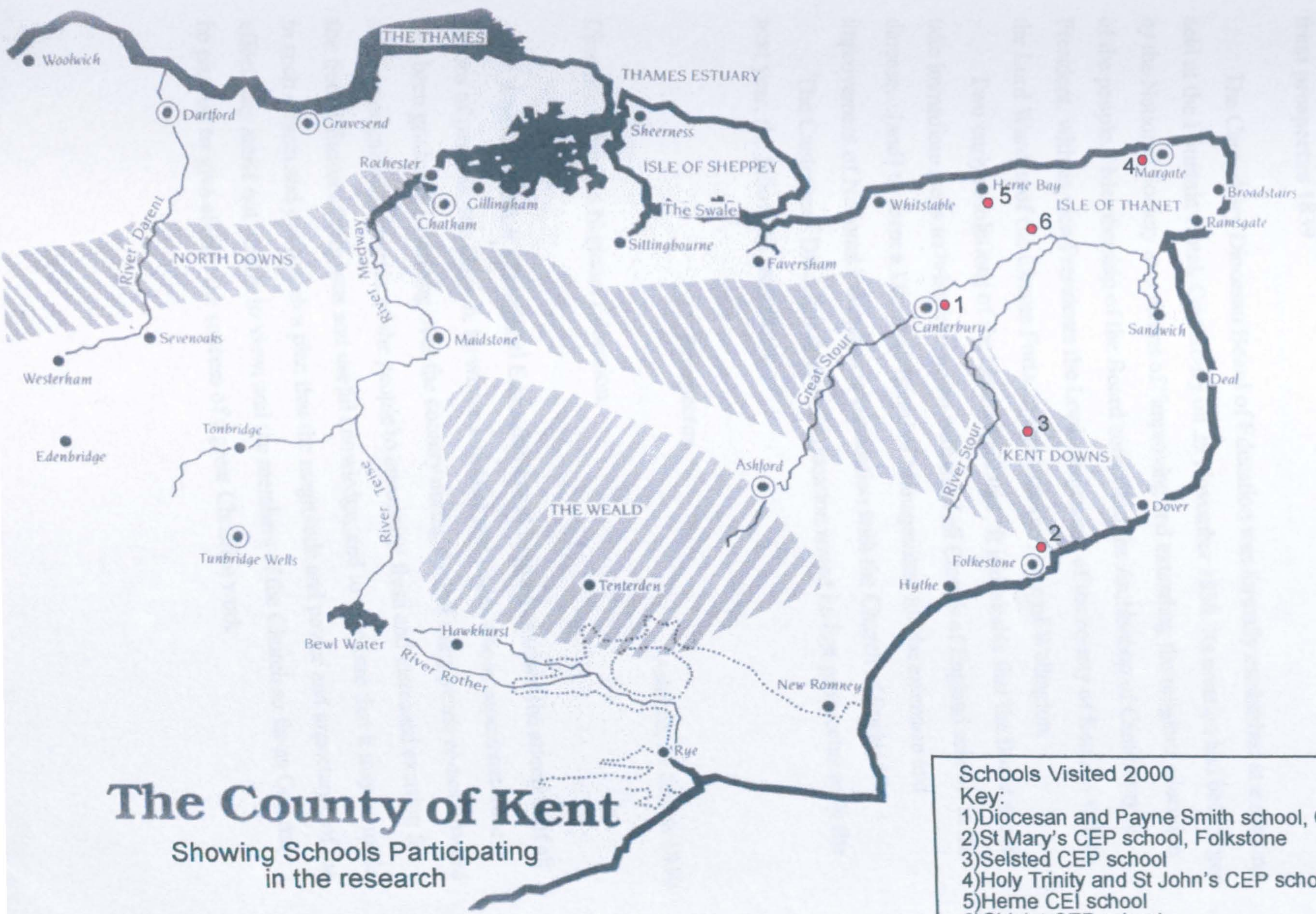
FINIS

Endnotes

1. Tosh, J., (1984), The Pursuit of History, London, Longman, pp.182-3
2. Dunne, J.W., (1929), An Experiment with Time, London, Black, p.3
3. McCulloch, G., 'Privatising the Past? History and Education Policy in the 1990s', in British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.45, no.1, March 1997, pp.69-82
4. Norman Tebbit, in The Daily Telegraph, 2 December 1987
5. HCSCE, evidence, 8 March 1866, Cmd/392
6. Aldrich, R., 'Sir John Pakington and the Newcastle Commission', in History of Education, 1979, vol.8, no.1, p.30
7. Aldrich, R., 'Educational legislation of the 1980s in England: an historical analysis', in History of Education, 1992, vol.21, No.1, p.64
8. Dunford, (1980), op cit. pp.49-50
9. The National Society, Archbishops Council: Church Schools Review Group, Terms of Reference, 26 May 2000
10. DFEE Departmental Report, Cm 4202, 1999-2002, March 1999
11. Dunford, (1998), op cit. pp.230-31
12. Winkley, D., 'An Examination of Ofsted', in An Inspector Calls, C. Cullingford, (ed.) (1999), London, Kogan Page, p.64
13. Whitmore, W.E. (1987), 'The Relationship Between Her Majesty's Inspectorate and Teachers: 1840-1860', unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London, Institute of Education
14. Kekewich, G., (1920), The Education Department and After, London, Constable, pp.10-11
15. Sutherland, G., (ed.) (1973), Arnold on Education, Harmondsworth, Penguin Education, p.52
16. Burns, J., (2000), 'Improvement Through Inspection?', University of Central England, Issues in Education No.5, Chester, Trentham Books, p.18
17. HCSCE, Minutes of Evidence, vol.iii, Appendix 84, October 1998, p.286
18. Kogan, M., The Ofsted System of School Inspection: An Independent Evaluation, Centre for the Evaluation of Public Policy and Practice, January 1999, para. 4.16, p.36
19. McCulloch, G., op cit, p.69

20. Hitchcock, G., and Hughes, D., (1995) Research and the Teacher, London, Routledge, p.217

APPENDIX 1



Appendix 2

The establishment of the Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education 1838 and extract from prospectus 1839

The Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education was formally established at a meeting held at the Fountain Hotel, Canterbury on 29 November 1838. Its creation had been urged by the National Society as a means of "improving and extending the religious education of the people." Membership of the Board comprised the Archbishop of Canterbury as President, with as vice-Presidents the Lord Lieutenants of the county of Kent, as well as the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, at that time the Duke of Wellington.

Two early resolutions of the Board were that "it is desirable that the Board should take immediate steps to bring into union with itself all Church of England schools in the diocese...[and] to form a Diocesan Board of Management, for the extension and improvement of National Education in connection with the Church of England."

The Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education issued its first prospectus early the next year, the following are extracts

Prospectus

Ashford, 21 March 1839

Church of England National Education.

When the matter of National Education has at length awakened the attention of all classes of persons, the Church, by whose influence and under whose superintendence it had been gradually extending over the country during the last thirty years, comes forward as the recognised instructor of the people to encourage fresh and increased exertion for the free diffusion of religious and useful knowledge, and to take care that it may be made in such a form and upon such a plan that the magnitude and power and importance of the effort may stand out clearly to view; and the members of the Church so far as God may be pleased to give ability, the success of a great Christian work

Diocesan Boards of Education

In order that Education may be enlarged and carried on throughout the Kingdom upon a sound and effective plan "Boards of Education" are now about to be established in every diocese. In the first place these boards are to be, as it were, "District Branches" of the National Society of Education established in London of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is President and the Lord Bishops and influential lay members of the Church are Vice Presidents; and in the second place, the schools already established or which may hereafter be established in the several dioceses upon the principles of the Church of England, are to be invited to form a union with the Educational Boards such dioceses respectively, so that in being invited with them, they may all be brought into one grand incorporation together at a central point of unions common to all, in the chief institution in London. Thus dioceses will form separate 'Localities', each locality having its own particular interests to advance and watch over; and whilst the interests of every locality will be the anxious care of those connected with it, as the Bishop, the Archdeacons, the chapters for Parochial Clergy and the Nobility and the Gentry of the diocese and county, the whole length and breadth of the land will be brought under the influences of one common educational system under the superintendence of the Church of England.

District Boards of Education in Dioceses

It is proposed that dioceses, for the accomplishment of the purposes on account of which 'Diocesan Boards' are to be formed, be divided into convenient districts and that the establishment of Schools in union with the Diocesan Board and the care of the general interest of them be undertaken by 'District Boards' consisting of Clergy and Laity, to be appointed in such districts respectively.

Middle or Commercial Schools

As the efforts which have been made hitherto for the diffusion of education, have chiefly been directed to the particular care of the education of the poor; and as from the want of fit schools upon moderate terms much inconvenience is found by respectable persons of the middle classes in providing a respectable education for their sons, it is proposed that 'Middle or Commercial schools' be established in union with 'Diocesan Educational Boards', for the purpose of remedying this serious evil; and where suitable schools of the sought do exist, that the masters of them be invited to unite their schools with the Diocesan Societies, upon the principles of the Church of England; and with the single condition annexed that permission be given to Ministers of the Church of England, appointed by Diocesan Boards, occasionally to examine the schools.

Model and Training schools

As without a due supply of proper persons fully qualified to teach and train children; no successful progress can be made in the work of mental and moral education; and as the want of such a supply is now generally felt, the primary desire of Diocesan Boards will be to establish Diocesan Model and Training Schools, wherein children and persons of upper years desirous to become instructors may receive an education suitable to those who will have to teach, and be exercised in the art of teaching and training while they are themselves under discipline as learners.

Purpose

Encouragement and advice will be afforded for the improvement of Education in extending national Schools for Boys, Girls and Infants. A report on the state and progress of the schools is to be made, at Christmas in every year, to the Diocesan Board, the District Society, or the National Society: and the schools are, with the consent of the

managers, to be periodically inspected by persons appointed by the Bishop of the Diocese the National Society, or the Diocesan Board of Education.

[Canterbury Diocesan Archives, U45/A1]

Appendix 3

Letter from Revd. Benjamin Smith to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the effects of the Revised Code

Rusthall [Nr. Tunbridge Wells]
May 21 1864

My Lord Archbishop,

In answer to your enquiry received today whether I had been able as yet to form any general estimate of the effects of the Revised Code on the education of the Diocese, I will hazard a few general remarks as the results of my experience hitherto.

The most obvious change it has produced already, is the reduction in the staff and skilled assistants: the requirements of the Code in this particular, not to be burdensome in any case, being of necessity lax in very many. Consequently most schools, whose average attendance is below 90, have got rid of their pupil teachers without replacing them with any skilled assistants.

Their place is, to a certain extent, filled by monitors who of course superintend nothing but the most mechanical work.

The principal teachers have also in consequence to distribute their time and attention more uniformly over the whole school, a change which of necessity limits the teaching further within the bounds of mechanical routine. In consequence there is an evident falling off in the mental training attempted, due to increased surface over which teachers have to spread their labour.

A remedy has however been applied to this deficiency in assistants in several rural parishes, by combining separate schools for boys and girls into a single mixed one.

This answers very well indeed, as far as the lessons are concerned: the mistress generally making a very effective teacher for the lower classes; but the moral effects of separate training for girls is thereby sacrificed.

A scheme also for paying and examining monitors, lately reorganised by the Diocesan Board is likely to be useful in helping to supplement the lack of pupil teachers. And the grants which may be earned from government may encourage managers to a more liberal replacement of the staff which had been reduced since it ceased to be paid directly by public funds.

The good effect may be noticed in some instances as resulting from the reduction in assistants: that the principal teacher has done more and better work, since the withdrawal of his subordinates.

The scheme for graduated individual examination promulgated by the Revised code has likewise produced an obvious effect; good or bad according as it has operated on inferior or superior Schools. Additional attention has been given to the lower classes by those teachers who had been in danger of neglecting them; and a standard of attainment has been furnished to teachers who had not a definite idea of how their instruction should be graduated. Thus the teaching has been less faithful and systematic where it has been wanting in these qualities.

But as the Standards are necessarily fixed so as to be within reach of all, they must fall below what superior teaching has been able to effect in favourable instances. The tendency of the new Examination in very good schools has been to lower the aim of the teachers: to make all safe within the limits pre-scribed by the Code, rather than to do the utmost for the childrens' progress. Where high minded teachers have felt themselves superior to such temptations I have thought it right to notice it in my reports with approbation. But many cases have occurred where the upper part of the school was apparently reined in rather than spurred on: and quick children were made to keep pace with instead of surpassing the rank and file.

There appeared to me likewise, in several instances, after the first examination under the Revised Code a tendency in the teachers to propose to themselves for the coming year the too easy task of raising each scholar the single step for the next examination.

The immediate effects of the learning of this examination appeared to be pretty much what might be expected in an analogous case, were the class list for honours abolished in the universities and a pass degree substituted for each successive year – it

would probably diminish idleness in the grossest cases, and dwarf learning where it has most flourished.

Much however lies in the power of HM inspectors: and if they show themselves ready to notice the efforts of teachers to forward the scholars to the utmost: the latter will be encouraged as of old to do their best even at some pecuniary risk.

The last remark applies with even greater force to the Religious instruction, which will have greater, or lesser importance attached to it in the words and labours of teachers according to the weight given to it by Inspectors in their examinations. Thus a great stimulus has been given to the learning of the Catechism by the strict requirements of the Reverend R.P. Norris one of HM Inspectors in this Diocese whose religious examinations leave nothing to be desired.

Appendix 4

HM Inspectors' reports on the Diocesan School, Canterbury

1. Inspection Reports by HMI William Temple on the Diocesan School, Canterbury: 26 August 1863

Boys. Good and complete buildings. I found a large muster, but of these several had been but little at school during the Summer. The first class passed a fairly good examination, but the second class – even the half dozen who had attended regularly – were far behind in attainments. The size of the school and the deafness of the master render more assistance urgently needful.

Girls. The classes in the Girls' School appear to be more evenly advanced though here too there has been very irregular attendance, only one fourth being returned for capitation grant. Several among them answered my questions in Holy Scripture thoughtfully. Their reading is excellent, writing and spelling good. Needlework very satisfactory.

Infants. The Infants' School is under an active Mistress, but an assistant teacher is much needed to make the school really efficient.

Night School. The school was broken up, but I saw the teacher, (a very competent person) and examined his registers, which were satisfactory.
The master should be cautioned that my Lords will expect to receive a more satisfactory report from HM Inspector next year on the state of his school.

Annie Tarran, Senior Pupil Teacher in the Girls' School, applied to be appointed to succeed Miss Stemmar... and I have desired her to consider herself appointed accordingly. This will be advantageous to the school in a pecuniary point of view. By the newly Revised Code the Infant School will scarcely obtain a grant, and as Annie Tarran is not certificated, she will have no claim.

Wm. Temple

2. Report of HM Inspectors of Schools on Canterbury Diocesan School 8 August 1864.

Boys. Mr Nash is earnest in his work, intelligent and well informed. I shall be very sorry to say a word, that could appear harsh, of the work of so veteran a teacher. But it is impossible to look at the results marked on the schedule, or at papers of the Boys without feeling that in Arithmetic, Writing and Spelling, the School is not up to the mark. The discipline while a class is immediately under the teacher's eye is fair; but the moral tone of the school is far below what Mr Nash desires to make it.

Girls. The school is very low in numbers and still lower in attainments. I am told that a large number of the more advanced Girls left the school last Christmas. This does not, however, seem to me to be a sufficient explanation of the very great deficiencies of those now in the school. Still, this is some reason for forbearance, so far as the mistress is concerned, and I am content to reserve my judgement till next year.

I am directed to inform you that No Grant can be made to the Boys' School as it is not conducted by a Certificated Master (Article 57b); and it is with great hesitation

that my Lords have allowed an unreduced grant to the Girls' School. Great improvement will be expected under the teaching of the new mistress.

As Mr Crippin [teacher of the Evening School] has been in receipt of annual grants from this Department their Lordships will not withhold their aid from the Evening School, although he is not Certificated; but no grant, under Article 40 [C] can be made on account of scholars who have not been examined.

Average Attendance	Boys 97		
	Girls 51		Grant £9 – 7 – 0
Presented for	Boys	Girls	
Examination	47	29	
Reading	43	22	
Writing	26	10	
Arithmetic	18	4	
	87 (no grant)	36 @2/8	4 – 8 – 0
Evening School – average attendance 30, grant			3 – 15 – 0
			17 – 10 – 0
Addition under Article 54			34 – 15 – 0
Subtract amount already paid under Form XL[a]			48 – 10 – 0
		Net sum payable	£3 – 15 – 0

3. Extracts from Canterbury Diocesan Education Society: School Committee Minutes 14 July 1868, with reference to the Canterbury Diocesan School, Broad Street Canterbury.

The returns of the Privy Council of the statistics of the Diocesan School were filled in and signed by the managers present.

The Rev G.R. Moncrieff, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, attended the meeting, and drew the attention of the managers to the state of the schools, recommending a revision of the Committee of Management.

[The managers concluded that] Mr Moncrieff had no right to attend this meeting, least of all to make such a recommendation – the Committee having no power to alter their own constitution.

4. Education Department, London, letter to the chairman of managers of Canterbury Diocesan School, August 16 1869

Looking at HM Inspector's report on the Boys School, My Lords have been compelled to reduce the grant to that department by one-tenth under Article 52(a). The managers, rather than the master appear to be in fault, in not providing due assistance.

They will be compelled to make a similar deduction from the Grant next year unless the ninth supplementary rule is strictly observed. The managers should observe that the Boys and Infants departments have only been saved from reduction under Article 52(b) on this occasion.

R. Lingen

Appendix 5

Research fieldwork questionnaire, Spring 2000

Ed D Research Questionnaire

School:

Date:

Time:

A. GENERAL

1. When was the school established?

2. How many times has the school been inspected by OFSTED?

3. Dates of OFSTED inspection?

B. OFSTED & INSPECTION

4. OFSTED was set up in 1993 – what was your experience and impression of inspection before 1993?

5. How/why do you think the present policy came about? Why and for what reasons do you feel it emerged as a national policy for education?

6. Ofsted's logo is 'Improvement through Inspection' – do you feel that it is meeting this aspiration?

7. Ofsted inspectors are required to make judgements on four main areas of school provision:

   - the quality of education provided
   - quality of standards achieved
   - the efficient management of the school's financial arrangements
   - the spiritual, moral and cultural development of pupils

   Do you believe that these objectives 'capture' the true nature of the school?

8. Other functions said to have emerged as part of Ofsted inspections include

   - empowerment of parents
   - accountability
   - better use of taxpayers' money
   - the establishment of a national standards database

   Do you believe that these objectives are being met as a result of the Ofsted system? What other results has it achieved?

9. LEA support
   - with action plan
   - on-going support
   - role of local advisers
   - helping the school to improve

   What support have you received from the LEA in respect of any of the above in relation to the inspection process?

10. The Ofsted model is essentially the separation of inspection and advice. What are your views on this approach?

11. Schools Perspectives on Inspection. How has the inspection process impacted on the school? For example:

    - has it affected its 'normal' working
    - to what extent
    - has it been audit or advice
    - governors involvement
    - parental involvement

12. Professional aspects. How have staff felt about the process, for example:

    - has it been supportive/ neutral/ threatening?
    - was there positive feedback from the Ofsted team at the time?
    - is too great an emphasis placed on classroom observation?

13. Do you feel that the present arrangements could be improved? How might school inspection be further developed?

Bibliography

1. Primary Sources

(a) Manuscripts and other Collections

(i) Kent County Council – Canterbury Archives

Canterbury Diocesan Board Of Education Minute Books
1838-39 U45/A1
1839-48 U45/A2
1849-59 U45/A3
1859-69 U45/A4
May 1866 – November 1866, H/Y–21-2
Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education 1858-68, H/00-1-3
1866-81, H/00-1-3

Canterbury Broad Street Schools logbook 1845-63 Volume 1, U9/F1
Canterbury Broad Street Schools logbook 1861-63 Volume 2, U9/F2
Canterbury Broad Street Schools Local Board Minute Book 1854-64, U9/E2

Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education: Inspectors reports on schools in east Kent
1857-58 G/IM 30
1859-60 G/IM 32
1861-62 G/IM 34
1863-64 G/IM 36
1865-66 G/IM 38
Diocesan Inspectors Report 1867-71 H/oo-5-6
Diocese of Canterbury Board of Education Annual Reports 1861, 1862, 1863, H/Y-21

Diocesan Board of Education Minute Book 2 Volumes 1989-97, Dcb/GM4/6 & Dcb/GM3/8
Canterbury Diocesan Education Society Minute Book 1858-71 H/00-1-8
School Managers' Reports East Kent 1850-63 G/IM

(ii) Kent County Council, East Kent Archives, Whitfield, Dover

Margate, The Dane School: Girls logbook 1863-1895, C/ES255 3-1
Minster-in-Thanet School logbook 1863-1880, C/ES255 1-1
Dover, St Andrews School logbook, 1862-1881, C/ES50 3-1
Dover, Holy Trinity Church of England School logbook, 1863-1881, C/ES121 13-1

(iii) Kent County Council: Centre for Kentish Studies, County Hall, Maidstone

Faversham Borough Records, 2 Volumes, FA/ZB3

(iv) Church of England Record Centre, London

National Society Minute Book (NSMB), 1/6, November 1856 May 1871
National Society, The Monthly Paper, June 1860 – July 1863

(b) Interview Fieldnotes

School 1, DfEE ref no. 3748, 14/2/2000
School 2, DfEE ref no. 3349, 29/2/2000
School 3, DfEE ref no. 3160, 1/3/2000
School 4, DfEE, ref no. 3179, 8/3/2000
School 5, DfEE ref no. 3295, 13/3/2000
School 6, DfEE ref no. 3123, 21/3/2000

Interview notes with Diocesan Director of Education, 28/3/2000
Interview notes with Secretary of east Kent NFU, 7/2/2000

© Printed Sources

Colquhoun, J.C., (1855), Remarks on Sir John Pakington's Education Bill, London, Thomas Hatchard
Commissioners Report on Agriculture, Employment of Women and Children, 1868-9
DES, (1991), The Parent's Charter, Cm 1599
DFE, (1992), Choice and Diversity: a New Framework for Schools, Cm 2021, HMSO, London
DFEE Departmental Report, Cm 4202, 1999-2002

Education Act, 1902, (2 EDW, &. CH.42)
Hansard, Education – The Revised Code of Regulations – Distribution of Parliamentary Grants, Third Series, Volume CLXVI, March 25th 1862 – May 26th 1862
Hansard, vol.205, Commons, Session 1991-92, London, HMSO
Hansard, Vol.536, Lords, 1991-92, London, HMSO
Hansard, Commons, Education and Employment Committee, 'The Work of Ofsted', London, The Stationery Office, vols.i-iii, 1999
House of Commons, The Newcastle Commission Report, 1861
House of Commons Select Committee on Education, 1866, Cm/ 392
House of Commons Report of Education Select Committee, 1968
Kent County Council (KCC), Populations Economic Update 1999 (March 1999)
National Society Depository, (1861), Remarks on the Discouragement to Religious Teaching in the Report of the Royal Commissioners, London, William Clowes and Sons
National Association of Headteachers (NAHT), Press Release 6 April 2000
Ofsted Report on Kent LEA, 1999
Ofsted Briefing Inspection 1998, August 1998
Punch, or the London Charivari, April 26, 1862
Smith, B.F., (1853) Diocesan Inspection General Report with statistical tables relating to parochial schools, London Cox (Bros) & Wyman [Canterbury]
Smith, B.F., (1855), General Report of Parochial Schools in the Diocese of Canterbury, Canterbury Diocesan Board of Education, London, Cox & Wyman,
Thanet District Council, Economic Development Unit Report, March 2000

2. Secondary Sources

(a) Books

Adonis A. & Pollard, S. (1997), A Class Act, London, Hamish Hamilton
Armstrong, (ed.) (1995), The Economy of Kent, 1640-1914, Woodbridge, Boydell Press,
Avis, J. et al (1996), Knowledge and Nationhood, London, Cassell
Ball, N., (1963), Her Majesty's Inspectorate, 1839-49, Educational Monographs, Birmingham, University of Birmingham
Ball, S.J., (1994), Education Reform, Buckingham, OUP
Birchenough, C., (1938), History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day, 3rd Edition, London, University, Tutorial Press
Bishop, A.S., (1971), The Rise of a Central Authority for English Education, Cambridge, CUP
Boothroyd, H.E., (1923), A History of the Inspectorate, Board of Education Inspectors Association

Brighouse, T., & Moon, B., (1995), School Inspection, London, Pitman Publishing
C.Vann Woodward (ed.), (1968), The Comparative Approach to American History, New York, Basic Books
Cohen, M. & Manion, L. (1994), Research Methods in Education, London, Routledge
Connell, W.F., (1950), The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul
Creswell, J.W., (1994), Research Design, California, Sage
Carr, W. & Hartnett, A. (1996), Education and the Struggle for Democracy, Buckingham, OUP
Cullingford, C., (ed.) (1999) An Inspector Calls, London, Kogan Page
Dale, R., (1989), The State and Education Policy, Milton Keynes, Open University Press
de Vaus, D.A., (1996), Surveys in Social Research, London, UCL Press
Dickens, C., The Pickwick Papers, London, Hazel, Watson and Viney, 1873 edition
Dunne, J.W., (1929), An Experiment with Time, London, Black
Dunford, J., (1980), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools in England and Wales, 1860-1870, Leeds, University of Leeds
Dunford, J.E., (1998), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools since 1944 Standard Bearers or Turbulent Priests?, London, Woburn Press
Earley, P., Fidler, B. & Ouston, J., (eds.) (1996), Improvement through Inspection?, London, David Fulton
Edmonds, E.L., (1962), The School Inspector, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul
Evans, E.J., (1983), The Forging of a Modern State, London, Longman
Gipps, C.V., (1994), Beyond Testing, Lewes, Falmer Press
Gold, A. & Evans J., (eds.), Reflecting on School Management, (1997), London, Falmer
Green, A., (1990), Education and State Formation, London, Macmillan
Hitchcock, G., and Hughes, D., (1995) Research and the Teacher, London, Routledge
Hurt, J.S., (1979), Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes,1860-1918, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul
Kay-Shuttleworth, J., (1862), Four periods of public education, London, Longman
Kekewich, G., (1920), The Education Department and After, London, Constable
Kitson Clark, G., (1962), The Making of Victorian England, London, Methuen
Lawrence, M., (1990), The Encircling Hop, England, SAWD
Lawson, J. & Silver, H., (1973), A Social History of Education in England, London, Methuen
Lawton, D., & Gordon, P., (1987), HMI, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul
Maclure, J.S., (1968), Educational Document England and Wales 1816-1967, London, Methuen
Marwick, A., (1970), The Nature of History, London, Macmillan
McKenzie, G. et al, (eds.), (1997), Understanding Social Research, London, Falmer Press
Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M., (1994), Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Source Book, California, Sage

Munden, H.F., (1972), Eight Centuries of Education in Faversham, Faversham Papers, no. 9, Faversham, The Faversham Society
Murphy, J., (1971), Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul
Ouston, J. Earley, P. and Fidler, B. (eds.) (1996), Ofsted Inspections-The Early Experience, London, David Fulton
Pollard, H.M. (1956) Pioneers of Popular Education, London, John Murray
Power, M., (1997), The Audit Society: rituals of verification, Oxford, OUP
Roake, M. and Whyman, J., (eds.) (1973), Essays in Kentish History, London, Frank Cass
Simon, B., (1960), Studies in the History of Education: 1780-1870 London, Lawrence and Wishhart
Simon, B., (1994), The State & Educational Change, London, Lawrence & Wishhart
Sneyd, Kynnersley, E.M., (1908), Some Passages in the Life of One of HM Inspectors of Schools, London, Macmillan
Spender, D., (ed.) (1987), The Education Papers, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul
Sutherland, G., (ed.), Arnold on Education (1973), Harmondsworth, Penguin
Tosh, J., (1984), The Pursuit of History, London, Longman
Yates, N., Hume, R., and Hastings, P., (eds.) (1994), Religion and Society in Kent, 1640-1914, Woodbridge, Boydell Press,

(b) Articles, Pamphlets & Reports

Aldrich, R., 'Sir John Pakington and the Newcastle Commission', in History of Education, 1979, vol.8, no.1
Aldrich, R., 'Educational legislation of the 1980s in England: an historical analysis', in History of Education, 1992, vol.21, No.1, pp.57-69
Betts, .R., (1990), "'My Boys did Rather Badly': The Silverlock Case, 1888", in Journal of Educational Administration and History, vol.xxii, no.1, January 1990
Bishop, A.S. 'Ralph Lingen, Secretary to the Education Department 1849-70', British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.xvi, Feb-October 1968
Brimblecombe, N., Ormston, M. and Shaw, M. (1995), 'Teachers' Perceptions of School Inspection: a Stressful Experience', Cambridge Journal of Education, vol.25
Burchill, (1991), Inspecting Schools: Breaking the Monopoly, Centre for Policy Studies, London, Chameleon Press
Burns, J., (2000), 'Improvement Through Inspection?', University of Central England, Issues in Education No.5, Chester, Trentham Books
Douse, M., (1995) Ofsted and Onward: A Contribution to the School Inspection debate, C/BT Education Services, Reading
Ferguson et al, (1999), 'New Heads, OFSTED Inspections and the Prospects for

School Improvement', in Education Research, vol.41, no.3, Winter 1999, NFER, Slough

Jeffrey, B. & Woods, P., 'Feeling Deprofessionalised: the social construction of emotions during an OFSTED inspection', in Cambridge Journal of Education, vol.26, No.3, 1996

Johnson, R., 'A New Road to Serfdom? A Critical History of the 1988 Act', in Education Limited: Schooling and the New Right Since 1979, (1991), London, Unwin Hyman

Kogan, M., The Ofsted System of School Inspection: An Independent Evaluation, Centre for the Evaluation of Public Policy and Practice, January 1999,

Lawton, S.B., (1992), 'Why restructure? An international survey of the roots of Reform', in Journal of Education Policy, Vol.7, No.2

Marcham, A. J. (1979), 'Recent Interpretations of the Revised Code of Education 1862', in History of Education, vol. 8. No.2

Maw, J., (1994) Calling HMI to Account, London, Tufnell Press

McCulloch, G., 'Privatising the Past? History and Education Policy in the 1990s', in British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.45, no.1, March 1997

Noble, T., (1994) Surviving Ofsted – Four Case Studies of Schools, Northampton, JEMA Publications

OFSTIN (1996), A Better System of Inspection? (ed.) Duffy, M.

Platt, J., 'Evidence and Proof in documentary research: Some specific problems of documentary research', in Sociological Review 29 (1) 1981

RISE, The OFSTED Experience - A Governors Eye View (1994), Report on Conference held on 14 April 1994, London, Research and Information on State Education Trust

Sexton, S., (1987), Our Schools – A Radical Policy, Institute of Economic Affairs

Smith, J.T. 'Punch and Elementary Education: 1860-1900', in History of Education, 1998, vol.127, no.2

The Times Educational Supplement

Thody, A.M., 'School management in nineteenth-century elementary schools: a day in the life of a headteacher', in History of Education, 1994, vol.23, no.4, pp.355-373

Wragg, E. And Brighouse, T., The New Model of School Inspection, University of Exeter, (1995), occasional paper

© Dissertations and Theses

Budge, D., 'An Inspector Calls ...again and again: Watford Field School', August 1997, unpublished MA dissertation, University of London, Institute of Education

Burden, K.J., 'National Society School Inspection: Origins and Development, 1839-49', August 1996, unpublished MA dissertation, University of London, Institute of Education

Whitmore, W.E., 'The Relationship Between Her Majesty's Inspectorate and Teachers: 1840-1860', August 1987, unpublished MA dissertation, University of London, Institute of Education