"TEACHING THE ART OF LIVING" :

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION SERVICES IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1915-1975

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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it does not contain any material previously written or published by any other person, except where due reference is made in the text.

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29 May 2000

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the parents who shared with me the pride, joy and heartache of having a disabled child in their family. They told me their stories and trusted me not to abuse this privilege. I am in their debt.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development of special education services in South Australia from 1915 to 1975. It explores the factors which positioned the "mentally retarded" child, (today known as a child with an intellectual disability) previously excluded or marginalised from schooling, and his or her family, within the modern school system. It also seeks to understand the part played by the human sciences of medicine, psychology and sociology in the production of the "mentally retarded" child as a visible figure of knowledge and administration.

Although many historians have written about the history of "normal" childhood, less is known about intellectually disabled children. This is partly because until the last two centuries, most did not survive. What their lives have been like since then, how the state viewed them and their families and the issues behind the development of special education are questions addressed in this thesis.

By examining changes in society's attitude to the family during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the role and treatment of children and the broad social and economic settings in which these changes took place, the study analyses in overall context the place of "mentally retarded" children. In particular, it focuses on the changes in societal discourses and responses to the "mentally retarded" population, especially their schooling.

The research has been influenced by the work of post-modern theorists, particularly Michel Foucault, in terms of the relationship between the emergence of particular forms of knowledge/language and the exercise of particular forms of power, particularly with regard to the "mentally retarded" population. In constructing my

argument, I juxtapose the moderate threads of post-modern argument with those advanced by more conventional critics.

Data collection has included interviews with parents of some of the children who attended the first special school in South Australia as well as Education Department staff. Although the state and the parents may have had different expectations regarding schooling for these children, it was the persistence of the parents and their formation of the Mentally Retarded Childrens Society that finally brought about the opening of the long awaited special school in 1954.

CHAPTER 1

CHILDHOOD - NEVER A BURDEN?

Introduction

Children of the twentieth century have assumed a place in society which was unthinkable a few centuries ago. In Western countries, education for all children is now compulsory, child "labour" has been abolished and governments of today allocate large resources for child welfare and education. The view of past centuries of children as small employable adults has been replaced by one where they are regarded as valuable intellectual property - the clever country's future leaders.[1]

When Phillipe Ariés first presented his notable work, Centuries Of Childhood, in 1962, only one general book on the history of childhood had been written and this had been in 1916.[2] Today we find many historians writing about the history of children - their potential as future productive earners has been recognised and there is a wealth of material to research and record. That is, for the history of "normal" children. Little is known about the childhood of mentally retarded children, partly because until the last two centuries, most did not survive. What their lives have been like since then, how the

[1] British sociologist Chris Jenks disagrees, stating that the post-modern child is no longer the future. He proposes that disenchantment with a sense of purpose and a loss of belief in progress has meant that socialisation for the future and for a familiar life path does not today make sense. For him the child now represents "nostalgia", a longing for times past. Postmodern children are viewed not as having "promise", but as the primary and irrevocable sources of love and attachment. Cited by Dasia Black in The Australian, Monday, December 29, 1997, 11.

[2] Phillipe Ariés, Centuries of Childhood, trans. Robert Baldick. (New York: Random House, 1962). A comprehensive review of Ariés' work appears later in this chapter.

state viewed them and their families and the issues behind the development of special education for them are questions to be addressed in this thesis. In other words, what factors positioned the mentally retarded child and his or her family within the modern school system? What part did the human sciences of medicine, psychology and sociology play in the production of the mentally retarded child as a visible figure of knowledge and administration?

This thesis has been influenced by the work of post-modernist Michel Foucault. It is not intended to be a comprehensive or deep Foucauldian analysis but an attempt to fuse some aspects of post-modernism with a traditional historical approach. I intend this to be a different way of approaching history, one not previously attempted and certainly not without its flaws. It is a different way of doing history, one which I hope will suggest directions for further research and provide a different story about the education of children with an intellectual disability. I also hope it will break down some defenses of traditional historical stability and provide a less narrow perspective. Much of Foucault's work examines the relation between the emergence of particular forms of knowledge/language and the exercise of particular forms of power. Such technologies of power, which will be examined in detail later in the thesis, suggest that discourses and practices are intertwined, resulting in the domination of one group over another.[3] In its more moderate form post-modernism encourages substantial re-definition and innovation. Aronwitz and Giroux assert that:

> [At] its best, a critical postmodernism signals the possibility for not only rethinking the issue of educational reform but also creating a pedagogical

[3]A term associated with postmodernism, and used in Foucault's rhetoric, is *discourse*. Discourse can be explained as a group of statements having a regularity in their practice. The statements within a discourse derive their meaning from "discursive practice". For example: discursive history looks at the interaction between guidelines which rule ways of doing things (e.g. how children are to be graded and examined, individuals trained, classified, etc.,) and the production of discourses which serve to found, justify and provide reasons and principles for these methods of operating.

> discourse that deepens the most radical impulses and social practices of democracy itself.[4]

For the purposes of the argument of this thesis, I combine some of the moderate threads of post-modern argument with those advanced by more conventional critics. Post-modern theory raises certain questions for the discipline of history. One concerns the principles and methodological assumptions regarding the historian's strategy of reading texts. Most historians see their discipline as one which analyses and explains changes in the world and they do not see a connection between problems of reading and interpretation raised by post-modernists. Foucault contends that history should concern itself with the way that individuals become subjects, rather than assume a pregiven or centred subject. This process of subjectivization, the complexity of surrounding discourses and practices through which subjects are constituted is one which I find useful to explore. It is evident that the position of mentally retarded children in society and the discourses surrounding them has greatly changed in the last century. It seems to me that historians have taken for granted what needs to be questioned, while post-modern theory offers one way of explaining these changes. Again I find the comments of Aronwitz and Giroux useful:

> [R]ather than celebrating the narratives of the "masters", postmodernism raises important questions about how narratives get constructed, what they mean, how they regulate particular forms of moral and social experience, and how they presuppose and embody particular epistemological and political views of the world.[5]

It may be that as Rosenau suggests "ironically, on occasion this flamboyant approach arrives at conclusions that merely reinforce those already evident" confirming the critics'

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[4]Stanley Aronwitz and Henry A. Giroux, Postmodern Education. Politics, Culture, and Social Criticism (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 187.
[5]Ibid., 81

view that post-modernism is not necessarily as original as it might first appear.[6] But I believe that post-modern theory enhances our understanding of the way the subject, in this case the mentally retarded child, is historically constructed. It is reasonable to say that historians have always written about subjects that concern them and their intended audience. Poster asserts there is a correlation between political issues and subjects chosen by historians. Until the nineteen-sixties two particular subjects, politics and labor preoccupied historians. They wrote about the rise of the modern state and the industrial revolution, particularly the rise of capitalism. Just as the importance of these subjects was taken for granted, so was the unimportance of the histories of women, children, ethnic minorities and the family. Family history arose in the nineteen-sixties when the divorce rate started to rise dramatically, abortion became widespread and feminism and the gay liberation materialized as political movements. The traits of the nuclear family were being challenged in society at large and so became of political interest to historians. Post-modernists propose that it is no longer possible to explain changes in our society by looking to liberal and Marxist theories. Post-modernism allows us to rethink the basic parameters of these frameworks and to re-interpret the past and look differently at events which shaped society. We can historically analyse the subject of the mentally retarded child and most importantly writes Poster "foster a critical analysis of the naturalizing and universalizing propensities of current values and practices" to understand how the mentally retarded child reached his/her present position in our society.

By examining writings which document changes in society's attitude to the family during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, the role and treatment of children, and the broad social and economic settings in which these changes took place,

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[6]Pauline Marie Rosenau, Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences, Insights, Inroads, and Intrusions (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 5.

it is possible to analyse in overall context the place of retarded children. In particular, I will be focusing on the changes in practices or "transformations in characteristic societal responses" to the mentally retarded, especially their schooling. Cohen and Scull describe the Whig interpretation of such changes:

> [W]ithin this quintessentially optimistic perspective, change is seen as inherently progressive. The direction of movement - from barbarism to enlightenment, from ignorance to expertly guided intervention, from cruelty and vindictiveness to scientific humanism - is viewed as clear and unambiguous. ... Benevolent schemes at times end in failure, and control systems, like all human inventions, imperfectly and unevenly reflect the moral vision that creates and sustains them.[7]

Revisionist historians see "historical investment" of children in the nineteenth and twentieth century principally as schemes carried out by a "repressive state to contain oppositional elements in working class or female populations".[8] The usefulness of these studies is found in their analysis of the sorts of abilities considered necessary for the child at school and the "administration arrangements" that were devised to measure those abilities in school populations. Tyler finds less useful, however, the dependence of these historians on their formulations of the child

> both in its accounts of resistance and in its conception of a timeless figure positioned in opposition to the knowledge claims of child psychology. ... these

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[7]Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull, eds., Social Control and the State. Historical and Comparative Essays (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1983), 2.

[8]See Deborah Tyler, "Making Better Children," in Denise Meredyth and Deborah Tyler, Child and Citizen. Genealogies of Schooling and Subjectivity (Griffith University: Institute for Cultural Policy Studies, 1993), 35-61. In particular, Tyler cites the 'Adelaide School' of revisionist historians, who have commented extensively on the working class resistance to schooling. For example, Pavla Cook, Ian Davey and Malcolm Vick, "Capitalism and working class schooling in late nineteenth century South Australia," Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Journal, 8:2, (1979); Phil. Cashen, "The truant as a delinquent: the psychological perspective, South Australia, 1920-1940," Journal of Australian Studies, 16, (May 1985); Pavla Miller and Ian Davey, "Family formation, schooling and the patriarchal state," in M. Theobald and R. J. W. Selleck eds., Family, School and State in Australian History (Sydney Allen & Unwin, 1990). Tyler's questioning of the production of the 'child' of child psychology and examination of historical shifts in the creation of childhood and norms of performance are equally problematic when considering positioning the mentally retarded child in educational discourse. Cohen and Scull provide a useful interpretation of revisionist history. They describe it as "scepticism about professional aims, beliefs and intentions of reformers; concern with the analysis of power and its effects; curiosity about the relationship between intentions and consequences; determination to locate the reform enterprise in the social, economic and political contexts of the period," Ibid.

> historians depict the relations between child and government as naturally and inevitably coercive.[9]

It is the concept of non-coercive techniques that I wish to pursue. It is not the intention of this thesis only to identify the ideology makers and child "savers" involved in the development of education for the mentally retarded. In order to understand why and how policy and legislation evolved, it is necessary to look at the motives of the adults involved. Should their intentions be taken simply at face value, or were they, as some would suggest, "ideological masks" for more fundamental social changes?[10] It is my finding that relations between the mentally retarded child's family and the state were "naturally and inevitably" coercive; but it was the state which resisted education, for ostensibly valid reasons, not the family. Rather it was the parents' constant pressure on the government that led to establishment of Special Schools in South Australia. They wanted their children schooled and forced the state to take responsibility for doing so.

> Their (the parents) main aim in life was just to get the government to open a school. They read in the Education Act, there were some words to the effect that the government shall provide education for all children over six years of age and it was on that section of the Act they worked and they pushed and pushed and pushed and the government did open a school.[11]

Reformers

Even within the ranks of the revisionist historians we can find very different interpretations, very different ways of showing that the motives and plans of the government reformers were more complicated than a desire to exclude the mentally retarded from the public gaze. They offer a variety of explanations, which "reflect deeply entrenched meta-theoretical differences about epistemology, materialist-versus-

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[9]Ibid.
[10]Cohen and Scull, Social Control and the State, 3.
[11]Transcript of interview with "J.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 2. All quotes from interviews are represented in bold type.

idealist versions of history, and the sources of social change".[12] For example, there is huge difference, in style, content and intention between the work of the post-modernists, notably Foucault, but also Donzelot and Lasch, and the Marxist historians.[13] Marxists such as Miller, view the introduction of mass education and its enforcement as intimately bound up with class struggle and oppression, facilitated through the activities of the state and the political apparatus. Foucault's work seeks to explain the "genealogy of power", his concern being with depicting major shifts in our responses to madness, criminality and sexuality and I suggest mental retardation, and the "power-knowledge spiral that ushers in the modern world".[14] He examines the ways in which power is exercised in modern societies. In line with Donzelot's later writing, the main field of enquiry is concerned with the conditions and emergence of "the social". Following Foucault, the term refers to

> *the field of social administration and welfare*, in the sense of a particular domain of objects of knowledge and targets of reform such as family, sexuality, crime, insanity - which emerged as 'social questions' (as distinct from, for

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[12]Cohen and Scull, Social Control and the State, 5.

[13]'Modernity,' 'modernism', and 'poststructuralism' are three related terms used to define postmodernism. Briefly, 'modernity' is the modern, industrial and urban way of life; 'modernism' is the movement in art and literature that aims to capture the essence of that new way of life (for example, the skyscraper); and post-structuralism is the theoretical critique of the assumptions of modernity found in philosophy and art. Postmodernists' primary goal has been to challenge convictions about the objectivity of knowledge and the stability of language. Postmodernism renders problematic the belief in progress, the modern periodization of history, and the individual as "knower" and "doer". The notion of the individual self is threatened when postmodernists stress the inevitable fragmentation of personal identity. Postmodernists assert that the individual self is an ideological construct, a myth perpetuated by liberal societies whose legal systems depend upon the concept of individual responsibility. Many consider poststructuralism and postmodernism as synonymous, others as radically different. Rosenau suggests there are probably as many forms of post-modernism as there are post-modernists, but she delineates two broad, general orientations, the sceptical post-modernist and the affirmative post-modernist. Briefly, the sceptical post-modernist, (or skeptic), offers a pessimistic, negative, assessment and argues that the post-modern age is one of fragmentation, disintegration, malaise, meaninglessness, a vagueness and perhaps absence of moral parameters and societal chaos. The affirmative post-modernists (affirmatives), although agreeing with the skeptics' notion of modernity, have a more hopeful, optimistic view of the post-modern age, most seeking a "philosophical and ontological intellectual practice that is nondogmatic, tentative, and nonideological". For a more detailed discussion, see Pauline Rosenau, Post-Modernism. For a sensible, readable overview see also Joyce Appleby, Linda Hunt and Margaret Jacob, Telling the Truth about History (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1994), Chapter 6. For further discussion, see Carmen Luke, Pedagogy, Printing and Protestantism. The Discourse on Childhood (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), particularly Chapter 8.

[14]Cohen and Scull, Social Control and the State, 3.

> instance, economic ones.) The 'social' then is not coterminous with the field of social relations; rather it bears the restricted meaning associated with 'social security', the 'social wage'; 'social problems', etc. the development of certain types of knowledge concerning human mentality and conduct is singled out as particularly crucial in determining the forms taken by social administration and policy, i.e. the characteristic ways in which problems of social disorder are framed, why more importance comes to be attached to some issues rather than others, the type of strategies and measures adopted to deal with them, and so on.[15] (Original italics).

Of interest to Minson and to the argument of this thesis, is Foucault's later shift of attention from the formation of subjects to the formation of categories of person and from power to liberalism. This will be examined, with particular reference to Minson's reconstruction of Foucault's genealogical arguments.

Constructing the mentally retarded child

In order to read or interpret the intervention of the state in the education of the mentally retarded child, this thesis will examine the "construction" of the "normal" child and following from this, the mentally retarded child. Both the "normal" child and the mentally retarded child can be viewed as historical and philosophical constructions - their development determined in relation to a universal norm. In the nineteenth century the "child", including the mentally retarded child, as a unit of meaning, was located in relations of similarity and difference with and to other terms of "work" and "labour" and of "child rescue". However, in the twentieth century, the word "child" came to be represented and fixed in relation to similarity or difference with other terms, such as "work" and "play", "activity" and "experience". This unit of meaning was interpreted within and subjected to, the discourse of "schooling" and "classroom". Peters suggests that

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[15]Jeffrey Minson, Genealogies of Morals. Nietzsche, Foucault, Donzelot and the Eccentricity of Ethics (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1985), 9.

> [T]he child as an object of adult gaze was to be relocated along a topographical grid of moral superintendence which would incorporate the historically changing positions of younger and older people, of 'girls' and 'boys' and of class relations.[16]

Peters again refers only to the "normal" child, proposing that tracing the social meanings attached to "child" (and "childhood") will simultaneously trace the change to signification of "child". I suggest that this is an equally valid and useful way to examine and trace the changes to the signification of the mentally retarded child. Peters continues:

> [I]n the twentieth century, 'the child' as sign was situated within a formal juridical framework of laws and regulations - juvenile justice, child protection and custody laws, school attendance laws and military, political and economic 'qualifications' and 'disqualifications'. Simultaneously, 'the child' as sign was posited within a vast range of 'natural' processes of biological and psychological development. Plotted on to the 'natural' grid of 'childhood', and overlaid with the insertion of the juridical, the emotional, physical, sexual and educational development of 'the child' could be observed, monitored and re-formed in his/her own self interest.[17]

The "culture of childhood" in the early twentieth century is positioned as a figuring of a "natural rite de passage" towards adulthood, which involved a re-alignment of the network of power relations operating in and through families. Yet neither "childhood" nor "child" is a self-evident, unitary or unproblematic entity, rather they involve multiple states of be-ing.[18]

Positioning the child in society

In order to place the mentally retarded child within this framework this thesis will draw upon theory relating to the ways in which childrens' lives were analysed, explained, defined, classified and administered; creating a "web" of power. The prime issues of

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[16]Margaret Peters, "Children's Culture and the State : South Australia 1890s-1930s" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1991), 15. See Introduction and Chapter 1 for a working through of the notions of 'child', and 'childhood' and their positioning in discourse.
[17]Ibid., 16.
[18]Ibid.

knowledge, power and subjectivity will be developed in an attempt to interpret state intervention in the lives of mentally retarded children and their families.[19]

For Tyler:

> ['T]he child' in western democratic societies is positioned as a special category of person who lacks, for a time, the complete range of capacities necessary for full functioning as a citizen. 'The child' is understood to acquire those capacities by progressing steadily along a universal path of development to emerge a self-regulating, autonomous individual, the possessor of a range of attributes. These include the ability to recognize one's own best interests and to be responsible for oneself. 'The child' is constituted as a distinct type of person through reference to a lack of these and other adult personal attributes. This lack is not based in any deficiency as would be the case for an 'irresponsible adult'. Instead, it exists in the nature of the child. But part of the story of child development is the necessity for the child's 'needs' to be met if 'development' is to proceed at a smooth and orderly pace, and if the child is not to get 'stuck' at some point along the journey, and remain, in some ways, a child in the guise of an adult, rather than an effective adult citizen. ... these knowledges and concepts appear routinely in the familiar landscape of the present. They are part of the stock in trade of a diverse range of personnel, forming for example the backdrop to the practices of therapists and their clients, ... and of policy makers, welfare workers, police officers, court personnel, teachers, health professionals, historians and biographers.[20]

It is the notion of the child in the guise of an adult, rather than an effective adult citizen and the accompanying knowledges and concepts that constitute the discursive practices of policy makers, teachers and other personnel in relation to the mentally retarded, that will be examined in detail in this thesis.

In writing, I continually make the distinction between the "normal" child and the mentally retarded child. Rose puts the view that "childhood is the most intensively governed sector of personal existence". By using the term "governed" he draws upon

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[19]In particular Michel Foucault's analysis of discourse in modern society, especially his work on knowledge, power and subjectivity and Marxist theory relating to class, ideology and consciousness. Both are concerned, although from differing fields of vision, with the changing structure of subjugation in society and the modes of control of the individual.

[20]Tyler, "Making Better Children," 35. For an examination of the effects of the constitution of 'the child' in child welfare, see also Russell Hogg and David Brown, "Reforming Juvenile Justice: Issues and Prospects," in J. Murray and A. Borowski eds., Juvenile Delinquency in Australia (London: 1985), cited in Tyler.

Foucault's work on "governmentality" and the processes by which certain populations are defined and then subjected to specific political strategies.[21] According to Rose, the notion of the normal child and family is an ambiguous one. He proposes that normality has several forms; firstly that which is natural and therefore healthy, as against that which judges and finds the "actual" unhealthy; and as that which is to be produced by "rationalized social programmes". These discourses of normality are concurrently used to construct the natural child and family. They supply a fairly explicit set of instructions, or discursive practices, as to how normality should be identified and conducted and, importantly, the means of identifying abnormality and the rationale for intervention when reality and normality fail to coincide.

However, Rose states that these conceptions of normality are not merely generalisations made from accumulated experience, or discourse, relating to normal children. He asserts that

> criteria of normality are elaborated by experts on the basis of their claims to a scientific knowledge of childhood and its vicissitudes. And this knowledge of normality has not, in the main, resulted from studying normal children. On the contrary, in tracing the genealogy of normality we are returned to the projects of the government of children that provided the platform for the take-off of expertise. It is around pathological children - the troublesome, the recalcitrant, the delinquent - that conceptions of normality have taken shape. It is not that a knowledge of the normal course of development of the child has enabled experts to become more skilled at identifying those unfortunate children who are in some way abnormal. Rather, expert notions of normality are extrapolated from our attention to those children who worry the courts, teachers, doctors, and parents. Normality is not an observation but a valuation. It contains not only a judgement about what is desirable, but an injunction as to a goal to be achieved. In doing so, the very notion of 'the normal' today awards power to scientific truth and expert authority.[22]

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[21] Ibid. Tyler cites Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham, "Health and the Social Body," paper presented at TASA '91, Perth, for a formulation of governmentality.

[22] Nikolas Rose, Governing the Soul. The Shaping of the Private Self (London: Routledge, 1990), 131. See Chapters 11 and 12 for consideration of strategies that link the 'private' sphere of the family with the objectives of the government, and particularly the role of psychology.

Defining the mentally retarded child

In this way, the "normal" child is identified and valued because he/she is not "pathological" as opposed to the delinquent child and, similarly, the mentally retarded child, who is conversely identified because of the "unwholesome" behaviours exhibited. The terminology used in early debates and discussions for both was, by and large, informed by this conception of the normal child as the antithesis of the problem child. According to Rose:

> [I]n providing the vocabulary for thinking and talking about human development and human troubles in psychological terms, ... psychology linked subjective and intersubjective existence into government programs in a new way.[23]

There have been many terms used to define mental retardation. Early British terms widely used as benchmarks were:

> feeble-minded - I.Q. 50-70. (Later, in the 1960's, known as mild retardation), or dull and backward.
> imbecile - moderate retardation, I.Q. 35-70, or mental defective.
> idiot - severe retardation, I.Q. 20-35, or high grade mental defective.
> idiot, - profound retardation, I.Q. less than 20, or low grade mental defective.[24]

Parker explains the terms in this way:

> '[D]ull and backward' children were deemed to suffer from delayed development and were therefore considered capable of some improvement, especially in a sympathetic environment. The 'mental defectives' were those whose natural abilities were low and usually further impeded by chronic illnesses, physical infirmities, prolonged absences from school or a particularly pernicious home environment, and, often, a combination of these factors. High-grade mental defectives were deemed ineducable and therefore placed in residential or day

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[23]Nikolas Rose, Inventing Our Selves. Psychology, Power, and Personhood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 72. For discussion on identification, regulation and management of the young offender, see Debbie Tyler, "The Development of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in Victoria 1855-1905", in Richard Teese and Gary Wickham, eds., Melbourne Working Papers. Papers in Contemporary Australian Education, Culture and Politics Vol. 4, 1982/83. (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, Department of Education, 1983).

[24]Cliff Judge, Civilization and Mental Retardation. A History of the Care and Treatment of Mentally Retarded People (Sydney: Magenta Press, Mulgrave, 1987), 34.

> special schools; low-grade cases were considered ineducable and sent to certified institutions, hospitals and asylums.[25]

The United States used approximately the same I.Q. ranges and the terms mild, moderate and severe retardation.[26] I shall discuss the inception of I.Q. testing in more detail in a later chapter. Although such terminology is certainly not regarded as politically correct in present discourses which use words such as "intellectually disabled" or "challenged", I use the term mental retardation to refer to below average general functioning, or mild retardation, because this was the term commonly used in the early to middle twentieth century, the focus of this study. Other terms, "idiot", "imbecile", "moron" and "feeble-minded" will be used in keeping with their time span. Mental retardation can accompany numerous physical disabilities, but this thesis is mainly concerned with the development of schooling for the child with mental retardation, that is, an intellectual disability, during the period 1915 to1975.

Placing the child and family in history

There is an enormous amount of literature on the history of the Western family since the sixteenth century. Two approaches predominate the study of the child in history, the social history approach and the psychohistory approach.[27] The social historian adopts an interdisciplinary perspective and usually uses one of two methodologies, the anthropological theory or demographic-statistical method. The anthropological approach assumes the family is universal, with child-rearing practices linking the individual and society and from this that these socialization processes are central to the

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[25]David Parker, "'Carefully Coached and Pandered'. Identifying and providing for children with severe learning difficulties: Hertfordshire's trials and errors 1914-1939," in Journal of Educational Administration and History, 28:1, (1996), 2.

[26]Jerome H. Rothstein, Mental Retardation Readings and Resources (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), 14.

[27]Carmen Luke, Pedagogy, Printing, and Protestantism. The Discourse on Childhood (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989, Chapter 2.

understanding of a given society. Demographic approaches generally examine population changes, fertility rates, marriage patterns, marriage age, birth control practices, infant mortality, literacy rates among household members and so on. From the statistical information, "predominant family structures can be identified and family functions, in terms of economic transactions such as landholding and inheritance patterns, can be isolated".[28]

Psychohistorians believe that relying solely on demographic data cannot satisfactorily reproduce the complexities of family relationships and use psychological, psychoanalytic and developmental models in their explanations. DeMause's book, The History of Childhood, is, Luke suggests, the most representative example of a psychohistorical approach, bringing together "for the first time, diverse research on childhood". This approach attempts to "reconstruct the emotional tenor, the behaviours, and the psychological context of family life" and stems from Freud's conception of developmental stages in childhood.[29] DeMause's sources are essentially anecdotal descriptions and Luke argues that such evidence

> does not fully account for those socio-structural or epistemic features that are "exterior" to the individual, that structure the kind of social world the individual records, and that constrain the interpretive possibilities by which people express their experiences in writing.[30]

Anderson too, totally rejects psychohistory, stating that its creators are immersed in "anachronistic judgement and blatant disregard for many of the basic principles of historical scholarship".[31] According to this premise, such a view does not account for the ways in which people understand and locate themselves in their environment. This is

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[28]Ibid., 22.
[29]Ibid., 26. See L. DeMause, ed., The History of Childhood (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1974).
[30]Ibid.
[31]Michael Anderson, Approaches to the History of the Western Family 1500-1914 (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1980), 15.

(pre)formulated by pronouncements about ideas, facts, objects, perceived reality and so on, that compose a specific field of reference. Therefore in any given historical period one understands his or her world, the self and relations between self and others, "on the basis of historical discursive practices that name, locate and organise concrete and abstract knowledge and experience". It follows from this that

> [I]n order to speak of things or objects, one is subject to the ways in which discourse has ordered them: an object is ordered conceptually in relation to other objects by being established in relations of resemblance, proximity, distance, transformation, and especially difference. These relations are established in discourse *and* between institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification and modes of characterization. These relations are not inherent in the object (of study) nor do they reside within the observer - these relations "exist" discursively exterior to the object. Foucault suggests that these exterior relations are "what enables it (the object) to juxtapose itself with other objects, to situate itself in relation to them, to define its difference - in short, to be placed in a field of exteriority".[32] (Original italics).

Discourses that prescribe religious, educational or literary conventions and so on, are controlled by certain rules and assumptions, which in turn determine the way individuals understand, fix meaning to and interpret and record objects, processes and events. Following this line of thought:

> [A]necdotal evidence does not explain how specific religious, political or epistemic features influenced and characterized discourse in the first place which, in turn, significantly influenced the ways in which people interpreted and assigned meaning to their experiences.[33]

Anecdotal account or oral history, is acutely influenced by discourses and experiences of the present. From this outlook oral accounts and traditional histories are constructed, but are problematic because memory, the past, is worked and re-worked, by events of

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[32]Ibid., interpreting M. Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, trans. A. Sheridan Smith, (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1972), 45.
[33]Ibid., 30.

the present. This presents a dilemma in considering oral history testimonies as sources.[34] Peters suggests that history is political and

> political domination involves historical definition; history - in particular popular memory - is at stake in the constant battle for hegemony. The relation between history and politics, like the relation between past and present, is therefore internal: it is about politics and the history of politics.[35]

In this thesis I propose to interpret the "public" and "private" source material relating to the education and treatment of mentally retarded children with the intention of identifying events and conditions which brought about changes and explaining how these discursive practices became universalised. The use of oral history, despite the recognised theoretical weakness, and past-present unreliability, is seen as one way of understanding how the people involved perceived the changes. It also indicates to what extent they helped shape or resisted the dominant discursive practices of the time, and what influence these had on the family life of those involved.

The socio-cultural approach stresses the importance of tracing historical change in attitude, meanings and ideas. This is often termed the "sentimental school" representation and Luke cites typical examples as "Ozment's When Fathers Ruled, Pollock's Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500-1900, Flandrin's Families in Former Times, Strauss' Luther's House of Learning, Stone's Family, Sex and Marriage in England; 1500-1800, Shorter's The Making of the Modern Family, and Ariés' Centuries of Childhood."[36] Ariés, Shorter and Stone, who produced some of the most prominent writings in the field, were concerned with the appearance of the modern

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[34]See in particular, for consideration of the use of oral history methodology, Patrick O'Farrell, "Oral History: Facts and Fiction," in Quadrant, November, 1979, 49-53 and Louise Douglas and Peter Spearitt, "Talking History: The Use of Oral Sources," in G. Osborne and W. F. Makers, eds., New History (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1982), 59-68. Cited in Peters, "Children's Culture and the State," 29.

[35] Ibid., 29-30.

[36] Luke, Pedagogy, 23.

family and the notion of a separate childhood as distinct from the child being seen as and acting as a small adult, especially children of the poor. In past centuries such children were seen by these writers to have few "childlike" qualities. They worked, were often sexually experienced and looked older than their years.[37]

Ariés provided us with a broad overview of three centuries of childhood. His main premise was that childhood was "discovered" between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[38] His book is divided into three parts. The first, "Le Sentiment de l'enfance", used an assortment of sources, (toys, painting, clothing) to assert that in the early middle ages, around about the eleventh century, the notion of childhood did not exist. The stage of physical helplessness was acknowledged, but there was no conception of the periods now known as childhood and adolescence. "Children were considered "uninteresting", if not socially transparent; past infancy, they were seen as 'miniature adults'".[39] It was not until the seventeenth century that the French word for baby appeared. According to Ariés, the discovery of childhood occurred concommitantly with the adult notions of a more extended developmental period between early childhood and young adulthood. The childhood duration was extended, with the pubescent years eventually being described by writers as adolescence. Ariés saw this shift as separating children from adult society, where previously existed one society; limiting their freedom and enforcing "disciplinary controls on children and youth by home, school and church". All these changes were apparently viewed with despondence by Ariés.[40] Once it was created, childhood became an "increasingly tyrannical concept, leading finally to the intense and privatised mode of parent-child relations", discussed in the final section of the book. For

[37]James Walvin, A Child's World. A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914. (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982), 12.
[38]See Richard T. Vann, review of Centuries of Childhood, by Phillipe Ariés, History and Theory, 2 (November 1982), 280.
[39] Luke, Pedagogy, 23.
[40]Ibid.

Ariés, the modern family was depicted by this devotion to childhood and subsequent problems of adolescence, supposedly not known in the Middle Ages or Renaissance. These claims have been rejected by many subsequent historians who declare that he did not fully understand the changes he described.[41]

Shorter took up approximately where Ariés left off. Unlike Ariés, who focused mainly on the French nobility and bourgeoisie, Shorter studied the lives of peasant families, not only French, but Scandinavian, Bavarian, British and American. Ariés proposed that these classes were unaffected by changes he described in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with which Shorter agreed, arguing that the changes did not start until after 1750. In Shorter's view, it was a "surge of sentiment" which affected the traditional family. He proposed three reasons for these changes. Firstly, marriages for "romantic love", rather than material reasons began to increase. Secondly, infant well-being became more important and thirdly, families became more intimate, rather than impersonal, in their relationships. For Shorter, this sentimental outlook sprang from an increased desire for sexual freedom after 1750; a sexual revolution in family life. Shorter has been criticised for the doubtful quality of his sources, but his book was one of the first to consider the experiences of ordinary people.[42]

Stone presented us with a detailed record of three hundred years of family history, from 1500 to 1800. His theme was that during this time the English family moved through three consecutive stages. First was the Open Lineage Family of the Renaissance, a period when kinship ties were of great importance and relations between members of nuclear families were changeable and somewhat aloof. Next appeared the Restricted

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[41]Vann, review of Centuries of Childhood, 284-287.
[42]Joseph F. Kett, review of The Making of the Modern Family, by Edward Shorter, Social Education, 36 (April 1972), 498-500.

Patriarchal Nuclear Family of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly resulting from declining kinship ties and subsequent compensatory emphasis on patriachal authority. Lastly, beginning late in the seventeenth century and rapidly progressing into the eighteenth, was the Closed Domesticated Nuclear Family; one of greater intimacy between spouses and a more affectionate relationship between parents and children.[43] This argued Stone, although changed, still exists today. For Stone, the emergence of the contemporary family was a critical change, a freeing from "distance, deference and patriachy," to "affective individualism". For him, this was possibly the most important change in the last thousand years of Western history.[44]

Both Stone and Ariés have been criticised for their lack of sources. In reality, both are histories of family life in the upper classes since the majority of sources generate from the writings of the upper literate classes and as such should not be seen to portray family life or practices across society. Neither Ariés nor Stone made it clear that their sources portrayed an elite minority, which may or may not have represented family relations and child rearing practices of the society en masse. Luke makes the point:

> [T]he approaches of peasants and the lower urban class to raising children were usually not represented in artistic and literary remains. For the Middle Ages the problem is particularly difficult because many of these sources were the works of ecclesiastical writers who had little direct experience with normal family life. Even the usual sources of information on childrearing in the Middle ages are inconclusive.[45]

Tilly and Tilly point out that Stone in fact dismisses roughly half the English population:

> [A]mong the mass of the very poor ... the common behaviour of many parents toward their children was often indifferent, cruel, erratic and unpredictable. It is not clear whether the reason was cultural, a result of deprivation of any property

[43]Paul Slack, review of The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800, by Lawrence Stone, The English Historical Review, 370, (January 1979), 124-126.

[44]Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1977), 22.

[45]B. Hanawelt, "Childrearing among the Lower Classes of Late Medieval England," in R. E. Rotberg and T.K. Rabb, eds., Marriage and Fertility (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), cited in Luke, Pedagogy, 25.

> stake in society and displacement far from home and kin, or whether it was economic, in the sense that more humane feelings and a greater sense of sustained concern were luxuries which they could rarely afford. The culture of poverty did not encourage foresight or providence, since the lives of those on the economic margin of existence were too much at the mercy of sheer chance - a bad harvest, unemployment or sickness - to justify rational calculation for the future. They were therefore improvident in begetting children, with no thought of how they were to be nursed and fed, and improvident and careless in disposing of them once they had arrived; easy come, easy go.[46]

As the authors note, this "contemptuous equation of poverty with pathology" has been a recurring theme among bourgeois observers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But Stone's dismissal of the poor weakens his main argument. Dispensing with such a large part of the population must raise questions as to whether the purported "massive shifts in world views and value systems" affected more than a literate, elite few.[47]

Recent writings have argued against both Ariés' and Stone's presumptions that the patriarchal family was portrayed by repression, discipline and parental indifference towards children. Ozment and Pollock are part of the movement towards redressing, or at least qualifying the (mis)conceptions of historical parent-child relations as described by Ariés and Stone. They contend that emotional bonds were never absent from families of earlier eras, asserting that even without documented proof, it can be assumed that the basic techniques of infant care were surely passed from mother to daughter through the ages. They further suppose that someone would have taught toddlers the dangers of hearth fires, of playing with knives and so on. The literature of the sixteenth century contains sufficient evidence to verify that "moralists, reformers, pedagogues, and pediatricians" did, in fact, "write detailed programs for the raising of children".[48]

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[46]Stone, 470. Cited in Charles Tilly and Louise A. Tilly, "Stalking the Bourgeoise Family", Social Science History, 4 (May 1980), 258.
[47]Ibid., 259.
[48]Luke, Pedagogy, 37. See, for instance S. Ozment, When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983) and L. Pollock, Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500-1900.

Early discourses surrounding the mentally retarded

Although the existence of retarded children can be traced back to primitive societies, they have always been regarded as a burden and have been "sacrificed" for the welfare of the society in which they lived. The most common practice was that of infanticide, the deliberate killing of small children. In early Greece and Rome the philosophers such as Aristotle echoed public opinion expressed in political and theoretical discourses when he wrote that no deformed child should be reared. Children in any way abnormal, or who cried too little or too much, were killed. They were flung into rivers, left or "exposed" on hills and by roadsides, thrown on to dung heaps or starved to death, to name but a few methods.[49] In times of hardship mentally retarded children would have been regarded as excess food consumers and non-productive family members and quite probably became the victims of infanticide. There were various social, economic and religious reasons for infanticide. To the roving tribespeople the mentally retarded and or physically handicapped would have been a burden when trying to survive in the face of food shortages and other hardships, whereas the Greeks wanted to eliminate them to purify their race. Religious sacrifices in ancient China and India resulted in infanticide being carried out to appease the anger of the Gods. In this context, the mentally retarded child as a subject was positioned in relation to discourses founded in economic rationalization and other historically specific constructs. As Henriques et al. stipulate, it is important to recognise that such decisions would have been carried out on the supposed ability to make rational judgements, based on notions of the individual subject.[50]

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[49]Judge, Civilization and Mental Retardation, 3; Lloyd DeMause, "The Evolution of Childhood", in DeMause, ed., The History of Childhood, 25-26.

[50]Julian Henriques, Cathy Urwin, Couze Venn and Valerie Walkerdine, Changing the Subject. Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity (London: Methuen, 1984), 133-136.

Also prevalent in Europe from the Middle Ages to Enlightenment was the notion that an abnormal child was a changeling.[51] One of Grimm's fairy tales portrays a changeling as having a big head and staring eyes and only able to eat and drink. Changelings were described as having misshapen or wrong proportions with head too big for the body, a thick throat and neck and unable to stand, only creep around like an animal. It is clear that the mentally and physically handicapped children were taken for changelings - especially those with hydrocephalus and cretinism.[52] Changeling children were believed to have been stolen by the fairies, who envied the beauty of human beings and wanted children to marry with the fairies and "enoble their stock". This folk belief that such a child was a supernatural substitute for the "real" child was later Christianised into the idea of the changeling being a "demon-child" left by the Devil, who had stolen the human child.[53] Advice on how to reverse the exchange was widespread and various - including placing the child on a red-hot shovel and pressing it into red-hot ashes, giving it poison to drink or feeding it leather and red-hot iron. Undoubtedly, retarded children would have received some of this horrendous treatment.

As well as the practice of infanticide, the abandonment of children, (including "normal" children) was frequent in past eras. Abandonment was a common practise when a child was born out of wedlock. Because of the social and moral issues involved, institutions for such children were not accepted or encouraged, as this was seen as "tantamount to condoning the alleged immorality which contributed to the birth of the child".[54] As there is so little material which refers specifically to retarded children, one can only speculate on their lives. In the violent times of the early centuries, when "normal" children were

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[51]Carl Haffter, "The Changeling: History and Psychodynamics of Attitudes to Handicapped Children in European Folklore," Journal of The History of the Behavioural Sciences (1968), 55.
[52]Ibid., 56.
[53]DeMause, The History of Childhood, 120.
[54]Judge, Civilization and Mental Retardation, 16.

subject to harsh and brutal measures, retarded children, if not killed at birth, could be expected to have been subject to inhumane treatment, less valued than some farm animals.

The Renaissance era, with its concern for observation and scientific enquiry brought a new interest in education and humanitarianism. As is well documented, it was in this period that childhood became recognised as a special and distinct stage of development and it was during this time that the first known education of the handicapped was attempted.[55] Gradually, says Winzer, vague reports of miracles and legends gave way to authenticated records. The first evidence of successful education of handicapped children dates from the late 1500s in Spain. It was there the monk, Ponce de Léon, apparently successfully taught the deaf sons of Spain's wealthy families to "speak, read and participate in the rituals of the Catholic church". Throughout the 1500s and 1600s there were more substantianted reports of educational intervention with the handicapped and the needy. Although conditions for the mentally retarded did not greatly change, there were some attempts to improve them. Overcrowding was common in institutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where inmates might be left naked and chained in rat infested cellars.[56] Custodial care for the mentally handicapped was undertaken by some people. St. Vincent de Paul and the Sisters of Charity, against much opposition in the early seventeenth century gave shelter to, not only abandoned children, but also adults suffering from leprosy, insanity, or who were "feeble-minded". The Château which housed them was eventually to become the Bîcètre, the Parisian

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[55]See Margaret Winzer, Sally Rogow, Charlotte David, Exceptional Children in Canada (Ontario: Prentice-Hall, Canada Inc., 1987), Chapter 3.
[56]See H. Lane and M. Pillard, The Wild Boy of Burundi (New York: Random House, 1978), Chapter 4.

asylum.[57] In England, Sir Thomas Coram established the first home for foundlings in 1741. Unable to bear the sight of babies "rotting in the gutters and on dung heaps" he opened the Foundling Home in London.[58] He was overwhelmed by requests for admission and eventually had to admit only very young children, by ballot.

Industrialisation brought families to the large town centres, resulting in a large increase in the homeless population, who were unable to find employment. Retarded people, jobless and no longer of any use to their families, could well have been among the homeless. We can assume that some of the foundlings would have been mentally or physically handicapped. The beginning of institutions for normal children was to become a model for care of retarded children. Institutions such as exist today to care for the mentally retarded were unknown until the late nineteenth century. The handicap of mental retardation was differentiated from mental illness and the state of the poor, epileptic or the old and infirm, but, because communities did not know what to do with such people, they were institutionalised along with the destitute and homeless. The most famous example of such institutions were the Hospice of the Saltpetriere and the already mentioned Bicêtre in Paris. The Bicêtre was founded by Louis IV in the seventeenth century "to deal with 'indigents', the aged, the chronically ill, and the psychiatrically ill".[59] The Saltpêtrière, originally a hospital for 4,000 women, housed 7,800 "patients" by the end of the eighteenth century. Both institutions had special areas for retarded people and through the work of the early reformers Pinel, Esquirel, Ítard, Bourneville and Séguin, the world become aware of the unique needs of the handicapped.

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[57]David Gwyn Pritchard, Education and the Handicapped 1760-1960 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 175.
[58]Judge, Civilization and Mental Retardation, 16.
[59]Ibid., 18.

Constructing the family

The changes in the concept of the family are important - the family has emerged as a "web of symbols and ideas", partly created by themselves and partly by certain professional interest groups, (teachers, doctors, social workers, etc.) with the support of the mass media.[60] Definitions and ideas about the family are many and varied, ranging from the image of the family as one with members of the same kin living under the one roof, to whole communities living together constituting a family.[61] Shorter describes the family as a "state of mind rather than a particular kind of structure or set of household arrangements", a solidarity separating the family from the outside world.[62] Gilding proposes that the concept of family is a "sociopolitical ordering of kinship and co-residence in order to affix relations of obligation and dependence." I find this a useful notion as it can include the dependent group of the mentally retarded.[63]

The family has always been represented by various forms and many different approaches have been adopted by social historians researching family life. Anderson has put forward three approaches, the Demographic Approach, the Household Economics Approach and the Sentiments Approach. As briefly metioned earlier in the chapter, the demographic approach is based on the underlying methodologies of natural science and quantitative social science. Literary sources, which formed the basis of most early attempts at family history, are largely rejected by demographers on the grounds that such evidence is difficult to interpret reliably, is often contradictory and, in particular, uncertain in its relevance outside a small elite group, usually the upper classes. Those working in the

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[60]See Michael Anderson, Approaches to History of the Western Family, Chapter 3. Anderson's book offers a review of prevalent approaches to the economic and social history of the family.
[61]See Michael Gilding, The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1991), in particular, Chapter 1 for constructive discussion on the concept and definitions of the family.
[62]Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1977), 205.
[63]Gilding, The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family, 5.

convention examine sources, for example, parish registers and census-type listings for taxation and other purposes, which can account for whole populations of some communities. Admittedly, this method has a limited range of topics, but it can amass huge data banks of internationally comparable information, covering long periods of time. Examples of the demographical approach include collecting and examining data on patterns of childbearing, size and membership of households, marriage age and rates and extra marital conceptions. This has meant many traditional views of the past have been challenged and shown to be false and, importantly, a solid data base has been established as a framework for analysis for many historians.

Anderson has five main criticisms of the demographic approach. Firstly the quality of the data. Critical difficulities occur when interpreting and comparing pre-census listings and earlier census returns. According to Anderson, listings were mostly prepared for administrative uses such as taxation or military recruitment, so that it is unclear whether the listings were even meant to be comprehensive, nor exactly what any subdivisions in the listing could mean. Such difficulties with source interpretation pose major questions about the validity and internal uniformity of some comparative studies which have relied solely on household listings. The completeness or otherwise, of parish registers is another problem. These are the main sources of data, (births, deaths and marriages) derived from family records but are only useful if the the registers are reasonably complete. Lastly there is the difficulty of small numbers available for anaylsis arising as a result of high rates of population mobility.

The second criticism concerns the atypicality of England, where Anderson based his studies. As more research is done into previously unexamined areas and countries, the depiction of household composition becomes increasingly more complex. In all probability, it appears that very different principles influenced family formation in the

rest of the pre-industrial West. Thirdly, community level statistics (for example, analysis of mean household sizes for each community) give a misleading impression by obscuring one of the essential features of family life, the changing composition of the household over the life cycle. Anderson writes there is strong evidence to suggest that different groups of populations were either operating within different rules regarding household formation, or perhaps, more probably, that some were more able than others to achieve particular objectives.

The last two, very different, criticisms are those of the problem of meaning and theory. Problems of meaning arise at two levels. As mentioned, there is the problem of the meaning of the behaviour of the recorder, for example, conclusions drawn from discovering that one town has numerous households with lodgers, while another has not, depends on how "lodger" was defined and how households were distinguished from one another. Missing this point may lead to artificial comparisons. Further to this is the danger of inferring from demographic behaviour attitudes which may or may not underlie it. This can be highly misleading. Lastly, the problem of theory. This is the problem of whether a knowledge of household composition always tells the same things, or even anything very much, about familial behaviour. When considering many family activities, the exact composition of the domestic will be irrelevant. Finally Anderson makes the point that the

> tendency to treat the family in isolation from the wider social structure and ignore the very different ways in which the same pattern of household structure or marriage rates or ages come about has been a central limitation of the whole work of the school.[64]

Although, as Anderson concludes, it is easy to criticise the demographers, one must remember the "unsystematic and impressionistic" studies that preceded them and the

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[64]Anderson, Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 37.

difficulties still encountered by alternative approaches. In comparison, their work will have a lasting effect on developments in family history. Proponents of the Household Economics Approach are concerned with the social processes which underlie family structure (and though less successfully, familial attitudes) in the past and, in particular, a desire to explore the operation of these processes through their impact on the family as a unit and on relationships between its members. This group "seek to interpret households and families all in the context of the economic behaviour of their members".[65] Of the three approaches discussed, it is the most affected by the methodology, (rather than purely techniques) of the social sciences, especially sociology and anthropology. Consequently they are concerned with the "patterning of social relationships and of change in relationships". Anderson continues:

> [T]he main thrust ... involves attempts to isolate 'structural' constraints, arising from pressures often quite outside the consciousness of the individuals involved. Central among these factors are those which arise in economic or other exchange relationships within the family and between family members and others. The main emphases are on the ways in which, and the conditions under which, resources (including human resources) become available to the family and to its members, on strategies which can be employed to generate and exploit resources, and on the power relationships which arise as a by-product of these activities.[66]

In order to demonstrate the action of these factors, researchers in the field had led the way in the use of new sources for family history, for example, documents describing property holdings, property utilisation and property transmission, and such materials as employment records, family budgets and descriptions of working practices. Examples of this can be seen in work on consequences for family behaviour of different inheritance practices. Although the areas overlap, it is the Sentiments Approach, or as Tyler suggests, the romantic formulations, which are of most interest to me when considering

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[65]Ibid., 65. For a more complete view, see Chapter 4.
[66]Ibid., 65-66.

childrens' lives.[67] Anderson claims that modern familial sentiments were absent in early family life. In the early sixteenth century the husband held all the power, legally and economically. The lack of affection in the period is widely documented; respect, deference and obligation were expected and any sentimental behaviour seen as leading to lawlessness. Marriage was seen solely as an economic, productive and reproductive union for the purpose of transferring and perpetuating property and position between generations. From this starting point, there is general agreement among historians that there was a move away from the emotionless patriachal unit to a more sentimental family although the timing and causes of the changes cause some dissension.

Anderson expresses the belief that it is during the last few centuries that the permeability of the family changed, by which he means that control changed from internal to external. He cites three main reasons for this. Firstly the lessening of social controls when the religious fervour to control family morality receded and community authorities obtained stronger powers. Secondly, the increased migration to and from further away places made peoples' behaviour more difficult to control and thirdly, added to this was the increasing importance placed on domesticity.[68]

The early twentieth century saw a change in childcare practices. Reiger terms it the "age of children". In The Disenchantment of the Home, she examines the problematic notion of the family, relying upon qualitative evidence and examining demographic trends. Reiger's research was primarily concerned with the ordering of the family at the sociopolitical level, focusing, like Donzelot, on regulation from above. She was concerned with attempts to transform the Australian family between the 1880s and 1930s by defining the components of family life and investigating the reform attempts of

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[67]Ibid., Chapter 3.
[68]Ibid.

an "emergent class of professionals, technocrats or experts in the areas of production, reproduction, socialisation, and sexuality in turn".[69] Her point was that these efforts in fact subverted the established construction of the family as untouched and private with an ideal of the family as a "set of rational and manipulative social practices".[70]

Prior to the twentieth century, parenting had been concerned with moral guidance and economic support, rather than fostering any relationships between parent and child. A new social concern in the management of mothering appeared and a "good home" came to be regarded as one of the most valued social institutions in Australia. The new ideas about children and child raising resulted from the traditional benevolent concern for children of the working class and were a reflection of the broader social developments of the time.[71] By the end of the century, both overseas and in Australia, the perception of children had changed, they became objects of sentiment, seen as vulnerable and innocent. Zelizer terms this change the "sacrilization" of children, in which they became endowed with a religious meaning, a sentiment, which had the effect of providing them with a new non-economic value.[72]

In the nineteenth century children were contributors to the family economy, both inside and outside the home - rural and urban working class children helped to maintain the family working on farms and in factories. In the emerging middle classes children were becoming objects of sentiment and by 1930, says Zelizer, the ideal child was totally non-productive and expensive. As the child's usefulness declined, the sentimental value increased. The child savers, the social reformers, worked for the same conditions to be

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[69]Gilding, The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family, 9.
[70]Kerreen Reiger, The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernizing the Australian Family 1880-1940 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), 1-3. Reiger presents a study of the rationalisation of domestic life in Australia. She suggests that women were not the "unwitting dupes" of the male ruling class, but rather took the initiative in many issues.
[71]Ibid.
[72]Viviana A. Zelizer, Pricing the Priceless Child (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 11.

applied to the lives of working class children. According to them, every child deserved a safe and protected childhood, regardless of the family circumstances. "Properly loved children, regardless of social class, belonged in a domesticated, non-productive world of lessons, games and token money".[73]

In Australia, this period was an important one, a time when according to Reiger, Australian society underwent a transition that brought changes in production and technology into the public sphere and subsequent changes in the private sphere of home and family. It was a time of social structuring of family and personal relationships. Family relationships and the important wife-mother role in the training of children came under scrutiny. The state became more and more involved with the daily life of its citizens:

> [A] multitude of laws and regulations affected working conditions and wages, health, education and welfare, and legislation directly concerned with the family was passed governing the age of sexual consent, divorce and provisions for children whether defined as 'neglected', 'feeble-minded', or 'normal'.[74]

This period also saw the flourishing of many organisations, established with the purpose of reforming personal and family behaviour and offering advice and assistance. The scope of these ranged from the temperance groups, concerned with social and moral issues, to those with charitable and educational concerns.[75] Anthony Platt's The Child Savers, examines the motives of reformers of the juvenile court system in Illinois at the end of the nineteenth century. He presents a socio-historical analysis of his subject and reaches the conclusion that the social reformers, the doctors, civil servants, teachers, psychologists and so on, have deliberately and overtly re-modelled the system in order to control those in it. For Platt, child saving was due to factors other than a benevolent

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[73]Ibid.
[74]Reiger, The Disenchantment of the Home, 1.
[75]Ibid., 2.

and humanitarian concern for children. He argues it was the result of a middle class desire to control the dangerous and distasteful classes and in doing so improve the status of the middle-class professionals in the field, as well as widening their scope and opening up new areas for research. To Platt, the changes in child welfare around the turn of the century could only be explained "in terms of the middle and upper classes developing new forms of social control in a changing socioeconomic context, defined as the emergence of monoply capitalism".[76]

Platt's work looks particularly at child welfare, and although coming from a totally different perspective, similar arguments can be found throughout post-modernist literature dealing with state and family life. Christopher Lasch adopts one of the most powerful social control positions in Haven in a Heartless World, his widely quoted book on the family. Lasch briefly reviews the history of the American family in the last century and explains what he calls the "socialization of reproduction". In his view, in the early stages of the industrial revolution capitalists took production out of the household and "collectivized" it in the factory. They then appropriated workers' skills by "scientific management", bringing them together under managerial direction. Lastly, they extended their control over the workers' private lives as well, doctors, psychiatrists, teachers, child guidance experts, officers of the juvenile courts, and other specialists began to supervise the business of the family.[77]

Just as industrialisation stripped workers of control over their labour, so too social work and child welfare made people incapable of providing children's needs without the supervision of trained experts. Lasch relentlessly pursues this view of the construction of

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[76]Robert Van Krieken, Children and the State. Social Control and the Formation of Australian Child Welfare (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1992), 17.

[77]Christopher Lasch, Haven in a Heartless World. The Family Besieged (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), xv.

social control by capitalist inspired, middle-class social pathologists over the working-class family. He sees their role in the development of working-class family life as implemental and formative. Bourgeoise domesticity did not simply evolve among the working families, he argues, it was imposed upon them by the "forces of organised virtue, led by feminists, temperance advocates, educational reformers, liberal ministers, penologists, doctors, and bureaucrats".[78] Following from this "the state controls not merely the individual's body, but as much of his spirit as it can pre-empt; not merely the public realm but the darkest corners of private life".[79]

But Lasch agrees with historians such as Stone on some principles. These are that every society has a single dominant family life, which expresses dominant beliefs and is best demonstrated by its ruling classes. Changes that occur in family life exist first in the ruling classes and trickle down from "top" to "bottom" and following from this, changes in attitudes towards marriage, sex and family precede and cause variations in family life. Descriptions and prescriptions of family life, as opposed, for example, to such family by-products as registers of births, marriages and deaths, compose the best evidence of what took place. Finally, Lasch concurs that the bourgeois nuclear family, with its "mild patriarchy, its sentimentality, and its desire for privacy", is the complete manifestation of liberal-capitalist development.[80]

Jacques Donzelot, another authoritative post-modernist, has both differing and similar views of relations between state and family. Donzelot examines the family in France since the eighteenth century, his main theme being the development of sophisticated techniques of social management by covert means. He sees the family as having been

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[78]Ibid., 169.
[79]Ibid., 189.
[80]Tilly and Tilly, "Stalking the Bourgeoise Family", 253.

"colonised" and "policed" by outside agencies, since the French revolution. Donzelot suggests the family was subjected to a "tutelary complex", especially the poor, where the neutralization of patriarchal authority would permit a procedure of tutelage to be established, joining sanitary and educative objectives with methods of economic and social surveillance. This procedure involved the reduction of family autonomy, a reduction that was facilitated by the appearance, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, of a whole series of bridges and connections between public assistance, juvenile law, medicine, and psychiatry.[81] Rose describes the "tutelary complex" as the technologies of government, a network of doctors, psychologists, probation officers and social workers, enabling the "difficulties posed by working class families and children to be acted upon with a degree of force, universality, and certainty but without disabling the family mechanism".[82]

Donzelot cites the increasing use of psychoanalysis by professionals with the family as having the ability to guide people to acceptable behaviour - a subtle, non-coercive way of maintaining conformity and order. He is less inclined than Lasch to identify particular groups as instigators of "moral campaigns", rejecting, as does Foucault, the idea of an agent of power, particularly that of a capitalist class or bourgoisie state domination of power relations in society. Instead he writes in the passive form, hence the family is "policed", "colonised" and "transformed" without specifically naming the perpetrator of these processes. The main theme is still that of the family as an object of surveillance,

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[81] Jacques Donzelot, The Policing of Families, trans. Robert Hierley, (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1980), 89, cited in Van Krieken, 19.
[82] Rose, Governing the Soul, 129.

penetration, supervision, policing, and so forth, and his assessment of the shift of power from the family and the community to the state and the "social" is a negative one.[83]

The role of women in the family

In the late nineteenth century, there were two main options for women, dependence on men, to some small or large degree, or domestic service. Women with independent means were the exception and given the labour market, marriage was seen as imperative for economic survival. According to Van Krieken:

> [T]he ideological hegemony around the family and work which developed was, as the word 'hegemony' should imply, part of a relation of alliance and compromise, although an asymmetrical one, between the working class and the bourgeoisie. If there was any villain in the piece it would have to be respectability itself, the development of a certain family ideal and everything that accompanied that, such as the impoverishment of women's work.[84]

In this romanticised construction, men and women were portrayed as having complimentary characteristics and social roles. Women played the dependent, emotional and moral role, while the men were depicted as more rational and capable of "dispassionate judgement and leadership". This evolved in a largely dichotomous world, where women were marginalised. The home and family became the "private", the female domain, and were seen as a retreat for the male breadwinner from the competitive labour market, the "public", the world outside. Thus men and women resided in "separate spheres". Given the rapid social and economic changes, motherhood was seen as the site to instil spiritual and moral beliefs to guide young people in the world away from home. Women were regarded as the "moral guardians" of society. According to Allen and well documented by Mary Ryan and Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, this notion of the ideal woman was originally a product of the middle-classes and is regarded

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[83]Ibid., 21.
[84]Van Krieken, Children and the State, 29-30.

as one of its characteristic features. Allen continues:

> [T]his ideology was seen as arising with the far reaching social and economic changes which constituted the great transformation of industrialisation and the new class formation of capitalism. ... Notably the unbridled competitiveness of the early capitalist economy caused some misgivings and concern for social stability and traditional religious values.[85]

Post-modern feminists argue that this notion of the ideal family was in fact "an ideological mechanism for reproducing a docile labour force, for exploiting the domestic labour of women under the guise of love and duty, for maintaining the patriarchal authority of men over the household".[86] They debunk the belief that the family resulted from a voluntary "love-match", made with the desire to have and cherish children, for the fulfilment and self-realisation of women and the mutual regard and protection of family members. Instead, they suggest that such an ideology camouflaged the "oppressive relations within this intimate sphere, and the social and economic coercion upon women to enter into family life and motherhood". To them:

> [T]he function of this familial ideology was to mask the realities of family life, and to preserve a social institution that provided vital economic functions for capitalism: reproduction of the labour force, socialisation of children, exploitation of the unpaid domestic labour of women, compensation to men for the alienating nature of their work, and so forth.[87]

Discussing the public/private spheres, Rose states that critics have viewed the notion of the "private" as deliberately fashioned to

> sustain a particular and oppressive set of relations between men and women. However, developments within capitalism in the nineteenth century reworked this public/private divide to suit the interests of a ruling, property-owning, male elite. This accounted for the emergence of the cult of domesticity with its

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[85]Margaret Allen, "Three South Australian Women Writers, 1854-1923; Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence And Catherine Martin" (Ph.D. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1991), 22. Allen's work provides a useful analysis of discourses relating to domesticity and the creation of the middle class in Australia, Britain and the United States. See also Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850 (London: Hutchison, 1987), and Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York 1790-1865 (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and D. Deacon, Managing Gender. The State, the New Middle Class and Women Workers 1830-1930 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[86]Rose, Governing the Soul, 124.

[87]Ibid.

> idealization of motherhood. While allowing that this allotted certain powers to women, it did so only in their status as mothers confined to the private sphere, and hence failed fundamentally to challenge either the patriarchal separation of realms, or the economic power that men wielded over the family unit.[88]

The notion that the family could be private, as in free from outside public control, was, these critics argue, a fabrication. They assert that state intervention in the shaping of familial relations is unavoidable and happens in several ways. For instance, the state, by means of public law, establishes complicated welfare controls, especially involving the "proper" development of children. In care and custody cases, division of property and other family disputes, legal agents function according to

> ideology and patriarchal beliefs as to morality, responsibility and family life and what is best for the children. On the one hand, the state, representing dominant male interests, chooses the nature and objectives of public regulation; on the other, a domain is constituted outside legal regulation and designated 'private', where welfare agencies enforce the ideology of motherhood, and where male power is not even subject to limited protections of the rule of law.[89]

But, according to Rose, by stipulating that the private/public separation was an ideology camouflaging state intervention and the social control of women, these critics fail to account for two key issues. Firstly, the privacy of the family was a central component in the technologies of government that "made liberal democratic rule possible, allowing a fundamental transformation in the scope and responsibilities of the 'state' and the organization of power". Secondly, these new rationales and technologies did not solely control individuals through the family, but played a

> constitutive role in the formation of citizens of such democracies, acting at the level of subjectivity itself. 'Familialisation' was crucial to the means whereby personal capacities and conducts could be socialized, shaped and maximised in a manner accorded with the moral and political principles of liberal society. The languages of the regulatory strategies, the terms within which they thought

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[88]Ibid., 125. For some of the "critics" Rose cites M. Stacey and M. Price, Women, Power and Politics (London: Tavistock, 1981), E. Gamarnikow et al., eds., The Public and the Private (London: Heinemann, 1983) and for much of the recent debate, M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, eds., Women, Culture and Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974) and J.B. Elshtain, Public Man and Private Woman (Brighton: Harvester, 1981).

[89]Ibid., 126.

> themselves, the ways in which they formulated their problems and solutions, were not merely ideological; they made it possible and legitimate to govern the lives of citizens in new ways.[90]

Rose suggests that the construction of subjective values was the aim of many familiarising projects of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He states it was an "explicit rationale" of the moralizing philanthropy of the nineteenth century; family autonomy, activated by its wishes and aspirations to conform to social norms became self-regulating, without coercive enforcement. "Normality" was seen as a goal to be achieved and empowered expert authority and discourses of scientific truth. Rose continues:

> [P]sychology has played a key role in establishing the norms of childhood, in providing means for visualizing childhood pathology and normality, in providing vocabularies for speaking about childhood subjectivity and its problems, in inventing technologies for cure and normalization. ... The soul of the young citizen has become the object of government through expertise.[91]

In this chapter I have looked at the creation of notion of the "normal" child and family. Establishing the "normal" is necessary before we are able to examine construction of its antithesis, the "abnormal", the mentally retarded child and the terminology and resulting discourses which linked the pyschological terms into government policies adopted for these children. Two major approaches have been used to study the history of childhood, the social history and the psychohistory approach. They document a change in the world view of the family unit and a change in childcare practices, the early twentieth century becoming the "age of children". This resulted in the emergence of the reformers known as the "child savers". One view of this group is that they were benevolent caring people and the opposing post-modernist view is that they deliberately re-modelled the system to

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[90]Ibid.; See also Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 21, for a constructive explanation of subjectivity as a particular mode of conceptualisation formed by explicit discursive and institutional strategies.
[91]Ibid., 131.

control those in it. Critics such as Rose and Deacon also argue that state intervention came to shape every facet of family life, public law, welfare and care, custody and division of property in family disputes and so on. The introduction of mass schooling established the norm and conversely, the others, the deliquents, the mentally retarded and so on, who were found to deviate from this norm and therefore needed to be segregated and controlled.

CHAPTER 2

SCHOOLING FOR MOST, BUT NOT ALL

Historical perspectives

The mentally retarded as a group have been well cared for or not well cared for, according to different cultures and periods of history. Inextricably bound up with this care is their position in relation to particular discourses and practices of a specific time. As Henriques et al. state:

> discourse itself is not an autonomous or originary domain of practices, but is historically and materially constituted in the sense that its production is always-already conditioned by existing discursive practices and what is materially and socially at stake in them.[92]

Before attempting any historical perspective of education for the "normal" or the mentally retarded child, mention must be made of the post-modern view of history. Post-modernists, among others, challenge conventional views of history.[93] They reject the "old" history as monolithic, unified, singular and therefore inadequate. Generally, suggests Rosenau, they question:

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[92]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 151.

[93]See Jean Wallach Scott, "History in Crisis? The Others' Side of the Story", American Historical Review, 94:3, (1989), 680-92. Scott suggests that history is not purely referential, but is constructed by historians. "Written history both reflects and creates relations of power. Its standards of inclusion and exclusion, measures of importance, and rules of evaluation are not objective criteria but politically produced conventions. What we know as history is, then, the fruit of past politics; today's contests are about how history will be constituted for the present." By politics, she refers to "not only the formal operations of government but contests that involve power in Michel Foucault's sense - power not only as a relationship of repression or domination but also a set of relationships or processes that produce positive effects: social consensus about the meanings of truth, the hegemony of certain systems of knowledge (science in the nineteenth century), the disciplinary regimes of academic fields such as history. ... History is past politics and politics present history." See also Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power", in Colin Gordon, ed., Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977 (Brighton: The Harvester Press Limited, 1980).

> (1) the idea that there is a real, knowable past, a record of evolutionary progress of human ideas, institutions or actions, (2) the view that historians should be objective, (3) that reason enables historians to explain the past, and (4) that the role of history is to interpret and transmit human cultural and intellectual heritage from generation to generation.[94]

According to Rosenau, skeptical post-modernists delegate conventional history to a "peripheral role in the larger scope of human affairs". They do not ascribe to the notion of history as a "witness to continuity, as testimony to the idea of progress, as the search for origins, or as evidence of direct causal understanding".[95] Neither do they envisage history as "periods of time that unfold with regularity, that can be isolated, abstracted, represented, and described in terms of essential characteristics". These post-modernists discard history as a rational analysis centering on the particular or the general, because both assume reality, identity, and the truth.[96] Moreover, they totally reject the humanist view of history, the notion that human agents form the individual and collective experiences of societies and that human intervention can direct the course of history. To skeptical post-modernists, history is "logocentric, a source of myth, ideology, and prejudice, a method assuming closure" and has no reality. If it exists at all, it is a "humble discipline, dependent on the present, without any integrity of its own". The only role that some skeptics see for history is that in which previous notions (of history) are selected and recycled, but they refuse to attribute any special value to the "new". Instead they could be said to be "recollecting".[97]

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[94]Rosenau, Post-Modernism, 63. See also Chapter 4.
[95]Ibid., Chapter 3.
[96]See Ernest Gellner, Postmodernism, Reason and Religion (London: Routledge, 1992). According to Gellner, postmodernists (his writing) replace objective truth with hermeneutic truth. "This respects the subjectivity both of the object of the inquiry and the inquirer, and even the reader and the listener. In fact the practitioners of the method are so deeply, so longingly, imbued both by the difficulty and the undesirability of transcending the meanings - of their objects, of themselves, of their readers, of anyone - that in the end one tends to be given poems and homilies on the locked circles of meaning in which everyone is imprisoned, excruciatingly and pleasurably", 35.
[97]See Gianni Vattimo, The End of Modernity: Nihilism and Hermeneutics in Post-modern Culture (London: Polity, 1988), Chapter 6.

Although the affirmative post-modernists are almost as critical of conventional history as the skeptics, they do seek to "revise and revitalise it, salvage it, re-draft, or re-invent it rather than simply abolish it".[98] Their rendition is not to seek truth so much as to "storytell". As Ankersmit posits, there are "no longer ... any texts, any past, but just interpretations of them".[99] According to Rosenau, post-modern historians do accept contradictions, because they presume there will be many different narratives about history. In searching for an alternative to the more traditional versions of the discipline, affirmatives are influenced by the "New History" which

> employs deconstruction, subjective interpretation, and a symbolic construction of reality, rather than quantitative, structural, or functional methods. Like post-modernism, it seeks to unravel texts, raise questions about meaning in the text, and invent micro-narratives as alternatives to history.[100]

Post-modernists, particularly the affirmatives, are inspired by Foucault's genealogy, which they regard as a substitute for the more modern versions of history.[101] Foucault insisted that genealogy is constantly changing, has no room for individual or collective subjects and focuses on the excluded and the marginal.[102] An essential distinction for Foucault was that the genealogist/historian looks for beginnings, not origins. This is

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[98]See Rosenau, Post-modernism, 66.

[99]See F. R. Ankersmit, "Historiography and Postmodernism", History and Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History, xxviii, (November 1989), 137.

[100]Rosenau designates "New History" as "not a singular invisible college with a specific set of ideas. It includes feminist historians, Black History, social historians, neo-Marxists, post-Marxists, psychoanalytical historians, discourse-oriented historians, and post-modernists. This makes for a rather conflict-ridden family, which agrees on little other than discontent with the "old" history. For example, the neo-Marxists criticise the post-modernists for eliminating class and state from history. The feminists say New History forgets male dominance. The Black historians argue it overlooks the white oppressor". Rosenau, Post-modernism, Chapter 4, 66; Ibid. A micro-narrative is a story that makes no truth claims and is therefore more acceptable to post-modernists. See also Hunt, ed., The New Cultural History.

[101]Rosenau interprets genealogy as history of the present that looks to the past for insight into today. Rosenau, Post-modernism, xi. Foucault's genealogy dismisses any possibility that history could be a "unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchies, and order ... in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects". See M. Foucault, Power/Knowledge, 83.

[102]Foucault, Power/Knowledge, 83, 117.

because origins imply causes, whereas beginnings imply difference.[103] For Foucault, it was that a genealogy will "cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning".[104]

O'Brien suggests that in practising the genealogical method, Foucault repeatedly used the device of juxtaposition to introduce and support his histories and explained it in this way:

> (the genealogist) must be able to recognize the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories, and unpalatable defeats - the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities.[105]

To O'Brien, the method

> appears deceptively simple: recognizing and juxtaposing differences in search of the manifestations of power that permeate all social relations. Power is a complex phenomenon that challenges positivist assumptions. Foucault's method allows us to perceive how societies function. Studying power through discourse allows us to perceive the moments when new technologies of power are introduced.[106]

O'Brien contends that Foucault believed that society was the reality to be studied and suggests this alternative model for writing history has led to a troubled and contentious reception by historians.

In another explanation, Fraser negatively approaches genealogy stating that it

> does not concern itself with evaluating the contents of science or systems of knowledge - or, for that matter with systems of belief at all. Rather, it is concerned with the processes, procedures, and apparatuses whereby truth, knowledge, belief are produced, with what Foucault calls the "politics of the

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[103]Patricia O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture," in Hunt, The New Cultural History, 25-46.
[104]Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in Donald Bouchard, ed., Language, Counter-Memory, Practice (Ithaca: New York, 1977), 144.
[105]Ibid., 144-145.
[106]O'Brien, "Foucault's History of Culture", 38.

> discursive regime". ... it does not seek to chronicle the continuous development of discursive content or practices, ... it is oriented to discontinuities.[107]

For Henriques et al., however, genealogy does have a positive foundation in that it

> reconstructs a history which accounts for how a discourse or practice emerged, for the conditions of its emergence and constitution (discursive, material and historical) and for how it comes to be what it is at the present. Foucault calls this kind of history a genealogy: a trace that reconstitutes the present from its traces in the past.[108]

According to Fraser, Foucault assumes the existence of a plurality of incommensurable discursive regimes that succeed one another historically. He also assumes that each of these regimes is supported by its own correlated matrix of practices. Each includes its own distinctive objects of inquiry; its own criteria of well-formedness for statements admitted to candidacy for truth and falsity; its own procedures for generating, storing, and arranging data; its own institutional sanctions and matrices.

> It is the whole nexus of such objects, criteria, practices, procedures, institutions, apparatuses, and operations that Foucault means to designate by his term 'power/knowledge regime'. ... (W)hat Foucault is interested in when he claims to be studying the genealogy of power/knowledge regimes should now be clear: he concerns himself with the holistic and historically relative study of the formation and functioning of incommensurable networks of social practices involving the mutual interrelationship of constraint and discourse.[109]

It is the reconstruction of the history of the mentally retarded with specific discourses and practices and the genealogy of the associated power/knowledge regimes which are of particular interest in the construction of this thesis. Mental retardation can be said to be constituted in a similar way to Foucault's descriptions of madness. That is, that it

> was constituted by all that was said in all statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its developments, indicated its various

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[107]Nancy Fraser, Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 20. Fraser cites Foucault "Truth and Power", in Power/Knowledge, 118.
[108]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 104.
[109]Ibid. See also Foucault, "Truth and Power", 112-113, 131, 133.

> correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were taken as its own.[110]

Similar also to Wood's views on madness, we could say that mental retardation was constructed by all those discourses religious, psychiatric, educational, legal, medical and so on, which claimed merely to describe it.[111]

However, in order to trace the appearance of these discourses and position them within the school setting, we need first to examine the historical emergence of education for the "normal" child.

The beginnings of education

Education originated as a social tool. What seems to have changed is the discourse surrounding education and its perceived usefulness. If, as Henriques et al. suggest, an individual is a particular product of historically specific practices of social regulation, then the discourses and practices involving education certainly affect this production. "All theory is conditioned by historically specific circumstances and has definite effects on social existence".[112] For them, the concern is with the manner in which a theory is produced and examination of its effects on practices. In general terms, knowledge about education and schooling cannot be separated from the practices and behaviours in institutions to which it refers.

> Furthermore, discourses about schooling are also caught in this network of practices so that often a discussion or description of, say, learning in a primary school ... would involve the co-ordination of statements from a number of

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[110]M. Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock, 1972), 32.
[111]See Nancy Wood, "Foucault on the History of Sexuality: An Introduction," in Veronica Beechey and James Donald, eds., Subjectivity and Social Relations (Cambridge: Open University Press, 1985), 156-175.
[112]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 12.

> discourses. ... the reality we comprehend is always-already classified and distributed according to a system of discursive differences.[113]

Donald takes up this notion, in the form of educational ideologies, which he terms as specific statements in which "competing sets of beliefs, perceptions, propositions, values, grievances and aspirations are articulated around the term 'education'". He contends that nineteenth century educational ideologies did not mirror reality, but rather attempted to impose certain meanings on reality by defining the purposes, practices and nature of education resulting in the word "education" becoming "an arena of struggle and contestation".[114] From this stance, he suggests it is possible to

> study the systematic relationships between the terms, categories and propositions within the ideologies; to extrapolate the shifting discursive field defined by their dialogue; and so to chart the fluctuating battle of philanthropic, political and professional ideas within which the school in a recognisable modern form came into being. ... What makes it possible to construct this field retrospectively is the common usage of that term 'education' to denote an institutional process capable of producing specifiable social and political outcomes. On what those outcomes could and should be, the various participants in the dialogue differed radically. ... Educational ideologies, in this context, might therefore be defined as clusters of concepts, beliefs and values, organised in certain linguistic codes, and circulating historically within particular discursive fields - government reports, parliamentary debates, journalism, treatises on pedagogy and even popular fiction.[115]

Educational ideologies, such as described above, have surrounded and shaped education for the mentally retarded for centuries. Analysis of the social context from which ideologies emerge is important as a means of demonstrating ways in which the subjects

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[113]Ibid., 113.

[114]Donald refers to the 'reality effect'. This occurred when a statement generated a sort of 'recognition effect' in the receiver and was taken or 'read' as a simple empirical statement, "a sort of confirmation of the obvious, the taken-for-grantedness of the ways the discourse was organised and of the underlying premises on which the statement in fact depended. ... Discourse, in short, had the effect of sustaining certain 'closures', of establishing certain systems of equivalence between what could be assumed about the world and what could be said to be true. 'True' means credible, or at least capable of winning credibility as a statement of fact. ... This 'reality effect' arose precisely from the circularity, the pre-suppositionless character, the self-confirming nature, of the process of representation itself". See Stuart Hall, 'The rediscovery of 'ideology': return of the repressed in media studies', in Beechey and Donald, Subjectivity and Social Relations, 41-42.

[115]James Donald, "Beacons of the Future: Schooling, Subjection and Subjectification," in Beechey and Donald, Subjectivity and Social Relations, 216.

have been constructed.[116] Similarly, Smith suggests that subjects do not remain consistent or coherent in the passage of time, but rather

> both they and the discourses they inhabit have histories ... which alter in constitution over time. Additionally, the interplay of differing subject-positions will make some appear pleasurable and others less so; thus a tension is produced which compels a person to legislate among them. So, in that light, it can be said that a person is not simply determined and dominated by the ideological pressures of any overarching discourse or ideology but is also the agent of a certain *discernment*.[117](Original italics)

The construct of the "child" then, is positioned within varied discourses, for example, a child who is mentally retarded may be located within the discourses of eugenics, mental measurement and cognitive development, among others. In line with Hall's way of thinking, Henriques et al. assert that every discourse is the result of a practice of production, at once material, discursive and complex, but always inscribed in relation to other practices of production of discourse. They continue:

> [E]very discourse is part of a discursive complex; it is locked in an intricate web of practices, bearing in mind that every practice is by definition both discursive and material. The problem is to decide which discourses and practices in a specific instance such as mental measurement constitute the complex, what effects different parts of the complex and for what reasons.[118]

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[116]Smith differentiates between the terms "individual" and "subject". The "individual" is that which is undivided and whole, and understood to be the source and agent of conscious action or meaning which is consistent with it. The "subject," on the other hand, is not self contained, as it were, but is immediately cast into conflict with forces that dominate it in some way or another - social formations, language, political apparatuses, and so on. The "subject," then, is determined - the object of determinant forces: whereas "the individual" is assumed to be determining. Thus the phrase, "the individual subject," often used in current theoretical discourse, construes a contradiction. See Paul Smith, Discerning the Subject (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), xxxiv.; The "subject," sparks much debate within post-modernism and remains an unsettled question. Generally, "post-modernists reject the modern subject, but the viability of a subjectless social science remains contested. Skeptical post-modernists are anti-humanist, and although they speak of the death of the subject, some of them offer the post-modern individual as an appropriate substitute. The affirmative post-modernists compromise and suggest a number of ways to re-position the subject. The "return of the subject" movement both inside and outside the ranks of the post-modernists signals that the elimination is, possibly, unnecessary. It is a means of retaining the subject in new and novel forms while at the same time avoiding those aspects of the modern subject that the post-modernists find most objectionable".
See also in particular Rosenau, Post-modernism, Chapter 3.

[117]Ibid.

[118]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 106.

The analysis of the social context is based on Foucault's argument that our way of knowing and understanding the world is an artefact of the specific time and culture in which we live.[119] A society's ideas of education are formed by social, economic, political, religious and cultural changes and the development of education must be seen in this broader context of interaction.

Education in medieval and early modern times was in the form of literacy, but not necessarily literacy as expected today. The concept of literacy is a relative one, judged by the expectations of a particular society, class or occupation. What is considered to be functional literacy today, is very different from what had evolved as useful literacy by the late nineteenth century in Britain.[120] In the late sixteenth and seventeeth centuries, prior to the invention of the printing press, written material was much less readily obtainable. People whose routines did not require any mastery of print saw no reason to acquire literacy skills, regarding them as superfluous to their needs. To have a social role, one did not need to be literate. Entertainment was provided by way of oral culture, with traditions and stories, proverbs, jokes, customs and ceremonies. Face to face communication, story sharing, and the spreading of news and gossip could have provided a satisfying range of information and diversion for most people. The absence of reading and writing did not necessarily mean being cut off from the mainstream.[121]

According to Davey and Miller, when searching for evidence of the earliest attempts to build state school systems there is a need to focus not on the rising capitalist and

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[119]See particularly M. Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, trans. A. Sheridan Smith, (London: Tavistock, 1972) and M. Foucault, The Order of Things; An Archaeology of Human Sciences, trans. A. Sheridan Smith, (London: Tavistock, 1974).

[120]For a more detailed discussion, see Rosemary O'Day, Education and Society 1500-1800 The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain (New York: Longman Inc., 1982), Chapter 2 and W. B. Stephens, Education, Literacy and Society, 1830-70. The Geography of Diversity in Provincial England (London: The Alden Press, 1987).

[121]David Cressey, Literacy and Social Order. Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge U.S.A: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 1-19.

democratic countries of England and the United States, but rather on the state churches of the Protestant reformation and the absolutist states of central Europe.[122]

> The lineage of modern school systems is not to be found in the need to produce citizens and wage workers for democratic capitalist nation states in the nineteenth century, but in the struggle to defend and extend a patriarchalist social order, based fundamentally on the household, in the absolutist state and its precursors. ... The early forms of state schooling were revolutionary in intent insofar as they were designed to transform the character of their subjects, but they were essentially conservative in their determination to reassert traditional patriarchalist forms of authority within the household and the state.[123]

They contend that the earliest forms of state schooling took place in the small Lutheran principalities of sixteenth century Europe, where "the patriarchal authority of the state was invoked to establish schools to bolster the authority of the heads of the household". Luther and his followers realised that not all household heads were doing their Christian duty, that is teaching their dependents appropriate Christian lessons in preparation for adulthood. This was the catalyst for the beginnings of state schooling, which saw reformers relying on schools to properly educate a new generation of parents to put into practice their "god-given duties".[124]

This process was particularly interesting to Davey and Miller because during this period the authority of the household head was seen to be under attack, considering the sermons preached deploring the disobedience of children marrying partners against their parents' wishes. To Strauss, this suggested that the reformers believed the very "bonds of society" were loosening and that "the repairing of these ties must be accomplished where they had their origin: in the family", even if this was by way of state

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[122]See I. Davey and P. Miller, "Patriarchal Transformations, Schooling and State Formation". Paper presented at the Annual Social Science History Conference, New Orleans, 1991.
[123]Ibid., 12.
[124]See Gerald Strauss, Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in German Reformation (New York: John Hopkins University Press, 1978).

intervention.[125] Davey and Miller assert this to be the first obvious example of the notion of mass education as an instrument for state formation.

> Significantly, it was a defensive strategy designed to prop up the patriarchal authority of the household head at the same time that it aimed to transform the social order and develop a literate and Christian community.[126]

Such educational ideologies as earlier defined, were openly articulating certain strategic objectives and thus rendering them intelligible. As Foucault signifies, strategic objectives do not need to be couched in an intentional form:

> [T]he logic is perfectly clear, the aim decipherable, and yet it is often the case that no one is there to have invented them, and few who can be said to have formulated them.[127]

Davey and Miller see the early forms of state schooling as a strategy to transfer authority and power from the household to male political rulers, giving rise to

> new forms of (gendered) state organizations and the bureacratization of previously familial functions. It was a strategy increasingly adopted by princes, prelates, nobles and magistrates, both protestant and catholic, throughout central Europe from the sixteenth century as they sought to maintain and extend their authority by making religious education compulsory for their subjects.[128]

By the mid-seventeenth century, according to Van Horn Melton, the pedagogical momentum of the Protestant and Catholic reformations had begun to diminish and it was the rise of Pietism in the late seventeenth century that provided a renewed drive for the compulsory school movement. Van Horn Melton suggests that the same strategy was worked over by reformers in the eighteenth century states of Prussia and Austria, when confronted with widespread challenges to existing patriarchal challenges. He argues that from Pietism came the ideology and educational institutions on which educational reform was modelled in the rest of central Europe, including Catholic states like Austria,

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[125]Ibid., 123.
[126]Davey and Miller, "Patriarchal Transformations", 13.
[127]M. Foucault, The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1, (London: Allen Lane, 1979), 95.
[128]Davey and Miller, "Patriarchal Transformations", 14-15.

where school supporters took on Pietist pedagogy to contend against internal challenges to their authority.[129] Western historians, states Van Horn Melton, sometimes overlook the more diffuse mechanisms of control which operated in the early modern period, perhaps, he suggests, "because we ourselves are products of societies with such advanced technologies of social disciplines" and therefore tend to disregard the fact that the less industrialised and egalitarian states of early modern Europe faced problems of social control primarily different from those of today.

> [S]tudies of absolutism that collapse the preservation of social order into formal bureaucratic structures or systems of thought ignore the degree to which rulers of the eighteenth century lacked those instruments of control over which governments today dispose, such as mass communications, the electronic media, mass consumerism, mechanized systems of transport, police and armed forces equipped with highly sophisticated technology, or mass education.[130]

In order to explain the reasons why schooling became such a central concern to Frederickian and Thérèsian reformers, Van Horn Melton makes a number of assumptions about the nature of authority which characterised the broad area of absolutist social policy.[131]

> [A]bsolutist reformers in fields seemingly tangential to education - agrarian relations, manufacturing, popular piety, and the theater, for example - shared concerns strikingly similar to those held by reformers of popular education. What united these reformers was the conviction that the state, if it was to master social, economic and cultural change, had to redefine the manner in which power was displayed and exercised. Whether seeking to commute labor services, restrict pilgrimages, foster industry, ban burlesques, or build schools, absolutist social policy in Prussia and Austria sought to strengthen moral pillars of

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[129]Pietism was a late seventeenth and eighteenth century reform movement within Lutheranism, first established in the Prussian city of Halle. "Pietist schooling sought to cultivate an inner spirituality whose depth of conviction far exceeded the mere outward observance of Christian doctrine. ... The systematic promotion of popular literacy in Pietist schools was intimately tied to the cult of inwardness". Pietists were also "unrestrained in their advocacy of Bible reading among the laity". For discussion on absolutism and the origins of schooling, see James Van Horn Melton, Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). For the rise of Pietist schooling see Chapter 2.

[130]Van Horn Melton, Absolutism and the Eighteenth Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), xix.

[131]Van Horn Melton focuses on the period during the reigns of Frederick the Great of Prussia, 1740-86 and Maria Theresa of Austria, 1740-80, each of whom attempted to make elementary schooling compulsory.

> authority by refining its exercise. Central to this refinement was a shift in the technology of social discipline, whereby the locus of coercion was to be transferred from inside to outside the individual. Implicit in this attempted transformation was the belief that the extraneous, visible, and objective forms through which authority had traditionally been exercised were no longer efficacious.[132]

It was this search for more subjective and effective modes of coercion, freely given, that Van Horn Melton regards as a "defining feature of absolutist social policy in eighteenth century Prussia and Austria".[133]

> [I]n this way, rulers would exercise their authority through love rather than force and subjects would submit themselves voluntarily and spontaneously. ... The new Pietist schools were attractive because they aimed to bolster the traditional exercise of authority by inculcating in their subjects attitudes of obedience based on self-discipline.[134]

Foucault also emphasizes the role of absolutism in promotion of social discipline. According to him, absolutism fostered the shift from external coercion to self discipline as the agent for regulating social behaviour. Quoting the ideologue Servan, Foucault writes:

> [W]hen you have formed the chain of ideas in the heads of your citizens, you will then be able to pride yourselves on guiding them and being their masters. A stupid despot may constrain his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas.[135]

But as Van Horn Melton suggests, one must take care not to exaggerate this "transformation" described by Foucault. For as he states, the exercise of authority in any society, "primitive or modern", is surely a blend of "internal and external controls". Minson also holds this view, posing the question, "Does this ostensible focus on the soul (of both criminal and the population), as opposed to the body, really signify a shift on

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[132]Van Horn Melton, Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century, xix.
[133]Ibid.
[134]Davey and Miller, "Patriarchal Transformations", 15, 16.
[135]For Foucault's views on the subject, see Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan. (London: The Penguin Group, 1977), 103.

the part of power away from its erstwhile focus on the body?" He thinks not and continues:

> or is it not rather a matter of educating the mind from the very first (i.e. from childhood) to be a steward of the body, a kind of mental overseer of gesture, sensations, physical deportment, and more generally of conduct? Has not the soul become the correlative of a new technique of power?[136]

Religion, politics, economics and technological advance all helped to promote the growth of literacy. Prior to the seventeenth century, a broad education had been mostly the privilege of the wealthy. Religious ideas were dominant, pupils engaged in rote learning and the Latin language and Aristotelian logic were essential for scholars. It was Francis Bacon and the ideas of seventeenth century realism that were the first to shed the light on how those of low intelligence might be assisted.[137] Bacon was one of the first to understand the need for organised research and the systematic collection of data. Although Bacon made little detailed contribution to general psychology, "he saw more clearly than anyone of his time the need for, and the potentialities of, a psychology founded on empirical data".[138]

This was the beginning of the scientific approach to education, which Ariés believed was one cause of the interest in the study of the child as an individual.[139] The advances in science and education arose at the same time as new doctrines of religious and political liberty and a far reaching optimism which distinguished the century.

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[136] Minson, Genealogies of Morals, 52.
[137] Pritchard, Education and the Handicapped, 9.
[138] L. S. Hearnshaw, The Shaping of Modern Psychology (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1987), 55.
[139] Ibid.; For a critique of Ariés, see Pollock, Forgotten Children, Parent-Child Relations from 1500-1900.

Discourses of child study

It was John Locke who was the first to draw attention to the difference between mental illness and mental retardation, "herein seems to lie the difference between the idiots and madness, that madmen put wrong ideas together and reason from them, but idiots make very few or no propositions and reason scarcely at all".[140] However simplistic these views may now seem, such discourses have ultimately affected attitudes to retarded people. Locke believed that all knowledge came through the senses and that a child's natural curiosity should be used to enhance learning. It followed that if a retarded person was exposed to the right sensations, then knowledge would be improved. Education should not be merely book or rote learning, it should be based on the nature of the child, not on "the requirements of an artificial society. The original capacities of each child should be allowed unrestricted expression".[141]

These discursive practices led to the concept of child study and development and the consideration of individual differences; for in an education based on a child's capacities these must be considered. The most popular educational discourse of the eighteenth century suggests Green, was Rousseau's "Émile", which according to Green, "set out a programme of emancipatory and rational libertarian education for a middle-class child".[142] These ideas were to have major effects on education for children, eventually including the handicapped. Johann Pestalozzi, a German-Swiss, was one of the first followers of the new educational ideas. In 1774 he began a school on a farm, for fifty abandoned children. The aim was to regenerate the children by providing domestic and farm occupation training, coupled with moral training and instruction. He also took in

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[140]Judge, Civilization and Mental Retardation, 30.
[141]Pritchard, Education and the Handicapped, 10.
[142]See Jean Rousseau, Émile (London: Penguin, 1974. First edition, 1762).

children orphaned from the French invasion of Switzerland. Pestalozzi rejected the rote learning of unrelated words and facts, instead concentrated on ideas he had about natural ability, instinct, curiosity and natural growth.[143] But although there were "echoes of Rousseausque ideas in Pestalozzian schools", these emancipatory educational theories and practices were not to be found in the mainstream schools which were, comments Green, the very "antithesis" of the ideas of the Enlightenment philosophers.

> [T]he gulf between theory and practice was widest in elementary education, where rote learning, religious indoctrination, and authoritarian routine were as likely to cramp the young mind as offer enlightenment and potential emancipation. ... Whilst radical reformers preached human freedom and intellectual development, dominant education ideologies, or at least those that informed the actual development of schools, were often more concerned with social control, moral conformity and political acquiescence than human emancipation.[144]

Along the same lines, Donald writes:

> [T]he education Rousseau recommends thus involves the artifice and manipulation of 'well-regulated liberty' rather than coercion or instruction. This regulation requires the definition of an external authority to which the child/citizen is subject, and yet which authorises him to act as a free agent.[145]

Historians of education have questioned why comparatively similar state education systems were established in nineteenth century western society. Revisionists shifted the debate from the church and state to the changing social relationships associated with the rise of industrialisation and urbanisation. Marxists such as Simon concentrated their analysis on the class struggle during industrialisation.[146] The more radical revisionists in particular Katz, highlighted the changing social structure and problems of social order,

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[143]See Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, How Gertrude Teaches her Children. An Attempt to Help Mothers to Teach their Own Children and an Account of the Method (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., fifth edition, 1915. First edition, 1801).

[144]Andy Green, Education and State Formation. The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the U.S.A. (London: The Macmillan Company, 1990), 31.

[145]James Donald, Sentimental Education. Schooling, Popular Culture and the Regulation of Liberty (London: Verso, 1992), 6.

[146]B. Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960).

proposing that state schooling was introduced as a means of social control by the newly ascendant middle class.[147] By the 1970s historians on both sides of the Atlantic began to question the urbanisation and industrialisation explanations of the origins of schooling. While they generally accepted the view of the radical social control theorists, they argued that the controlling interests of the capitalist class, particularly the nature of this industry and society was the motive behind establishment of mass school systems.[148] Bowles and Gintis, in their influential work, Schooling in Capitalist America put forward the view that public schooling was established to instil in students the roles and routines necessary for a productive workforce under capitalism.[149]

I suggest that the advent of mass schooling created what Foucault terms the disciplinary revolution, with techniques that produced disciplinary power, which both constructs individual subjectivities - regimented, isolated, and self-policing subjects or "docile bodies" that "may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" - and creates a vast web of regulations and mechanisms for the supervision, administration, and discipline of entire populations.[150] Foucault postulates that educational institutions are intrinsically involved in the "propagation and selective dissemination of discourses, the 'social appropriation' of discourses". In other words, educational sites control individuals' access to various kinds of discourse:

> [B]ut we know very well that, in its distribution, in what it permits and what it prevents, it follows the lines laid down by social differences, conflicts and struggles. Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or

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[147]M. B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

[148]See Ian Davey, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and the Origins of Mass Schooling: The Radical Debate," in Ali Rattansi and David Reeder, eds., Rethinking Radical Education. Essays in Honour of Brian Simon (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1992).

[149]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America. Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976).

[150]David Hogan, "The Market Revolution and Disciplinary Power: Joseph Lancaster and the Psychology of the Early Classroom System", History of Education Quarterly, 29:3, (Fall 1989), 391. Hogan cites Foucault, The History of Sexuality, 92-93, and Discipline and Punish, 30, 170, 215-16, 222.

> modifying the appropriateness of discourses with the knowledge and power they bring with them.[151]

Following Foucault, Peters puts forward the view that the constructs of the "school", "schooling" and "schoolchild" are crucial locations in mapping the transformation of one set of power relations to another. She continues:

> the organisation of the school has always been demonstrably anchored on two, apparent, contradictions. The abolition of coercion and the encouragement of self-expression which has to be a vehicle whereupon a profusion of individual characters would be permitted to show themselves, and yet, simultaneously, this organisation would be deployed as a mechanism for subjecting these characters to new general norms of development.[152]

In examining the growth of mass education it is possible to depict the ways in which the "normalising judgement" of the technologies of bio-power positioned the social and linguistic construct of the school child (and from this the mentally retarded child) "within a formal juridical framework of laws and regulations whilst defining a range of 'natural' processes of biological and psychological development".[153] Foucault was interested in examining the "different modes, by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects". He wrote of three modes of objectification which transform human

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[151]M. Foucault, L'ordre du discours (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 46, cited in Stephen J. Ball, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault"; See also Stephen J. Ball, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault," in Stephen J. Ball, ed., Foucault and Education. Disciplines and Knowledge (London: Routledge, 1990), 3.

[152]Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 198-199.

[153]In his analysis of modern society, Foucault diagnosed 'bio-power' as the form of power/knowledge specific to our time. See Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, "What Is Maturity? Habermas and Foucault on 'What Is Enlightenment'," in David Couzens Hoy ed., Foucault: A Critical Reader (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986), 116.

Foucault isolates and identifies the pervasive organisation of our society as "bio-technico-power" or bio-power, which is "the increasing ordering in all realms under the guise of improving the welfare of the individual and the population. To the genealogist this order reveals itself to be a strategy, with no one directing it and everyone increasingly enmeshed in it, whose only end is the increase of power and order itself". See also, Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Second edition 1983), xxvi.

Smart offers this explanation of bio-power, "(I)n Foucault's work on relations of power and knowledge a significant historical transition contemporaneous with the emergence of industrial capitalism is identified in which a shift of emphasis occurs from the primacy of sovereignty, law, and coercion or force; that is from the deployment of juridical forms of power literally 'to take life', to the emergence of new, more effective and complex technologies of power which are positive or productive and seeking to foster life. The emergence of power exercised over life, notably the development of an anatomo-politics of the human body ('discipline') and a bio-politics of the population('bio-power') constitutes a distinctive feature of modern societies". See Barry Smart, "The Politics of Truth," in David Couzens Hoy, Foucault: A Critical Reader, 161; Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 199.

beings into subjects.

> The first is the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences; for example, the objectivising of the speaking subject in grammaire generale, philology, and linguistics. ... In the second part of my work, I have studied the objectivizing of the subject in what I shall call "dividing practices". The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivizes him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the "good boys". ... Finally, I have sought to study, ... the way a human being turns him - or herself into a subject. For example, I have chosen the domain of sexuality - how men have learned to recognize themselves as subjects of "sexuality." [154]

According to Foucault, the subject not power, was the general theme of his research and "we should try to discover how it is that subjects are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts etc".[155] However, he asserted that the individual is not merely a sort of "primitive atom" upon which power becomes attached and in doing so subdues or crushes the individual. For him

> it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals. The individual, that is, is not the *vis-a-vis* of power; it is, I believe, one of its prime effects.[156] (original italics).

It is the objectification of the subject by division, the "dividing practices", which are patently central to the organisational processes of education in our society and have been since its inception. Ball believes that these divisions and objectifications are effected either within the subject or between the subject and others. He cites examples of "dividing practices" as the use of testing, examining, profiling and streaming in education, "the use of entry criteria for different types of schooling, and the formation of different types of intelligence, ability and scholastic identity in the processes of schooling". He continues:

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[154]See Michel Foucault, "Afterword, The Subject and Power," in Dreyfus and Rabinow, Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, 208.
[155]Foucault, Power/Knowledge, 97.
[156]Ibid., 98.

> [I]n these ways, using these techniques and forms of organization, and the creation of separate and different curricula, pedagogies, forms of teacher-student relationships, identities and subjectivities are formed, learned and carried. Through the creation of remedial and advanced groups, and the separation of the educationally subnormal or those with special educational needs, abilities are stigmatized and normalized.[157]

These dividing practices are critically interconnected with the formation, and increasingly sophisticated elaborations of the educational sciences: educational psychology, pedagogies, the sociology of education, cognitive and developmental psychology. These are the arenas in which the 'truth games' about education are played out.

What needs to be examined and is the intention of this thesis, is how these mechanisms originated and became necessary discursive practices.[158] We need to see why and how and by what means of transformations they became economically advantageous and politically useful. Foucault proposed that what society, or the bourgeoise, needed and was, in fact, in the system's best interest was not the exclusion of the mad (and I add the mentally retarded), for these could be tolerated, but rather, the techniques and procedures involved in such an exclusion.

> What in fact happened instead was that the mechanisms of the exclusion of madness, ... began from a particular point in time, and for reasons which need to be studied, to reveal their political usefulness and to lend themselves to economic profit, and that as a natural consequence, all of a sudden, they came to be colonised and maintained by global mechanisms and the entire State system. It is only if we grasp these techniques of power and demonstrate the economic advantages or political unity that derives from them in a given context for

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[157]Stephen J. Ball, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault", 4.

[158]Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith, (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1972), 117. Foucault described the term 'discursive practice' as "a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function".

> specific reasons, that we can understand how these mechanisms come to be effectively incorporated into the social whole.[159]

Foucault further suggested that, quite possibly major mechanisms of power were accompanied by ideological productions.

> There has, for example probably been an ideology of education, ... but basically I do not believe what has taken place can be said to be ideological. It is both more and much less than ideology. It is the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge - methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures of investigation and research, apparatuses of control. All this means that power, when it is exercised through these subtle mechanisms, cannot but evolve, organise and put into circulation a knowledge, or rather apparatuses of knowledge, which are not ideological constructs.[160]

It is how dividing practices operated within the auspices of the state education system that is the concern of this thesis, which as indicated in the introductory discussion, seeks to interpret the intervention of the state in the education and subsequent construction of the normal child and from this the mentally retarded child.

The State

The notion of the state is hard to grasp. Held proposes that "the state - or apparatus of 'government' - appears to be everywhere, regulating the conditions of our lives from birth registration to death certificate". Held continues:

> [I]n modern Western political thought, the idea of the state is often linked to the notion of an impersonal and privileged legal or constitutional order with the capability of administering and controlling a given territory.[161]

The state permeates public and private life and this is what makes it hard to understand. In fact, Held suggests "the more one explores this context, the more tenuous appears

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[159]Foucault, Power/Knowledge, 101.
[160]Ibid., 102.
[161]See David Held et al. eds., States and Societies (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1983) p. 49, for an examination of the emergence of the modern state through a number of approaches -political, economic, philosophical and sociological; see Quentin Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), cited in Ibid., 1; Ibid., 47.

the abstract idea of 'the state'".[162] To Foucault, the concept of the state was indeed problematic. Snow proposes that his reluctance to depict the state as a distinct conceptual unit was a "theoretical response to the formidable body of Marxist literature which has tended to construe the state as the major source and mediator of power in modern society".[163] Foucault rejected the notion that all power is centralised in the state:

> I don't want to say that the State isn't important; what I want to say is that relations of power, and hence the analysis that must be made of them, necessarily extend beyond the limits of the State. In two senses: first of all because the State, for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations, and further because the State can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations. The State is superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge, technology and so forth. ... I would say that the State consists in the codification of a whole number of power relations which render its functioning possible.[164]

Foucault, in denying that power is power of the state, repeatedly asserted that he had no "'theory', or 'schema', of the state". If we "step into Foucault's circle", says Hunt, we must recognise nothing as given. "The state, the body, society, sex, the soul, the economy are not stable objects, they are discourses".[165] However, as Snow posits, this explanation presents a concept of power so diffuse that it makes it difficult to identify any source of power in society.[166] For as she continues, any book about the modern state nation points out that a transformation of power relations within society was central to its production and, moreover, that the production of the modern state

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[162] Ibid., 60.
[163] Dianne S. Snow, "The State, Youth and Schooling: The Social Construction of Studenthood in New South Wales 1788-1948". (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wollongong, 1989), 28.
[164] Foucault, Power/Knowledge, 122.
[165] Hunt ed., The New Cultural History, 36.
[166] See also Michel Foucault, "Power, sovereignty and discipline," in D. Held et al., States and Societies, 306-316.

involved the production of a new framework for understanding the relationship between people and society.[167]

Snow suggests that the modern notion of the state "was conceived through an antagonistic process which was grounded in liberalism and which aimed at transforming power relations". According to her, "at the heart of this process lay the rethinking of society in terms of "state" and "civil" arenas". Snow presents a conceptualisation of the state and its role in society, which she asserts is accepted uncritically in literature on the history of Australian education. She continues:

> [T]he 'state' was a public institutional arena of politics which had discernible boundaries and limits, while it was in the 'civil' sphere of personal, family and business life that the individual would be free from political interference. The power of the state was to be restrained and implemented for the public good through a range of institutions such as parliament, the army and the courts. Hence the state was conceived as both an abstract limited sphere of power and as a range of concrete institutions which were to implement this power. It was, moreover, intended to create a particular relationship between the state and its citizenry; the state was to represent all people, it was to exist by consensus, it was to act on behalf of the public good, and it was to refrain from impinging on public life.[168] (Original emphasis)

Bannister puts forward the view that the literature on Australian education derived from the Whig interpretations in which the state unequivocally acted for the public good.[169] Within this discourse, the history of education becomes the history of the school as a "central institution in the progress of Australia towards democracy and national unity", the state being portrayed as a "neutral arbiter of this history of progress".[170] Related to this, suggests Snow, is a tendency in the histories of Australian state schooling to

> equate the notion of 'the state' with 'the government', which is often reduced even further to 'parliament'. From this vantage point the nineteenth century is analysed as a process of impartial parliamentary arbitration of religious conflict

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[167]Snow, "The State, Youth and Schooling", 29.
[168]Ibid., 30.
[169]See H. Bannister, "The Centralization Problematic", The Australian Journal of Education, 24:3, (1980), 246-264.
[170]Ibid.

> over the control of schooling, followed by the battles for the control of schooling between the government and churches in the parliamentary arena. Since the government emerged victorious, the history of twentieth century education is typically presented as the logical expansion, tidying up and professionalisation of the state system of schooling. ... The Australian landscape has not been punctuated with many challenges to this tradition.[171]

It is clear then that the state cannot be regarded as a "unified entity", but rather as a "multi-dimensional phenomenon across time". Certainly, for the period of time covered by this thesis, the functions and activities of the state underwent enormous changes. However, the underlying perception of the state is that it

> was forged and continues to be perceived as a site of power within society. Indeed, the process of forging the modern state involved a reconceptualisation of society itself; a reconceptualisation in which the state and society have been, and continue to be, inextricably linked. As such, the state has been influential in the shaping and restructuring of social relations far beyond the simple reproduction of class relations. But the state has also been a site of struggle, where individuals and groups have attempted to reshape the social world by altering the power relations expressed within and by it.[172]

The growth of education

The history of mass schooling in Australia is inextricably linked with that of Britain, as its beginnings were heavily influenced by its English heritage. Nineteenth century in Britain saw increased interest in educational ideologies, or as Donald terms them:

> the beliefs, values, grievances and aspirations articulated around the term 'education', and to be found in government reports, parliamentary debates, journalism, treatises on pedagogy and even popular detective fiction. It was during the nineteenth century that 'education' took on its metaphoric currency in political debate, and a profusion of schemes bear witness to competing visions of how best to school children (however perceived) in order to achieve the good society (however imagined): from the Anglican Dr Bell's 'Madras system' for the efficient indoctrination of religious and patriotic beliefs among the poor in the first decades of the century to the communitarian socialist schooling provided by Robert Owen at New Lanark; from the attempts to create a rational, secular society by Chartist autodidacts like William Lovett to the elitist social engineering of public school advocates like Dr Arnold; from the anti-reformist Robert Lowe's reluctant acknowledgement that the extension of franchise in the

[171] Snow, "The State, Youth and Schooling", 31.
[172] Ibid., 67.

> 1860s meant that 'it will be absolutely necessary to compel our future masters to learn their letters' to the Fabian Sydney Webb's meritocratic vision at the turn of the twentieth century of an educational ladder enabling clever children to escape from the working class.[173]

Whilst briefly examining the rise of schooling in Australia, juxtaposed with that in Britain, my interest is also in what part the human sciences played in "the emerging routines of schooling" - for example, the theories of child development, or changing pedagogical techniques such as testing and examinations and, following Foucault, how the pedagogic sphere of power/knowledge "made a particular organisation of life normative for a whole population, and did so through the manner in which they formed a corrective knowledge of each individual member". As Donald posits, "we are dealing less with the political than with operations of power and knowledge, power through knowledge".[174]

The nineteenth century in Britain saw the spread of education from small ventures, mainly run by voluntary bodies, to a largely state run affair across the whole country. Yet, this was during a period when political beliefs disfavoured state interference; when the idea of education brought into contention bitter religious differences and importantly, when child labour was still favoured by powerful groups in the community.[175] So how then did this come about? Green offers the popular explanations of the development of mass education.

> Positivist theory, from Durkheim to the American structural functionalists, has provided the traditional explanation of educational origins and functions, linking education with the rise of industrial society, the need for skilled labour and the general mechanisms of social integration. Marxist and Weberian theory has offered alternative explanations linking educational development, amongst other

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[173]Donald, Sentimental Education, 18.
[174]Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 236; Ibid., 19.
[175]R. J. W. Selleck, The New Education. The English background 1870-1914 (Melbourne: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd., 1968), 2. For comments on child labour, Selleck cites F. Smith, A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902 (U.L.P., 1931), 106-13, 140-6, 193-5.

> things, the proletarianization of labour and the extension of bureaucracy and ... liberal, or 'Whig' explanations.[176]

He acknowledges the 'Whig' or liberal view as another influential factor in the development of schooling, concurring with Van Horn Melton:

> [T]he educational version of this is ... [that] mass education developed first and fastest in Protestant countries of Northern Europe, and in the Puritan states of north-eastern United States. The primary impetus for this development came from the early recognition of Protestants, from the Reformation onwards, of the powers of education as a vehicle of proselytization. The enormous educational advances of the nineteenth century were a product of this early impulse, coupled with the intellectual thrust of the Enlightenment, and of the gradual secular movement towards political democracy, under the banner of liberal capitalism, during the nineteenth century.[177]

By the late 1830s in England, people such as Kay Shuttleworth and other reformers were agitating for education of the working classes. They saw education as a significant social instrument, a means of teaching the Christian and patriotic virtues of respect for authority and acceptance of one's place in life. The production of God fearing and law abiding citizens was seen as a way to avoid the violent upheavals which occurred in France during the revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. During this time the middle classes were gradually gaining power over the established aristocracy. The initial attacks on traditional education in the early part of the century were associated with the growing political challenge of the middle-class.[178] But they had a similar agenda when involving themselves with legislation and administration of state schooling.

In keeping with the attitudes of the time, it was clear that education was to be for the poor, to help rid society of the criminal element and to improve the morals of its recipients, which would have included the mentally retarded. Although the existence of

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[176] Green, Education and State Formation, 27; see also Andy Green, "Education And State Formation Revisited", History of Education Review, 3 (1994), 1-18.
[177] Ibid.; See, for another view, H. Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1931).
[178] Green, Education and State Formation, 33.

"handicapping" conditions was recorded in ancient cultures as mentioned earlier, it was not until the mid-1700s that Europeans began to "systematically train and educate the handicapped".[179] Winzer et al. attribute this to the "new humanitarian impulse", the ideas of the French philosophers that "altered public perception and sowed the roots of special education in Europe". In other words, as part of the changing attitudes, there developed a differentiation in the public discourses and notions surrounding the retarded.

In 1820, Johann Traugott, a German disciple of Pestalozzi, published a pamphlet "advocating teaching as a means of ameriolation of mental defectiveness". He suggested as "major objectives", the training of sense perception as well as the awakening of reasoning. Kanner cites the translated title as "Thoughts about feebleminded children, with regard to varieties, basic causes, manifestations, and ways of getting at them easily by means of education".[180] According to Kanner, this is probably the earliest example of a document offering any definite plan for the instruction of mentally deficient children. Such a document might also be regarded as one of the earliest examples of specific discourses constructing the notion of the retarded child. However, Kanner goes on to report that the document initially seemed to have received scant attention, but was rediscoverd and reproduced by Kirmsse, ninety-one years later.

Prevailing attitudes were mirrored in legislation of the period, in efforts for better housing, working conditions and public health. A wide range of social reforms was proposed but, as Green states, while educational reform may have been influenced by democratic ideas and the demands of working class organisations, it was implemented

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[179]See Winzer et al., Exceptional Children in Canada, Chapter 3.
[180]Leo Kanner, A History of the Care and Study of the Mentally Retarded (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1964), 110.

with the main intention of confining and controlling the working class.[181] Or, as Miller suggests, education was part of a move to produce "well-tempered, manageable cultural subjects formed and governed through institutions and discourses". He continues:

> these institutions and discourses work by inscribing ethical incompleteness on to subjects in a process of two way shifts between the subject as singular, private person and the subject as collective public citizen. These shifts, which can be discerned in the political technology of the subject known as policy, operate to produce loyal citizens who learn to govern themselves in the interests of the cultural-capitalist polity. This outcome is not, however, inevitable or unidirectional.[182]

Yet there were other reasons posed for the spread of education. Histories often assume that educational development was a result of industrial growth, due to the perceived need for more technical skills training to boost economic development.[183] Selleck comments that it was hoped that education would increase industrial prosperity. There was the fear that Prussia was outstripping England in its advances in industry, commerce and the military.[184] A better educated workforce was seen as one answer to this. Green, however, disputes this view, asserting that new educational developments during this period did not, overall, play a major part in economic growth. In his opinion it is not clear that educational change was motivated in any overt way by skills requirements emerging from industrialisation. Comparatively few technical skills were required initially and Green states that, on the whole, these did not need or have much assistance from educational insitiutions. However, the situation changed as industrialisation developed and there were demands for scientific and technical skills.[185]

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[181]Ibid., 34.
[182]Toby Miller, The Well-Tempered Self: Citizenship, Culture, and the Postmodern Subject (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), ix.
[183]See, for instance, E. G. West, Education and the Industrial Revolution, 256 and H. G. Bantock, quoted in M. Archer and M. Vaughan, Social Conflict and Educational Change, 206. Both cited in Green, Education and State Formation, 39, 40.
[184]See Selleck, The New Education, Chapter 1.
[185]Ibid., 40-41.

If the link between industrial development and education is seen as a tenuous one, another explanation has been offered by American sociologists Michael Katz and Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis in their examinations of American nineteenth century education.[186] They examine further the connection between education and the social aspects of industrialisation, putting forward the view that public schools set out to induct children into the new set of roles and routines required of a productive workforce under industrial capitalism. This is similar to the Marxist perspective of the capitalist industrialisation, but it

> involves not simply changes in the relations between capital and labour, in the generalization of waged labour and the development of new forms of labour discipline, but also the social conditions necessary for the reproduction of capitalist relations. We are thus referring to new forms of labour socialization for work and new modes of class control in the community.[187]

Their premise is that industrialisation brought about changes in family life and economy, changing and disrupting the traditional "familial and community forms of education". For the working class family, rural or artisan, this meant relinquishing comparative working independence for routine and discipline of factory labour and the decay of established family life. Children going out to work and separation of labour from domestic sphere meant breakdown of the traditional patriarchal family control and, educational reformers feared, would place children at risk of neglect and effects of lack of discipline. The family could no longer be relied upon to educate and socialise children, education had to take on the role. Added to this, they suggest, the resulting expansion of factory production and urban living, similar to that occurring in the United Kingdom, caused new problems of labour control and social order, seen in the spread of class unrest, crime and destitution. The way to curb these in North American society, as

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[186]Bowles and Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America; Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform.
[187]Green, Education and State Formation, 48.

in Britain, was again believed to be public education, with the school as the instrument by which the dominant class imposed its interests, thereby reproducing social inequality.

Bruce Curtis in his analysis of the origins of state schooling in mid-nineteenth century Ontario, draws upon Foucault's analysis of power and subjectivity. He argues that the building of state education systems was also a process of building the state and moulding its citizens. Educational reforms associated with the rise of state schooling, Curtis suggests, were about consolidation of class power and the building of state knowledge. Educating the population involved "the construction of routines and rituals of obedience". This, he continues

> involved the creation of institutions which would structure the conditions of rule into the selves of the ruled. Practice in a range of institutions - schools, prisons, asylums, Mechanics' Institutes, libraries and others - aimed the moral discipline of the working class.[188]

Immigrants to Australia had specific educational beliefs, an example of the Foucauldian notion of discourses on schooling. A discourse is described by Luke as "a group of statements which have a regularity in the form of practice."[189] She asserts that the statements within a discourse derive their meaning from discursive practice. For Foucault, unless the statements within a discourse are considered in relation to a field of practice, such statements are meaningless, or "empty".[190] A discursive history then, is one which looks at:

> interplay between a 'code' which rules ways of doing things (how people are to be graded and examined, things and signs classified, individuals trained, etc.) and

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[188]Bruce Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871 (Falmer and The Althouse Press: Lewes, Sussex and London, Ontario, 1988), 365.
[189]R. D'Amico, "What is Discourse?" Humanities in Society, 5 (3 and 4), 1982, 210, cited in Luke, Pedagogy, 8.
[190]Ibid., 8

> a production of true discourses which serve to found justify, and provide reasons and principles for these ways of doing things.[191]

In this way educational history examines "formalized pedagogical discourse, and provides a sense of the discursive practices transmitted by schools to youth".[192]

Education in Australia

In early Australia, as in Britain, education was seen as the means of saving lower class children from the immoral life of their, in many cases, convict parents. Despite this, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were very few children receiving any formal education and of those that were officially enrolled, few attended on a regular basis.[193] Until the middle of that century there was little change in the type of education being offered in Australia. Education was still regarded by the ruling classes as being for the good of the masses. The inflow of settlers had changed the need to separate children from immoral convict parents; instead the emphasis was upon preparing the working class child for his/her allotted position in life. According to Hyams and Bessant, Australian schools, because of their insular nature, were at this time largely unaware of important educational ideas from overseas. Cherryholmes substantiates this view:

> [D]iscourses dominant in a historical period and geographical location determine what counts as true, important, or relevant, what gets spoken, what remains unsaid. Discourses are generated and governed by rules and power.[194]

The main models the states had were the British parliamentary Select Committees on education. These were the

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[191]M. Foucault, "Questions of Method: An Interview", Ideology and Consciousness, 8, (1981), 8, cited in Luke, Pedagogy, 8.
[192]Ibid., 9.
[193]B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant, Schools for the People? An Introduction to the history of State Education in Australia (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty Limited., 1978), 12.
[194]Cleo Cherryholmes, Power and Criticism: Poststructural Investigations in Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988), 35.

> instruments through which the British government had brought to bear the technical expertise and the political force that made the education of the population thinkable as a State objective.[195]

The states too were faced with the problem of establishing an infrastructure of "civil governance in a settler society", having to solve problems something like those that had "confronted the emerging States of Western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries".[196] Conveniently, the Australian colonists had at their disposal the ready-made "political and intellectual technologies that European States had devised to overcome such problems", so it is not surprising that school systems developed in Australia were copies of their British counterparts.[197]

The colonists also inherited a particular way of thinking about education. Henry Hughes wrote in 1870, "it must be recognized as the interest of every government, to advance the State by promoting the education of the people".[198] Hunter positions together the seemingly incongruous views of the "born democratic" Australian colony-state with those of Johann von Justi, a bureaucratic adviser to the absolute States of Prussia and Austria, asserting that both had the "common governmental rationale for State schooling". Justi expounded his beliefs on education at university level

> [I]t will be enough if we attend to [the universities'] ultimate purpose. This, in so far as they are public foundations of the state, can be no other that that of affording to youth properly prepared in the lower schools adequate instruction in all intelligence and science which will be needful for them, in order that they may some time, as servants of the state and upright citizens, render useful services to

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[195]Ian Hunter, "Assembling the school", in Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, Nikolas Rose, eds., Foucault and Political Reason. Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 150.
[196]Ibid.
[197]Ibid., 151.
[198]Henry Kent Hughes, "Resolutions and address on the amendment of the education system of South Australia", Adelaide, 1870, 4. Cited in Bernard Hyams, Lynne Trethewey, Brian Condon, Malcolm Vick, Denis Grundy, Learning and Other Things: Sources for a Social History of Education in South Australia (Adelaide: South Australian Government Printer, 1988), 95.

> the common-wealth [*dem gemeinen Wesen*], and be in a position fully to discharge their duties.[199](Original italics)

According to Hunter, despite the differences of ideology, both the "liberal clergyman and the statist administrator" held a "common governmental rationale for State schooling", the outcome being state schooling. He continues:

> [B]oth of them think of education as a cultural transformation of the population carried out in the interests of the State. They argue that the State should intervene in education as a means of enhancing its corporate wealth and prosperity, and thereby the *wellbeing* of its citizens.[200] (Original italics)

It is this "political mentality" that Foucault terms "governmentality". Following from this, Hunt rejects the notion that the emergence of "popular" education can be attributed to either liberal's individualism or the Marxist's dialogue of opposed classes. He contends that:

> state schooling emerged from particular historical exigencies confronting administrative States, and from the intellectual and political technologies that these States happened to have at their disposal for addressing such exigencies. While the exigencies varied - ... civil war and rural backwardness in Prussia, the chaotic populations of industrial cities in England, the untutored colonial population of Australia - the technology of statistical survey and social intervention tended to be portable across different States, imposing a common "statist" intelligibility on education no matter what the state-form. Popular education was not an attempt to realize the individual's inner self but a means of enclosing populations in a purpose-built pedagogical milieu capable of creating socially disciplined persons.[201]

It was the use of statistics that transformed the meaning of popular education, for using this method of information collection provided access to a "new object of political perception and action" - population. From as early as 1832 in England, Kay-Shuttleworth's statistics enabled the population to emerge as "the bearer of an array of conducts and capacities that had been rendered problematic through the application of

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[199]A. W. Small, The Cameralists: The Pioneers of German Social Polity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), 299. Cited in Hunter, "Assembling the school", 150.
[200]Ibid., 151.
[201]Ibid., 155.

statistically determined norms or standards of living".[202] Thus poverty, criminality, morbidity, alcolohism and immorality linked the working classes, to their illiteracy and I suggest, in some cases, to mental retardation.

South Australia

By the middle of the nineteenth century South Australia was seized by the reform movement as the state began its transition to an urban-industrial society. Nineteenth century middle-class concerns of about morality and social order were rampant, but the reforms were not reliant upon aid from church and voluntary philanthropic societies.

> They were spearheaded by a new generation of scientists and experts and featured increasing state intervention in socialization practices. The form this intervention assumed revealed the new professionals' faith in the reforming power of large scale institutions. According to the ideology of social management they espoused, the specialization and division of labour these institutions allowed provided the most efficient and rational form of organisation.[203]

The 1875 Education Act in South Australia which compelled children between the ages of seven and thirteen to attend school was, suggests Davey, the state intervention which "set the scene" for the remaking of childhood experience. Children were required to spend increasing amounts of time in specifically planned institutions under supervision of trained operators.[204] In today's Foucauldian terms, this Act empowered the authorities, (the state), "de facto and de jure to code and interpret knowledge". Foucault describes the controllers of knowledge within institutions as "authorities of delimination." These he sees as the individual, or individuals of importance within institutions and also the (bureaucratic) institutions themselves.

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[202]Ibid., 154. Statistics will be more fully discussed in the later chapter about testing.
[203]Ian Davey, "Growing Up In South Australia", in Eric Richards, ed., The Finders History of South Australia. Social History (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986), 385.
[204]Ibid., 389.

> Within such institutions as the penal system, the school, the church or government, individuals such as lawyers and judges, teachers, clerics and administrators control and oversee the practices derived from and rationalized by the institutional discourse. These professionals are the same authorities who have the "right to speak" - the authority to construct meaning, to interpret, and to judge".[205]

Of course, as Davey notes, this was not the first example of state intervention. In 1852, in South Australia, the state had subsidised the building of schoolhouses in local communities and licensed teachers who met approved standards. The difficulty with the Act was that the teachers who operated the schools in a way sanctioned by the authorities were more likely to be found in the middle-class areas where attendance was regular and parents could afford to pay fees. Founding schools in the poorer areas was not such an appealing undertaking when teachers' salAriés were partly dependent on children's fees.[206] In working-class areas small privately-run schools were popular, usually run by women at home, providing child minding and basic education. It was these children, viewed as needing a quality education who were the targets of reformers. The 1875 Act saw the creation of grandiose new public institutions in suburbia, towering above and the antithesis of, the cottages and church halls in working class districts which had formerly been the schoolrooms.

> Their legislative architects made it clear that they were established to school more than to educate; to serve social purposes more than cognitive needs of individuals. The new school system was to provide a basic education in reading, writing and arithmetic - with some needlework for the girls - and a thorough training in the duties of responsible citizenship. Compulsory schooling, it was argued, would reduce crime and vice and make future generations of South Australian children more productive and politically responsible adults.[207]

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[205]Luke, Pedagogy, 42.

[206]M. J. Vick, "The Central Board of Education in South Australia, 1852-1875" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981), Chapter 4. Pavla Miller, Long Division. State Schooling in South Australian Society (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986), Chapters 1-3. Cited in Davey, "Growing Up In South Australia", 389.

[207]Ibid.; See also Miller, Long Division, Chapter 3 and D. Grundy, "Free Schooling and the State in South Australia 1875-98," in I. Palmer, ed., Melbourne Studies In Education, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983), 169-202.

According to Luke, the school was one of the first institutions of morality, combining civil law with moral obligation, the administration of knowledge with the administration of children. Following the Foucaudian view it can be said that

> the birth of a school, then, like the birth of the prison, arose out of practical needs to cure (ignorance and moral depravity), to reform, to discipline, and to educate the social body. To institutionalize and secularize learning provided legal sanction for the state to control, train, punish and reward children who, hitherto, had been the private property of families, and not part of the public, civil discourse.[208]

The 1875 Education Act had considerable success in reshaping childhood discourse and practices, with those students who conformed to the rigidly enforced school routines and discipline being categorised as the most accomplished. Peters describes this Act as

> not merely a means of socialisation or social control, ... but as a way of securing public morality and preventing crime in order to establish and form a population with good habits through the instrument of useful discursive principles in an effort to secure a moral foundation for government authority.[209]

In the late nineteenth century, the processes of testing and categorising students were accelerated in a bid to further streamline the expanding educational bureaucracy. At this time, suggests Walkerdine, writing of the British experience, "significant new discourses and practices of population" were being produced. She continues:

> the term 'class' first emerges in the demographic sense in this discourse, particularly in the isolation of the 'dangerous classes' as the object of study. What we have here is the change in the object of study and therefore the consequent discussion and operation of the mode of instruction. The identification of the dangerous classes as units in themselves is therefore of paramount importance. A central feature of the production of scientific forms of regulation was the development of population statistics. It is these which provided the basis of classification of the normal in the many domains relating to the social regulation of the population, scientific rationalism; regulation according to the nature of the individual was covert.[210]

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[208]Luke, Pedagogy, 145-146.
[209]Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 200.
[210]Walkerdine in Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 167.

To best achieve the realisation of each child's potential, children would need to be grouped by age, with lessons fitted to certain age groups. Later other aspects of child development would be included and the child would become an object of medicalisation and hygienisation. Feeding into this professional, child-centred pedagogy were two other discourses concerned with the scientific classification of children, child study and mental measurement. For the first time the child was singled out as a category for scientific study. However, the mental measurement was not concerned with any overall development of the child, rather the sole concern was with the intellectual capacity or intelligence and its distribution across the general population.

Cherryholmes asserts that such educational practices were supported by power arrangements:

> [P]ractices, as with discourses are constituted by connected and overlapping sets of rules that organize and give them coherence. They vary from legal rules, such as state laws concerning educational assessment, to those that are simply written down, such as ... policies concerning grading systems and final exams, to those that are not in writing at all, such as beliefs that teachers use to guide their testing procedures within a classroom.[211]

The population had become the object of knowledge and discourses emerged based on the analysis of the population and categories within it. Peters further suggests

> the problem for South Australian educators, at the turn of the century, and others similarly concerned with child 'rescue', was how to exert the maximum 'educational' influence, as rapidly as possible, with long term efficacy, over the greatest number of children, with the most efficient machinery of instruction, in order to produce 'useful' habits and an absence of 'false' principles, whilst simultaneously securing the support of the population for the mechanisms involved.[212]

The 1915 Education Act enforcing compulsory school attendance finalised the "massive reordering of children's lives" in South Australia. According to Hunter, across the western world, compulsory attendance, when it was legislated created

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[211]Cherryholmes, Power and Criticism, 4.
[212]Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 203.

> an instrument through which the government could problematise and manage a whole series of situations: the social and economic backwardness of rural peasantries; the political and welfare chaos of urban proletariats; the social governance of colonial societies.[213]

Not only were working class parents "surveilled according to new educative and hygienic norms, but bourgeois families were also encompassed within discourse/practices of the education/career prospects of their children".[214]

Probably the most significant modifications made by the 1915 Act in South Australia were in the organisation and administration functions of the education system. Looking at the wider picture, Hunter explains, "we must understand the fact that all Western states developed mass education systems through bureaucratic adaptation of Christian pastoral pedagogy to the needs of social training".[215] In South Australia, the state system expanded to cover primary, secondary, technical and agricultural education and more responsibility was delegated to Superintendents who were each charged with management of a division of education, the Director retaining overall jurisdiction. Thus, postulates Ball, we see the emergence of the school and the classroom as

> particular organizations of space and persons experienced by virtually all people, at one and the same time totalising the power of the state and producing and specifying particular individualities.[216]

Wimshurst argues that compulsory schooling in South Australia was introduced with more leniency for the rural than the urban population. He suggests this was because of the concern about the visibility on the streets of the urban working class children. He concludes that compulsory schooling was introduced as a way of trying to implement a bourgeois childhood for working class children, with initial pressure from the State

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[213]Ian Hunter, Rethinking the School. Subjectivity, Bureaucracy, Criticism (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1994), 173.
[214]Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 205.
[215]Hunter, Rethinking the School, 173.
[216]Ball, Foucault and Education, 5.

Children's Council.[217] As happened overseas, in this state too there was little or no community involvement in schools and any social or educational problems were disregarded, unless they became so obvious or troublesome that they demanded attention. But this was for "normal" children. Lack of state finances due to droughts and poor harvests were common reasons for delaying any special education initiatives for the mentally retarded.[218]

Educating the "Sub-Normal Child".

Prior to the turn of the century in Australia the education of "sub-normal" children was generally ignored by the states, with voluntary organisations taking the major role in providing for children with major disabilities. In 1860 the Institution for Deaf, Dumb and Blind opened a school for deaf children in Sydney, with a similar school being established in Victoria in 1867. The first school for the mentally retarded was incorporated within Minda Home in Adelaide, South Australia, in 1898.[219] According to Dekker, this was the case in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe:

> [T]he breakthrough of the special school movement only took place around 1900, during the introduction of compulsory education. This was also true for Britain and France. In the words of Rose: 'In France, just as much as in England, the imposition of universal and compulsory education filled schools with numbers of recalcitrant children who were ill suited to the rigors and disciplines of the school, and unable to fill the role of subject in the pedagogic subject in the normal classroom'. ... Their situation became manifest as a consequence of the Compulsory Education Act. They became a burden for the school, and this stimulated the development of special conditions for the children.[220]

The position in North America was also similar, according to Lazerson:

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[217]See Grundy, "Free Schooling and the State in South Australia, 1875-1898", 169-202.
[218]See Miriam Voskulen, "The Battle for Special Education in South Australia, 1920-1955". Unpublished paper, (Murray Park C.A.E., 1974).
[219]See John Elkins, "Disability and Disadvantage: Special Education in Australia, Past, Present and Future," in Imelda Palmer, ed., Melbourne Studies in Education (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1985), 163-184.
[220]Jeroen J. H. Dekker, "An educational regime; medical doctors, schoolmasters, jurists and the education of retarded and deprived children in the Netherlands around 1900", History of Education, 25:3, (1996), 263-264; Rose, The Psychological Complex, 126.

> [T]throughout the nineteenth century, ... responsibility for handicapped children was private and familial. Only where parents were perceived or perceived themselves as incapable of caring for their child was he or she likely to become an object of public attention. At the turn of the century these assumptions changed, in part as a result of complaints about the custodial and retrogressive nature of public residential institutions, but more importantly due to the creation of a mass public education system and the expansion of notions of public responsibility. Schools which all were compelled to attend converted the problem of how to educate dependent and deviant children from a familial to a school concern. ... With compulsion, those issues were brought directly into the schools.[221]

However, in South Australia the 1915 Act set out the requirements for the education of mentally retarded children and others previously not educated by the state:

> [I]t shall be the duty of every parent of a blind, deaf, mute or mentally defective child, from the time such child attains the age of six years until he attains the age of sixteen years, to provide efficient and suitable education for such child. If the parent having the actual custody of any such child is unable to provide such education he shall give notice in writing to the minister of such inability, and shall, from such date as is specified by the minister, send the child to such (if any) institution as the minister directs, and shall pay such sum or sums towards the cost of maintenance of the child as is or are agreed between such parent and the minister.[222]

Although it was assumed that parents would pay for their care in private institutions, from the tenor of Parliamentary debates at the time it seems there was some uncertainty about whether the state was prepared to provide the education for these children. For clarification, Mr. T. Ryan, who had been chairman of the Education Commission put forward an amendment, proposing that parents should not be asked to meet the cost of education for their subnormal children, but only the physical care, with Special Schools being set up by the state. The Treasurer responded that it was the intention of the

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[221]Marvin Lazerson, "The Origins of Special Education 1890-1940", draft prepared for Special Education Collaborative Project Conference, Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Government, Stanford University, 1980. See also, Seymour B. Sarason and John Doris, Educational Handicap, Public Policy, and Social History: A Broadened Perspective on Mental Retardation (New York: The Free Press, 1979).

[222]South Australian Education Act, 1915, No. 1223, 14; South Australian Parliamentary Papers (hereafter cited as SAPP), 1 (1915), 1525, 1527.

government to pay for such education, thus providing educational opportunities for these students.[223]

The foregoing discussion has shown that construction of the notion of the "normal" school child as a subject and similarly the mentally retarded child is inextricably bound up with educational ideologies and varied discourses at a given time. For instance, the mentally retarded child may be positioned within discourses of eugenics, mental measurement and cognitive development, among others. Before a regulated school system, the mentally retarded person was more able to adapt to his/her surroundings as literacy in that historical placement was regarded as relative only to one's needs and not essential for survival. It was not until the inception of state education that the mentally retarded student was "officially" identified, as contrary to the norm. The advent of a system which standardised pupils into formal categories highlighted the presence of the mentally retarded pupil, whose subjectivity could not "normalised" in this way.

Revisionist historians assert that the earliest attempts to set up a state school system took place in the sixteenth century in small Lutheran principalities where reformers relied upon schools to teach children their godly duty, in order to maintain threatened patriarchal authority in households and transfer this power to male political rulers. The search for effective modes of coercion continued in eighteenth century Prussia and Austria, couched in emancipatory educational theories and practices.

Historians of education have questioned why relatively similar state education systems became established in the nineteenth century western world. Revisionists shift the issue from church and state to the changing social relationships associated with industrialisation and urbanization, while some Marxists identify the emerging class

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[223]Ibid.

struggle of that time. By the 1970s there was agreement that controlling the interests of the capitalist class was the motive behind the establishment of mass school systems. However, Jones and Williamson writing in 1979 rejected both the traditional Whig account of state schooling as an conveyance of social enlightenment and the more recent critical account of schooling as an instrument of social control. In their "path-breaking" reconstruction of the British elementary school system they

> locate the emergence of the elementary school in terms of the governmental construction of a series of problematic "moral topographies" - statistical profiles of dangerous and endangered populations - and the disciplinary technology of the school itself, improvised as a means of moral management.[224]

Post-modernists such as Hunter agree, arguing that the school system emerged through a

> piecemeal series of exchanges between a State that conceived of the school as a bureaucratic instrument for the social governance of citizens, and a Christian pastorate that saw it as a means of disciplining of souls.[225]

Post-modernists further assert that the school location is the site controlling individuals' access to various kinds of discourse, which in effect merely transforms one set of power relations to another, subjecting the child to general norms of development within a framework of laws and regulations, biological and psychological; thus producing the "normal' child and conversely, the "sub-normal child". With the creation of these subjects evolved the associated discourses and practices, for example, the theories of child development and the pedagogical techniques of testing and examinations.

The education of the "sub-normal" child had been largely ignored in Australia prior to the turn of the century, as was the case overseas. In South Australia, the 1915

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[224]See K. Jones and K. Williamson, "The birth of the schoolroom", Ideology and Consciousness, 6, 58-110, cited in Hunter, "Assembling the school", 143.
[225]Ibid., 164.

Education Act was the first to set out requirements for the education of mentally retarded children and shortly after this the Psychology Branch of the Education Department was created and Special Classes were eventually set up here and interstate.

CHAPTER 3

EUGENICS - CREATING A "CLEANER" BREED

The change in discourses surrounding children as innately depraved individuals requiring formal and moral education to malleable innocents in need of nurturing and active experiences happened by degree. But it is generally agreed that the latter perspective on children's nature emerged with the Enlightenment.[226] To understand how knowledges for the retarded underwent changes from the goals postulated by Safford of "making the deviant undeviant, to sheltering the deviant from society, to protection of society from the deviant", and to the ideals of eugenics - "procreative regulation" to prevent the increase of deviance or retardation we need to look at the beginnings of education for the retarded.[227] To understand the problematising of the mentally retarded population and the particular narratives through which they became constituted as an object and part of the "dangerous classes" we need first to position them within an historical context.

It was the ideas of the Englishman John Locke in the seventeenth century that are purported to have opened the way for advances in special education. As a physician, he influenced many attitudes and practices concerning childbirth and child-rearing. He advocated the rights of individuals and believed that children should be treated with thought and care. His philosophy of sensationalism, that every child is a "blank slate"

[226]See Philip L. Safford and Elizabeth J. Safford, A History of Childhood and Disability (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996), Chapter 3.
[227]Ibid., 83.

upon which every experience and sensation systematically made impressions, was enthusiastically taken up by major thinkers of the Enlightenment, Rousseau, Diderot and Condillac. Locke was also interested in the development of language. He believed that language was arbitrary, that the words we use to signify a thing have no intrinsic connection with the thing itself. This notion had a profound influence on the education of the handicapped, especially when combined with the use of such alternate sensory stimulation as sign language for the deaf and raised print for the blind. Winzer et al. state that Locke's philosophy precipated much of the thought of the broad intellectual movement known as the French Enlightenment. "The pioneer French educators adopted the concepts of sensationalism, arbitrary language, and alternate sensory stimuli, and joined them to new concepts of social equality and individual rights".[228] According to Winzer, the French educators took seriously the special needs of the handicapped and were founders of special education as we know it today.

Pritchard suggests that many people were labelled mentally retarded who were not so, but such labelling was not necessarily with the worst intentions. In early times, remaining in a family might mean starvation and abuse, when admission to an institution could mean the difference between surviving and not surviving. Undoubtedly some families and communities did use the large institutions to rid themselves of difficult and dependent people, but there is no way of knowing what percentage did or did not benefit from admission to an institution.[229] Such actions may be interpreted as an example of what Foucault terms "a principle of exclusion, not another prohibition but a division and a rejection", and "the opposition between reason and madness". Although Foucault is describing the discourse of the madman, the position is equally valid for that

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[228]Winzer et al., Exceptional Children in Canada, 74.
[229]Pritchard, Education and the Handicapped, 48.

of the mentally retarded. Such discourses can be said not to have the same "currency" as others and "may be considered null and void, having neither truth nor importance, worthless as evidence in law, inadmissable in the authentification of deeds or contracts".[230] Foucault talks of three great systems of exclusion which forged discourse, "forbidden speech, the division of madness and the will to truth". Again I point to the similarity between exclusion of the mad and the mentally retarded. Foucault contends that the discourse surrounding the madman" did not exist, it was "placed where the division between reason and madness was exercised", it was "null and void, ... on the other side of the divide". So too for the mentally retarded and the surrounding discourse and ideology.

Henriques et al. posit the condition of the subject, not as a unitary, non-contradictory subject but combining a double subjectivity

> on the one hand, the subject of science and reason born with modern science (and the new social order which replaces feudalism) and, on the other, the abstract legal subject, the subject of general rights and of possessive individualism. The first is ideally represented in Decartes' dictum: 'I think, therefore I am'; the second refers to the new concept of the individual, which, in theory, equalizes and generalizes the subject with respect to law, to contractual obligations and to property.[231]

However, they continue

> [I]t must be said, though, that not all members of the community stand in that relation with respect to the law and to rights. Thus, for a considerable time women, children and the propertyless were excluded. It is important to make the point that this was mainly done on the basis of the supposed ability to make rational judgement, demonstrating a clear relationship between the two notions of the individual subject. Locke, for example, excludes the propertyless from political participation using the argument that only those who have property are able to make rational calculations about wealth, or could be held to be

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[230]Michel Foucault, "The Order Of Discourse", in Robert Young, ed., Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981), 53.
[231]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 133.

> responsible or moral. Blacks and women were excluded on the claim that they were naturally less endowed with reason than (white) men.[232]

With the birth of the subject tied to the specific rationality of reason, it can be said that those excluded in this privileging were "denied access to the discourse of power and the ability to speak in their own name, though they do not cease to be caught in the play of power". I suggest that the mentally retarded were and are positioned in this manner. How can one be surprised, suggest Henrique et al., "that such a system of exclusion should require a whole series of apparatuses of normalization and discipline both for the positive production of a specific "normal" subjectivity and the policing of the systems of exclusion?", which is again what eventuated with the institutionalisation and schooling of mentally retarded people.

Problems of population have always provided an important arena for the transference of ideas between the scientific and political areas. Over time the excluded became differentiated in terms of distinct technologies of intervention and distinct discourses - of psychiatry, of asylums, of criminality, of prisons, of psychology, of schools. "The scientific discourses and the practices of differentiation and the formation are coextensive, one relaying the other".[233] The "novelty" of these scientific evolutionary discourses and practices had a social effect on the population. But the knowledge and language produced by these discourses, were, suggests Webster, part of the "deeper historical roots of ideas concerning the relevance of evolution to scientific thought". With the advent of eugenics it became possible to pronounce on specific cases of

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[232]Ibid.
[233]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 140.

conscience, such as the feeble-minded. In this way the discourses of evolutionary theory were able to "justify mutually incompatible objectives".[234]

Eugenics

It was the ideas of the British philosophers of the nineteenth century that resulted in the theory of individual differences and this is seen as the beginning of modern special education. The application of psychology to education enabled the education of mentally retarded children to move from a "trial and error" endeavour to a legitimate scientific study of child behaviour.[235] The last thirty years of the nineteenth century saw the shaping of the deficit model that has characterised the field of mental testing and individual differences. Simmons calls this the era of the "myth of the menace of the feeble-minded".[236] This "myth" came about as a result of the British and American studies which implied feeble-mindedness was inherited and developed as part of the general attempt to apply ideas of biological evolution to the problems of human societies.[237]

The British philosopher, Herbert Spencer was the first person to present the theory of Social Darwinism, derived from some of the then recent concepts of Charles Darwin. Darwin had proposed his theory of individual differences as an explanation of the evolutionary process. He believed evolution to be a series of biological adaptations from generation to generation of plants and animals, ensuring their survival. Spencer applied Darwin's concepts of biological evolution to the human species by assuming that human beings differed from one another in amount of general intelligence. He described

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[234] Webster, ed., Biology, Medicine and Society 1840-1940, 3.
[235] Brian Preen, Schooling for the Mentally Retarded (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976), 68.
[236] See Harvey Simmons, From Asylum to Welfare (Ontario: NIMR, 1982), Chapter 3.
[237] Jeffrey L. Blum, Pseudoscience and Mental Ability. The Origins and Fallacies of the I.Q. Controversy (New York/London: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 25-42.

intelligence as the biological ability of human organisms to adapt to their environment.[238] This notion of survival of the fittest was used by Spencer to explain and justify the inequalities that existed in nineteenth century British society.

According to his ideas those already privileged in human society were so because by the process of natural selection they had evolved as a higher form of humanity. Similarly, the less privileged were placed in society where nature intended them. Spencer's ideas legitimated the unequal distribution of power and resources that existed in British society at the time.[239] Spencer's theory of biological inheritance led him to believe that the Caucasian race was the dominant race and following from this, that white males were clearly superior to others. [240] Spencer further proposed that there were necessary inverse relations between intellectual capacity and fertility. He asserted that, in human beings, the reproductive and nervous systems had to compete for the body's supply of phosphorous and other nutrients. Because of this inverse relationship an increase in intellectual status can only take place with a change in procreation rates.

Spencer proposed that the logical outcome of such events would be the "dwindling" in proportion of the "relatively intelligent" and the flourishing of the least intelligent, leading to the replacement of social progress by "decay". Fortunately, Spencer was able to explain that the status quo of the hierarchical society was maintained by his theory of survival of the fittest. Since the least intelligent people were nearly always the poor, their higher fertility rate was kept in check by their greater susceptibility to "plagues" and "starvation", inadequate housing conditions and food, thus preserving and ensuring continuation of the desirable qualities of the human race. Not surprisingly, Spencer was

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[238]Ibid.

[239]See J. Lewis, "The Development of Remedial Education in Victoria.1910-1940". (M.Ed. Thesis, LaTrobe University, 1983), Chapter 2.

[240]Herbert Spencer, Principles of Psychology, Vol. 1. (New York: D. Appleton, 1897), 581, cited in Blum, Pseudoscience and Mental Ability, 31.

against any attempts to better conditions for the poor, believing social reform would have disastrous consequences and lessen the quality of mankind.[241]

The name given to the research which claimed to discover hereditary biological certainties was eugenics. Eugenics philosophy consisted of a social theory and a set of social philosophies, claiming scientific foundation. It reflected social attitudes and discourses of the nineteenth century about race and gender, rather than discovering new scientific facts. The movement was supported by arguments based on believed common sense, underpinned with knowledge of heredity, Darwinian biology and scientific research.[242] Post-modernists assert that the development of knowledge or expertise is always combined with the exercise of power. Foucault argues that

> the government of biological needs, in both its individual and its composite forms, constitutes the defining feature of our society. Methods of power in their modern forms have assumed responsibility for life processes: births, deaths, sexual relations, sickness, disease, bodily hygiene, and so on.[243]

According to eugenists, social position was mainly the result of inherited qualities, such as mental ability, moral disposition and inclination to sickness and health. There was an emphasis on the innate qualities, which were believed to be established at birth as a result of heredity, and entirely divorced from environmental influences. Genetic inheritance decided one's total potential; external factors were only able to modify pre-existing qualities.[244] Eugenists advocated a system of detention and segregation to control reproduction of the feeble-minded.

> This kind of argument formed the ideological background of the custodial movement. Based on a doctrine which linked theories on the etiology and nature of mental retardation to social problems and thence to the correct methods of

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[241]Lewis, "The Development of Remedial Education in Victoria", 121.
[242]See Donald Mackenzie, "Eugenics in Britain", Social Studies of Science, 6 (1976): 499-532.
[243]Alec McHoul and Wendy Grace, A Foucault Primer. Discourse, Power and the Subject (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993), 61.
[244]Jayne Woodhouse, "Eugenics and the feeble-minded: the Parliamentary debates of 1912-1914", History of Education, 11:2, 128.

> prevention or amelioration, the movement was composed of specialized organisations, mainly pressure groups or professional associations. ... It was this movement that plucked mental retardation from obscurity where it had languished for half a century, and made it, temporarily at least, a major point of controversy and debate.[245]

In Foucauldian terms, these discourses developed of a body of knowledge that:

> underpinned a practice and institutional power which ... allowed for the regulatory surveillance of patients and their moralization through the regulatory internalization of ruling-class values and attitudes.[246]

The work of Francis Galton was one of the major factors in the growth of the eugenic movement. He was the first to take Spencer's ideas and attempt to construct a science of eugenics, as his work in the study of heredity.[247] Galton's first interest was in the inheritance of ability, or "genius", but later he became interested in the inheritance of lack of ability, or mental retardation. He concluded that mental abilities followed the normal bell-shaped curve of distribution, grouped such that persons of average ability were found in the middle, while persons of greater and lesser ability ranged in nearly equal numbers to each side. Galton's research on the measurement of individual differences was in a new field of enquiry. He theorised that the differences occurring between individuals and consequently the characteristics of genius or imbecility, were "biologically conditioned".[248]

Galton studied human population applying statistical theory to the problems of heredity, using Darwinian principles of natural selection, variation and adaptation.[249] In his work Hereditary Genius, Galton set out to prove that intelligence was hereditary. He did this

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[245]Simmons, From Asylum to Welfare, 51.
[246]Ivor Goodson and Ian Dowbiggen, "Docile bodies. Commonalities in the history of psychiatry and schooling", in Ball, Foucault and Education, 125.
[247]Mackenzie, "Eugenics in Britain", 8-9.
[248]Preen, Schooling for The Mentally Retarded, 66.
[249]Francis Galton, Hereditary Genius, An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences (London: Macmillan, 1869); Francis Galton, Natural Inheritance (London: Macmillan, 1889).

by tracing the relatives of 997 prominent men of British society, examining their "pedigrees". His findings substantiated his theory, and reproduced the judgements and beliefs of his upper middle class, male - dominated, background. Galton's work, coupled with the growing fear of physical and moral deterioration of the English race and compounded with the work of the Royal Commission, helped to spread eugenic ideas among the English upper classes. This resulted in the formation of the Eugenics Education Society 1907 and is an example of what Rose and Miller term the programmes of government, or the programmatic.

> The programmatic is the realm of designs put forward by philosophers, ... philanthropists, government reports, committees of enquiry, White Papers, proposals and counterproposals by organisations of business, labour, finance, charities and professionals, that seek to configure specific locales and relations in ways thought desirable.[250]

Realising the importance of obtaining accurate measurements of individual differences, Galton set up an Anthropometric Laboratory and devised a number of tests to demonstrate the "wide range of physical and psychological traits among men".[251] He constructed ways of measuring vision, hearing, muscular strength and the sensitivity to touch and weight. He then developed statistical techniques to process and interpret the abundance of data gained from the tests. "When, in 1883 he published the results of his investigations, he became the founder of psychology of human differences".[252]

Such ideas were also prominent in Italy, which saw the development of the first major group associated with the development of "biological predestination".[253] Cesare Lomboro, Professor of legal medicine at the University of Turin, established the field of

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[250]The Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded was appointed in 1904 and reported in 1908. It found that mentally defective people had an abnormally high number of children, compared to the normal population; 7.3 as compared to 4. See also Simmons, From Asylum to Welfare, 55-59; Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political power beyond the State: problematics of government", British Journal of Sociology 2, no. 43: (June 1992): 181.

[251]Haller, Eugenics, 10.

[252]Ibid.

[253]Blum, Pseudoscience and Mental Ability, 35.

criminal anthropology. Using the eugenics model, it was believed that criminality was hereditary and that different sorts of criminals, for example, thieves or murders, had individual traits which differentiated them physically from other kinds of criminals, as well as other people.[254]

Although the influence of the eugenics movement was most felt in the United States and Britain, by 1910 it had followers world wide.[255] In Canada, J. P. Downey, Superintendent of the Hospital for Feeble-Minded in Orillia, Ontario, fuelled by the alarmist essays and speeches of the mental hygienists, was adamant that society "should be directed against the procreation of those doomed to be diseased and defective".[256]

The worsening social problems at the end of the nineteenth century, both in the United States and England, were a reason for the shift which saw eugenic ideas become eugenics movements. In America, the large influx of immigrants and rapid industrialisation produced cities with slum dwellers and high crime rates. Reforms were urgently needed and eugenics, favoured by the respectable white, Protestant, middle class, was seen as a solution. As a form of social control it was believed to be a way of reducing, by scientific breeding, the ills of society - crime, poverty and labour unrest.[257]

The eugenics movement in Britain was a class issue rather than a racial issue - a social programme aimed at improving the quality of the population, thus eliminating the lower classes; thought to be the breeders of the feeble-minded. At that time, British society was mainly divided into two classes - the ruling class (capitalists and aristocracy) and the working class. To be one of the "fit" in eugenics terms, one had to adhere to a certain

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[254]Ibid.
[255]Haller, Eugenics, 20.
[256]Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 72, citing "Heredity as a Cause of Mental Defectiveness," in Public Health Journal iv, (March 1913), 126.
[257]Blum, Pseudoscience and Mental Ability, 39.

set of values and belong to a certain social class. Supporters of the movement believed it could solve the major social problems of British society. It was thought that those with "good" hereditary qualities should marry with care and have large numbers of children, (an idea later known as positive eugenics) while those with hereditary disabilities should be discouraged from parenting.

Deviants from this norm were the "unfit" of society, with its connotations of evil, vice and crime; all needing to be eliminated. Mental retardation was a form of "unfitness" and the unfit do not prosper and should not survive, according to eugenic ideas. If mental retardation was inheritable and unchangeable, then to protect society from these deviants they needed to be put into custodial care and prevented from reproducing. These extreme views were fairly prevalent until the 1930s when the popularity of the movement waned because of its association with Hitler and Fascism.[258]

However, the science of eugenics did have a considerable impact on the scientific and intellectual development of twentieth century Britain. Eugenists Francis Galton and Karl Pearson and their colleagues played an important role in the development of mathematical statistics and it was men with eugenic convictions who were responsible for the development of psychological testing and psychometric theories.[259]

I.Q. testing

"Mental" testing and theories of individual differences were the first means of identifying children needing special education. For as long as mental testing has been developed, the hereditary/environment debate has been an issue, on both sides of the Atlantic. Galton's

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[258]Miller, Long Division, 179; Charles W. Selford and James M. Sawrey, The Exceptional Individual (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), 94-95.
[259]Mackenzie, "Eugenics in Britain", 510.

dogmatic claims of inherited intelligence caused concern among educators, biologists, neurologists and others in the field. The importance to those interested in mental retardation was the redirection of emphasis brought to the subject. Mental retardation came under the scrutiny of the sciences as it had at no other time in history. Galton's findings, regardless of their accuracy, led to the development of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of retardation and advanced the understanding of the subject.[260] Spearman, a friend and disciple of Galton, was the one to further take up the use of correlation in mental testing. In 1904 he proposed that intelligence comprised "specific abilities underlain by a general factor - "g".[261] He introduced statistical methods into psychological theory to try and isolate "g".

It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that a test was designed to measure mental ability. Alfred Binet is generally regarded as developing the first useable intelligence test. The French Minister of Public Instruction commissioned Binet to develop a testing procedure "that could help identify students whose academic aptitudes were so low as to necessitate their placement in Special Schools".[262] By devising a diagnostic heterogeneous collection of short tasks related to every day problems, (e.g. counting coins or assessing which face is prettier) Binet graded a child's performance, according to age and the teachers' independent assessment of an average child's performance. The tests were to involve such basic processes as direction (ordering), comprehension, invention and censure correction. Binet's aim in devising his scale was to identify in order to help and improve not to label in order to limit. The result of Binet's original work is the fixing of the intelligence quota, or I.Q., from minimum 0, to

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[260]Preen, Schooling for the Mentally Retarded, 72.
[261]Harry Torrance, "The Origins and Development of Mental Testing in England and the United States", British Journal of Education 2:1, (1981), 45-59.
[262]L. J. Kamin, The Science and Politics of I.Q. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 5.

200, the norm being 100.[263] Binet and Victor Simon, revised, redesigned and adjusted the tests, trying them out on hundreds of Parisian school children, again relating the results to what the teachers told them about normal and abnormal performances. The response outside France was extremely enthusiastic, as those working with mentally retarded children realised the help these tests could give them. Post-modernists would argue this came about because

> their measure of abnormality depended upon a notion of normality which attempted to synthesise and systemise the collective experience of psychologists, doctors and teachers, which was not simply the product of one physician's skill, empathy and experience.[264]

In this manner "mundane" objectives of the administrative state, in this case social order and welfare via educational testing emerged as an "authentic moral and political response to the 'political situation' and they remained quite irreducible to the conscience of the 'reflective person'".[265] Again combining the exercise of power with the development of knowledge, it became possible to

> think of the tasks and scope of government in a new way because new "facilities" of governmental reflection had been improvised. These facilities were neither housed in the "human subject", nor were they expressions of historical evolution. They comprised instead an archipelago of calculative institutions - statistical societies, administrative bureaux, university departments - where government analysis and decision were the product of particular kinds of expertise.[266]

By 1905 Binet and Simon were able to publish, for the French Ministerial Commission on the Abnormal, the first formalised scale. This was a series of tests with an age-related scale of results. Further revisions followed in 1908 and 1911. Binet's work was the beginning of the modern era of research in the behavioural sciences. It was an important step in the education of retarded children as educators now had a way of categorising

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[263]Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (New York: Norton, 1981), Chapter 3.
[264]G. Sutherland, Ability, Merit and Measurement (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 126.
[265]Hunter, "Assembling the school", 153.
[266]Ibid.

these children on the basis of cognitive ability, an area not previously investigated. Publication of Binet's work resulted in mental retardation being studied from the perspective of intellectual ability, finally it would be distinguished from other forms of handicap. Another important effect of Binet's research was the first demands for Special Schools and classes, to meet the educational needs of children identified as mentally retarded using Binet's tests.

Intelligence tests were eagerly adopted in Britain and the United States for a completely different function. The "trailblazers" of mental testing -Terman, Goddard and Yerkes in America and Burt and Spearman in Britain, were committed eugenists. Cyril Burt, England's first educational psychologist, imported Binet's tests into Britain and brought out the first of his handbooks, Mental and Scholastic Tests in 1921.[267] Burt, sure of his beliefs and the results he assumed would be produced, fabricated much of his later scientific data.[268]

Burt generally agreed with Galton's preoccupation with the inheritance of intelligence. He was of the opinion that the higher mental test scores were usually gained by the children of middle-and upper class parents, showing real differences in innate ability between them and the low-scaling children of working and lower-middle-class parents; differences which could be attributed to differences in heredity. Burt concluded that human intelligence is "determined largely though not wholly by multifactorial inheritance."[269] Thus the distribution of ability as represented by mental test scores was no threat to the existing social structure; rather, it tended to endorse it. Mental testing soon became "a staple of educational policy discussions" in Britain and by the mid-

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[267]Cyril Burt, Mental and Scholastic Tests (London: London County Council, 1921).
[268]Miller, Long Division, 164.
[269]Burt, Mental and Scholastic Tests, 176.

twenties the term "general intelligence" was a catch phrase.[270] Foucault asserts that

> [T]o investigate the dividing line between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' is crucial in a social organisation dedicated to the administration of life. ... This form of study harnesses general knowledge about any individual.[271]

O'Neill further proposes that the social sciences might be thought of as

> strategies of power designed to minimise the cost of power, to maximise its coverage and to link 'economic' power with the educational, military, industrial, penal and medical institutions within which the docility and utility of populations can be maximised.[272]

In the United States the major importers and translators of the Binet test were Lewis Terman at Stanford University, Henry Goddard at the Vineland Training School in New Jersey and Robert Yerkes at Harvard. These pioneers of the American testing movement held in common some basic sociopolitical views. Their "brutal pessimism took a specific political form, manifested by their enthusiastic memberships in various eugenic societies and organisations".[273] They arrived at the conclusion that the questions asked of children by the Binet test provided a fixed measure of "innate intelligence". To them, this meant the test could be used to detect the "genetically inferior, whose reproduction was a menace to the future of the State".[274] In 1916 Professor Terman published the Americanised Stanford-Binet test. Terman envisaged that the test would in the near future "bring tens of thousands of .... high grade defectives under the surveillance and protection of society. This will result in curtailing the reproduction of feeble-mindedness and in the elimination of an enormous amount of crime, pauperism and industrial inefficiency".[275] This argument was in keeping with some of the major beliefs of the time

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[270]Ibid., 148.
[271]McHoul and Grace, A Foucault Primer, 68.
[272]John O'Neill, "The disciplinary society: from Weber to Foucault", The British Journal of Sociology XXXVII: 1, (March, 1986), 53.
[273]Kamin, The Science and Politics of I.Q., 6-12.
[274]Ibid.
[275]L. M. Terman, The Measurement of Intelligence (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 6.

> first, that social problems were mainly caused by social problem people, second, that environment may have played a role in triggering anti-social responses but that social problem people had certain mental, moral or physical characteristics which differentiated them from normal people; third, that children who were likely to become social problem adults could be identified, and sometimes educated or trained to prevent appearance of such behaviour; fourth, that social problem people comprise a certain percentage of every population ... on whom the attention and effort of social service agencies should be focused, and fifth, that in every group there were two sub-groups, those who were redeemable and those who were not.[276]

Henry Goddard, who had similar views to those of Terman, began to use the test in 1908. He too believed the test data could be used to substantiate, with statistical support, the already demonstrated proposition that normal intelligence and "weak-mindedness" were the products of Mendelian inheritance. Goddard conducted his "hereditary" study of a "degenerate" family, a study very similar in design and conclusion to Galton's research fifty years earlier, demonstrating Galton's persisting international influence.[277] In his well documented book, The Kallikaks, (a fictitious name) Goddard traced the family line descended from a Martin Kallikak.[278] His results once more confirmed the belief that mental ability and social standing were indefinably linked and genetically determined and that feeble-mindedness was linked with sexual promiscuity, alcoholism and criminality.

By 1917 mental ability had become the basis for labelling social deviants - very different from Binet and Simon's original intentions when devising their tests. In 1921 revised versions of Burt's group tests were published in Mental and Scholastic Tests, together

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[276]Simmons, From Asylum to Welfare, 94-95.

[277]Lewis, "The Development of Remedial Education", 132.

[278]From Kallikak's union with a "feeble-minded" woman, 486 descendants were produced. One hundred and forty three of these were known to be feeble-minded, 36 were illegitimate, 33 were sexually immoral, 24 confirmed alcoholics and 8 kept houses of 'ill -fame'. Besides these many others were of dubious mentality. After returning home from the war, Martin Kallikak married a "respectable" girl of a good family and 496 descendants were traced from this union. Not surprisingly, this branch of descendants were found to free of feeble mindedness. It was composed of doctors, lawyers, judges, educators, traders and landholders. Among these only two were confirmed alcoholics, there were no illegitimate children, no immoral women, no keepers of houses of "ill-repute" and only one man was deemed "sexually loose".

with his adjustment of the Binet-Simon individual tests and a series of educational attainment tests, including American tests, bibliograhy and critical comments. In post-modern terms, "normalisation" became one of the great instruments of power.[279]

Mental testing also had an important effect in the American schools and resulted in the development of special education classes.[280] The initial direction of testing had now been established and continuation of research and development was ensured by vast funding from corporate foundations and from some of the richest and most powerful industrialists in America. e.g. the John D. Rockefeller General Education Board (1903), the Carnegie Institute of Washington (1904) and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1906).[281]

At the turn of the twentieth century the leaders in American education were moving away from the one school, one class system of education and were advocating development of a management-oriented public school system. They looked to business - the factories and offices - as suitable models of centralised efficient practice to run their schools. These values of order, efficiency and uniformity can be seen as part of the push for law and order. Along with mental testing this was another attempt to "socialize" the working classes to behaviour that would "decrease crime, prompt safety on the streets, and contribute to industrial productivity".[282] Hewitt suggests that

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[279]Gould, The Mismeasure of Man, 142; Martin Hewitt "Biopolitics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare", Sociological Inquiry 2:1, (1983), 69.

[280]In 1926 a sample taken of 262 cities with populations in excess of 10,000 showed that over 90% of students in elementary schools had been placed into some kind of homogenous group. Tests used to group the children almost universally included intelligence testing. Provision was made for those in the lower streams and the years 1912-1918 showed a five-fold increase in the number of Special Schools catering for "feeble-minded" children and the number of enrolments in these schools almost trebled.

[281]Torrance, "The Origins and Development of Mental Testing", 45.

[282]Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers. Inc., 1971), 108.

> in an industrialising society power had to maximise human potential and not merely to threaten, punish or eliminate. Social policy in particular became one of the main apparatuses of the state for harnessing and circulating power.[283]

Education was seen as the "immediate and effective" solution to social problems. Marxian educational sociologists such as Katz write that in the early twentieth century it was believed that channelling children into appropriate education and providing them with relevant skills and attitudes would cause the ills of society to disappear.[284]

Progressive education advocated an education based on the needs of the child, with a curriculum tailored to his/her background experiences and prospects in later life.[285] Thus children of working class families learnt from special adapted curricula, the academic strand being taken up by those whose background would encourage further study.[286] At a time of eugenic beliefs in inherited intelligence and a rapidly developing corporate division of labour, what eventuated was curriculum stratification and bureaucracy in schools, rather than equality and democracy; perhaps not the intention of many reformers.[287]

By 1917 the reform movement received widespread support among employers, as they saw it as a way of limiting the power of skilled workers and the unions. Any decisions made for the students' futures came from tests which had a culturally specific and class-based bias of the notion of the ideal American society of the present and the future. British businessmen too, were of the same belief, as demonstrated by Alderman George

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[283]Hewitt, "Biopolitics and Social Policy", 69.
[284]Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools, Chapter 3.
[285]Progressive education used the school curriculum as an important vehicle in the drive towards social efficiency and utility, concentrating on the basic subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic and disregarding "antiquated" subject matter (such as Latin) and methodology. See, for example, G. W. Rodwell, With Zealous Efficiency: Progressivism and Tasmanian State Primary Education 1900-1920 (Darwin,: William Michael Press, 1992), Chapter 1.
[286]Bowles and Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, 190.
[287]Ibid.

Cadbury to the Annual Conference of the Association for Education in Industry and Commerce - "Intelligence is of the utmost importance in promoting efficiency".[288]

The Australian scene

In Australia at that time, educational change or reform was largely the result of imitation of overseas schemes. Educational reform was a "lively" issue and businessmen here were also calling for an education to meet the nation's industrial needs.[289] In Australia, as in Britain and the United States, the eugenics movement played a major role in the transference of

> a science and social strategy for the detection of mental defectives into a science appropriate to the measurement of differences amongst the mass of the 'normal' population.[290]

The influence of the eugenics philosophy on the treatment of handicapped children, particularly the mentally retarded, was greatest in the early part of the twentieth century, both in Australia and overseas. It had an influence on the type and provision of education services for all handicapped children. Governmental concern was shifting to focus upon those who could not be reformed simply by changing their life conditions. These discourses became linked to a eugenics strategy where the problems of crime, unemployment and madness (equated with mental retardation) were explained through evolutionary narratives. "The concept of character or hereditary taint began to enter discussions of social problems".[291] In South Australia, Constance Davey, reporting to the Committee Enquiring Into The Educational System Of South Australia, noted that

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[288]Sutherland, Ability, Merit, 134.
[289]J. Cleverly and J. Lawry eds., Australian Education in the Twentieth Century (Melbourne: Longman, 1972), 4.
[290]See D. McCallum, "The theory of educational inequality in Australia" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1985), Chapters 2-4.
[291]Lisa M. Blackman, "The Dangerous Classes: Retelling the Psychiatric Story", Feminism and Psychology 6:3, 371.

"the problem of the deliquent is mainly a psychological one. There is need then for early clincal psychological examination of every child showing anti-social behaviour."[292] As was discussed earlier, the concerns of eugenists of the late nineteenth century were scientific breeding of nations and efficient schooling. The "hard-line" eugenists overseas believed that sterilisation of mental defectives and "moral imbeciles" was the answer to the problem of ill - balanced breeding, but the opinion of the Australian medical profession was that segregated education was "an appropriate solution to mental defectiveness and the threat it posed to social order".[293]

Professional and political groups had an interest in selecting mental defectives out of state schooling. Detection of the "dull and troublesome" children was not always necessarily for their own "good" or a recognition of their needs. It was essentially to ensure smoother running of the schools.[294] Development of special education services in the past and present can be seen as the result of particular vested interests in society. In whose real interests was the development of special education services? Certainly, there were those who believed that education was a right for all individuals and not for merely a select minority and would produce a better society.[295]

Foucault makes the point that both Marxian and liberal theories of education are based on a certain image of the person. This is one of the person as a "self developing subject, who "learns" through freedom, and for whom the school is thus only an instrument of the person's own self-realisation". Foucault's argument suggests that

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[292]Outline of Evidence to be submitted to Education Enquiry Committee by Constance Davey, GRG 18/172/4 Education Enquiry Committee, Evidence Book 4, 139, Mortlock Library of South Australia.
[293]Ibid., 18.
[294]See Sally Tomlinson, A Sociology of Special Education (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1982), Chapters 2-3.
[295]K. S. Cunningham, "Ideas, Theories and Assumptions in Australian Education", quoted in Cleverly and Lawry, Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Chapter 2.

> both the formation of the person carried in modern education, and the social uses to which education can be put, are inseparable from the actual historical assemblage of the school as a moral and physical milieu dedicated to the mass training of children.[296]

The influence of the dominant groups, medical, psychological and educational, in this process cannot be ignored. Given the assumed links between defect, crime and unemployment, the interests of the ruling groups was certainly served by placement in separate schools and institutions of children who might eventually prove troublesome to society. Speaking of the situation in The Netherlands, which was similar to Australia, Dekker suggests that when the compulsory schooling was introduced

> the status of the medical profession was elevated considerably, and the problem of retardation was now seen from both sides, on the one hand from the point of view of support for the retarded children themselves, on the other from the point of view of the 'purification of the classes'".[297]

At a time when education for retarded children was virtually an undeveloped terrain without established positions or discourses, medical interests were almost omnipotent, doctors had control of selection and assessment procedures for special education and accordingly, they "recognized that the school could be used as a laboratory in which ... they ... hoped to produce 'scientific' ... surveys of the pupils".[298]

However, the interests of educationalists were also served by the removal of troublesome children.[299] The problems in the regular classroom were the basis of early demands for special education services for mentally retarded children and it was convenient to be able to justify this with eugenic philosophies. The environmentalist "weak" line approach of treating and regulating defect by education, that is, preventative

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[296]Hunter, "Assembling the school", 146, 148.
[297]Dekker, "An educational regime", 265.
[298]Harry Hendrick, "Child labour, medical capital, and the school medical service," in Roger Cooter, ed., In the Name of the Child. Wealth and Welfare, 1880-1940 (London: Routledge, 1992), 46; Ibid.
[299]Tomlinson, Special Education, 54.

medicine on a social scale, formed the critical link between the problem of defect and the psychological problem of difference.[300] The environmentalist wing of the eugenics movement was consistent with other strands of thought in the late nineteenth century which called in unison upon the institution of mass schooling to handle the problems of social control and order.[301]

In 1918, the South Australian Education Department Medical Inspector, in his annual report, remarked upon the "problem of what to do with mental defectives and backward and troublesome children of a class who are truants, often sexual deviants".[302] The assumption that the lower social classes were most likely to produce defective children became prominent with the influence of the eugenics movement in South Australia, leading to political anxiety that defective children were a danger to society. Here too, "defect" was linked to moral depravity, crime, pauperism, unemployment and prostitution.[303]

In order to identify the children who should be separated from the normal classrooms an accurate "psychosocial" measurement was needed. Sterilisation was also proposed. In Australia, as overseas, many people were anxious because the birth rate amongst the

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[300]See G. R. Searle, "Eugenics and Class," in Charles Webster, ed., Biology, Medicine and Society 1840-1940 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 217-242. Searle makes the distinction between different kinds and levels of commitment to eugenics. The "strong eugenists" or eugenicists proper, believed eugenics provided a total explanation of human history and social problems and was the only means of escape from national collapse and decay. The "weak" eugenicists were attracted to eugenics, or aspects of it, without feeling any compulsion to abandon their traditional political ideology. For example, to some, eugenics was a refreshing departure from bourgeois conventionality and became linked to such things as vegetarianism, socialism, proposals for abolition of the family and so on. A third group, the "medical eugenicists", did not see eugenics as a set of political beliefs, but as a branch of medicine or of public hygiene which, if subsidised or supported by government could greatly reduce human suffering and misery ."Career eugenicists" were academics who welcomed eugenics because of interest in the study of heredity and population problems, with which they were professionally concerned. Lastly were the opportunists ready to "employ rhetorically" certain eugenic phrases and ideas.

[301]David McCallum, "Eugenics, Psychology and Education in Australia," in Richard Tees and Gary Wickham, eds., Melbourne Working Papers, 4 1982/83, Papers in Contemporary Australian Education, Culture and Politics (University of Melbourne: Department of Education, 1983), 19.

[302]SAPP, 1918. 3:44, Report of the Medical Inspector, 36.

[303]Ibid.

"least fit" was rising, whilst declining amongst the "best type of citizens"; supposedly because they were able to exercise self restraint - the sign of responsible parenting. Because criminality was believed to be the result of feeble-mindedness, it was also believed to be preventable by early detection and segregation of the "unfit". It was a popular theory among the medical profession that specific areas of the brain were responsible for "moral nature" and volition and when these failed to develop normally or came into disuse, the result was arrested moral development of the individual. Such children, who seemed intellectually perfectly normal, but were thought to have defective moral natures, became scientifically known as "moral imbeciles", requiring special treatment and control. This line of thought, that many criminals suffered degenerative changes in certain brain centres, caused considerable pressure in the first decade of the century for information to be gathered of the incidence of this type of feeble-mindedness. Garton writes that for Australian eugenicists the most problematic group were the feeble-minded and the "moral-imbeciles". He continues:

> idiots and imbeciles were easily diagnosed, but the feebleminded were considered to be intelligent enough to breed without necessarily coming under the scrutiny of the state. Since it was thought essential that these people be identified early, it was argued that widespread use of IQ tests, particularly on schoolchildren, was necessary to the success of eugenic reforms.[304]

It was seen as imperative to be able to identify the least fit children and to stop the expansion of their class. In 1895, the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (A.A.A.S.) set up a committee to report on the "best means of encouraging

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[304]Stephen Garton, Medicine and Madness: A Social History of Insanity in New South Wales, 1880-1940 (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1988), 59. Garton reports that "the most popular form of grading used in Australia involved the division of the defective into three classes - idiots, imbeciles and the feebleminded. In this classification there were important differences between these three classes. Idiots were those whose mental age was less than three and who were completely dependent on others for elementary needs. They were difficult to feed, clothe and keep clean. Imbeciles, with a mental age of less than seven years, could perform basic tasks but were incapable of 'the wider adjustments necessary for independent existence and maintenance'. The feebleminded were those who required care for their own protection, and the protection of others, but could be trained to perform more complex tasks". Ibid., 58. Garton cites H. Sutton, "The Feebleminded: Their Classification and Importance", Australasian Medical Congress Transactions 2, (1911), 894-905.

psychological and psychometrical investigations in Australia".[305] The committee recommended the founding of an endowed chair in Mental Science, acknowledged Francis Galton as the world's leading authority on psychometrics and recommended that the discipline maintain close institutional links with physiology and physics. A further proposal was a scheme to measure the mental capacity of all school children in the government schools of all the colonies.

The first form of measurement was physiological. At the A.A.A.S. Conference in 1901, J. H. Betheras spoke of the new department of the science of "child study" - a science which showed that "all genuine stupidity and dullness on the part of children can be traced to an abnormal condition of the body".[306] Reporting to the same conference, Christian Bjelke-Peterson presented findings from a study investigating the growth of Hobart school boys. Rodwell points out that this work in Tasmania confirmed the findings of studies in Europe, that the "measurement of the body preceded the measurement of the mind. When you compare boys of the same age in sufficiently large numbers, you find that mental ability is in direct proportion to their weight".[307] That is, children who were undernourished did not do well at school. Another survey which gathered a large amount of anthropometrical testing was conducted by Elkington in 1906, surveying 1200 Hobart school children. The importance of such data was that it could be used to compare the physical development of town and country Tasmanian children and children from mainland Australia and overseas.[308]

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[305]Miller, Long Division, 165.
[306]J. H. Betheras, "Child Study - A New Department of Science", A.A.A.S. Report of the 8th Meeting, Section J, Melbourne, 1901, 374, cited in McCallum, "Eugenics", 24.
[307]C. Bjelke-Peterson, "Growth and development of Hobart schoolboys, with some notes on anthropology", A.A.A.S. Report of the 8th meeting, Section J, Melbourne, McCallum, "Eugenics", 25.
[308]Rodwell, With Zealous Efficiency, 191.

By 1910 the popularity of anthropometrical tests was waning - they were thought to lack the reliability attributed to measures dealing solely with the mind. Tests were wanted which would give judgement on the educability of a child and more exact measurement of the "mental capacity". By 1911, Harvey Sutton was able to report to the Australasian Medical Congress on his work with testing about one hundred N.S.W. school children. Having used the Binet-Simon tests and questions and techniques of Henry Goddard of Vineland, New Jersey; Sutton pronounced that, used with "judgement and discretion" the tests were "almost mathematically exact in their findings".[309]

In 1912 a national survey of schoolchildren was conducted to find out the extensiveness of feeble-mindedness amongst Australian schoolchildren. The Australasian Medical Congress was responsible for the planning and a central committee was set up with the role of supervision of the survey and education of the public about the dangers of feeble-mindedness. "The objective was to institute different types of education for those found to be unfitted to the contemporary content and organisation of school".[310] This survey illustrated the agreement amongst doctors on the importance of early detection of mental defectiveness and the potential of treatment through education. It was also an example of the "powerful coalition" between the medical profession and educationalists and it set out to confirm certain basic categories to be used in measuring children's abilities. Rose and Miller suggest that although such "alliances" were forged in a domain outside politics, they were nevertheless ways of regulating conduct.

> Liberal mentalities of government do not conceive of the regulation of conduct as dependent only upon political actions: the imposition of law; the activities of state functionaries or publicly controlled bureaucracies; surveillance and discipline by an all seeing police. Liberal government identifies a domain outside

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[309]Miller, Long Division, 166.
[310]McCallum, "Eugenics", 27.

> 'politics' and seeks to manage it without destroying its existence and its autonomy. This is made possible through the activities and calculations of a proliferation of independent agents including philanthropists, doctors, hygienists, managers, planners, parents and social workers. And it is dependent upon the forging of alliances. This takes place on one hand between political strategies and the activities of these authorities and, on the other, between these authorities and free citizens, in attempts to modulate events, decisions and actions in the economy, the family, the private firm and the conduct of the individual person.[311]

The concepts of normal performance, division of children into grades according to age and knowledge into grade "packages" enabled calculation of average performances to be used in the normal classroom. Although the main point was the differentiation between normal and abnormal, it is worth noting the abnormal categories which were set out in a memorandum accompanying the survey:

> In making an estimate of the mental capacity of school children, the age of the child should be compared with the average of the class. A mentally dull child is one having only the intelligence of a child two or more years younger - for instance, a child of ten years in a class of which the average age is eight years may be considered dull, provided no accidental retarding cause as given is present. The class teacher should make a list of all children two or more years older than the average age of the class, and classify them on the schedule according to the following categories:-
>
> 1. Backward through accidental causes in early life - e.g. ill health, physical defect, bad environment, late arrival at school, employment out of school hours, irregular attendance
> 2. Backward through defective intelligence, or who may be:-
>   i Mentally dull
>   ii Feeble-minded
>   iii Imbecile
>   iv Idiot [312]

The enterprise met with some "considerable resistance" from some State Education Departments. Queensland and Western Australia refused to take part and New South Wales withheld results of its independent assessment - on the grounds that they would be misleading. However, South Australia and Victoria were keen to participate. In South Australian State schools, from the 77,476 children surveyed, 75 were declared to

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[311]Rose and Miller, "Political power beyond the State", 180.
[312]Miller, Long Division, 167.

be of "extremely low mentality", 765 were said to be "mentally defective" and 1,525 were "borderline cases".[313] Rose and Miller term such information as

> the *governmental technologies*, the complex of mundane programmes, calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents and procedures through which authorities seek to embody and give effect to governmental ambitions.[314](Original italics).

Out of a claimed total of 300,000 children surveyed, about 2,000 were reckoned to be in the category of feeble-minded, imbecile or idiot. This was the information sought by the committee, and during the next few years Special Schools were set up to cater for these groups. There was, however, some confusion with the survey findings. The committee of medical practitioners cautioned against placing too much importance on the classification of children by non-experts, that is, teachers. It would seem from the results that the teachers were unsure about what they were measuring and had a great deal of difficulty in identifying students in the "mentally dull" category. In fact a separate category marked "mentally dull-doubtful" was revealed on the returns.[315] The returns showed large fluctuations in estimates of mental-dullness between states. Given the influence of the eugenics movement and the "linkages made between low social class, dullnes and social vice", it would be interesting to know how many of these children were from low socio-economic families with "undesirable attitudes".[316]

Despite the problems encountered, the central committee still claimed the results showed that feeble-mindedness was an urgent problem demanding immediate legislative action by the State. As McCallum notes, the survey in fact uncovered precisely the problem which doctors had assumed in the first place. A memorandum to schools stated

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[313]Ibid.
[314]Rose and Miller, "Political power beyond the State", 175.
[315]McCallum, "Eugenics", 30.
[316]Tomlinson, Special Education, 79.

that "very few people outside the medical profession realise the gravity of the problem of the mentally deficient, its relation to crime, and to the multiplication of the unfit in the community".[317] Such beliefs had become "both expert view and commonsense opinion" and undoubtedly influenced perceptions of mental dullness.[318] Thus state Rose and Miller:

> problematics of government can be analyzed, first of all, in terms of their *political rationalities*, the changing discursive fields within which the exercise of power is conceptualised, the moral justifications for particular ways of exercising power by diverse authorities, notions of the appropriate forms, objects and limits of politics, and conceptions of the proper distribution of such tasks among secular, spiritual, military and familial sectors.[319] (Original italics).

As with overseas findings, the committee recommended control through detention, thought to be in the best interests of both the community and the feeble-minded themselves. The setting up of day and residential schools for the various grades of mental defectives would enable the state to ensure their wellbeing as well as the protection of its citizens. Equally important, future generations of human stock would be improved by preventing the mentally unfit from reproducing themselves.

The role of the A.A.A.S. Committee seemed to have broadened a great deal since its inception. The wider scope taken on by the committee indicates perhaps the importance and power which it and the community believed it held. The idea of mental testing was taken up with enthusiasm by industrialists as well as educationalists. Like their overseas counterparts, Australian industrialists saw mental testing as a way of channelling students into employment areas which suited their interests. Mental testing and ideas of individual innate difference soon "formed the central underpinning of certain institutional practices". In the education system, teachers training at universities were required to

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[317] Australian Medical Congress. Transactions of the 10th Session, Auckland, New Zealand, February, 1914, 704. Cited in McCallum, "Eugenics", 30.
[318] Tomlinson, Special Education, 71.
[319] Rose and Miller, "Political power beyond the State", 175.

read texts on mental testing and the ideas were influential in the fields of vocational guidance and in industrial organisations. They were "powerful and authoritative because they were organised by the educated elites in the professions and the state bureaucracy and because they were represented as objective scientific research".[320] Foucault believes we should consider the fact that

> the exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge. Conversely, knowledge induces effects of power. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power.[321]

Using their knowledge, professionals, (school medical officers) by testing students would be able to "weed out" the number of children on whom education was wasted. From an economical and humanitarian point of view, it was considered a waste of public money trying to educate such children in the "ordinary" school subjects. However, there were some sceptics who were not convinced by the new "scientific creed". John Anderson, the Sydney philosopher, expressed doubts about the basic assumptions of the hereditarian theory - relating eugenist thinking with the Ku Klux Klan. He derided attempts to ensure the survival of the fittest and seriously questioned the linking of intelligence with social worth. Anderson's doubts were shared by others, but they were outnumbered by the zealots.[322]

By 1910 texts on mental testing were becoming required reading in Teacher Training Institutions. As these philosophies became more and more entrenched in the daily practices of institutions, the more difficult they were to dispute and the more powerful they became. From a Foucauldian perspective it could be postulated that the introduction of such knowledge (made up of discourses to do with education of the

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[320]McCallum, "Eugenics", 26.
[321]Madan Sarap, An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1989), 82.
[322]McCallum, "The theory of educational inequality in Australia", 114-117.

handicapped) into teaching methodologies was the momentum that replaced repression with the concept of normalization, or as O'Brien puts it "studying power through discourse allows us to perceive the moment when new technologies of power are introduced".[323] This notion, says O'Brien, is "perhaps a concept more satisfying in explaining an enduring (functioning) system".[324] It could also be supposed that the founding of special education meant the construction of the mentally retarded child as a "subject" produced by:

> the practices of surveillance, observation and classification, all legitimate practices and all historically constituted in relation to existing conditions and practices.[325]

As Foucauldians would emphasise, the exercise of power combined with the development of knowledge or expertise, results in the emergence of particular discourses and functions.[326] However, financial backing was imperative to ensure continuation of the research and the dissemination of ideas. The founding of the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) in 1930 was the "most significant institutional development in Australia in the early part of the twentieth century".[327] James Russell, Emeritus Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, visited Australia in 1928 to assess the Australian education scene for the Carnegie Corporation. In his report he stated that "the one greatest need in Australia - a need voiced by every leader that I have met - is for some means of checking impartially the work of the school and supplying reliable information for continuous development".[328] In its first thirty years the Council was wholly funded by the Carnegie Institution, a

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[323]O'Brien, Foucault's History of Culture, 38.
[324]Ibid.
[325]See Valerie Walkerdine, "Developmental psychology and the child-centred pedagogy: the insertion of Piaget into early education", in Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 163.
[326]Hunter, "Assembling the school", 153; Sarap, An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism, 73.
[327]McCallum, "Eugenics", 28.
[328]W. F. Connell, The Australian Council for Educational Research, 1930-1980 (Hawthorn, Victoria: The Australian Council for Educational Research, 1980), 47.

Corporation which heavily financed the growth of the eugenics movement in the United States and was eager to aid scientific development of the United States' customers and allies. The major focus of the Council's activities was on intelligence testing - here was a powerful ally for the testing movement, which was already beginning to exert an influence on public policy.

In this chapter I have discussed the rise of eugenics, the ideas proposed by the philosopher Herbert Spencer in nineteenth century Britain. Spencer applied Darwin's concepts of biological evolution to the human species, assuming that the difference between human beings was their amount of general intelligence. In other words the privileged of society were so because they had evolved as a higher form of humanity by a period of natural selection and following from that, the less privileged were therefore occupying their rightful place in society. This notion conveniently explained the inequalities of power and wealth present in British society at the time. The research which claimed to discover these hereditary biological certainties was eugenics. However, this research although substantiating the beliefs of the time about the "menace" of the feeble-minded, is also regarded as the beginning of modern special education, for it enabled the mentally retarded adult and child to become a legitimate "subject" of study.

From this knowledge developed a new set of discourses and expertise surrounding the mentally retarded. In order to stop the breeding of the "unfit" or feeble-minded, eugenists advocated a system of detention and sterilisation, providing an ideology of surveillance and control, on acceptable moral grounds. Eugenic ideas spread to the rest of Europe and to North America and it was men with eugenic convictions who first developed psychological testing and psychometric theories. Alfred Binet was commissioned by the French Ministry of Public Instruction to develop testing

procedures to help identify students needing special schooling and the first I.Q. test, a formalised scale of tests with an age - related scale of results, was published in 1905.

For educators, it meant that there was now a way to categorise students on the basis of cognitive ability, an area of knowledge previously uncharted and without existing discursive practices. Intelligence tests were eagerly adopted in Britain and the United States and later Australia, but for a completely different function than envisaged by Binet. They were used to validate eugenic beliefs about class and race and about the higher innate intelligence of upper and middle-class children and parents and following from this, the lower innate intelligence of lower-middle and working class children and parents.

Australian eugenists too, were concerned about scientific breeding of nations and efficient schooling and both political and professional groups had an interest in excluding mental defectives from state schooling. The influence and dominance of the medical profession in these developments is of importance. Of particular interest to Foucault is the changes in certain empirical forms of knowledge, such as medicine. He posits that in a period of about twenty-five years within the discipline, there arose a "completely new way of speaking and seeing". The same could be said for the knowledge base surrounding the mentally retarded. Foucault asks the question:

> how is it that at certain moments and in certain knowledges there are these sudden transformations? There seems to be changes in the rules of formation of statements which are accepted as scientifically true. There is a whole new 'regime' of discourse which makes possible the separation not of the true from the false but of what may be characterised as scientific form what may not be characterised as scientific.[329]

What he is talking about is a consideration of the effects of power and knowledge. Although Foucault avoids any totalising form of analysis, there is nevertheless some

[329]Sarap, An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism, 71.

underlying similarity and coherence (which Foucault would acknowledge) in analysing the growth of eugenics and testing within this framework. In his later work he is more inclined to talk about "apparatuses", which are part of these transformations. An "apparatus" he describes as

> a structure of heterogeneous elements such as discourses, laws, institutions, in short, the said as much as the unsaid. The apparatus contains strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge.[330]

The question of how the human sciences and in this case eugenics became historically possible and what the results/consequences of their existence are has been approached in this chapter. In such a way, eugenics, testing and the new forms of power/knowledge and the discourses and practices generated came into the school system. What followed was the development of the psychology branch and its forms of knowledge and support systems.

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[330]Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

PSYCHOLOGY - CONSTRUCTING THE SUBJECT

Educational Psychology

It was at the beginning of the twentieth century that education and as a result, what was to be educational psychology, was undergoing significant changes. In Britain, reformers such as Samuel Wilderspin, David Snow and James Kay-Shuttleworth had long advocated a pedagogy which would develop children's moral, intellectual and practical understandings.[331] Such a transformation in pedagogic regulation was according to Peters:

> simultaneously a discursive transformation and a transformation of practices and apparatus. Within this new form of scientifically produced regulation, with its emergent twin foci of child development and mental measurement, the 'new' education, both in its English origins and Australian derivation, took its first tentative steps. Children were established as proper objects of scientific gaze and, with the development of educational apparatuses which distinguished between those of 'normal' and 'sub-normal' intelligence, were to be educated accordingly. Such objectification of the child allowed for the possibility of a science and a pedagogy based on a model naturally occurring development, which could be observed, normalised and regulated.[332]

The outcome of these discourses which emphasised the psychological capacities of individual children was, suggests Donald:

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[331]See, for example, Samuel Wilderspin, Infant Education (London: Simpkin and Marshal, 1825, 3rd edition), 201-202. Cited in Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Urwin and Valerie Walkerdine, eds., Language, Gender and Childhood History Workshop Series (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980), 76-77; David Stow, The Training System, the Moral Training School and the Normal Seminary (London: Longman, Brown and Green, 1850) cited in Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 210; James Kay-Shuttleworth, Memorandum on Popular Education, 1868 (reprinted London: Woburn Books, 1969).

[332]Peters, "Children's Culture and the State", 215.

> a system based on segregation. Bright children, as identified by mental measurement, were to be separated from other children diagnosed as potentially dangerous or in danger, and therefore in need of care and control.[333]

Importantly, the routine testing of children established a "hierarchical order among them and allowed an identity to be constructed around their development, their aptitude and their qualifications".[334] Foucault terms this the "objectification of the subject by processes of classification and division".[335] The latter, the dividing practices, Ball believes to be "clearly central to the organisational processes of education in our society".[336] He continues:

> these divisions and objectifications are achieved either within the subject or between the subject and others. The use of testing, examining, profiling, and streaming in education, the use of entry criteria for different types of schooling, and the formation of different types of intelligence, ability, and scholastic identity in the processes of schooling are all examples of such 'dividing practices'. In these ways, using these techniques and forms of organisation, and the creation of separate and different curricular, pedagogies, forms of teacher-student relationships, identities and subjectivities are formed, learned and carried. Through the creation of remedial and advanced groups, and the separation of the educationally subnormal or those with special education needs, abilities are stigmatized and normalised.[337]

Walkerdine points out that there was "no easy and simple flow from the form of one pedagogy to the other". She suggests that changes took place in conjunction with struggles and political battles as well as other conditions. Snow terms the introduction of compulsory schooling in Australia as a "major turning point in state-civil relations" with the question of rights and responsibilities of state and parents being central to the debate, which was certainly the case with the development of special education in South Australia.[338] Walkerdine asserts that significantly:

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[333]Donald, Sentimental Education, 29.
[334]Ibid., 42.
[335]Ibid.
[336]Ball, Foucault and Education, 4, 5.
[337]Ibid., 4.
[338]See Grundy, "Free Schooling and the State in South Australia, 1875-1898", 169-202; Snow, "The State Youth and Schooling", 52.

> transformation in the form of pedagogic regulation was simultaneously a discursive transformation and a transformation of apparatuses and practices: a new regime of truth included in a field of administration.[339]

It was in relation to this new form of scientifically produced regulation that psychology first "entered the stage" and special education was "born". As I have noted, the interest in study of the population at the beginning of the twentieth century led to children being singled out and classified as an individual group. Characteristics were charted with a view to determining what might produce physical illness, immoral and criminal behaviour. This, Walkerdine states, was directly related to the discourses of the time concerning eugenics and social engineering. In England, France and North America, the problem was mooted in almost identical terms, administrators "sought a scientific and rational solution to the problem of individualizing the feeble-minded", so that they could be separated from the school population and segregated in specialised institutions that would "seek to awaken their moral sensibilities and increase their resistance to the temptations of vice and crime".[340] Such discourses saw a shift of emphasis in population control from "habits to degeneracy", giving credence to a "central and strategic production of the norm(al)". Once again, states Donald:

> we are confronted with that sea-change in the modes of understanding and political action in the decades around the turn of the century, in which the capacities of individual children, as defined by the new psychological sciences, feed into a new pedagogy and ever more pervasive forms of social welfare, investigation and surveillance.[341]

The rise of Psychology

> Discursive practices such as psychology act upon those who cannot or will not self-manage and act responsibly. The conditions which made possible the formation of the modern psychological enterprise were established in all those

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[339]Walkerdine, "Developmental psychology and the child-centred pedagogy," in Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 168.
[340]Rose, Governing the Soul, 137.
[341]Donald, Beacons of the Future, 233.

> fields where psychological expertise could be deployed in relation to problems of the abnormal functioning of individuals.[342]

By making this statement, Rose refutes the view of historians who claim psychology is essentially the science of normal mental functioning of human beings.[343] They claim the discipline stems from the age-old practice of reflecting on the human psyche and that

> social deployment of psychological expertise can only be seen as a by-product, often unexpected and unintended, of the advances of our knowledge of the functioning of the normal mind and its role in behaviour.[344]

For them, the practical issues with which psychology involves itself originated only as application to specific problems of knowledge acquired in the examination of the normal mind. Hence, psychology is concerned with the practical issues of problems of pathology. Those who for some reason do not function normally are able to be recognised and diagnosed because of the knowledge already held of the normal mind. This is problematic for Rose who suggests

> the practical issues with which psychology is bound up are thus pertinent only to this penumbra of applied psychology; the central core of psychological discourse has a history which is indifferent to them. ... Thus ... A knowledge of normal mental processes ... appears to be the condition and basis for the application of scientific techniques to the problems caused by abnormality.[345]

Rose asserts that modern psychology was not the result of musings in a quiet reflective atmosphere and its position today within the practices of social administration and regulation has not been created through application of established psychological doctrines to pressing practical problems. Neither was the knowledge of the normal mind

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[342]Nikolas Rose, The Psychological Complex. Psychology, Politics and Society in England, 1869-1939 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1985), 3. Rose's work examines the factors that made it possible to think psychologically about individual differences and how these were connected to other social, political and theoretical events.

[343]See for example, Hearnshaw, The Shaping of Modern Psychology. Hearnshaw sets out to provide a survey of the entire historical development of the development of psychology, from the dawn of civilisation to the present day. See also, Georges Canguilhem, What is psychology? trans. H. Davies, (I & C: 1980), cited in Rose, 141.

[344]Rose, Psychological Complex, 2.

[345]Ibid.

used to explain the pathological one. He unequivocally states that

> psychological knowledge of the individual was constituted around the pole of abnormality ... psychological normality was conceived of as merely a lack of socially disturbing symptoms, an absence of social inefficiency: *that which did not need to be regulated.*[346] (Original italics).

There were specific discursive conditions for the ways in which social problems were conceived at particular times, the measures directed towards them and the evidence accumulated about the consequences of the measures and the conclusions drawn.

> The scientific discourse of individual psychology did not form in a pure space of knowledge, but neither was it called into existence through the force of social exigencies. It was made possible by the existence of certain ways of thinking about population, statistics, evolution and heredity, by certain theories of the nature, origin and treatment of mental pathology, and by certain conceptions of the role and objectives of good government and the laws of economic and social life.[347]

According to Rose, scientific discourses endeavour to produce explanations that are true and demonstrable and assign and assess statements in terms of division between true and false. Therefore psychology of the individual could only become an effective sphere of knowledge to the extent that it defined and defended a particular regime of truth. Which is to say that scientific discourses not only seek truth, they also claim truth. Rose continues, asserting that

> the extent to which a scientific discourse can establish its claims to truth, can command acceptance of the veracity of its explanations of certain phenomena, is crucial for the relations which can obtain between that discourse and the various social practices within which it circulates. Firstly, within the field of scientific practices. But furthermore within the various other practices - technical, judicial, pedagogic, governmental and so forth - within which that discourse or the explanations which it produces may be deployed. The social functioning and consequences of the psychology of the individual were conditioned by the ways in which its explanations laid claim to truthfulness and the extent to which their veracity was accepted.[348]

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[346]Ibid., 5, 6.
[347]Ibid., 7.
[348]Ibid., 8.

But the psychology of the individual was more than arguments and explanations of problems incorporated in books, articles and so on. It was also made up of a series of practical instruments and techniques which comprised the explanations proposed and allocated them in relation to the practical problems which had brought them about. This meant construction of a whole technology of manuals of instruction, testing and assessment procedures, rules of diagnostic practice and classification and techniques of therapy. It also meant the formation of professional bodies, which nominated those believed competent to speak and practice as psychologists and controlled teaching, training and admission to the ranks of the professionally qualified, as well as regulating standards of professional conduct. These psychologists sought to locate problems of individual conduct within the jurisdiction of the psychology of the individual, and hence to claim the right to adjudicate upon them.[349] Psychologists laid claim to a particular expertise in the

> disciplining of the uniqueness and idiosyncrasies of childhood, individualizing children by categorizing them, calibrating their aptitudes, inscribing their peculiarities in an ordered form, managing their variability conceptually, and governing it practically.[350]

Foucault argues that such simple technical procedures are ones which determine or "make" individuals.[351] In factories, schools, hospitals and other institutions, people gathered en masse are able to be observed "as entities both similar to and different from one another". Functioning in some ways like scientific instruments, microscopes or telescopes, the institutions "established a regime of visibility in which the observed was distributed within a single common plane of sight".[352] These institutions operated on a

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[349]Ibid., 9.
[350]Rose, Governing the Soul, 132.
[351]Foucault, Discipline and Punish (London: Allen Lane, 1979), 191. In postmodernist terms, the individual "is not a given or fixed entity, but rather a particular product of historically specific practices of social regulation". See, in particular, Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 12.
[352]Ibid.

"regulation of detail", involving evaluation of conduct, manners and so on, leading to the establishment of a "grid of codeability of personal attributes". They acted as

> norms, enabling the previously aleatory and unpredictable complexities of human nature to be charted and judged in terms of conformity and deviation, to be coded and compared, ranked and measured. ... In this perceptual process the phenomenal world was normalized - that is to say, thought of in terms of its coincidences and differences from values deemed normal - in the very process of making it visible to science.[353]

McCallum makes the point that the introduction of psychology into social and school administration meant that individuals were produced as objects of enquiry and reform and that this production affected the structures of educational provisions. This assumes, he suggests, that the effects of psychology are not governed only by rules and propositions internal to scientific discovery, but result from certain applications of psychology to social management - of the effects of psychology as a "technology of the social".[354] According to McCallum, the power/knowledge couplet is critical to understanding the way psychology operates, "the individual produced by psychology and the individualizing techniques in schools establish a system of mutual support and reinforcement".[355]

For Rose, the crucial period which saw the emergence of psychology of the individual as a scientific discourse and a body of social practices was in England from 1869 to 1939, leading up to the second world war. As the rise of psychology in South Australia was heavily influenced by developments in England, I use the time span as a rough guide for

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[353]Ibid., 132-133.

[354]To Henriques et al., the notion of how society socialises the individual is crucial. The individual, as a concept, could not exist without its opposite number, society. They are mutually indispensable. In the social sciences this relation is almost universally theorised as some sort of antithetical interaction, exclusive (though interacting), as separable and pulling in opposite directions. Henriques et al. posit this as typical concept of formulations about the development of socialisation, but which they find problematic when accounting for social formulation of psychological functions. For further detail see, Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, Chapter 1.

[355]David McCallum, The Social Production of Merit: Education, Psychology and Politics in Australia 1900-1950 (London: Burgess Science Press, 1990), xi.

my discussions on the rise of psychology in this state. Events of that time provided the basis for the generalisation and development of applied and clinical psychology during and after the war. This psychology existed as a culture of discourses, practices, agents and techniques, dispersed within schools, clinics, the judicial and penal processes. Because of this, suggests Rose, it became possible to

> think scientifically about the mental capacities and attributes of human individuals, to understand their conduct in these terms, to conceive of their problems and potentials in terms of regulation and reformation with reference to this psychological domain.[356]

Psychology of the individual

It was the problem of feeble-mindedness and the discourses it generated in England at the end of the nineteenth century that precipitated the formation of psychology of the individual. The concern was not for the predicament of those "afflicted", but rather the effects of feeble-mindedness for the population as a whole. Three eugenic discourses of social and political argument in the mid nineteenth century were linked when putting forward the problem of the feeble-minded.

> Firstly, the doctrine that the regulation of the quality of the population was a proper and important issue for government and action. Secondly, the argument that the conditions of urban life were deleterious to the habits and abilities of the labouring classes, and that the effect was a cumulative demoralisation of the population. Thirdly, the theory that pathological physical and moral states were the expression of a constitutional predisposition which was transmitted by heredity and which tended to become more marked with each generation, thus forming a process of degeneracy. When these themes were linked up around the problem of the feeble-minded, each was transformed.[357]

These same discourses were present in the Australian scene, where, according to McCallum, during the period 1880 to 1920 "a psychological framework was applied to the Australian school system". This framework was part of the discourse advocating

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[356]Ibid.
[357]Ibid., 40.

measurement of what was believed to be differences between individuals in terms of behaviour, or performance and abilities.[358] It developed partly from medical concerns with mental defectiveness and with the population considered mentally abnormal. McCallum asserts that the eugenics movement in Australia played a major role in

> transposing a science and social strategy for the detection and segregation of mental defectives into a science appropriate to the measurement of differences amongst the mass of the "normal" population.[359]

As discussed in detail elsewhere in this thesis, the eugenic question of controlling the mentally abnormal and their reproduction was taken up by intellectual and scientific groups. "Eugenics sought a link between the biological, heritable, variable basis of mental characteristics and the criteria of social worth". It was psychology that forged this link, measuring the senses and relating the measurements with social worth.[360] It was the psychologists who

> reformulated the medical and physical orientation of mental abnormality in terms of a scale or series of grades, corresponding to the mental development and capacity of the whole of the normal population. The significance of the psychological framework, in terms of its eugenist roots, lay in its appropriation of the school system, both as a social laboratory and an important tool of social reform.[361]

The prevailing eugenicist discourse of the mid nineteenth century in Europe and America was concerned with racial purity. Its connection with psychology and the growth of mental testing has been well documented in a number of studies.[362] It would seem, as Rose suggests that

> in the debates at the turn of the century, mental defectives progressively became the archetypal representation of the race. In them were conjoined all those behaviours in which degenerate stock might manifest itself: immorality,

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[358]See McCallum, "Eugenics", 17.
[359]Ibid.
[360]Rose, Governing the Soul, 138.
[361]Ibid.
[362]See, for example, Blum, Pseudoscience and Mental Ability; Kamin, The Science and Politics of I.Q. and Gould, The Mismeasure of Man.

> criminality, indigence, inebriety, vagrancy, unemployability and, crucially, prostitution and promiscuity.[363]

The feeble-minded had become simultaneously the object of a theoretical knowledge and the target of an administrative apparatus. But

> this object/target was not the drooling idiot with syphilitic teeth and degenerate ears, but a problem both more direct - concerning the details of behaviour in relation to the norms of pedagogy - and more remote - having its origin in an invisible pathology of intellect. ... Mental condition had become a new object of judgement and of legitimate and compulsory social action. ... Feeble-mindedness was a psychological state which was knowable only on the basis of social behaviours which it induced.[364]

From the mid to late nineteenth century, in Australia and elsewhere, these recurring questions of the nature of feeble-mindedness became transposed from more general statements within philosophical debate to the sphere of positive knowledge in relation to mental characteristics of individuals and individual differences.

> Problems of a highly generalized nature, such as the nature of mind and the relation of human psyche and sensation, increasingly came to share ground with the problem of mental capacity and the range of mental fitness in the population. The shift was a marked event in the development of psychological theory. With its greater autonomy in respect of formal philosophy, the science of psychology played the historical role demanded of it in strategies to regulate and rank the population.[365]

The Australian scene

The fields of medicine and philosophy were largely responsible for the psychological interest in education in Australia in the late nineteenth century. In the disciplines of philosophy and psychology the interest was in the nature of the mind and the function of the intellect. Prior to the creation of separate departments and chairs, Philosophy was linked with Classics, as at Sydney University, or attached to English departments in the form of Mental and Moral Philosophy, as at the University of Adelaide. The professors

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[363]Rose, Psychological Complex, 92.
[364]Ibid., 106, 108.
[365]McCallum, Social Production, 14.

of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide departments were said to have comprised a "Scottish triumvirate". All had studied in Scotland and formed an affiliation with the idealist directions in Scottish philosophy. In Sydney, Professor Anderson pursued the aspects of personality and the psychological and ethical features of social progress. Professor Laurie in Melbourne was committed to the idea of a science of measurement and investigating the social significance of theories of heredity, while in Adelaide, Professor Mitchell pursued his interest in mental processes.[366] Professor Laurie was twice appointed to chair committees set up by the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and the Victorian Chapter of the British Medical Association, to survey the extent of feeble-mindedness in Australia. Having a philosopher on a committee of medical practitioners helped "straddle the institutional separateness of the roots of mental measurement".[367]

Examining the physical dimensions of abnormality was the concern of medical science, in particular anatomy, physiology and psychiatry. In Victoria, Professor Berry of the Anatomy Department at Melbourne University pressed the importance of a medical and therefore scientific diagnosis of mental characteristics, rather than what he termed as the more speculative psychological approach. By 1910 the anthropometric tests were becoming less popular, as they were thought to lack the reliability of criteria dealing solely with the mind. A measure of the educability and mental capacity were wanted and

> it was becoming clear that the enquiry into mental differences should not be confined to defectiveness in the medical understanding of the term, but rather should be extended to include the whole school population. ... The mental testing of school children in Australian elementary schools took place after

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[366]Professor Mitchell, described as a "very all round person" by Miss Mary Smith, was Hughes Professor of Philosophy at the University of Adelaide but "vitally interested in psychology". Unpublished interview by J. D. C. Robertson, chief psychologist, of the South Australian Education Department. Professor Mitchell's book, Structure and Growth of Mind, published in 1907, was regarded as "a significant Australian contribution to theories of mental development". McCallum, Social Production, 15.

[367]Ibid.

> strenuous efforts by a small group of medical and professional enthusiasts to convince educational authorities of the threat posed by feeble-mindedness, and of the contribution which their scientific expertise could make to understanding and treating the problem. ... They brought the state school teaching profession under their auspices in an effort to arrest what they believed was a growing army of unskilled labourers, vagrants, habitual inebriates, criminals and lunatics, all largely recruited from the ranks of the mentally deficient and presumably, of the state schools (there was almost no communication of the new psychological theory to the private grammar schools).[368]

McCallum cites the 1912 survey of feeble-mindedness as the "moment of this transformation from mental defectiveness to mental difference, ... insofar as it was part of the consolidation of a specifically psychological problematic of educational differences".[369] Following the British Royal Commission in 1904 to investigate the problem of feeble-mindedness, pressure was brought to bear for similar research in Australia, culminating in the survey. As detailed in the previous chapter, it was this survey that led to the categorisation of normal children, as well as abnormal. This category of normal was based on actual behaviour and school performance, while the 1912 survey was represented as an attempt to deal with the medical problem of mental defectiveness. It nevertheless affirmed specific ways of thinking about normal performance and specific practices of school organization (divisions into grades roughly according to age, division of knowledge into yearly packages) which allowed measures of average performance to be calculated.

Clearly the Australian researchers and teachers were reliant on British and American source material. The small number of psychologists who were working in the testing field travelled abroad to study with the experts. Some went to Columbia Teachers' College to work with Edward Thorndike and others such as Constance Davey from South Australia, went to the London Psychological Clinic, run by Cyril Burt, to study

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[368]Ibid., 22.
[369]McCallum, "Eugenics", 17.

with Charles Spearman.[370] It was the technique of the intelligence test that was the

> most important contribution of the psychological sciences to the human technologies in the first half of the twentieth century. The test routinises the complex ensemble of social judgement on individual variability into an automatic device that makes difference visible and notable.[371]

The advent of the intelligence test meant that what could now be judged and administered was not what one did but what one was. "The enquiries and the judgements are psychological. They are not made in terms of a rule and its transgressions, but in terms of a norm and an assessment of normality".[372] The intellect had now become manageable, with the image of a normal curve and a concept of intelligence that was unitary, variable, assessable and summable into a simple score.

South Australia

In South Australia the Schools' Medical Officer, Dr. Gertrude Halley, realised that the individual attention needed by "subnormal" children was not available in the schools and wanted a centre built similar to one she had seen in Mittagong, New South Wales, where feeble-minded children were taught by the Montessori method.[373] She reported

> special schools for feeble-minded children should be under the Medical Branch of the Education Department. Special care would be taken to scientifically classify the cases and work given suitable for each individual child. ... In New South Wales the Medical branch of the department of Public Instruction have undertaken the testing of these children. I would strongly urge that such work be

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[370]In the 1920s the Carnegie Corporation financed study trips to the U.S.A. for psychologists and fully funded the Australian Council for Educational Research for its first thirteen years. See McCallum, Social Production, Chapter 2; Constancy Davey was financed by a Catherine Helen Spence scholarship to pursue post graduate studies in London.

[371]Rose, Governing the Soul, 140.

[372]For a more detailed discussion of this concept, see Rose, Psychological Complex, Chapter 4.

[373]Gertrude Halley was appointed as the Education Department's first medical officer in 1913. Her duties included examining schools from a medical point of view and examining individual children and reporting any serious defects. Halley was influential in bringing attention to the needs of mentally retarded children. She gave evidence to the South Australian Education Commission, which in its final report in 1913, recognised the unsuitability of having mentally defective children in school classes and acknowledged the need for special classes. See Constance Davey, Children and their Lawmakers: A Social Historical Survey of the Growth and Development from 1836 to 1950 of South Australian Laws relating to Children (Adelaide: Griffin Press, 1956), 76.

> undertaken in this State; not only from a humanitarian, but from an economic standpoint, it is to be commended.[374]

From 1916 Halley continued to press the department to recruit a school psychologist, using the eugenic discourses of the time.

> During the year the question of dealing with the mental defectives has frequently been bought under my notice. The parents are anxious to know what can be done with their children. A mental asylum is hardly the place for them. Something must be done for these unfortunate children. Expenditure now would probably save many thousands of pounds subsequently to the State. These defective children will later on, unless some steps be taken, be parents of other defective or criminal children who in their turn will become an extra burden to the State.[375]

Rose describes such discourses as "a double movement in both a *moralisation* and a *medicalisation*", the conversion of a moral problem into a scientific one. For, as Walkerdine suggests, "once certain forms of social problem were located as an object of science, methods of detection and cure were also implicated".[376]

In 1920 and again in 1922, Halley was an instigator in a move to establish a child study clinic at the University of Adelaide. It proposed to study problems of social inefficiency and mental deficiency. However, the state had no firm policy regarding these children and the movement received no support. But by 1922 William McCoy, the Director of Education, was expressing concern for the education of mentally handicapped children. He felt that the classification methods for these children were "fundamentally unsound, yet for want of a better plan ... had been universally adopted".[377] However he was aware that teachers needed a way to determine accurately a child's mental age.

In 1924 after a nine month trip abroad to observe education in the United Kingdom and Europe, McCoy proposed the establishment of a clinic, similar to Child Guidance Clinics

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[374] SAPP, 3:44 (1), (1917), Appendix D. Report of the Medical Inspector, 36.
[375] SAPP, 2:44 (2), (1920), Appendix F. Report of the Medical Inspector, 38.
[376] Rose, The Psychological Complex, 13; Walkerdine, "Developmental psychology", 170.
[377] SAPP, 2:44, (1922), Appendix A. Report of the Minister of Education, 21.

overseas and controlled by the Education Department. He stated that South Australia was "not making adequate provision for medical and dental inspection, and for the training and education of mentally defective and backward children".[378] Halley was asked to conduct a preliminary survey of the children in classes I and II at practising schools in the metropolitan area. Teachers were asked to select students thought to be "subnormal" or "unduly retarded" and headmasters and infant mistresses were asked to list children whose chronological age was two or more years above their grade average.

From a roll count of 21,098, 527 children were given the revised Binet-Simon intelligence test and the Porteus Maze test. Of these, 202 were found to have I.Qs of between 80 -90 and were classed as "dull and backward", unable to keep up with children of "normal" ability; 161 were found to have an I.Q. of between 70-80 and these were labelled the borderline or doubtful cases, who, although education could not restore to "normality", could be trained for manual labour. It was recommended that these groups needed teaching in small classes, with a special curriculum to train them to become labourers. The highest proportion of subnormal children was found in the working class district of Port Adelaide, which produced 98 high grade morons, with I.Q. below 70 and 66 low grade morons, with I.Q. below 60, reinforcing the dominant discourse of the time, that "lower classed-ness and a dearth of innate intelligence went hand in hand".[379] These students were thought to be "feeble-minded", incapable of managing themselves, which prompted the comment from Halley:

> all these children for their own good, as well as other pupils and the teacher, should not be taught in the regular classes. For the last groups special schools are needed with teachers specially trained for the work. Many of these should be sent to some institution. ... The number of morons in the schools of Port Adelaide district would amply justify the establishment so situated that the

[378] SAPP, 44, (1924), Report of W. T. McCoy, Director of Education, 32.
[379] Bernard Norton, "Psychologists and Class" in Webster, ed., Biology, Medicine and Society 1840-1940, 303-304.

> children could be collected from Port Adelaide, Le Fevre's Peninsula, Alberton and Ethelton schools.[380]

According to Walkerdine, such a shift to a pedagogy of normalization was permitted by scientific discourses and practices which transposed habits to a medico-behavioural model which could then be normalized. At the same time there were "significant new discourses and practices of population-management being produced". These

> related particularly to the science of topography in which areas or districts of cities were surveyed in terms of housing conditions, amount of crime and family histories in order to attempt to account for those conditions which produced crime and pauperism.[381]

"Good" or normalised behaviour was the aim and in 1924 conformity to these norms was finally assisted by the appointment of Constance Davey as the South Australian Education Department's first psychologist. Her position overtly and formally established the link between schooling and psychology.

With respect to schooling, Davey's responsibilities were written as:

> [1] (T)o examine and recommend to teachers the treatment of:-
> (1) Children retarded educationally:-
> (a) Dull and backward
> (b) Mentally defective
> (2) Problem children, i.e. the nervous, unstable, stammers, etc.
> (3) Delinquent children i.e. truants, etc., co-operating with the Children's Court and State Children's Department.
> [2] (T)o organise Special Classes in the schools for:-
> (1) Supernormal children
> (2) Subnormal children
> (a) Dull and backward
> (b) Moron
> (c) Occupational classes for lower grades.[382]

The subnormal group, after testing was classified into two groups, those believed capable of learning a limited amount of school work and those incapable of learning to read and write. The first group was designated as Opportunity Class level and the

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[380] SAPP, 2:44, (1925), Report of the Medical Inspector, 36.
[381] Walkerdine, "Developmental psychology", 165.
[382] SAPP, 2:44, (2), (1925), Report of the Minister of Education, 25.

second as Special School level. Nineteen twenty five, the initial year of Davey's appointment saw the establishment of Opportunity Classes in five metropolitan schools, the first being at Currie Street Practising School, whose Master of Method, Mr. F. Garter, had expressed an interest in establishing a class for backward children at the school. McCoy named them Opportunity Classes, as they were meant to give mentally retarded children the "opportunity to adjust themselves to school, life and work".[383] They were viewed as classes for the "dull and backward", with emphasis being placed on good "habit training, rather than scholastic attainments".[384] Each class would take up to twenty children, each of whom would receive the individual treatment and training recommended by the psychologist.

In this manner was developed a professional discourse that endorsed and justified the constructions of particular kinds of knowledge and practices. Following Foucault, Goodson and Dowbiggin suggest:

> knowledge in the service of the modern nation state with its various interest groups and power brokers produces fields or 'disciplines' whose authorities exercise an increasingly thorough and meticulous control over the body. ... the 'disciplines' become 'general forms of domination' which create 'subjected and practised bodies, "docile" bodies'.[385]

Some of the Special Classes still included children too low in intelligence to cope with any form of academic work and the hope was that a central Special School would be established for them, providing special training.[386] Rose explains the development of such education in this way:

> In the courtroom, in the developing system of schooling, in the apparatus concerned with pauperism and the labour market and in the army and the

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[383]C. M. Davey, Retirement Report to the Director of Education per Principal Medical Officer, December 1, 1942, in Davey Papers, PRG104, State Archives, Mortlock Library, Adelaide.
[384]Ibid., 26-28.
[385]Ivor Goodson and Ian Dowbiggin, "Docile bodies. Commonalities in the history of psychiatry and schooling," in Ball, Foucault and Education, 106.
[386]SAPP, 44:2, (1926), Report of the Medical Officer, 26.

> factory, two sorts of problems were posed in the early years of this century that the psychological sciences would take up. The first was a demand for some kind of human sorting house, which would assess individuals and determine to what type of regime they were best suited - a question framed in relation to deliquency, feeble-mindedness, and pauperism; later in projects for vocational guidance and selection for the armed forces.[387]

Consequently, states Rose, the rise of schools and other institutions, whilst co-ordinating people in an economic manner, also sought to

> eliminate certain habits, propensities, and morals and to inculcate others thus made visible the difference between those who did or did not, could or could not, would or would not learn the lessons of the institution.[388]

Around this time educational psychology was undergoing some significant changes. For the past decade, or more, the emphasis overseas had been on the child, with child-centred activities and child-centred techniques, one of the most well known being the Montessori method of instruction, which was believed to have potential for teaching large infants' classes. Montessori methods dominated South Australian private infant schools until the 1930s, but were never more than marginally adopted by the state system.[389] Dr. Halley was an admirer of Montessori's work and promoted these methods for use with the mentally retarded, which may be one reason for the small amount of support she and Dr. Davey received from the government. Australia was interested in the theory of experimental methods, but teachers were hampered by the restricted curriculum standards imposed and the rigid method of testing and promotion of students from class to class. Similarly, following the prevailing theory overseas,

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[387]Rose, Governing the Soul, 133.
[388]Ibid.
[389]Elizabeth J. Mellor, Stepping Stones The development of Early Childhood Services in Australia (Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanich Group Pty Ltd, 1990), 115; see also R. C. Peterson, "The Montessorians - M. M. Simpson and L. de Lissa," in C. Turney ed., Pioneers in Australian Education, Vol. 3, Studies in the Development of Education in Australia, 1900- 1950 (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1983).

changes in ideas of education of the mentally handicapped child were expected by educationalists.[390]

In her report of 1925, Davey detailed her criteria for placement into the Opportunity Class:

> [T]he psychological examination is an individual one, and its results are correlated with the child's physical health, his home environment, his social and moral reactions, his school history and attainments based on the 'Field of Enquiry' of the late Dr. Fernald Waverly, Massachusetts.[391]

No child was judged to be subnormal on the result of a mental test alone. A folder containing the records of each child examined was kept for reference. The mental tests used were Burt's revision of the Binet Scale, Dr. G. Phillips' revision of the same scale for Australian children, the Porteus Maze Tests, Healy's Picture Completion Test II, as well as "tests of particular abilities and disabilities".[392] At same time the child's emotional reactions, attitude to various types of tests and tendencies to definite forms of behaviour were evaluated. After examination the child was classified according to ability to do schoolwork, or general intellectual level. The average was the norm and those falling at least 30 per cent below the average were regarded as "subnormal". The "subnormal" were divided into two classes, those capable of learning a certain amount of schoolwork and those "whose power to read and write is nil".[393] The latter group were targeted for occupational training, while the former would be the majority of the Occupational Classes. These groups were again subdivided into those with or without anti-social tendencies. The latter were those who, after training, would be capable of living the life of an "orderly citizen". The "subnormal", having anti-social tendencies, would need a residential school with "proper" equipment and trained teachers and

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[390]Voskulen, "The Battle for Special Education", 32.
[391]SAPP, 44:2, (2), (1925), Report of the Medical Inspector, 38.
[392]Ibid.
[393]Ibid.

supervisors. Allying her work with research in Britain and America, Davey divided the students into three groups:

> those deficient or below the average in intelligence capacity are the intellectually subnormal; those differing in temperamental qualities are the unstable; and those lacking power of control or character are the delinquent.[394]

Gertrude Halley was delighted that Constance Davey was appointed as psychologist, "because in her examinations she found so many children who could not cope in the schools with the ordinary lessons". As a psychologist, Davey did not only take an interest in the mentally retarded child:

> she was insistent that she was not just a mental tester and that as a psychologist she saw problems of behaviour, ... she also had a great deal to do with their difficulties outside of school. ... Juvenile Court, Children's Welfare Department, as it was called then. ... She took a clinic at the Adelaide Children's Hospital and she and Dr. Eleanor Allan and Miss Lois Allan were the founders of most of the psychological work that was done in this state.[395]

Psychological work in the South Australian Education Department continued under the general control of the Principal Medical Officer Gertrude Halley, until 1946, when Mr. L. S. Piddington was appointed as psychologist and a psychology branch was set up, "to include the work of the psychological clinic, the Opportunity Classes, vocational guidance, and aptitude testing".[396] It is generally accepted that "Bill" Piddington, or "Piddy" as he was affectionately known, was a man of vision.

> **Well, he did do some amazing things, for the times. For example, getting what were called the mentally retarded, getting that accepted and teachers appointed at a time when hardly anybody else was doing that, was really amazing. Because our Director of Education at the time, later Director General, was a conservative gentleman. It was done largely with the help of the parents, the Mentally Retarded Children's Society or Association were**

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[394] S. A. Education Gazette, 15-7-1925, 195.
[395] Memoirs of Miss Mary Smith, psychologist, in unpublished papers of J. D. C. Robertson, Chief Psychologist, South Australian Education Department.
[396] SAPP, 44:2, (2), (1946), Report of the Minister of Education, 31.

> **the sort of people who were keen to get it going. ... He just thought it was a good idea and proper, that everyone should have an education.**[397]

However, although intelligence testing was used by the health professionals, there was still reluctance in the 1940s and '50s on the part of some doctors and psychologists to share information with parents. For them, the knowledge was power, or so it seemed.

> **[I] went to several people, she was two years old by then, she'd had seizures and the doctors were saying it's just normal and that I was an overprotective mother. But once we had the label, and I know labels aren't good, I knew where I was going.**[398]

> **[W]e went to the Children's Hospital to find out and when I went to check the records I was told not to, they were not for parents. A 'closed book', alright. In the meantime, my doctor was saying there's nothing wrong and all this, till the time came when he had to admit it. And then he turned to me and said, "You were lucky he wasn't in a wheel chair". They were dreadful days.**
>
> **When it was time for him to start school I had to take him to a psychologist. He put him through a few simple tests. Robbie was then five and he said, "He can't start school 'till he's seven, he won't be ready". I said "And then what's ahead of me"? And he said "Nothing".**[399]

> **[N]o-one ever said mentally retarded - that was never mentioned - went as near to it by saying what can happen, but we still didn't know.**[400]

> **[N]obody said anything. They said she had an overactive thyroid. We knew what she was, but no-one ever said, especially the doctor.**[401]

Often information was gained purely by chance, although it must have become part of the general discourse and knowledge of the time. For example:

> **[I] was at the airport and I picked up a Women's Weekly. I was glancing through it and there was an article by Pearl Buck and she had a retarded child and she was explaining about that in the article and that made me realise what was the score with Rosemary.**

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[397]Transcript of interview with "T.L.". Property of Orana, Inc., 42.
[398]Transcript of interview with "B.R.". Property of Orana Inc., 58.
[399]Transcript of interview with "D.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 79.
[400]Transcript of interview with "J.L.". Property of Orana inc., 33.
[401]Transcript of interview with "M.S.". Property of Orana Inc., 63.

> **I was telling her about Rosemary and she said "A very good friend of mine is a psychologist, why don't you ring her up and tell her I told you to?" So we duly rang this lady up and she said, "Well, the Education Department hasn't started anything yet, they're about to, but it hasn't started yet. Rosemary would have been six by then.**[402]

Henriques et al. set out to demonstrate that psychology regulates, classifies and administers in a productive form. Henriques et al. contend it does not simply bias or distort or incarcerate helpless individuals in oppressive institutions. Certainly psychology produced the regulative tools that form us as objects of child development, schooling, welfare agencies, medicine, and so on, but he argues that this insertion in modern social practices has helped create the "very form of modern individuality".[403] He further asserts that psychology's involvement in our modern form of individuality means it constitutes subjectivities as well as objects.[404] Offering what Rosenau terms an affirmative post-modernist analysis, Henriques et al. suggests that psychology is an integral part of the processes that constitute the social domain and as such

> is neither progressing towards scientific truth nor is it in conspiracy with the powers that be to oppress ... people. ... we emphasize the necessity of tracing historically the conditions of possibility of knowledges. The point of view ... starts out from the proposition that all knowledges are productive in the specific sense that they have definite effects on the objects one seeks to know.[405]

Henriques et al. use Foucault's genealogical approach to history to reconceptualise psychology as a body of knowledge.[406] Rosenau describes genealogies as a "source of inspiration" to post-modernists, particularly the affirmatives, for they are "engendering processes that refer to historical knowledges, struggles, reversals, popular lore, the

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[402]Transcript of interview with "C.P.". Property of Orana Inc., 41.
[403]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 1.
[404]Ibid., 2-3. Henriques et al. define the 'subject' as "the generic term used in philosophy for what in lay terms would be the 'person', 'individual' or 'human being' and what in psychology is referred to as 'the individual'". 'Subjectivity' refers to individuality and self awareness - the condition of being a subject. In this usage, they stress that "subjects are dynamic and multiple, always positioned in relation to particular discourses and products and produced by these".
[405]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 92.
[406]Ibid., 101.

memory of hostile encounters, the interrelationship of constraint and discourse".[407] For Henriques et al., the questions posed by the genealogical approach are very different from those of traditional histories; it is not a matter of finding specific data to support a given theory or explanation or exposing gaps or inadequacies. Rather, the questions have to do with why a specific notion of the subject as the individual entity should become part of the home truths of psychology:

> what administrative strategies and requirements conditioned the emergence of specific psychological theories; what effects they had on each other; and how this whole network constructs the social domain with all its contradictions and differences as well as its regularities.[408]

> **I'm really saying that the development was kind of appropriate to the mood of the times, but I hope led by the people in the Psychology Branch, or some of them at least, ideologically. I found too, initially, to my surprise, that University Departments of Education tended to follow the practice. If you like, they crystallised things which had been going on in isolated places, all over the place, for ages.**[409]

It was this "mood of the times", or the public discourse on social issues, in this case the threat of the mentally retarded, which led to the production of knowledge and claims of validity surrounding the discourses of psychology and educational psychology. At issue for the post-modernists is the diversity of ways this knowledge/power is produced and becomes legitimatised. Without substantial argument from mainstream scholars, such knowledge does not survive, that is, become a form of intellectual knowledge, a "master narrative" of the discipline".

Special Education in South Australia

Constance Davey, the first Education Department Psychologist, worked hard to

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[407]Rosenau defines the term genealogy as history of the present that looks to the past for insight into today. See Rosenau, Post-Modernism, xii; Fraser, Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory, 20.
[408]Henriques et al., Changing the Subject, 103.
[409]Transcript of interview with "T.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 62.

improve conditions for her students. She continued establishing Opportunity Classes in schools and the close of 1926 saw four classes in working class areas, one each at Alberton and Norwood and two at Port Adelaide, although there were still insufficient classes for the children requiring places. (See Figure 1.) Included in these classes were children from all three subnormal groups, the dull and backward, mentally defective and imbecile, and many over twelve years of age, who were unable to cope with any academic work and whom Davey considered inappropriately placed. In every Annual Report she requested the establishment of a Special School, but her proposals were not acted upon.

> There are at least 186 children over 11 years of age in our Metropolitan schools who, in order to become self-supporting citizens, need the training that can only be given in a Special School for such children ... In our Opportunity Class rolls at present there are 286 children - 177 boys and 109 girls of whom 267 are between 6-14 years and 19 are over 14 years of age. Of this number 158 are subnormal and need the training that can be given most effectively and economically in a Special School for such children. There are eight low grade uneducable children who will always need special care and supervision. These children are incapable of school work and the Opportunity Class is not the proper place for them.[410]

Four years later she was still expressing the urgency of the situation:

> [T]he need for ... a Special Training school becomes more imperative each year. The Opportunity Classes now contain children ranging from 7-17 years of age. The older group, especially those over eleven or twelve years of age, either resent the presence of the younger children or are a menace to these children. ... If the Special School cannot be provided in the near future for these older sub-normal children the only alternative appears to be that the children over 12 or 13 years return to the ordinary grade. This course would, I feel sure, be met with well-founded opposition from the teachers of those grades as well as the children themselves. There are in four of the schools, where an Opportunity Class exists, waiting lists of ten to twenty younger children who badly need help, but lack of accommodation in the school prevents the forming of another such class. [411]

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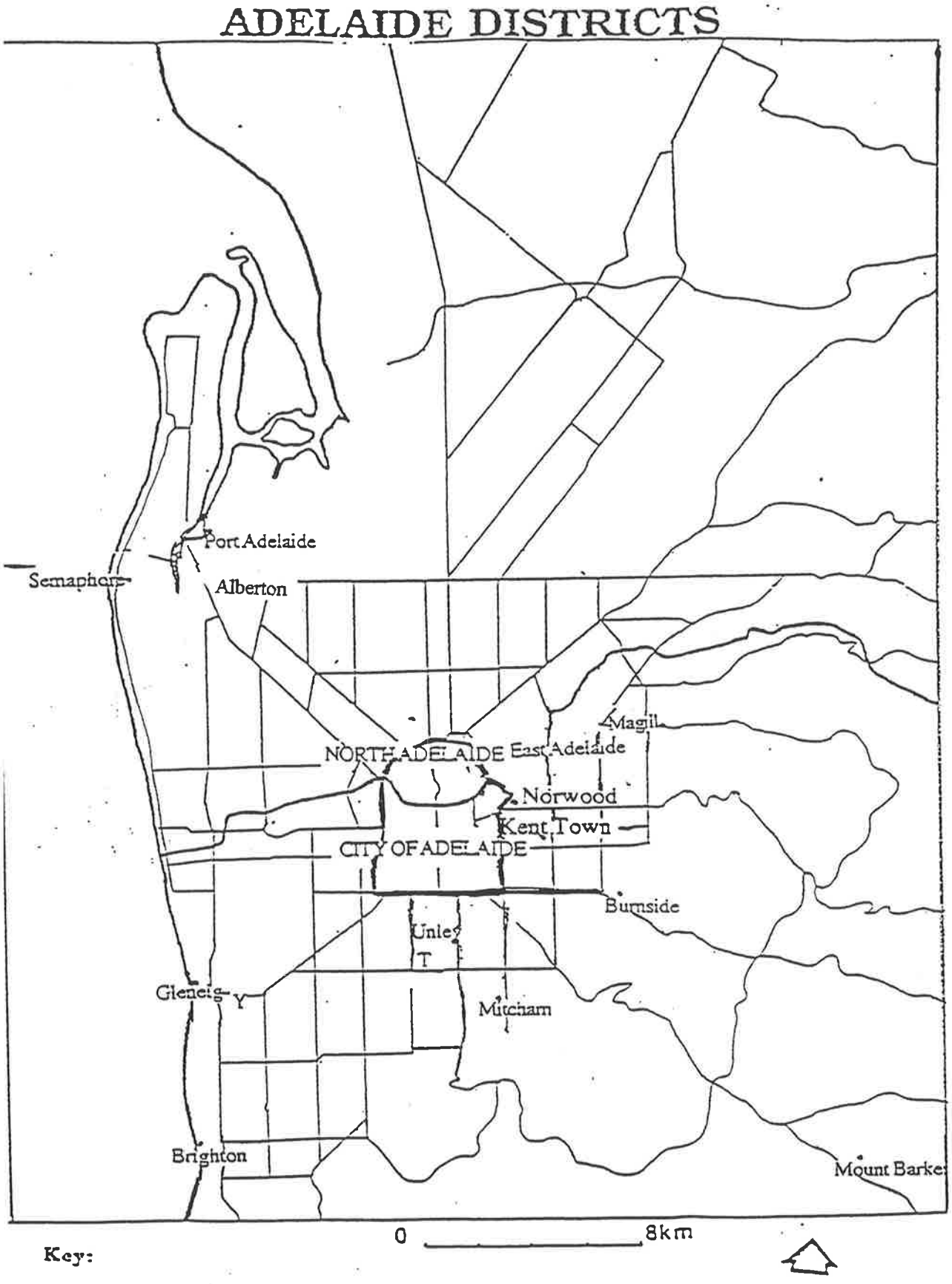
[410] SAPP, 2:44, (3), (1925), Report of the School Psychologist, 31.
[411] SAPP, 2:44, (1), (1929), Report of the School Psychologist, 34.

Figure 1



Special Classes in the Adelaide District

The government was satisfied with the success of the Opportunity Classes and seemed unwilling to do more and Davey was still making her request yet another four years later. The number of Opportunity Classes continued to grow and curricula and teaching methods were developed. There were sixteen to twenty children in each class and the scholastic grade standard was 1-4. Again the emphasis was on "habit training and individual teaching".[412] Some of the children admitted were so retarded that they were unable to do any academic work, but there was no other place for them. However, some academic work was attempted, but the emphasis was largely on good habits and manual skills training - leatherwork, woodwork, rafia and woollen rugs for the boys and sewing, cooking and laundry for the girls. Because of the continuing availability of jobs requiring fairly low abilities, for example, laundry workers, maids, etc., students trained in these classes and previously considered unemployable were able to find jobs.[413] In her lectures, Davey constantly emphasised the value of training these children.

> The feeble-minded, if properly cared for and trained throughout adolescence could under supervision be returned to the community as self-respecting wage earners. The provision of such control and training is therefore of social and economic value to the state.[414]

Following on from this, Soder makes the point that the ideology of care for the disabled in general and the mentally retarded in particular is influenced by economic changes in society, although he suggests the correlation is not obviously simple or uncomplicated. He states that two factors maintain and create this influence.

> The first is the labour market policy situation. Specialist pedagogic and social policy measures have nearly always been aimed at making clients capable of entering the labour market. The targets, conceptions and evaluations that are used as a basis are therefore coloured by the objective possibilities offered by the labour market in question. The second factor is the amount of resources that it is felt can be allotted to rehabilitation and socialisation measures. This also governs

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[412] SAPP, 2:44, (2), (1925), Report of the Medical Director, 25.
[413] Voskulen, "The Battle for Special Education", 9.
[414] Extract from article, "The Mentally Deficient", in The Advertiser, 3-11-26.

> and influences how the disabled and their capabilities are regarded in these sectors. Put simply, one can expect that the ideologies in specialist pedagogies and social policy will change with the economic situation.[415]

However, Soder proposes that this statement in many ways is simple and even trivial, for obviously a shortage of jobs and a lack of resources must result in some adaptations or changes. He believes ideological changes are not open and deliberate, but that

> ideology adapts to a changed reality insidiously. It affects our most basic evaluations in a way which is difficult to recognise. It is as much a question of rationalising economic changes through ideology as consciously adapting to them.[416]

Davey, in her Annual Reports kept mentioning the "subnormal types" in the Opportunity Classes, stating that their placement was a "preliminary measure" and that she hoped the morons and feeble-minded could be transferred to a central Special School.[417] In 1926, the Women's Non-Party Association held a meeting to discuss proposals for the social control of the mentally deficient. Supporters of this group included Dr. Gertrude Halley, (Education Department), Miss Bessie Champion, (Minda Committee from Minda Home) and Miss Patchell (Institute of Associated Teachers).[418] Dr. Davey addressed the meeting, explaining the position in South Australia and "placed before the conference a definite scheme for the control, care and education of the feeble-minded, imbecile and idiot".[419] The meeting passed a resolution

> that the Government be urged to establish special schools under the authority of the Education Department for those children who, not being idiot or imbecile, and not being merely dull or backward, yet by reason of mental subnormality are

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[415]Martin Soder, "The Mentally Retarded: Ideologies of Care and Surplus Population," in Len Barton and Sally Tomlinson eds., Special Education and Social Interests (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1984), 32.

[416]Ibid.

[417]SAPP, 2:44, (1925), Report of the Education Department Psychologist, 26.

[418]Minda Home, a private institution for mentally defective children, was opened in 1898, with the government agreeing to subsidise subscriptions. It was established for "the care, education and training of only those weak minded, idiotic and imbecile children whose lives by scientific and kindly treatment could be made not only more tolerable but less burdensome to themselves and to society". Register, March 18th, 1898, 4.

[419]"Mental Deficiency - Scheme for Social Control", reported in The Advertiser, 22-7-26.

> incapable of receiving proper benefit from the instruction in ordinary elementary schools.[420]

However, the government was reluctant to provide any more finance for special education. No legislation for the control of the mentally deficient adolescent had been enacted and Minda Home and psychiatric asylums were still the only places for low-grade children.[421]

In 1927 the Advisory Council of Education, chaired by the Director of Education, William McCoy, recommended the establishment of Special Schools for mentally defective children and submitted a plan for the control, care and education of the mentally handicapped to be created to co-ordinate these services. However, the proposal was not adopted at the time, perhaps because of the considerable problems of cost, organisation and placement involved.[422] The end of 1928 saw fifteen Opportunity Classes. New classes had begun at Ethelton, North Adelaide, Le Fevre Peninsula, Nailsworth, Parkside and Hindmarsh. Expansion into the country finally came in August 1931, with the opening of a class at Solomontown to serve the mid north of the state. There were now 17 classes in 16 schools, with a total of 334 children, 221 boys and 113 girls.[423] By 1937, country classes had been established at Clare, Mount Gambier, Port Pirie and Murray Bridge, bringing the number of classes to twenty three.[424] (See Figure 2.)

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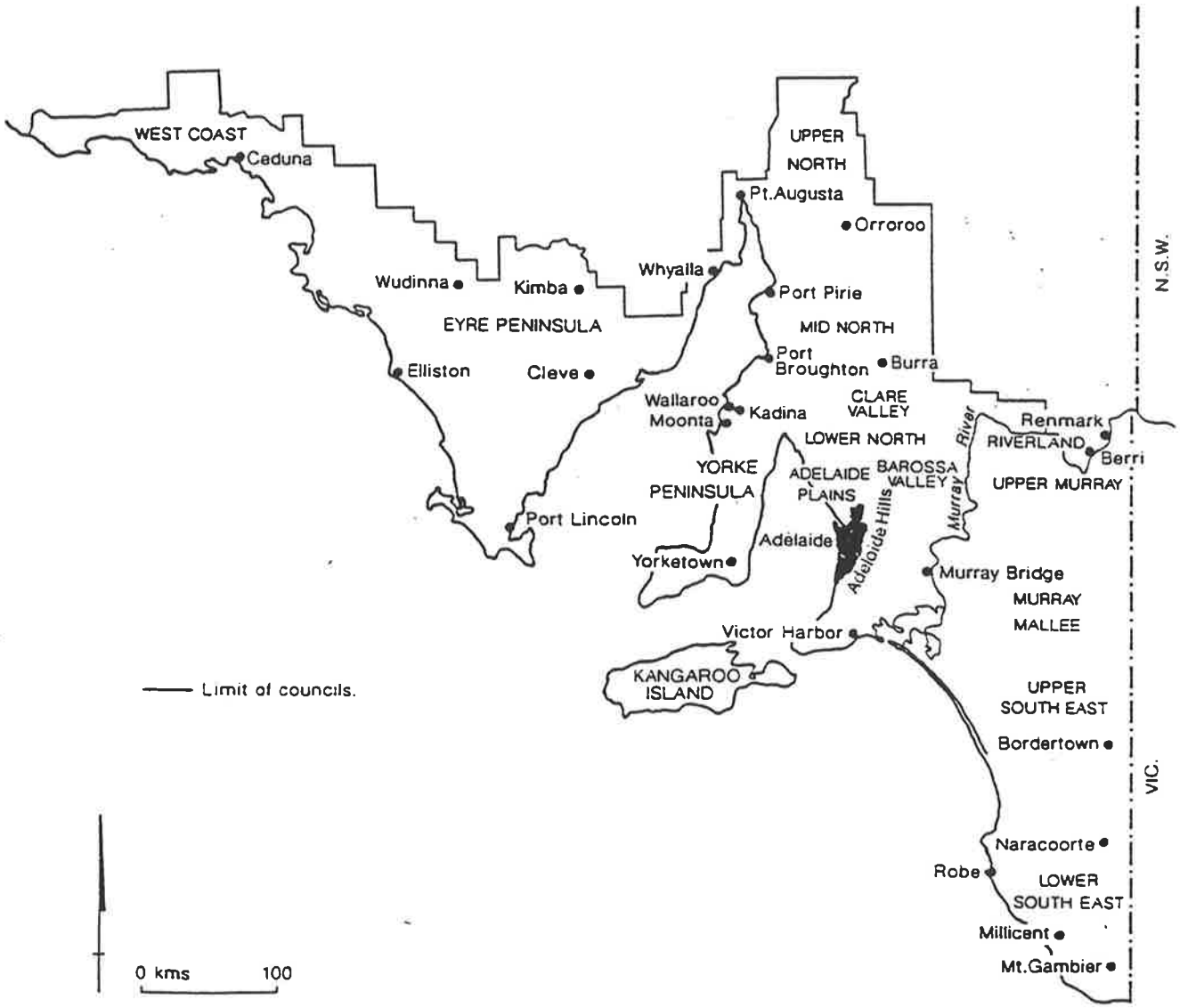
[420] SAPP, 2:44, (1925), Report of the Education Department Psychologist, 26.
[421] Voskulen, "The Battle for Special Education", 9.
[422] J. Brown, "The Beginnings of Special Education in South Australia" (Adelaide: Flinders University, 1975, Unpublished paper), 11.
[423] Ibid., Report of Education Department Psychologist, 1931, 28.
[424] S.A. Education Gazette, 606:LIII, Official Directory, (January 1937), 11-42.

Figure 2



Source: Geography Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Adelaide

By now the unsuitability of children over twelve years of age in the Opportunity Classes was becoming desparate, they were said to be creating a "social and moral nuisance."[425] The "tentative conclusion" drawn from the yearly statistics was that there was "nearly double the number of subnormal boys" as girls and "twice as many subnormal in the country".[426] Subnormal girls were probably less troublesome in the classroom and not picked out as obviously retarded, therefore seen as less in number. Older girls may have been kept at home to help with the household duties; or there may simply have been more males who were retarded. Certainly, the trend was to continue, the boys maintaining the majority of numbers in the classes. Davey arranged for woodwork and metalwork classes for older boys at the Port Adelaide Central School and the girls attended domestic work classes twice weekly.[427]

Halley and Davey continued to emphasise the increasingly more urgent need for a Special Class for older boys, but to no avail. There was little money available in 1929 and the department remained inactive. During the depression when the likelihood of employment for the mentally retarded was slim, Davey believed her students would be better placed gainfully employed under supervision, rather than in the streets.[428] Foucault and followers would explain this as training and drilling "the bodily energies of recalcitrant" students by reworking them into "usable commodities", for industrial capitalism and maintain that these functions are "performed largely by institutional regimes and routines".[429]

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[425] SAPP, 2:44, (1929), Report of the Principal Medical Officer, 21.
[426] Ibid., 22.
[427] Ibid., 31.
[428] W. L. Manser, "The History of Special Classes in the Education Department of South Australia". (Adelaide: 1959, Typescript, unpublished thesis), 4.
[429] Ian Burkitt, "The shifting concept of the self", History of The Human Sciences, 7:2, (1994), 10.

The first Manual and Occupation Class for boys over twelve was opened at Flinders Street School in 1932, with twelve students who transferred in from nearby Opportunity Classes. Swimming and gymnastics were recommended, as well as manual training such as boot-repairing, woodwork and other handwork for which an instructor was appointed in 1933.[430] Two years later the class's name was changed to Special Senior Boys' Class.[431] A similar class for girls was started at Port Adelaide in 1936. The skills developed in the Special Senior Girls' Classes were dressmaking, cooking, millinery and general housekeeping, presumably because these girls would remain at home after their school years, or might gain work as domestics. Some of the pupils in these classes were recorded as having "entered by way the Juvenile Court (generally for truancy)" and the sentiment was that to "help them therefore, is felt to be a definite contribution to social welfare".[432] It was some time before a Special Senior Class was established in the country, the first class was for boys and opened at Port Pirie in 1945, the year that Dr. Davey retired.

Dr. Davey's retirement report was full of praise for the efforts and co-operation of the special education teachers.

> The teacher's task in these classes is no sinecure, it demands endless patience, persistent effort, tact and the power to keep order without friction. ... To the teachers of these classes I owe much for the success of the work.[433]

However, not many teachers were willing to do the work, for in his 1948 report the psychologist, Mr. L. S. Piddington wrote "there is still a need for more of these classes

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[430] S.A. Education Gazette, XLVI:524, (March 1930), 105.
[431] Ibid.
[432] S.A. Education Gazette, LII:94, (2), (January 1936), Report of the Psychologist, author's copy.
[433] SAPP, 2:44, (1931), Report of the School Psychologist, 31.

to be established, but the difficulty is to supply sufficient teachers for this specialized work".[434]

Teacher training

> [I]t was agreed that past experience with children in special schools had clearly demonstrated that employment of men of outstanding teaching ability as teachers of mental defectives schools could not be justified on educational grounds, as even in the most favourable circumstances the educational results of work with sub-normal children have been small. Brilliant educational ability can be more profitably employed by the State in teaching the normal or supernormal. Sympathetic motherly women with experience in Montessori Methods were considered ideally suitable for work with mental defectives.[This paragraph was crossed out in the original typescript.] [435]

According to Tomlinson, the professional characteristics of special education teachers have always been problematic. They have been regarded as an unskilled occupational rather than a professional group, semi-professionals or "the economic proletariat of the professionals". She states that "within the occupational group of teachers, Special School teachers have historically been regarded as a lower-status sub group".[436] The above statement from the conference of Australian Directors of Education in 1924 indicates that this was the case in Australia from the earliest special education teaching appointments.

From the inception of special education there has been some antipathy and power struggles between the professionals involved, medical, psychological and educational:

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[434]Annual Reports of the School Psychologist, 1945 and 1948, 4, 21. Author's copies.

[435]"Report of the Conference of Directors of Education", Perth, November 1924, 12-13, cited in C. Turney, ed., Sources in the History of Australian Education 1788-1970 (London: Angus and Robertson (Publishers) Pty. Ltd.,1975), 249. W. T. McCoy, the South Australian Director of Education was present at this conference.

[436]Tomlinson, Special Education, 91. Tomlinson cites C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959). See also, A. Etzioni ed., The Semi-professions and their Organisations (New York: Free Press, 1969), and W. J. Goode, "Community within a community - the Professions", American Sociological Review, 22, (1957), 43.

> [T]he forms that special education have taken in the past and today are the products of particular vested interests in the society, and one of the most noticeable characteristics of the history of special education has been the power struggles between medical, psychological and educational personnel, who all have an interest in dominating definitions of special education.[437]

Since those early years more professionals have claimed expertise in dealing with children in special education; child psychiatrists, social workers, community health workers, counsellors, behavioural therapists and so on, have been intent on becoming the dominant group of expertise. Rose, examining the development of psychology and what he calls the "psy" disciplines, psychiatry, psychotherapy and psychoanalysis, suggests that they are part of the "history of the ways in which human beings have regulated others and have regulated themselves in the light of certain games of truth". This comment could just as easily apply to the development of special educators and both could be said to be intrinsically linked to the history of government.

> [I] use the term government in the much broader sense given to it by Foucault - government here is a way of conceptualizing all those more or less rationalized programs, strategies, and tactics for 'the conduct of conduct', for acting upon the actions of others in order to achieve certain ends. ... The perspective of government draws upon our attention to all those multitudinous programs, proposals, and policies that have attempted to shape the conduct of individuals - not just to control, subdue, discipline, normalize, or reform them, but also to make them more intelligent, wise happy, virtuous, healthy, productive, docile, enterprising, fulfilled, self-esteeming, empowered, or whatever.[438]

The first Opportunity Class teachers were volunteer teachers, without any training in special education. As the number of classes grew, it became obvious that the teachers needed additional training - merely placing the children in these classes was not providing them with the education they needed. Realising this, Dr. Davey started weekly meetings for teachers in 1926. Davey lectured on the "psychological aspects of the work" and encouraged the teachers to work together, discussing and collectively trying

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[437]Tomlinson, Special Education, 27.
[438]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 11-12.

to solve their problems. Even so, for some teachers the work was very difficult and discouraging. Reportedly, during the early days of Opportunity Classes teachers would plead with Davey:

> ["L]ook, Dr. Davey, I can't possibly carry on any more, last week was terrible, I don't know what to do, I can't do it any more." And Dr. Davey would then say "Well come up to my office after school on Friday" and she would have a little meeting up there in her office and she would persuade them to start again on Monday. Apparently the early days of Opportunity Classes were tough going, because to start with they had almost all sorts of kids that could not do their school work and this included pretty low grade mentally retardeds as well as disturbed kids and all sorts and they gave no training, they took anybody.[439]

One response to this was the adaptation of parts the curriculum to suit the special students' needs, although the curriculum was still very rigid. For instance, graded word lists were produced to link with the normal schools' reading schemes. As was the case overseas, education was aimed at those who were thought to have a chance of managing to live an adult life as self-supporting citizens.[440]

By the end of 1930, there were sixteen classes in the metropolitan area and the weekly meetings had lost their effectiveness. According to Davey, this was brought about by the increase and spread of classes throughout the suburbs and differences in teachers' years of experience, changes for which the informal meetings could no longer cater.[441] Concerned with the welfare of her teachers and students, Davey devised a training course for teachers, originally consisting of two intensive periods, each of three weeks full time study.[442] When the Education Department offered the course in 1931, it was named "The Training Course for Teachers of Retarded and Subnormal Children" and had been reduced to only four weeks in total - two parts each of two weeks. Part I was

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[439]C. M. Davey, "Development of Psychological Work in Education of South Australia," Davey Papers, PRG104, South Australian Archives (hereafter cited as S.A.A.), 4; Typescript of taped discussion with L. S. Piddington, formerly Chief Psychologist and Miss Mary Smith, M.A., author's copy, 6.

[440]SAPP, 2:44, (1929), Report of the Director of Education, 31; See also Martin Soder, "The Mentally Retarded: Ideologies of Care and Surplus Population," 1-15.

[441]Memoirs of Mary Smith, psychologist. Unpublished papers, author's copy, 6.

[442]S.A. Education Gazette, XLVII:535, (February 1931), 79.

to be held in the May vacation and Part II during the following January vacation.[443] No doubt this change was one of expediency by the Department, not wishing to release teachers from class during term time. It could also have been an indication of the lack of importance placed upon special education, or the lack of available replacement teachers.

The course was open to women with three years teaching experience, regardless of whether they were interested in continuing Special Class teaching. As the Education Directors' original quote cited "sympathetic motherly women", the notion of ideal womanhood at that time which promoted the gentle nurturing and caring nature of women may have been a reason for the preferring female teachers. A teacher was able to return to the normal classroom at the end of any school year. A bonus of twenty pounds was offered for the first year, thirty for the second and forty pounds per annum for subsequent years. At a time when an unclassified assistant's (teacher's) salary was one hundred and sixty pounds per annum, this was a considerable amount. The special allowance was progressively reduced during the worst depression years of 1931-1935, as were all teachers' salAriés. By 1936 they were restored to the 1930 level.[444]

Nineteen teachers attended the first course. The Education Gazette report of the Course lists its "outstanding feature" as the handtraining offered, some of which was needlework, leathercraft, light woodwork and clay modelling. It was described as a "light" course designed for women. Lectures were presented by Dr. W. Christie, the Principal Medical Officer, who succeeded Dr. Halley earlier that year. In such a way, according to Foucault, knowledge is developed and credentials established by the exercise of power, i.e. in this case, the dominance of the medical profession. Following from this

[443]Ibid., XLVII:540, (July 1931), 208.
[444]Davey Papers, PRG104, S.A.A., 4.

> ideology intertwines with power as individuals accept, believe and internalize explanations and justifications for the asymmetries of their social world. ... we have then ... internalized appropriate rules and ideologies, have accommodated ourselves to dominant power relationships, and are more concerned with performing expected actions than with analyzing them.[445]

Topics were the psychology and education of retarded children, the medical aspects of retardation, speech training, rhythm, drawing and colour work and the use of free work.[446] Twenty five teachers were listed in the February Gazette of 1932 as having satisfactorily completed both parts of the course and gained their Teachers of Retarded Children Certificate.[447] As earlier Gazette reports stated an enrolment of nineteen for the first course, presumably some experienced teachers only sat for the examinations at the end of each part, or were granted their certificates after some inspection as acknowledgement of their expertise. Courses such as these, according to Ball, provided teachers with

> a rich pseudo-scientific vocabulary of classifications and justifications for the inevitability of difference in intellectual performance. ... Knowledge and practices drawn from the educational sciences provided (in Foucault's terms) mode of classification, control and containment, often paradoxically linked to humanitarian rhetoric of reform and progress: streaming, remedial classes, off-site units and sanctuaries, informal or invisible pedagogies.[448]

For the next forty years, from 1933 to 1973, the course continued. It was offered in alternate years and held in the last week of the May vacation and the first week of term 2, allowing some teacher release time. The name was changed in 1947 to "The Training Course for Teachers of Backward and Difficult Children". The course content was revised to keep teachers up to date with changing teaching methods. In later years less emphasis was on handwork skills and more on education and psychological testing and

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[445]Cherryholmes, Power and Criticism, 5.
[446]Davey Papers, 4.
[447]S.A. Education Gazette, XLVII:547, (February 1932), 78.
[448]Stephen J. Ball, Foucault and Education, 4; see also B. Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1975).

observation. By 1954 a course requirement was the submission of a student case study. However teachers were still difficult to recruit, as "K.M." remembers:

> **[I] was a trained nurse ... and I saw this advertisement, that people who had the necessary qualifications could go and do a 'pressure cooker' Teachers' Course. You couldn't get nursing then where you'd be home with your kids in the holidays. So I rang up and made an appointment to see Mr. Piddington, it must have been about 1954. I went and saw "Piddy" and he was very interested in the nursing bit so I got it straight away. ... At the time they were about to open Kent Town ... and the only qualification the Principal had was a Mental Health Certificate and this special course he'd done to work with young people in institutions. ... There was no preparatory stuff, or anything. You just turned up on the first day at the school, twelve kids in your class! There might have been a little talk with "Piddy" in the Psych Branch, but that was all. ... You were just given these twelve kids, now get on with it! No curriculum, no nothing. ... Of course toiletting in those days was a very important part of teaching. ... Now and again we'd go and have a little chat, later they did courses, I did one for two holidays and loved it.**[449]

"M.H." recalls her recruitment:

> **[A]nyway, eventually Mr. Piddington came to see me. I was on night duty, I was a trained psychiatric nurse. And he said "Are you Mrs. H.?" I said "Yes". He said, "I'm Mr. Piddington, Chief Psychologist for South Australia. I've heard that you can teach mentally retarded children. ... Well, we would like you to come into the Psychology Branch". I said, "If you want me come back in two months time". So he came back and I said, "By the way, how did you hear about me?" ... "Our social worker goes to the hospital, that's how we found about you".**[450]

"M." opened the first school in a room at Parkside (later renamed Glenside) Mental Hospital in 1956 under difficult conditions and ran it successfully until the department decided to build a school. "M." 's story continues:

> **But then they decided they would build a school and would I tell them what was needed. So I did and it was built, I put in for Head of that school and I got it. Unfortunately a Mr. "W" appealed against me, because he'd put in for it. And the doctors, Drs "B." and "M." said "Oh well when you go for the appeal we'll go down and we'll tell them. But we're going on a fortnight's holiday, how long will it be?" And Mr. "S" said, "Oh, it always takes a month for an appeal." So they went on their holidays and the appeal was put through the next week. ... And the judge said he, Mr. "W" had a Teachers' Certificate from England and this that and the other and**

[449]Transcript of interview with "K.M.". Property of Orana Inc., 17.
[450]Transcript of interview with "M.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 88.

> **he'd worked in Britain. But I knew where he'd worked, in a Children's Home, nothing to do with retarded and low functioning children. ... Anyway, Mr. Piddington rang me the next day and said that Mr. "W" had got it, won the appeal, but would I stay a month to show Mr. "W" what to do!! I said "You're asking for your pound of flesh aren't you?" And I don't think he knew what I meant! But I said, "No, if he thinks he can do it, then he can do it. He's got a good staff of teachers who'll carry him for quite a while and I'm not staying!"**[451]

It was the introduction of the scientifically produced "mental testing" for school children that is hailed as the "birth" of educational psychology and from that special education. Public discourses concerning eugenics and the threat of the feeble-minded were responsible for the production of knowledge and practices of individual psychology. In this way a particular regime of truth was defined and defended, that is that the feeble-minded needed to be regulated and controlled for their benefit and that of the state. Education was believed to be one way of accomplishing this and the intelligence test which determined the level of the "normal" child also produced the child who did not conform, the "abnormal" or the retarded child, who could then be removed from "normal" education.

According to Aronwitz, post-modern thought is

> bound to discourse and one of the crucial features of discourse is the intimate tie between knowledge and interest, the latter being understood as "standpoint" from which to grasp "reality". [452]

I suggest that it was the interest (and fears) surrounding the mentally retarded that were responsible for generating a knowledge which became a problematic "reality", which needed addressing. This was accomplished by educational psychology. Thus what may have been regarded as a marginal discourse became valid. Part of these discourses was a new scientific "language" as the mentally retarded were tested and classified into

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[451] Ibid., 97.
[452] Aronwitz and Giroux, Postmodern Education, 69.

categories. Foucault termed such discourses as "veridical" discourses - those knowledges such as psychology and psychiatry which "function in truth". Blackman explains:

> [T]hey are organised around norms of truth and falsehood, maintaining the status to divide the normal from the abnormal, to pronounce the good from the bad. They do not merely exist as abstract regimes of meaning or systems but are embedded in and organise specific discursive practices, that is schooling. They provide the techniques and understandings through which behaviours, conduct and thought are classified, administered and managed.[453]

It is through language, asserts Weeden, that subjectivity is produced and this similarly applies to the subjectivity of the mentally retarded and their families.

> Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed. Subjectivity is produced in a whole range of discursive practices - economic, social and political - the meanings of which are a constant site of struggle over power. Language ... constructs the individual's subjectivity in ways which are socially specific. ... [postmodernism] theorizes subjectivity as a site of disunity and conflict, central to the process of political change and to preserving the status quo.[454]

In the discourses of the time it was women who

> formed the bedrock of the emergent caring professions, in which a certain level of education - training - combined with a sensitive nurturant femininity were the order of the day. ... Women teachers, trained in psychology, were to assume the entire responsibility for ... the continued maintenance of bourgeois democratic order.[455]

However, it was mainly the men in positions of power who were responsible for producing the set of knowledges and technologies responsible for regulation of the population, and women were defined and positioned within these discourses as the good teachers, important for social regulation, but not important enough for "government", as

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[453]Blackman, "The Dangerous Classes", 166.
[454]C. Weedon, Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory (London: Blackwell, 1987), 21.
[455]Sue Wilkinson, ed., Feminist Social Psychology: Developing Theory and Practice (London: Open University Press, 1986), 63.

"M" was to discover.[456] In 1956 teacher classification became dependent upon the number of Leaving examination subjects acquired and courses were approved by the Classification Board. Each part of the Psychology Branch course then became equated with one Leaving subject.[457] Later in the 1960s, when teacher promotion became tied to the number of tertiary subjects held, a pass in the course was awarded the same status as a tertiary unit.[458]

To conclude, Bart suggests that the efforts

> to turn special education into a respectable science of behaviour by, for example, embracing such reductionist models of behaviour analysis and treatment and largely ignoring social and educational models, is probably related to ... awareness that scientific paradigms can function as legitimising ideologies for professional service.[459]

It can be seen then that constraints placed upon special education by "organisational requirements" and discourses of regular education, (e.g. to reduce disruption in the classroom), by competing discourses of other professions concerning health and training of special education students and by legislation and funding restrictions, are all in some way responsible for special education failing to achieve the professionalism which it desires.

In the next chapter the parents interviewed discuss their struggle to change the subjectivities produced by the state for their children. In the state's view these children were the "in-educable mentally retarded", too low functioning for a Special Class or Special School and for whom it was not viable to provide education. The parents' view

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[456]Ibid., 65. Rose uses the term government to mean a "portmanteau notion to encompass the multiple strategies, tactics, calculations, and reflections" that seek to "conduct the conduct of human beings". See Rose, Inventing Our Selves, Chapter 7.

[457]M. L. Shackleford, "The development of Education Department facilities for handicapped children in South Australia", typescript, Flinders University, 74.

[458]S.A. Education Gazette, LXXXIV:971, (March 1968), 38.

[459]Deborah S. Bart, "The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education: Managing Social Pathology as Individual Disability," in Barton and Tomlinson, Special Education and Social Interests, 107.

and the subjectivities and surrounding discourses they wanted to achieve was that their had children a right to education conducted in a "professional" manner and from which they should not be excluded.

CHAPTER 5

THE PARENTS - BREAKING THE SILENCE

Parental involvement

The immediate post-war years saw, for the first time, many parents in the Western world openly expressing their dissatisfaction with the education of their mentally retarded children. Lazerson reports that two developments during this period dramatically altered special education in North America, "extraordinary growth and tremendous conflicts over presumed benefits of special education and the procedures for placing children in Special Classes".[460] The post-war baby boom had increased the number of children and by proportion retarded children born and improved medical technologies kept more alive. Agreeing with this, Soder writing about the Swedish situation says, "perhaps the most striking feature of the post-war period was the increase in the number of registered mentally retarded people".[461] Labelling became an integral part of the medical diagnosis for the "diagnostic process defines and categorises behavioural or physical conditions into scientific terms amenable to treatment".[462] According to Rose:

> [I]n the postwar period, a new set of psychological terms entered the language of government. ... A new gaze was directed at family life and children's behaviour, a gaze shaped and educated in psychological terms. ... The language of mental hygiene made it possible to conceptualize a range of new institutions ... as the fulcrum of a comprehensive system for the inspection and treatment of all those pathologies now described as 'maladjustment'.[463]

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[460]Lazerson, "The Origins of Special Education", 27.
[461]Martin Soder "The Mentally Retarded: Ideologies of Care and Surplus Population", in Tomlinson, Special Education, 19.
[462]Bart, "The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education", in Tomlinson, Special Education, 94.
[463]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 72.

Wood states that the post-war attitude to the handicapped also became positive rather than negative as had been the tendency. The reason for this he suggests, was the increased public awareness bought about by effective results of rehabilitation programmes for disabled servicemen. This helped to create a demand for similar work in the schools.[464] In North America, as in Australia and Europe, parents wanted their children adequately taught in state schools. Describing the Australian scene, Elkins writes:

> [I]n the immediate post-war period, the major efforts of state education departments were concentrated upon children with mild intellectual disabilities. In consequence, voluntary organisations were formed to provide special schooling for children with moderate and severe levels of intellectual disability and for children with physical disabilities. ... It is clear ... that the rise of ... voluntary organisations represented a mobilisation of concerned citizens faced with enormous problems in the absence of any government effort.[465]

Lazerson relates the similar North American experience:

> It is hard to overestimate the impact of parental organizations on special education in the 1950s and 1960s: they were the successful agitators for the expansion of the system. Often in uneasy alliance with professional educators, through letter writing, campaigns, through lobbying pressures in state legislatures and departments of education, and through the development of national co-ordinating groups, they forced the transfer of larger portions of educational funds to special education.[466]

According to Rose, it was during the post-war years that attention "gradually but decisively shifted from the prevention of maladaption to the production of normality itself", therefore parents wanted this "normality" for themselves. Adults were now coming to "construe the maximization of the physical and mental welfare of their offspring as the privileged path to their own happiness".[467]

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[464]See Wood, W. "Education for Exceptional Children", The Australian Journal of Education, 10, (1966), 291-304.
[465]Elkins, "Special Education in Australia", 164-165.
[466]Lazerson, "The Origins of Special Education", 28.
[467]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 163.

In South Australia, the Special Schools for which Dr. Davey had campaigned for so long still had not eventuated. Parents of the severely mentally retarded children not provided for in the state schools were most dissatisfied, they "wanted an extension of special educational services, ... in the name of equality", they wanted what was offered to other children.[468] At this time, in 1950, if a child was unable to be educated in a Special Class in a "normal" school and therefore termed ineducable, the only placement available to parents was Minda Home, which meant that many retarded children had never attended a school.

An advertisement was placed in The News on Wednesday, July 26th, 1950, by Mr. Douglas Wilson, inviting people interested in establishing a training centre for "tuition of children below the standard required for the Education Department's Opportunity Classes", to telephone the aforesaid Mr. Wilson.[469] "J.L." recalls the event.

> **It was a chiropractor called Thompson, he had a number of patients who were intellectually disabled children. He got talking to the parents, there was no school for the children, so he called a meeting and got them together to talk about this. At some stage he got his accountant, a chap called Doug Wilson to come along too and out of that discussion, meeting or whatever it was, they decided to form the Mentally Retarded Children's Society. The accountant, Doug Wilson, became the first chairman and he was chairman for a number of years. ... He was an accountant for Thompson and that's how he came to be there, the rest were all parents. I think it was known as the Mentally Retarded Children's Educational Society. They dropped education out of it after a short period, it was a mouthful even with the normal title. Their main aim in life was just to get the government to open a school.**[470]

D.B." also remembers the event.

> **Fortunately Mr. Thompson had led a campaign to have chiropractors recognised, so he had some experience. We went to his office one night and he said, "I'll help you too." So we met and he said, "The first thing to do is**

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[468] Tomlinson, Special Education, 56.
[469] The News, Wednesday, July 26, 1950, 25.
[470] Transcript of interview with "J.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 10-11.

> **to find out how many retarded children we've got in the city." And he said, "What you do, you hire a hall and put notices in the paper."[471]**

On the 10th of August that year a meeting was held at the Rechabite Hall, Victoria Square, which was attended by between eighty and ninety people, mostly parents and some professionals in the field. Dr. Davey, although retired, was present as was Mr. Piddington, her successor. It was at this meeting that the Mentally Retarded Children's Society (M.R.C.S.) was formed.[472]

From its inception the society was a vigorous agitator for training facilities for mentally retarded children. Consequently, (according to the parents interviewed) in 1951, the Minister of Education reported that an Occupation Centre was being planned which would cater for up to fifty children considered to be ineducable in a normal school. The Department's next annual report stated that a house had been purchased at Kent Town.[473] When the first Occupation Centre opened there in September 1953, the school had an enrolment of twelve students, which expanded to fifty within two years.[474] Mrs Cora Prior, a trained teacher of the mentally retarded, was recruited in England to take charge. The Minister's Report of that year was very enthusiastic about the school's progress, stating that, "A new interest has come into the lives of the children: their parents report that they no longer roam from home, they sleep more restfully, and ... are happier in their home life".[475] A parent of one of the students remembers the opening.

> **It was one of those political issues where the government was capitalising on opening a new school. I think it might have been an election year, because there was great fanfare.[476]**

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[471]Transcript of interview with "D.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 31.
[472]Transcript of interview with "J.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 15.
[473]SAPP, 1:44, (1951), Report of the Minister of Education, 36.
[474]SAPP, 1:44, (1953), Report of the Minister of Education, 5.
[475]Ibid.
[476]Transcript of interview with "J.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 2.

In 1954, the State Government invited James Lumsden, the Staff Inspector of the Ministry of Education in England and "expert" in the training of mentally retarded children, to visit the state and comment on the special education facilities. He was obviously impressed by what he saw, reporting that the Special Senior Classes were among the most promising he had seen, but he was critical of the services provided for subnormal children. He stated that the private organisations, such as Minda Home for low functioning mentally retarded children, Townsend House for blind and deaf children and the Crippled Children's Association, were being asked to "shoulder too much of the burden" of what should be the state's responsibility.[477]

The next Occupation Centre was opened at Woodville in 1956 and a third was started in Berri, a Riverland town approximately 300 km north east of Adelaide in 1961. It had an enrolment of twelve students and served the Upper Murray district, with children coming from Barmera, Winkie, Lyrup, Renmark, Monash and Loxton. Again, according to parent interviews, this rapid move to provide facilities outside the metropolitan area was a result of consistent pressure from parents in the M.R.C.S. "J.L". recollects:

> **[W]e were aware there was a need in the country. ... We had a special way of going about it. ... We organised a public meeting in the town, the pattern was to get together the local dignitaries, the mayor, the local member of Parliament, the Service Clubs and particularly the parents of intellectually disabled children and anyone else we could get along. A group from Adelaide would go down there, a couple of car loads from the M.R.S.C. Committee Management. "J." was usually the main speaker and he would tell them about the M.R.C.S., how successful we were and what you could do and how schools were opened in the metropolitan area and persuade them to push hard to open a school. ... At the finish he would get them to form a branch of the M.R.C.S., usually getting the local member of Parliament as chairman of the committee to give it a bit of push and they would become a branch. ... I remember when we met in the Murray Bridge**

[477] J. Lumsden, Report on Facilities for the Education and Care of Mentally Handicapped Children in S.A., 1954, 3, S.A.A.

> **Primary School and I think the first president was the local member of Parliament, the State Member, and it was the same with the others.**[478]

In 1957, the M.R.C.S. approached the Ministers concerned with an "over 16" plan. They believed that their adolescents would benefit from a longer period of training than the department was providing.[479]

> **[I]n the early days, when the Education Department finally opened Kent Town, the M.R.C.S. had been pursuing this for years, trying to get it opened, some of the children who would have been eligible if they'd done it in the first place were too old for it, so that was a problem.**[480]

This led to the establishment of two "sheltered" training workshops within the Kent Town and Woodville Occupation Centres, to provide additional training for students from sixteen to twenty years of age. The training was in the form of production-line type work, meant to give experience of basic work skills.[481]

> **[T]hey decided that they'd try and teach them craft and they set up this craft place in one or two sheds in the back of the Kent Town School. I remember the old sheds, they were unlined just like ordinary garden sheds, it must have been terrible in summer. They worked there until a lecturer came out from England, I don't know who brought him out, but he was an expert on mental retardation. He gave a lecture one night at the Teachers' Training College which was in those days in Kintore Avenue and he espoused the idea of sheltered workshops. I think "J." of the M.R.C.S. approached him and said "How do you go about it?" He said, "All you need is a room, a table and chair and you're in business!" ... "J." worked for a retail grocery chain store firm and ... they had a shop in O'Connell Street in North Adelaide and at the back of the shop was a room which wasn't in use. He worked it that they could use it for packing. They had the job of cleaning it out. They started packing eggs and potatoes and the group from Kent Town moved into this building and started packing, that was the first sheltered workshop.**[482]

In 1963 Kensington Sheltered Workshop Training Centre was opened. This was to be a senior centre from which students from the "junior centres" could transfer, catering for

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[478] Transcript of interview with "J.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 9.
[479] Transcript of interview with "J.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 9.
[480] Ibid., 4.
[481] SAPP, 1:44, (1962), Report of the Minister of Education, 2.
[482] Transcript of interview with "J.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 4.

ages twelve to twenty. A wide range of craft activities were taught. Private business supplied contract work and good work habits were encouraged.[483]

By 1965 there were twenty-three Special Senior Classes in metropolitan and country primary schools. Although the classes were successful, the problem of the students' age was again evident. When most children left primary school at twelve years of age, it could not have been an ideal situation to have the fifteen and sixteen year old Special Class students in the primary school playground with the six year olds; quite likely this caused social and behaviour problems. In 1966 four Special Classes were started in metropolitan secondary schools - three in technical schools and the fourth in a high school, Elizabeth Boys' Technical and Elizabeth Girls' Technical schools among them.

This same year saw the beginning of the Opportunity Class Mothers' Groups. This was instigated by a group of mothers from The Mentally Retarded Children's Society.[484] Six groups were formed to meet monthly, to "help gain a better understanding of their children's problems", but their main function was to raise funds for much needed school equipment. The mothers' club at the Kent Town School raised enough money by cake making and raffles to enable the building of a gymnasium.[485] By 1971, only five Senior Classes were left in primary schools, the last transferred to a more appropriate secondary school setting in 1973.[486]

In 1962 at the request of the Minda Home Board, the Education Department took over the institution's school and Mrs. M. P. Kaufmann, a trained teacher from Victoria, was appointed as head teacher.[487] In the same year, Occupation Centres opened at Barton

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[483]Ibid.
[484]Annual Report of the Minister of Education, Psychology Branch Report, 1964, 4. Author's copy.
[485]S.A. Education Gazette, LXXX11:947, (January 1966), Official Directory.
[486]Psychology Branch, Official List of Schools and Staff, 1972. Author's copy.
[487]SAPP, 1:44, (1962), Report of the Minister of Education, 6.

Terrace, in North Adelaide and country Whyalla.[488] Also in 1962 at the request of the Mental Health Services, two teachers were appointed to Parkside Mental Hospital (later Glenside) and two to Northfield Mental Hospital, where they worked in the wards. These classes were officially annexes of the Kent Town and Barton Terrace Occupation Centres. They became schools - Parkside Hospital Occupation Centre and Northfield Hospital Occupation Centre in 1965. In 1971 the Strathmont Centre was opened and the children from Glenside were transferred to the school, closing the two hospital schools. The school at the Centre was named Piddington School, in recognition of Mr. L. S. Piddington, who had been head of the Psychology Branch during its period of rapid expansion in the 'sixties.[489]

"Piddy" as he was affectionately known, was very highly regarded by the parents in the M.R.C.S.. According to "C." he was

> **wonderful, he was a "gem". He was magnificent. We've been lucky in South Australia in that there's been a very good relationship between voluntary organisations and the Department and that was through "Piddy". We did things which I don't know whether you could do today. For instance, the school at Whyalla. ... "Piddy" let us know that a school was needed at Whyalla and he couldn't do anything, he could only put pressure and nothing happened. So we said, "We'll go over there, this is the M.R.C.S. Committee." "Piddy" saw an intelligent mother over there and said, "Look, if you want help these are the people who can help you, is it alright if I give them your name?" He couldn't give us any other names, he'd got her permission, so he gave us her name. So we contacted her and said, "We'll be over such and such a date," and most of us in the Committee with our wives went over there for a weekend.**
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> **We met this lady and of course she had no compunction about telling us all the other names of people so we went around door knocking on the Saturday afternoon before the meeting. We said, "Look, I believe you have a handicapped child, I'm the parent of a mentally retarded child and we're having a meeting tonight to try and get a school, will you come?" Most of them nearly fell over backwards at someone admitting having a retarded child, they hadn't struck it before, they were in isolation. So we had a**

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[488]Ibid., 7.

[489]G.N. Stott, The Story of Hospital Schools, (1970), cited in Shackleford, "The development of Education Department facilities", 51. (author's typescript).

> **meeting that night. They didn't have a Mayor, they had a Town Secretary, I think he came and chaired the meeting and the local member of Parliament, we 'dobbed' him in as chairman and when Tom Playford was beaten next time, he became Minister of Education - you can be lucky!! That was just an example of "Piddy" working inside and we working outside.**[490]

Every parent to whom I spoke regarded "Piddy" almost like their "saviour". Rose substantiates this when he writes about the type of relationship which develops between the psychological experts and those who consult them.

> [W]hether they be managers, parents or patients, their relation to authority ... has to do with a kind of discipleship. It is structured by a hierarchy of wisdom, it is held in place by ... the possibility that the decisions that are made by such authorities can be conducted in a way that appears to be in the best interests of those whose lives they will affect - be they worker, prisoner, patient or child.[491]

Certainly, the parents trusted the child guidance experts and then the schools, as part of what Rose terms the human technologies, "assemblages of diverse forces, instruments, architectural forms, and persons to achieve certain ends", in this case education for their children. He continues:

> to the extent that these seek the calculated transformation of human conduct, they are inherently linked to those knowledges and techniques that promise to bring such a transformation about. Human technologies comprise a range of related methods for linking together, shaping, channelling, and utilizing the forces of individuals and groups in pursuit of certain objectives.[492]

South Australia, at this time, was the only Australian State making provision for children considered "ineducable" in the normal school and considered itself a leader in the field.[493] Occupation Centres changed their names to Special Schools in 1970, reflecting a change in attitude regarding mentally retarded children. It was now thought

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[490]Transcript of interview with "C.L". Property of Orana Inc., 15-16.
[491]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 93.
[492]Ibid., 121.
[493]Opening Address, Report of Raywood Conference, No. R5., Education Department of South Australia, 1967. Author's copy.

they should be educated, not just "occupied", as the former name implied.[494] The Education Act of 1972 deleted the clauses relating to handicap, making it compulsory for all children between the ages of six and fifteen to attend school.[495] By 1974 there were eight Junior Special Schools and one Senior Special in the metropolitan area, as well as Special Schools within the institutions of Minda and Strathmont. The Education Department employed approximately one hundred and fifty special education teachers, who taught approximately one thousand, four hundred children.[496]

Special education in South Australia owes much to the tireless efforts of Constance Davey. After setting up "Junior" and then "Senior" Opportunity Classes she pressed the government for many years to allow her to establish Special Schools for the children inappropriately placed in these classes, that is the children whose mental functioning was too low for Opportunity Classes to be of any benefit. It was the advent of concerned parents wanting education for their retarded children and their formation of the "lobbying" organisation, the M.R.C.S., that provided the extra impetus to "force" the government to act. This resulted in the opening of the first Special School, or Occupation Centre as it was then called, in 1953.

The first special education teachers were volunteers, but very soon Davey started weekly meetings and then lectures, to provide "her" teachers with support and much needed knowledge. Such knowledge/power was from the medical/psychology perspective and power struggles developed between professionals involved, which in my experience is still very much a part of "modern" special education. Distribution of knowledge by professionals, or "knowledgeable persons who can speak 'in the name of

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[494]Shackleford, "The development of Education Department facilities", 54.
[495]Ibid., 55.
[496]Official List of Schools and Staff, Guidance and Special Education Branch, 1974. Author's copy.

society'" allows the government and simultaneously the Education Department authorities, to become "connected up to all manner of facts". Rose puts the view that

> [K]nowledge here flows around a diversity of apparatuses for the production, circulation, accumulation, authorization and realization of truth: in the academy, in government bureaux, in reports of commissions, public enquiries and pressure groups; it is the "know-how" that promises to render the unruly domains over which government is to be exercised, to make government possible and to make government better.[497]

In order to make government, and following from that schooling, "better" the "political authorities" became "obligated" to "better" the health, happiness and wellbeing of the population and those families and individuals who comprised it".[498] If we look at the mentally retarded population, Bart suggests, and I have found to be the case in South Australia, that management practices in special education have allegedly shifted from a punitive to a therapeutic orientation. She writes:

> more medical, paramedical and medically related professionals now work in the field of special education; but their presence has merely changed the field's 'gatekeepers' and gatekeeping style; social and educational structures representing dominant social interests remain the same.[499]

Rose agrees, stating that not all "political subjects" are embraced by a new regime and I believe this is the case for special education.

> Those 'on the margins', literally 'outside society,' are frequently either excluded and marginalised, controlled by the older, harsher ways, or maintained under the particular regimes of environmental intervention and non-intervention known as 'community care'.[500]

The discourses and knowledge surrounding special education may have changed, but I believe those "in it" are still a marginalised group.

In the previous chapter I examined the evolution of Special Classes within "normal"

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[497]Nikolas Rose, "Governing 'advanced' liberal democracies," in Barry et al., Foucault and Political Reason, 45.
[498]Ibid.
[499]Bart, "The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education," in Tomlinson, Special Education, 93.
[500]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 166.

schools for junior and later senior students, but what was there for children who were considered ineducable, who supposedly could not be taught in a "normal" school? If these children were not placed in an institution they remained at home for the rest of their lives, with no schooling and no respite for the parents. As has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis, Foucault as a post-modernist, places agencies such as courts, prisons, schools and "modes of intervention" such as magistrates, doctors, social workers, teachers and so on within structures of power and discourse. He claims that subjects of social policy (for instance mentally retarded children) are

> constructed within the discourse of social policy and categories, classification systems and forms of knowledge by individuals and groups within the political, administrative and economic spheres. These constructs establish within any one instance of discourse (e.g. a report, an academic text, a social work case-file) a relation between the conception of a subject (e.g. a social problem, a system of welfare, a client) and the forces which repeatedly determine it. Through this process the subject is endowed with particular forms of factitively and causality.[501]

This premise aligns with the concept of "attending to the norm", particularly apropos the mentally retarded, whereby a "swarm" of technicians, or "normative judges" such as teachers, psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers are employed to

> differentiate, quantify and rank an individual according to his or her ability to conform to the normative prerequisites of disciplinary technology ... Normalisation becomes one of the great instruments of power ... and ... humanity is the respectable name given to this economy and its meticulous calculations.[502]

However, Zaretsky proposes that instead of seeing the state as slowly encroaching upon, or supplementing or replacing the family, the modern state and the private family

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[501] Martin Hewitt, "Biopolitics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare", Theory Culture and Society, 2:1, (1983), 67-68.
[502] Ibid., 69.

should be viewed as arising more or less together in a definite relationship to one another.[503]

Gordon too argues that this process of intervention into family life by the state could be seen as "a process with ambiguous outcomes, and one in which clients actively participate, often having a significant impact on the final outcome".[504] Van Krieken agrees stating that boundaries between the state and civil society, the family and the community are more often "quite blurred" for "the state is not a thing which thinks and acts". He suggests we need to examine the process of state intervention, not within a discourse of

> control, regulation, repression, domination or administration, but one of asymmetrical negotiations, alliances and compromises, occurring within the structured fields ... and discourses ... of power relations.[505]

As will be demonstrated from the interviews in this chapter this is the way in which Special Schools began, not by one power (the state) exerting total domination over another (the parents and their mentally retarded children), but rather as a result of active participation on the parents' part, i.e. alliances and compromises, with outcomes to suit the needs of both parties.

Elizabeth Tonkin, in her book, Narrating our Pasts, examines the interconnections between memory, cognition and history and shows how they help to shape individual selves. She suggests

> individuals are also social beings, formed in social interaction, reproducing and also altering societies of which they are members. I argue that 'the past' is not

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[503]Eli Zaretsky, "Rethinking the Welfare State: Dependency, Economic Individualism and the Family," in James Dickinson and Bob Russell eds., Family, Economy and State. The Social Reproduction Process under Capitalism (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 105.
[504]See L. Gordon, Heroes of their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988), 289-299.
[505]Van Krieken, Children and the State, 7, 39.

> only a resource to deploy, to support a case or assert a social claim, it also enters memory in different ways and helps to structure it. [506]

Tonkin names the different conventions of discourse through which "speakers tell history and listeners understand them" as genres. She explains:

> [A] genre signals that a certain kind of interpretation is called for. To literates, for example, the layout of a sonnet suggests that one should not interpret the words as one would a mathematical equation. Genres provide a 'horizon of expectation' to a knowledgeable audience that cannot be derived from the semantic content of a discourse alone. ... Oracy has its genres just as literacy does, but their conditions include the circumstance of orality. ... The oral genre can be signalled by the occasion, or the status of the teller. ... Genres are social products of particular temporal and economic conditions, realised in varying interpretations by different audiences. [507]

According to Tonkin, oral history accounts can be seen as social practices in social contexts. For her, "representations of pastness", a term she uses as more exact than history, are made by "persons in interaction, situated in real time and space" and however modest the speaker's aim, are nevertheless "purposeful social actions". Narratives, she continues, "put forward moral and other arguments, through their ordering and plotting, in other words, the shape of the narrative is not neutral, and - as with genre in general - adds to implications of the story". Gluck and Patai agree, stating that

> narrators frequently shape their narratives according to their own sense of direction, ... it is also true that the telling of the story can be empowering, validating the importance of the speaker's life experience.[508]

As Vick points out, from a post-modern standpoint many claims made in favour of the narrative as a genuine form of representation of the past are problematic.[509] However, postmodernism allows us to take a fresh look at the possibilities of writing narratives

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[506]Elizabeth Tonkin, Narrating our Pasts. The Social Construction of Oral History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.
[507]Ibid., 2
[508]Sherner Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai eds., Women's Words. The Feminist Practice of Oral History (New York: Routledge, 1991), 2.
[509]See Malcolm Vick, "Narrative History: Truly Writing The Past", in History Of Education Review, 27:2, (1998), 1-15.

and at the understandings these might make possible. Moving away from the histories of public structures in order to focus on experiences "provides important messages about the experiences and mentalities of 'ordinary people'."[510] The challenge of postmodern way of thinking is to accept the complexities and diversities of these messages as a central part of history.

Indeed, as Cutting suggests, apart from the sometimes incomprehensible and paradoxical language, Foucault's method of trying to understand the present in terms of the past, in one way or another, is the aim of most historians. His histories begin with his perception that something is amiss in the present, for example a social circumstance, an institution, a discipline, or a social practice. The circumstance chosen for this thesis was the exclusion of mentally retarded children from the schooling system. Foucault's main goal was not necessarily to understand the past, but to understand the present and the processes that led to the current social circumstances. Unlike many traditional histories which state that where we are now is inevitable, given the so-called facts, Foucault's histories aim to remove "the air of necessity by showing that the past ordered things differently and that the processes leading to our present practices and institutions were by no means inevitable".[511]

With these interviews, I further substantiate that there have been alternate attitudes towards the schooling of mentally retarded children with at least as much "cognitive respectability" as those of today. These are social consructions, intelligible and believable in their periods, and based on scientific knowledge of a particular conception

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[510]Lucy Tasker, "The masked disease: oral history, memory and the Influenza Pandemic, 1918-19", in K. Darian-Smith and P. Hamilton eds., Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 77.

[511]Gary Cutting, ed., The Cambridge Companion To Foucault (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10.

of mental retardation. Yet Foucault would maintain that neither have privileged access to the truth about mental retardation.[512]

Certainly my interviewees had a clearly defined aim to recount their actions in a time of different social practices and context and were determined that I understand their life experiences. Oral history then also provides us with a way of understanding individual subjects and their subjectivities.[513]

In oral history "orientation and content" can be affected by "triggering effects of venue and audience". It is important to be aware that

> the social relationship between ... tellers and listeners almost always includes power inequalities, sometimes represented as moral ones, these may make a story appear condescending or an attempt to curry favour, or to be reckoned unsuitable for certain ears. ... The outside researcher is socially 'read' or 'misread' too and is not, therefore, a neutral recorder of data but a factor in a social event.[514]

But whatever power or control narrators may have during the interview, when they are able to "negotiate the terrain", usually ends once the interview is finished. As Gluck and Patai comment, this shift in control over the narrative "reveals the potential for appropriation hiding under the comforting rationale of empowerment". The danger is that data on others may be gathered and constructed to fit one's own paradigms. As a special education teacher, I am unashamedly unable to be neutral. I hope however, that I do not appear patronising in my presentation of these interviews, it certainly is not my intention, rather for the sake of this study I believe these perspectives need to be presented. Although my consciousness has been formed within a different social and

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[512]See Cutting's discussion of Foucault's history of madness for a useful comparison with mental retardation. Ibid, 10-12.
[513]Ibid., 3, 36; See Katherine Borland, ""That's Not What I Said": Interpretative Conflict in Oral Narrative Research" and Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet, "Narrative Structures, Social Models, and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story", in Gluck and Patai, Women's Words, 63-75, 77-92.
[514]Ibid., 54.

historical reality, I have tried to present the interviews in a way that provides my interpretation of the experiences without misrepresenting the interviewees. In other words, I have attempted to understand and analyse the part played by the interviewees, or "social actors involved in history" and how they were perceived "through the ideological blue prints" they had internalised.

The interviews

Interviewees were located through Orana Incorporated, an organisation which provides sheltered workshop employment and accommodation for intellectually disabled adults and indeed was started in the 1950s by some of the parents whom I interviewed. Orana supplied the name of a past committee member on the understanding that any taped interviews I might do remain the property of Orana. The other names came from recommendations of interviewees. In total I interviewed twenty-four people, fourteen parents, one of whom had also worked in a Special School, six teachers and four Psychology Branch personnel. None refused, but all wished to remain anonymous. The mentally retarded "children" are now at least fifty years old and one has died. All the interviewees are retired and at least in their seventies, two are widowed, one has remarried, the others are still together and living in their homes, one couple in a retirement village. Their children are all in sheltered accommodation, but they remain in regular contact, as do some, but not all of the siblings.

All interviews were held in the interviewees homes. An initial phone call established contact and explained the purpose of my thesis and hence the interviews. I then phoned a week later to see if they were willing to participate. During a preliminary visit each interviewee received a copy of the outline of my thesis proposal and a conditions of use form for the transcripts was left for their perusal. Interviewees were then phoned after a

few days and asked again if they wanted to participate. The main area of concern for parents was confidentiality for them and their families, especially siblings, as many had experienced some "very bad times". Another concern was name usage of "bureaucrats" in the public service and Education Department and some teachers of whom their memories were very bitter. As long as these names also remained anonymous, none wished to place restrictions on texts. The parents were pleased that the "fight" (their words) was to be recorded before they died and the teachers and Psychology Branch personnel stressed the view that it was important to have an account of the early days and conditions of Special Schools and special education in general.

The interview was scheduled within a week, where possible, of the preliminary interview. Average length of the interview was four to five hours, with all interviewees inviting me for lunch or afternoon tea, which broke up the interview and was not too tiring for the interviewee. Everyone was happy with the arrangement. At times the parents were in tears when recounting their experiences, but all were adamant that they wanted to continue. For some it seemed to be a cathartic experience and many said they had never before felt able to be so honest about their feelings and experiences. During the interview I had a list of questions to be answered concerning the parents' role in the education of their children. For example, I asked how they felt about their children being marginalised and denied education and what spurred them into taking action. While this seemed informal, it opened up the subject and provided a catalyst for the parents to vent their feelings and describe the events of that time. But I also realised the importance of

allowing the narrators to tell parts of the story in their way without always being confined to a set of pre-determined questions, and I allowed time for this to happen.[515]

For the parents interviewed, the turning point in the "fight" for education for their children came with the inception of the parent groups. "C.L." describes the beginnings of the parent movement:

> **[S]uddenly there was a spontaneous movement, not only in Australia, it was in other countries, it was in America, in Europe, in England, for education of handicapped children. Well, it was post-war and there was a shortage of trained people at the time, the same with buildings, nothing had been built for a long time, you couldn't get a house. I think people started to think that something had to be done and ... I guess it was almost the start of the "rights" business, you'd got certain rights, ... ordinary children went to school, why shouldn't these be included? And it was in the Act that they should be.**[516]
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> **[I] remember Constance Davey, she was very old then, saying, "I rewrote the Education Act and I gave you the loophole". She said, "I put in ALL children."** [517] (Original emphasis.)

The parents saw the education of their children as a "right" and were determined that it should happen. "D.B." describes the impetus as, **"It was a surprising bubbling up sort of thing, that post-war business of it springing up everywhere."** Her son, who was born during the second world war, went to the local kindergarten until he was five and then:

> **[T]hey said I had to take him to the psychologist. He looked at him and said, "He won't ever start school." I said, "What else can be done for him?" and he said "Nothing, but you should leave this office and go out and fight to get a school, the first school for these children." He said, "I can't speak against this government, but I'll be behind you, any advice you need, I'll help you."**[518]

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[515]Sherna Berger Gluck states, "the best oral histories are those that achieve a balance between the narrator's agenda and the interviewer's agenda, agendas that are at times, disparate". See "Advocacy Oral History: Palestinian Women in Resistance", in Women's Words, 208.
[516]Transcript of interview with "C.D.". Property of Orana Inc., 25.
[517]Transcript of interview with "J.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 52. As mentioned earlier, Constance Davey was the first psychologist appointed to the Education Department in 1925.
[518]Transcript of interview with "D.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 30.

The above provides insight into the governing discourse of the time which informed the psychologist that mentally retarded children were ineducable. For me, this is an example of the tying of knowledge (provided to the psychologist and in turn providing him) with power. But by advising "D" in such a manner the psychologist clearly showed the conflicting position in which he placed himself, although not overtly, in relation to the dominant social model of mental retardation located in authority. I find it interesting to speculate how at risk his position would have been had he spoken out in public in those early days. Obviously he believed it to be so, as at that time he was not prepared to marginalise himself from the accepted discourse of his employer, the state, and yet once the parent movement gathered momentum, many government employees were prepared to help, although some still not openly.

"D." was "incensed" by the government's position, even years later as she spoke to me and continued:

> **[W]ell, I came home and I'd already been aware that there was a retarded boy in the local area and I found out his name. I was also aware that there was another one even in our own street. So, I went to the local people and I said "What does this boy do?" And they said, "He's doing nothing." So I thought, well, that's R.'s fate. So I asked them the boy's name, where he lived and I knew the other one in our street. So when "D." [her husband] came home I said, "You go round to "D.'s", ask them to come around to our place and I'll go round to Mr. "R." and ask him to come to our place," which they did the next night. I said, "Right there's three of us, now, we've got to do something."**[519]

One of the parents invited to "D.'s" house happened to be going to the chiropractor, Mr. Thompson, who as documented in an earlier chapter, offered his help to organise the first public meeting which was attended by over a hundred people. "D." continues:

> **[W]ell, then "B.", I don't know who else because they were older than "R." and they took the children to Parliament House, because the Act said the**

[519]Ibid.

> **government is responsible for all children and they said "What have you got for these? Nothing!"**[520]

Many thought that these parents were very foolhardy to openly challenge the government of the day but they were determined to be heard. I felt that they believed their children and by extension themselves were viewed by the world as "nothings, of no importance to anyone", abandoned identities, which they were convinced should not be so.[521] I could detect determination and anger still evident in his tone as "D.'s" husband explains further:

> **[B]efore we took the children to Parliament and pressured the politicians we'd already made enquiries about how Victoria was doing it, but they were doing it privately. We realised that you could never get anywhere that way, it was the government's responsibility. So we went the right way.**[522]

Simultaneously, according to Rose:

> [I]n wartime and the postwar period, a new set of psychological terms entered the language of government. This new language of 'the group' opened the relational life of organizations up to thought and action in a new way. ... It became central to postwar management of economic life, opening up the minutae of interpersonal relations within the enterprise to analysis ... associations between governmental ambitions, organizational demands, scientific knowledge, professional expertise, and individual aspirations are fundamental to the political organizations of liberal democracies. It is not only that regulation extends way beyond the control of the pathological persons and conditions and embraces, as its preferred mode of operation, but the production of normality itself.[523]

Psychology had provided the "new gaze" directed at family life and children's behaviour, "a gaze shaped and educated in psychological terms". To be "governable asserts Rose, "one needs not only the language to render into thought, one also needs the information to assess its condition", and this was supplied by psychology.

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[520]Ibid., 32.
[521]Ibid., 33. "D." said to "My mother as very against us making any trouble".
[522]Ibid.
[523]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 72-73.

"Information establishes a relay between authorities and events and persons at a distance from them".[524]

Armed with the information supplied by psychologists, the parents set out to convince the bureaucrats that something must be done for their children. Which is, as Rose suggests:

> [P]rograms for enhancing or changing the ways in which authorities should think about or deal with this or that trouble have sometimes issued from central political apparatus, but more characteristically have been formulated by lawyers, psychiatrists, criminologists, feminists, social workers, bosses, workers, parents. Effecting these programs has sometimes involved legislation, and sometimes entailed setting up new branches of the political apparatus, but it has also been the work of dispersed professional groups, voluntary, philanthropic, or charitable organisations. ... Some have come to nothing, failed, or even been abandoned or outflanked. Others have flourished, spread to other locales and problems, established themselves as lasting procedures of thought and action.[525]

In the meantime, "D.B." had taken her son to the local primary school where the headmistress

> **had a friend who had a retarded child and said, "Yes, we will look after him until you get that first school." So "R." went in up there and his first teacher, she's eighty-three now and she's still my friend. ... Not only did she teach or keep "R.", she came and helped to run our fetes and was very involved.**[526]

But although the goal of having their child at school was reached, it was not an ideal situation. Although they described the situation in very cautious terms, their disappointment was clearly a part of the poignancy of the experience. Her husband comments:

> **"I think "R." suffered a bit at that school, I think we all did. ... Because he was so much bigger than the little ones, he never complained though".**[527]

"J.W." recounts her early experiences with her son.

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[524]Ibid., 73.
[525]Ibid., 77.
[526]Transcript of interview with "D.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 31.
[527]Ibid.

> **He went to kindergarten, they were quite willing to have one or two handicapped children in each kindergarten. Then when he was five and a half they said "Look, he's too big, we can't keep him any longer." I was most upset and wanted to go to the Education Department and discuss him going into some sort of school.**[528]

She too was referred to the psychologist and continues:

> **The first time I saw him I was a bit upset because he was giving "G." all these tests about square pegs and round holes. He was saying, "Oh look, he's hopeless". I don't think he used that word, but I knew what he meant.**[529]

In this way "J" was exposed to what Graddol and Swann term "the ideological effects of discourse rather than language". These, unlike abstract language structures, embody particular meanings and values. Although the psychologist did not actually articulate that her son was hopeless, she clearly understood his meaning. Graddol and Swann assert such discourses can construct a person's unconscious and conscious self, their subjectivity. [530]Apart from feeling very angry, "J" told me she also felt very powerless and inadequate. It would not have been socially appropriate for her to differ with the psychologist, as she was well aware of the "prestige" of his position and how she would be perceived by him as an over anxious and unrealistic mother.

By declaring themselves to be "experts", such professionals lay claim to an esoteric knowledge, which often cannot be explained to the parent and is not always clear but by virtue of their status, these "experts" do not expect to be questioned. Faced with the complexity of the situation and her contradictory feelings, believing she was right but not allowing herself to question the expert authority, it is not surprising that "J." was thoroughly bewildered and became antagonistic to the whole assessment procedure,

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[528]Transcript of interview with "J.W.". Property of Orana Inc., 40.
[529]Ibid., 49.
[530]David Graddol and Joan Swann, Gender Voices (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 161. Poststructuralists (termed by Graddol and Swann) point out the unstable nature of subjectivity.

which I could still sense in her voice and gestures.[531] Not all parents were as fortunate even as that, "J.H." recalls:

> **My daughter was deaf and dumb and retarded, with Down's Syndrome, she had no degree of hearing at all, she was totally deaf. We couldn't get anything done for her, even the Blind Deaf and Dumb at Townsend House wouldn't look at her, or anywhere else. ... Nobody wanted to know, not only "P.", but anyone that was retarded. If they didn't fit in, they were out. She was home all day without schooling or anything until she was fourteen.**[532]

Although it seemed that "J.H." accepted the dominant model of the day, he was obviously upset, indicated by his use of language, "nobody wanted to know" and "they were out", once again this feeling of abandonment.

Another parent speaks of difficulties at kindergarten level with her brain damaged daughter .

> **Oh yes, I tried all the normal avenues such as kindergarten first and they would ask me to keep her away. In those days there was no tolerance. She'd sort of be there and she couldn't do what they would do, she wasn't a passive sort of girl, she'd really want to jump in and do it and she'd disrupt them. They couldn't cope. They'd say, "Oh please, she disrupts the others, you'll have to take her away."**[533]

From there she tried a junior primary school.

> **[A]nd then we tried the (name deleted) school, it's not far from here. For the first time in about thirty years I was able to go past there the other day on my walk. I said to my husband, "I've never been able to come past here before, because of the horrible experience I've had. They said they'd take her, so she went there and she was a specimen! They watched her and everything she did, they'd write it down and they'd report. She'd go out in the playground and they wouldn't allow me go with her, they'd say, "No, you stay here". And all the kids would be around her staring at her, to see what she would do and things like that. ... We tried for three weeks, after**

They assert that different discourses invite the speaking, listening, subject to respond in a variety of contradictory ways, which is what I experienced in my research.

[531]For other examples see Tomlinson, Special Education, Chapter 4. Although this English study was written in 1982, similar issues arise in my research.

[532]Transcript of interview with "J.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 52.

[533]Transcript of interview with "B.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 44.

> **that I just taught her at home, as much as I could, there was no place for her.**[534]

To see her child displayed in public as a "specimen" was heartbreaking for "B.", **"they didn't know her and love her as I did, she was just a thing to them. It was so cruel."** (It was at this point in the interview that "B." broke down, so affected was she by events of that time and the dreadful hopeless feelings they still engendered.)

Other parents initially tried a private school for their child.

> **[W]e thought it would be better if she went to a private school first then a state school after a bit of training. We thought we'd have more control over her education that way. So I found (name deleted) down here and she and her sister went together in kindergarten and right through grade one. And then we were stopped from sending her there, the headmistress said they couldn't take her. I offered more money to pay for extra staff, but they wouldn't.**[535]

To me, these narratives demonstrate the relations between the interviewees and their social sphere, their friends, wider community and the government, or more broadly, society as a whole. Their conversations express the conflict that existed between them and society and the anger and hurt they felt by the perceived indifference towards their children and by default to them. In their anecdotes they depict themselves as confronted with a dominant model and describe similar patterns of behaviour, identification, acceptance and compromise and so on, on the one hand and on the other, defiance, refusal to comply and so on.

Parr and Philo when writing about people with mental health problems, talk about identities undergoing changes. I find their descriptions similar to the feelings my interviewees expressed to me. They too had to contend with a "proliferation" of discourses and also practices which influenced their indentities in different ways, "if only partially and if on occasion only because individuals react against what they are hearing

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[534] Ibid.
[535] Transcript of interview with "I.E.". Property of Orana Inc., 16.

and experiencing". It seems to me that the parents underwent similar indentity changes. The original collapse when confronted with mental retardation, the grudging acceptance of a medical explanation, an intense feeling of nothingness and eventually a gradual regaining of a sense of purpose and worth, in part bought about by their united efforts on behalf of their children.[536]

Schools were very resistant to parental suggestions regarding special education. As Tomlinson found in her study:

> [T]he involvement of parents in the assessment processes for special education and in the actual education of their children in special schools and classes, is an area in which benevolent rhetoric supersedes reality. ... The available evidence indicates that many parents feel uninvolved and inadequately consulted in the assessment processes and uninformed, misinformed or overwhelmed by professional expertise.[537]

Initially the parents approached the Minister of Health, but this was not successful.

> **[W]e were five years with the Minister of Health and we never had an answer. There was a committee set up, but he kept putting us off and putting us off and then he went to England and came back by ship. This went on for five years before we got an answer from him that he was going to put us over to the Minister of Education, who would then survey the case.[538]**

The above statements were said in such a matter of fact tone, that when I reviewed the tapes I was quite shocked that they had been lobbying the Minister of Health for five years without result, and yet this had slipped past me in the interview. Michael Toolan writes about this phenomenon as what he terms, "Sack's ordinariness hypothesis". This stems from the belief that people try to make their stories as ordinary as possible.

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[536] Hester Parr and Chris Philo, "Mapping 'Mad' Identities", in Mapping The Subject, 211.
[537] Tomlinson, Special Education, 106.
[538] Transcript of interview with "D.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 32.

The parents involved in the negotiations with the government were middle class men in **"good jobs and good positions"**, who **"knew how to get things"**. or as "D.B." modestly tells it:

> **[W]e had so much luck, all these parents, one of them was a buyer for all Coles' shops, we had a neurologist, we had a pilot from Ansett and if he was flying over to the other states and we wanted contacts, he would do that for us.**[539]

I believe it was far more than luck. The language of these men would identify them as members of a particular social group, the middle class, and that of the par"liamentarians with whom they were negotiating. This gave them credibility. Their skilful discourse and their refusal to be intimated did the rest.

"B.B." describes them as **"very much middle class, we did have a few that were lower, but in the main they were pretty much upper middle, with high expectations. But they were a great group, really supportive."**[540] Yet she goes on to say:

> **[A]s far as I'm concerned they, they've never quite forgiven me for working when I had a husband. They're a nice group, so they wouldn't openly say, but I always felt that. They just stayed home and thought I should too.**[541]

This statement reflects the conflict between "B" and her social milieu and is an example of the rejection she felt from those from whom she also expected the most support. It was clear to me that she found it difficult to come to terms with this dichotomy even after all these years.

In an early study of families with a disabled child, Voysey makes the point that, "middle class parents are more likely to obtain preferential treatment from formal agencies and possess inter-personal skills relevant to managing such encounters". The men involved clearly had the skills and resources to approach members of parliament and articulate

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[539] Ibid.
[540] Transcript of interview with "B.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 35.
[541] Ibid., 42.

their case. However, it is also obvious from the interviews that the women were, as Reiger terms it, "not just the unwitting dupes of a male ruling-class", they played an active, if mainly in the background part, but often taking the initiative, as when "D." organised the first parent meeting in her neighbourhood. Voysey also suggests that it is middle class parents who like to appear "good and respectable" and therefore "honour the normal order of child rearing". In the middle class discourse of child rearing the normal order is that the male is the breadwinner the female is the homemaker and the children attend school. These parents did not want that right denied to their children. As "B." told earlier, she was frowned upon by the parents at her child's school because she was a working mother, but as she says, **"If I didn't have some "escape route" to the outside world, I'd have had a breakdown."**[542] Here again I detected tension in her voice as she tried to explain the issues and complexities of her life in those days. While on the one hand she wanted to live up the identity of the middle class wife and mother, but on the other she also knew she had to work to maintain her identity as a person, or as she put it "lose my sanity".

As mentioned earlier, the Kent Town school started in 1953 and was officially opened in 1954, the head teacher coming from England. The Annual Report of the Senior Psychologist reported the event in these terms.

> [T]his event marked a definite step forward in the work with mentally retarded children. It shows that the Government is taking some responsibility for the welfare of children of this type. The parents of these children are very pleased with the Government's interest and have proved most willing and eager to help with this Centre.[543]

"C.W." provides a parent view.

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[542] Margaret Voysey, A Constant Burden. The Reconstitution of Family Life (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1975), 204, 159; see Reiger, The Disenchantment of the Home, 215-217; transcript of interview with "B.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 43.

[543] Annual Report of the Senior Psychologist, 1954, 3. Author's copy.

> **[I]t's hard to understand now, with schools closing down, but you couldn't get buildings and you couldn't get teachers. ... Well, you didn't have trained ones. And of course we were still thinking of the '3R's', you know that's what you went to school for. Then "Piddy" pointed out that they had (name deleted) from England who'd been trained, they had a nurse, someone who was involved with elocution or something like that for speech. Why he got them was because he wasn't drawing on the Education Department teachers, which they didn't want to do and by not using them he got someone else who was good at art and handicraft. He had that team.**[544]

I believe the underlying belief behind "Piddy's" confident discourse was again the fact that as teachers were scarce the Education Department certainly didn't want them "wasted" teaching mentally retarded children as "C.M." was well aware. "C.W" didn't mention this because I don't think it was important to him then, or even years later he was more intent on "getting things underway".

"C.M." voiced his opinion.

> **[T]hey tried to avoid it for years, not just the money, although I'm sure that was a big factor, but they didn't think they could be taught anything at all. I remember (name deleted) getting up at the opening of the school and he said, "I know a lot of parents are going to be very disappointed. I think they have in the back of their minds that their children are going to learn the '3R's', well, they're not," he said. "We'll teach them how to be acceptable in the community, if we succeed in that, we'll have done our job." He could see it, they couldn't.**[545]

Once more the public servant speaking at the opening of the school was merely repeating the dominant discourse informing all public servants of that time, which was that mentally retarded children were ineducable. But the 1954 Annual Report also showed another reason for the opening of Kent Town, the state's fear that it would be later left to care for a large population of retarded people.

> [I]t is important to consider what will happen to these children when they are adults, particularly if their parents die. They would be then thrust on the State. That is a contingency for which provision could be made. An Adult Colony is quite a possibility and could be organised so that the people entering as adults

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[544] Transcript of interview with "C.W.". Property of Orana Inc., 18-19.
[545] Transcript of interview with "C.M.". Property of Orana Inc., 27.

> could easily be settled in. If they passed through a Centre like the new one at Kent Town, they would be able to settle down more easily.[546]

This was not so very different from the parents, fears. Although their prime aim was to establish a school, many were concerned about what would happen to their children when they died. "C.W." whose son pre-deceased him told me had stipulated in his will that his son was to be cared for in the family home until he died and left funds for this purpose. Several other parents had made the same arrangements.

Barton and Tomlinson state that special education

> will almost certainly be characterised by dependence and powerlessness. In addition, the economics ... brought into sharper focus a perennial question in special education: how much should be spent on groups who may not be economically profitable or 'useful' in society?[547]

The economics of caring for these people was becoming a worry to the government. Had the parents been aware of this they would certainly agreed, as it was a huge concern for them. The introduction of a craft type curriculum had more than one reason, "Occupation Centres are one part of a wider plan that some children, from the Centre, when grown up, might earn some money making items".[548]

"S.M." remembers the craft work done by her child.

> **The emphasis was on craft work. I remember the papier mache as being great in (name deleted)'s day and the kids did that. They always seemed to enjoy doing it, but whether they learned a great deal, I don't know.**[549]

"It was art, music and toilet training, those three things", says another parent. She particularly makes mention of the Monday music sessions.

> **[I]n (name deleted)'s time they had excursions every Monday morning. ... (name deleted) had a list of church groups and they invited them to morning tea. I used to go in the car. The children had to perform, they had**

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[546] Annual Report of the Senior Psychologist, 1954, 3. Author's copy.
[547] Barton and Tomlinson, Special Education and Social Interests, 1-2.
[548] 1954 Annual Report, 5. Author's copy.
[549] Transcript of interview with "S.M.". Property of Orana Inc., 4.

> **higher grade children and they had to perform. They sang, (name deleted) played the piano and the children sang and danced and the staff all sang and they used to do this and they'd get morning tea. And I always used to think it was like a performing circus. I loathed those mornings, but (name deleted) used to love them.**[550]

The discourses and practices of the time encouraged children in regular schools to "perform", so although "J." found it abhorrent it was not unusual for any child to be involved in a school "concert", although perhaps not weekly. On another occasion which "M." recounts when the children were asked to be on television.

> **[D]r. (name deleted) had an afternoon on T.V. and she'd been to our school to visit and she asked me if I'd take some of my children on TV. ... I chose six and I got permission and off we went. They were beautifully dressed, the parents had really gone to town. We fitted one corner of the studio out as a school. I took all the things off the walls and put them in, everything. ... I had a quarter of an hour so I did some sense training. Of course, they gave me all the right answers. But they wanted me to sit them with their backs to the camera and I said, "I'm leaving. I have a letter from each parent giving permission for these children to come on T.V. and why do you want to show their backs?" "Well, people might not like seeing them." I said, "Now, this is for the people, this is why they're here. There's nothing nasty about these children. We're trying to get people to accept them and you're doing the other thing". ... They gave in, but I had to demonstrate in front of the cameras first so they could see how it looked.**[551]

Because mentally retarded children were "marginalised" in discourses of the time and not then acknowledged as members of society and certainly not seen in public, the television producer did not wish to "expose" them and shock the public.

"J.W." also remembers.

> **[S]he (the head teacher) was quite a battle-axe, but she must have been good to persevere and do all she did. There were no trained teachers here when they got her. There was no training, there was not much funding. ...In those days they were firmly of the opinion that it was no good trying to teach retarded children any formal education and they couldn't be persuaded otherwise.**[552]

"J.L." comments on another example of departmental experts believing they knew best,

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[550] Transcript of interview with "B.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 43.
[551] Transcript of interview with "M.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 91.
[552] Transcript of interview with "J.W.". Property of Orana Inc., 50.

(knowledge/power) not entertaining "interference" and not offering alternatives.

> **[I] knew some of the parents who had something to do with her and they weren't really enthusiastic. I think she wanted things to go her way and they wanted their way and she probably upset some of the parents along the line. I don't think generally she was as well liked as she should have been.**[553]

"J.W." goes on with her story, demonstrating how she did indeed do it "her way".

> **[A]nyway, the interesting thing was I used to drive him to school every day and you can't make a lot of conversation with a retarded person. I can't drive with someone every day without talking. So I would say, "Oh, here's the bus, I wonder where that's going. See that little box on the top, "G.", well, see those little white lines in it, they are little shapes that tell us a word to say where it's going. And so we started talking about that and then I would say, "Oh, here's the Woodroofe's truck, the cool drink truck and see those lines on the side, they tell you what they're carrying, those lines mean a word. And then I'd say, "That's John Martin's , that's Coke and that's something else. then we'd get as far as the Queen Victoria Hospital and I'd say, "How many taxis are there today? One, two, three" and this would be the pattern every day.**[554]

Warming to the subject, "J." recollects:

> **and it was a long time ago, but there were a lot of things we talked about. Then I thought well, he's getting the idea. So I got some flash cards from Rigby's or somewhere. Then I got primers about the dog, Spot, Jack and Jill with their dog or whatever it was and I used to read it to him. We'd put the words that belonged to the story on a pinboard, by his bed and I'd shift them around. This went on for a while until one day we were going away for a holiday on Yorke Peninsula and there was a Hall's sign in a paddock and "G." said, "That's Geoffrey Hall's, daddy's drinks!" I said, "He's got it, he knows!!" Because it just had this Hall's drinks, so I knew then, it was very encouraging. ... We did lots of things, because we watched T.V and he, of course, all children are entertained by T.V. We used to show him the book [T.V. Guide] and say, "It says here The Mouseketeers" and it says this and it says that. I'd put my finger on and show him and say "It's featuring so and so." One day when I was showing him things he said "featuring", so I knew he was starting to sight read.**[555]

Tomlinson, when discussing the involvement of parents in special education concedes that although "it could be argued that it is more difficult for professionals to regard middle-class parents as deficient or incompetent", she maintains that "there is no

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[553] Transcript of interview with "J.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 2.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Ibid., 51.

suggestion that parents might validly question professional practices."[556] Cohen talks of the "common denominator" of all forms of professional power, that is the "technical fix which awards professionals with knowledge and techniques which no-one else is capable of mastering". From these "technical fixes" arise discourses peculiar to, in this case, special education. In Foucauldian terms Cohen calls what follows "a typical episode in the mechanics of power".[557]

Eventually "J." decided to share her good news with the staff at her son's Special School.

> **[S]o I told them at school. I said, "G.'s learning to read." I told (name deleted) the headmaster, he was very nice, he did a lot of work in the field. But you could see him thinking, "Oh, she's that proud of her son she thinks he can read!" I said, "Look, he really can." He said, "Yes, but as we know he wouldn't know what he was reading." ... But later on they did have a bit of reading, especially teaching danger words, you know, like 'stop', 'don't cross here', 'toilets' that sort of thing, survival words they call them.[558]**

I see this as another example of the ideological effects of discourse rather than language. As in many other instances related to me, the professionals involved never articulated to the parents their common belief that mentally retarded children were incapable of any understanding, but of course they, as in "J.'s" case, perfectly understood their meaning. She told me she felt very patronised, but added in a resigned tone "I'm sure he didn't mean it that way". She adds an afterthought:

> **Incidentally, the headmaster, when he agreed that "G." could read and he could understand, he said, "Well I'll just warn you about one thing. Don't try to teach him the mechanics of reading." And I said, "I've already done that." Because he didn't believe that would help at all, but it did help. He learned to separate words into syllables and say a bit at a time and guess the rest. ... But he has gone back quite a lot since then.[559]**

Other parents too expected more of a "traditional" middle class curriculum for their

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[556] See Tomlinson, Special Education, Chapter 5.
[557] Stanley Cohen, Visions of Social Control Crime, Punishment and Classification, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1985), 165, 192.
[558] Transcript of interview with "J.W.". Property of Orana Inc., 52.
[559] Ibid.

children.

> **[W]e said, "Well, when are they going to learn arithmetic?" "Well, they don't learn arithmetic." Then eventually we got around to "Piddy's" way of seeing. Well, they were improving and becoming socially improved.**[560]

Some parents also harboured the middle class belief that given enough time at school their children would improve. When listening to the tapes I was struck by the sadness in "J.'s" voice as she tried to explain coming to terms with relinquishing her long held beliefs from the popular discourses of the day, that all children need to learn the '3'Rs'" and that "practice makes perfect".

> **[I] remember saying to Joyce, whose daughter had Downs Syndrome, "Oh well, of course "G." will get better as he gets older and gets more schooling." And she said, "He won't you know, he'll get worse." I just didn't believe her, I couldn't believe her."**[561]

Eventually some parents came to see the benefits of the different curriculum at the Special Schools.

> **[W]e were on the waiting list for a long time, she was twelve before she started. She learnt a few skills, but one of the skills she did learn was how to relate to her peers. Those years were valuable, they weren't wasted.**[562]

Deborah Bart suggests the main reason for any development and change in special education practices is what she terms "societal need", which in this case was parental pressure and desire that their children "fit in" with others. She explains:

> [U]ndoubtedly, the education of special children has been and continues to be motivated by humanitarian, even idealistic concern. But well-meaning, individual intentions, constrained by organisational and structural demands, often reap unexpected consequences. As a result, advances in the treatment of special children - from their inhumane and brutal handling in the custodial institutions of the nineteenth century to the more enlightened care today - have always been informed by societal need.[563]

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[560] Transcript of interview with "C.W.". Property of Orana Inc., 24.
[561] .Transcript of interview with "J.D.". Property of Orana Inc., 45.
[562] .Transcript of interview with "P.W.". Property of Orana Inc., 34.
[563] Bart, "The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education", in Barton and Tomlinson, Special Education, 81-82.

Walkerdine proposes the Foucauldian analysis, reasoning that pedagogic practices form part of apparatuses which can be described "in terms of administrative apparatuses for providing techniques of social regulation", a view which also may be applied to special education and the creation of Special Schools. As Bart suggests, Special Classes and Special Schools were established to deal with those students who failed to progress at normal rates and who were at risk of destabilising the existing educational system, an administrative solution (regulation), to a societal need.[564]

Barton Terrace School was established in 1955, but was only meant to contain about twelve students. It was soon overcrowded and the students were transferred to Woodville Special School when that opened the following year. When asked about parent involvement and support "K.'s" reply was:

> **Like every other school you had parents that manipulated the system, you had parents that were involved, you had over protective parents. It was 'funny', they were so grateful in the beginning, you know, they loved us, so grateful. But as time went on, they became much more critical and expectd this and that and would send them when they were sick. Then you'd have parents saying they were toilet trained, which was one of the things they had to be, and they weren't. You see, they didn't come in until they were eight and some parents just couldn't do it.**[565]

"I think it (school) was more a child-minding centre then, but I was only too pleased for her to be off my hands, if that doesn't sound too terrible," remarks "B." whose child started her schooling at Barton Terrace. What was later revealed was that "B.'s" child was constantly banging her head against the wall, sometimes till it bled and pulling out handfuls of her hair and anyone else's who went near. As there was no respite care in those days, who can criticise her for wanting a break from such pressures? "B." later became a secretary at another Special School, so had some

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[564] Walkerdine, "Developmental Psychology", 163; Bart, "The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education", 86.

[565] Transcript with "K.M.". Property of Orana Inc., 28.

empathy with the teachers' job.

> **[T]hose poor teachers, in the beginning a number of them would spend all their time in the toilets. The place smelt to high heaven, luckily the admin. block was away from it, those poor teachers, what they had to put up with! ... I'd say the calibre of teachers was just as good as now, they were doing different things, but they were very dedicated. And they didn't get much money, nobody cared, there was no career structure like now.**[566]

At that time in the 1950s there was no provision made for the students once they left school and the "cut-off" age was twenty; after that the state took no responsibility. Prior to this the parents had directed all their energies into supporting their children's schooling **"until they suddenly realised that these children were going to need something after they leave school."** The fear was **"when she gets to twenty, what do we do?"**[567] This worried many people.

> **[T]he psychologist advised us to get out of the state before "J." was twenty. "Yes," she said, "the Education Department do not look after your children after twenty" and I s'pose "J." was about ten then. She said "Look, try and leave the state." And we kept that in mind and we did make enquiries, but we couldn't find any state that was any better.**[568]

"M.H." tells of the time she addressed a parent meeting at Kent Town Special School.

> **[A]nd one of the parents, from a well-known family in Adelaide, said, "Can I ask you a question?" She had a daughter there, about fourteen, very low. ... They wanted to know about England. "Well," I said, "they were sixteen when they left." "But what did they do then?" ... And I said, "there was nothing for them there, but in Leeds they had four schools for the older children, two for girls and two for boys. The girls did all the city's hospital laundry and the boys chopped sticks and wired them for fire starters to be sold in shops, jobs like that." "Oh, is that ALL they did?" was her reply. ... Anyway, they said thank you and I had a cup of tea and when I came out Miss (name deleted) said, "Well, you didn't go down there very well, did you?" And I said "Why?" "Oh Mrs (name deleted) expected you to tell her that her girl could get a job in a bank." You see, I couldn't tell her that.** [569]
> (Author's emphasis from transcript nuances.)

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[566]Transcript of interview with "B.R.". Property of Orana Inc., 34, 41.
[567]Transcript of interview with "D.G.". Property of Orana Inc., 11; transcript of interview with "C.P.". Property of Orana Inc., 15.
[568]Transcript of interview with "B.R.". Property of Orana Inc., 39.
[569]Transcript of interview with "M.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 104.

I was moved by this comment, as again it was an example of parents trying to come to terms with the shift in thinking needed to embrace the reframing of their knowledge to understand the discourses espoused by the experts. The fact that the teachers were discussing any type of employment after school was a significant change in discursive formations, but the options discussed were very difficult for some parents to accept.

Some principals were sympathetic to the parents' problems, as "S.F." recounts, **"(name deleted) let him stay on till he was twenty-one. ...** She kept saying to us **'Look, don't tell anyone, he can stay another year'".** Again the parents' group had other ideas, **"we had a vision of making the state provide the schooling and providing something after the child left school, even down to the accommodation."**[570] The "something after" school that the parents had in mind were sheltered workshops, described in an earlier chapter. Although the Education Department did not take responsibility for establishing the workshops, they were taken up and run by the M.R.C.S., (The Mentally Retarded Children's Society) with government subsidies, which led to some ill-feeling, as "S." recalls.

> **[T]he Liberal Party was in power then and I went with "J." to see the Chief Secretary, with the idea of getting subsidy from the state government. We came away with the idea that we had the subsidy to build a workshop and then we get a letter from (name deleted) to say that they weren't going to give us a subsidy. They'd discovered that the Commonwealth had just entered the field and were subsidising under the Department of Social Security. They were subsidising sheltered workshops I think for about the same amount so they told us to see them. We weren't happy about that because the Commonwealth Government had a condition of subsidising where the person in the sheltered workshop had to be earning, I think it was something like five dollars equivalent a week, which some of ours couldn't. Anyhow, we had to take up the offer.**[571]

And when they did get them "up and running", the first sheltered workshop was managed by the women in the M.R.C.S.

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[570]Transcript of interview with "S.F.". Property of Orana Inc., 4, 2.
[571]Ibid., 6.

> **[S]o gosh, what would we do now we had the building? We were arrant cowards so we appointed our wives to run this! We used our mothers of other children who were still going to school, so they wouldn't be the same as their own mums and that was the start of it.**[572]

The word "appointed" amused me as I formed the impression that there was never any doubt in "C.'s" mind that any one would refuse to do their appointed task. Of course the men had jobs and the women had been the primary caregivers when the children were at home so it was the expected thing that this should carry on. Although it must have been a very difficult task in the early stages there was a distinct lack of self-aggrandizing in all the women who spoke to me, rather they spoke only of their roles and their relationship to the others involved.[573]

However, the Education Department did initiate the Senior Special Schools, which students entered at fifteen (after Junior Special School) and where they learnt skills necessary for entry into the sheltered workshops. Kensington Senior Special School opened in 1972 and was the first to take on this role. "J.", whose son went there describes it:

> **[I]t was a big jump (from the junior school). That was a place where they taught woodwork and craft and things and I suppose it was generally beyond "D.'s" capabilities. He did a bit of sanding there. But it was a good school.**[574]

Bart is of the opinion that the "primacy" given to manual and vocational training offered to special education students with the eventual aim of employment in a sheltered workshop only functions to "subvert their life chances".

> [S]uch training and employment in sheltered workshops - an end goal for many retarded children - ostensibly enables handicapped individuals to utilise their limited abilities in a way that most closely approximates 'normal' individuals; that is, such employment provides the handicapped individual with a measure of independence and the related satisfaction accruing from such independence. But

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[572]Transcript of interview with "C.M.". Property of Orana Inc., 17.
[573]For a discussion of gender-based communication see Kristina Minister, "A Feminist Frame for the Oral History Interview", in Gluck and Patal, Women's Words, 27-41.
[574]Ibid., 3.

> it is this 'approximation' that henceforth rules their lives, and, often, it is to this approximation of normal life that handicapped children's earlier education is geared. Thus the special child is prepared for a career of approximation in a manner similar to that in which the professional's child is prepared for a career in the professions. In this sense, vocational training and sheltered workshops play a dual role. In addition to providing gainful employment to the handicapped, they also afford a means by which these individuals can return some measure of productivity to society, despite their recognised 'limitations'. Assessing such training from an immediate, pragmatic context masks its potential limiting long-range effects.[575]

Although this was and still is the view of some academics, from my interviews and experience as a special education teacher, most parents do not consider there are any limiting effects involved in sheltered workshop employment and if at all possible desire this for their children. They see only the self esteem acquired by gainful employment and the fact that their children "have some sort of a life and make some friends". Tomlinson also puts forward the academic judgement, dismissed as a non-issue by parents to whom I spoke.

> It is important to stress at the onset that in modern societies which increasingly demand qualifications and credentials acquired through education systems, to be categorized out of 'normal' education represents the ultimate in non-achievement in terms of ordinary educational goals.[576]

According to Hewitt from "normalising activities" such as these a new discourse of "rights" emerges, "the 'right' of life, to one's body, to health, to happiness, to the satisfaction of needs". He contends that "bio-politics gave birth to the twin concerns central to modern welfare, to the notions of needs and rights" as demonstrated by the above writings and associated literature. He explains:

> these transformations involved new forms of knowledge and power, both reinforcing one another within what Foucault terms the power/knowledge complex. (pouvoir/savoir). Clinical medicine, psychiatry, educational psychology and criminology arose to provide discourses that promulgated new technologies of intervention, new targets and new policies. Within these human sciences the individual was enthroned as though by humanitarian fiat. In fact this centering of

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[575]Bart, "The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education", 87.
[576]Tomlinson, Special Education, 6.

> the human subject was instrumental to the economic deployment of the disciplines. Humanity is the respectable name given to this economy and its meticulous calculations.[577]

If working in a sheltered workshop wasn't possible for some young adults, the only other option then for parents was to place their child in a state institution; there were no day activities available then, they had to "live-in" and were not accepted after twelve years of age. Onve again the departmental view was clearly expressed in the 1953 Annual Report of the Psychologist.

> [I]t must be pointed out, however, that the problem with some of these people becomes more serious if their parents die and when the children become adults. It is agreed that all defective children should be placed in a home at an early age because there may be no-one to care for them if their parents died.[578]

"T." tells of his family's anguish.

> **(name of institution deleted) put pretty hellish pressure on parents. You had to make up your mind whether your child went into (name of institution deleted) between the age of six and twelve. Now "P." was operating quite well at home, but the philosophy was in those days that you took the child out of the environment because it was unfair to the child, it could only fit in with its peers. So that was what forced parents to make a decision. I know there were many tears in our place when she neared twelve, would we, won't we, but then, when she's twenty what will we do? And we took a risk and said 'no, we won't'. That I think was one of the things that caused such a dislike for (name of institution deleted).**[579]

"J." also tells of her experience with the same institution.

> **[W]hen "G." was nearly twelve, you had to decide whether you'd put them into (name deleted) or not. In those days it was then or never. And so I went to see our doctor in fear and trembling, because every time I'd take him round to the doctor, I thought, is he going to say to me, "Put this child away," because if he does, I'll never go back there again. And then when I did say to him would he sign this application form, he said "What are you doing this for? He's reasonably socially acceptable. I'll sign it, but much**

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[577] See Hewitt, "Biopolitics and Social Policy", in Sociological Inquiry, 67-85. Hewitt defines bio-politics as "the proliferation of political technologies that invested the body, health, modes of subsistence and lodging. ... By means of social policy the state manages the politics of life to shape the social to accord with the tasks and exigencies faced by the state; it is Foucault's intention that the body, individual and collective, becomes the raw material for this undertaking", 69. Hewitt specifies Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 92, 189 191, and 224.

[578] Annual Report of the Psychologist, 1953. Author's copy.

[579] Transcript of interview with "T.A.". Property of Orana Inc., 12.

> **against my will, I don't believe in it." I felt like saying, "Well, you take him home for a while!"**[580]

These events happened in the early 1950s in an era of repressive politics and the ideology of the "true woman" belonging in the home etc. It was not a time when a woman's anger or criticism would have been welcomed, and indeed "J." recounted to me that she could see no point in arguing, had she had the energy. With a shrug of her shoulders, she continued:

> **Anyway, we went and got it signed and went to Dr. (name deleted) at Glenside who examined him and the social worker came and we got all the papers fixed up for (name of institution deleted). The day I took him to Dr. (name deleted) I was very late home and I drove into the garage and my other son, who is three years older than "G.", was working at the bench on his balsa wood, making a model plane. And he said, "Where've you been, Mum?" He'd have been about fourteen, fifteen. He said, "You're up to something aren't you?" And I said, "What do you mean?" "Well, you always tell us before we go to school if you're going out, or if you decide you leave a note and you haven't today, I know you're up to something."**[581]

"J." became quite agitated when talking about what she called a "watershed time" in her life.

> **[S]o I said, "Well look, "G.'s" nearly twelve and we've got to decide where he's to live. We've got to think of his future and your future. I know it's very hard for you kids." I know they had a terrible time, it was awful, "G.'s" behaviour was very 'bizarre' and could be violent. And he said, "And don't we have any say in it?" I said, "I realise how hard it is for you all." He said, "Mum, we really don't know any different. It's not hard, it's our life." I nearly cried, I can tell you, I was so amazed, because (name deleted), who's so very introverted and self-contained, for him to say that. I said, "Look, you'll never know what you've done for me today." So we decided not to go ahead with it. Oh, that is a great agony for a parent.**[582]

The professionals involved were telling these parents that the best thing for everyone, for their children and society, was to have them out of sight from the public, for their own good. Parents then found themselves torn, believing that the experts must know better, but wanting to trust their innate feelings about their children's wellbeing. Van

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[580]Transcript of interview with "J.F.". Property of Orana Inc., 47.
[581]Ibid.
[582]Ibid.

Krieken makes the point that behind the social workers, counsellors, psychologists, doctors and in this case, institutions lies

> a particular kind of society which produced them, a particular patterning of social relations characterised by phenomena such as ... the egalitarian emphasis on adherence to a unified set of norms and moral principles alongside an intolerance of diversity and deviance.[583]

During the course of these interviews, it became clear that the parents' first dealings with the state, its bureaucrats and the medical profession was possibly the most traumatic and certainly the time when all expressed they felt most isolated. This was in the "diagnosis" of their child.

> **[R.] was born in 1945, the birth was a bit difficult, but everything was normal. When she was fourteen months old, Sue was born. "R." didn't seem to develop, she was a very big child and when Sue was about a year, she could start saying things and "R." still wasn't. So we started to go to the local doctor and he sent us to a specialist and then we went to another, then we went back to our local chap again, because there were no clinics in those days and you knew nothing about it. So then we went to a another specialist and he tested her wrists for thyroid, because she was a big child, found negative, but he still put her on thyroid tablets. For the next about two years we were up anything from ten to twelve times a night, she was just hyper-active.**[584]

Because their daughter was over three years old and still not speaking, "R." decided to contact the Deaf and Dumb Society, as it was known then. She was put in touch with the Oral Kindergarten and their daughter started there at four years of age:

> **Of course, this was the first training she'd had and she started to improve, so we thought this was good.**[585]

Meanwhile her husband who had unexpectedly been transferred to Melbourne, requested a transfer back to Adelaide and when this was denied, requested a year's leave without pay on compassionate grounds, citing their mentally retarded child's schooling, which was also denied.

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[583]Van Krieken, Children and the State, 141.
[584]Transcript of interview with "I.E.". Property of Orana Inc., 13.
[585]Ibid., 14.

> **[S]o I commuted for sixteen months, which was pretty horrific for everyone, but we didn't want to take "R." from school just when we'd found one. They were building an Oral School in Burwood (Victoria), but it wasn't ready yet.**[586]

Eventually "C." heard of a specialist in Melbourne and they took their daughter there.

> **[W]e also went to (name deleted), who was a pretty 'cluey' neurologist, his name was well known in Australia, but no-one said 'mentally retarded'. That was never mentioned. (name deleted) went as near to it, by saying what could happen, but we still didn't know.**[587]

Mental retardation was not mentioned in public in those days, the early years after the Second World War. At last , but purely by chance, "C." did find out what was "wrong" with her daughter.

> **[I] was listening to the radio, a "Women's Hour" or something like that and there was a doctor talking about mental retardation and I realised that's what it was with "J.".**[588]

Even more certainly the local general practitioners "didn't want to touch mental retardation", as "D." recalls:

> **[I] knew as soon as they brought him to me. But everyone said, "There's nothing wrong with that child", as if I was stupid. He was nine months old when "D." went into the Air Force, he was gone two and a half years. In the meantime, my old doctor was saying there's nothing wrong until the time he had to admit it. I just carried on until he was nineteen months old and hadn't walked and then even my own doctor admitted there could be something wrong. So then we went through the Children's Hospital and find out yes, he's spastic down one side. And then my doctor turned to me and said "You should be thankful he's not in a wheel chair!" They were dreadful days.** [589]

She continued, clearly exasperated even years later by the "blockages" they experienced.

> **[A]nother thing, we tried to get the doctors to keep like a dossier on every retarded one they came in contact with, to write what caused it, the history, a lot of things could be avoided. Whether it was genetic, or a difficult birth, or whatever. But they weren't interested, you couldn't get them to do anything, a closed book alright.**[590]

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[586]Ibid.
[587]Ibid.
[588]Ibid.
[589]Transcript of interview with "D.S.". Property of Orana Inc., 38.
[590]Ibid.

Her husband adds, **"It wasn't until I became Minister of Health that that happened".**[591] "E." found out a little earlier about her son from a doctor who was slightly more forthcoming.

> **[N]ot until he was nine months old. We took him to Dr. (name deleted) with skin problems and he did all sorts of tests, why isn't he sitting up strongly, etc. I was making up all sorts of excuses and saying, "Oh well, he has had a little sickness" and he pointed out that he would have tried anyway. But he said, "You're going to find your child is slow, he will get there, but he'll take a while." We went back to the car and said, "He doesn't know what he's talking about!" Of course he was slow at everything, he didn't walk until he was twenty months and he didn't talk until he was three. And we still don't really know what the problem is! We understand that his oxygen was cut off at birth, that's the sort of thing you can't prove, but that's what happened.**[592]

"C.M.", whose wife died some years ago, recounts their story.

> **[I]t took me five years to get the doctor to admit there was something wrong. I knew five minutes after she was born. She was born at (name deleted) hospital, old Sister (name deleted) walked out and said, "I've got some bad news for you, she's a Mongol." Downs Syndrome wasn't used in those days. I said, "How do you know?" She said, "I saw her feet." She was a breech birth, feet first. There's marks on the feet, apparently and on the hands. She said, "They're gone now, they disappear very quickly, but I know there's something wrong, you'll be lucky if she survives." ... Then she got meningitis and lost her hearing. I don't think he (the doctor) ever admitted, I think he sort of agreed with me, but he never admitted it straight out. When she was five we went to a specialist in town. The local doctor didn't admit it at all, wouldn't commit himself. It was very 'hush hush' in then, you didn't talk about it.**[593]

"M.S.", whose daughter was educated in very different circumstances at a private school and then at home with a "companion" for the rest of her life, still had similar experiences, **"No, nobody said anything. They said she had an overactive thyroid, no-one ever said, especially the country doctor, but we knew."**[594] "B.R." whose daughter was as she terms it, brain damaged, tells of her "dark days".

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[591] Ibid.
[592] Transcript of interview with "E.C.". Property of Orana Inc., 53.
[593] Transcript of interview with "C.M.". Property of Orana Inc., 59.
[594] Transcript of interview with "M.S.". Property of Orana Inc., 67.

> **[W]ell, I felt from about three months that she wasn't doing things that my other daughter was doing. However, I could not get our G.P. to do anything, he kept saying I was an overprotective mother, which I was and still am, naturally enough. So I went to several specialists who all said the same thing. She was two years old by then, she'd had seizures and the doctors were saying they're just normal, they're just convulsions. And I knew it was all a bit much! So I had heard about Dr. (name deleted), who had a brain damaged daughter and I went to see her and immediately she picked it.**[595]

Tomlinson suggests that the medical profession, struggling for recognition, enhanced its interests by claiming to "diagnose handicap and prescribe educational treatment", which was certainly the case with the Education Department practitioners, but not with the local G.P.'s who were isolated practitioners, without many resources at their disposal. Throughout this time the profession of psychology also "developed much of its mystique by claims to control the education of the 'defective'".

As mentioned, special education development has also been "marked by professional rivalries and hostilities between medical, psychological, educational administrative and educational teaching personnel".[596] Dekker states that "in setting up a system of schools for retarded children, doctors tried to play the 'leading part', working in open competition".[597] "M.H." who started the first Education Department school in a mental hospital in South Australia tells how she was made very aware of the rivalries and differences between medical and education personnel.

> **[T]hey wanted to start a school at (name deleted) Hospital. They couldn't get anyone to go into a mental hospital, so Mr. Piddington suggested they ask me, as I'd been a psychiatric nurse. But when Mr. (name deleted) of the Psychology Branch told the Education Department they'd got a teacher, they stuck their feet in and said, "We're not letting a teacher go on her own." Nobody would go, they couldn't find anyone. However, Mrs. (name deleted), who wasn't a teacher, she'd come from Melbourne and she'd been on the buses with mentally retarded children, sort of escorting them. But she'd never been in a mental hospital and they came here to live**

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[595] Transcript of interview with "B.R.". Property of Orana Inc., 34.
[596] Barton and Tomlinson, "The Politics of Integration", 67.
[597] Dekker, "An educational regime", 267;

> **and she went to the Psychology Branch to see about a job. And they said, "If you'll go into the mental hospital with Mrs. (name deleted) you can have a job." She was always a bit wary, but she was a very good woman to have. She was only little, she used to hide behind me, because I was a lot taller than her!** [598]

Bart also writes of the "medicalisation" of the field of special education, asserting that medical management has pervaded the field since its inception, and there has been increasing use of the medical model for diagnosis and treatment. The medical management made life very difficult for "M." as she recalls. Once the staff were in place a site had to be chosen for the school.

> **[D]r. (name deleted) took us all round the hospital and would we choose a room. The biggest and nicest room was filthy dirty, but it was a big room, a lot of windows and two little rooms at the bottom. It had a wet area, which was toilets and showers on the side. ... Anyway, I said it wanted cleaning and Dr.(name deleted) said "Dr. (name deleted) said we can't have cleaners because the Education Department's taken it over and the Education Department won't provide cleaners because it's a Health Department building. Would you clean it Mrs. (name deleted)?" I told him I didn't get any extra money for going there, let alone cleaning!**[599]

"M." continues, saying, **"And that was only the beginning!"**

> **[A]nyway, Mrs. (name deleted) and I cleaned it all out, we had to since no-one else was going to! We got two big bins full of those big moths and all sorts! We'd be in all week and we'd leave on Friday night and then the ward, it was the men's ward for murderers and what have you, would let the men go in. And we'd come back on a Monday morning and all the walls would be full of faeces. And Mrs. (name deleted) and I used to scrub it all off, every Monday we had to do that.**[600]

As well as that they had problems with the medical staff.

> **[W]e had three boys to start with, out of the men's ward. One little one (name deleted), he was fastened, when I went in there, I dare say this now because it was years ago, he was about ten and he had a rope round his waist and the other end was a great big tyre off a tractor. He was fastened to it. And I said, "What's he fastened to that for?" "He runs away." "But it's a locked ward!" His reply was: "Bloody interfering females, mind your own business," or words to that effect! And Mrs (name deleted), she hid behind me!! Eventually that boy came by himself into the school room. ...**

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[598] Transcript of interview with "M.H.". Property of Orana Inc., 91; the Psychology Branch was a department in the Education Department.
[599] Ibid., 92.
[600] Ibid.

> **And they'd come with trousers up to their knees, odd socks and all sorts. And I'd go in "Give me some clothes, I want trousers to fit these boys." And the head male nurse said, "Oh, they're only mentally retarded kids." We had to really fight for those kids. ... In the beginning too, the staff would stand outside the ward and throw sweeties on the ground so the children would try to run and then they'd call out to us, "See, you're wasting you're time, you can't teach them." Oh, it was an uphill battle, I can tell you.**[601]

During the interview with "M." it came out in conversation that she had to retire early, much against her will but due to almost crippling back pain from which she still suffers. Single-handedly lifting heavy children and adolescents on and off toilets, up and down from chairs and wheelchairs and pushers, many times a day, no doubt the cause. Her only comment was: **"Oh well, there was no compensation in those days and I didn't have the strength left to fight them. Nobody today realises what a hard job it was."** I believe these teachers were exploited and as set apart from the mainstream as were their pupils.[602]

In conclusion, Abram de Swaan analyses conflict management in medical "encounters" and puts forward a three-pronged model as a way of explaining the relationship between "child welfare workers, state agencies and the families they dealt with". He believes that the interaction depends on a "collusion, a secret complicity between the parties in conflict, with each other and the doctors", a notion substantiated by the interviews in this chapter. He goes on:

> the weakest party in the conflict gains from having its wants re-defined as medical necessities; the strongest party gains by the 'individualization' thus realized. ...The gain for the third in this alliance, the doctor, comes from the chances of prestige, income and the realization of occupational ideals. [603]

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[601]Ibid., 93.
[602]Ibid., 98.
[603]Abram de Swaan, The Management of Normality. Critical Essays in Health and Welfare (London: Routledge, 1990), 69.

Applying such a model to child welfare, in this case the conflict of the interviewed group of parents with the state and the medical profession, the gains found are succinctly described by Van Kreiken.

> for parents, ... the resolution of a crisis or problem, either temporary or permanent, and the objectification of that crisis or problem as an issue that someone else had to do something about. For state officials, the gain was the possible prevention of crimes, delinquency, and other drains on the public purse, as well as the public moral capital gained from being seen to assist children. ... For the third party, child welfare workers ... and administrators, the gain was income, status a piece of bureaucratic and occupational territory and 'the realisation of their professional ideals'.[604]

For the parents interviewed, the period of 1950-1975 saw the achievement of their goal - the state took on the responsibility of educating their children. The state managed to appease the teachers in the regular schools and avoid disruption in classes by removing the mentally retarded children to Special Classes and then Special Schools. As well as listening to parent pressure, the state had another reason for establishing Special Schools. It was thought that by training these children in school, they might have a better chance of doing some useful work when they left school and not be such an economical burden to the state.

Medicine, psychology and other welfare professions with their associated discourses flourished, producing knowledge from which parents found themselves excluded. In such a way, their actions regulated the lives of the parents and their children. For as Rose asserts:

> crucially, regulation does not take the form of extension of direct state scrutiny and control into all the petty details of social, institutional, and personal life. ... ... authorities 'act at a distance' upon the aims and aspirations of individuals, families and organizations. Such action at a distance is made possible by the dissemination of vocabularies for understanding and interpreting one's life and one's actions, vocabularies that are authoritative because they derive from the rational discourses of science, not the arbitrary values of politics. It depends upon the accreditation of experts, who are accorded powers to prescribe to ways

[604]Van Krieken, Children and the State, 140.

of acting in the light of truth, not political interest. And it operates not through coercion but through persuasion, not through fear produced by threats but through the tensions generated in the discrepancy between how life is and how much better one thinks it could be.[605]

[605]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 73.

CONCLUSION

"OUR STORY SHOULD BE TOLD"[606]

Approaches to childhood and the organised responses to any perceived deficiencies have played a central role in society's and the state's attitudes to the mentally retarded. Just as the discourses surrounding children and childhood changed from the child positioned as a miniature adult able to work in the adult world, to a "precious" gift to be protected from the harsh world, so did the discourses surrounding mentally retarded children. In early discourses of ancient Greece and Rome infanticide was advocated, as it was believed that deformed children should not be reared for social economic and religious reasons. If, as I propose, the formation of subjects is to be understood in terms of relation to knowledge and modes of conceptualizing persons, then as attitudes and knowledge about the mentally retarded changed, so did their subjectivity. As these changes occurred they brought about different kinds of relationships between the state and the mentally retarded.

From the Middle Ages to Enlightenment the mentally retarded population was positioned within a discourse which generated knowledge of "demon children" and as such they and their subjectivities were perceived with fear and dread. With the Renaissance era and the evolving interest in scientific enquiry the discourses changed, childhood became recognised as a special and distinct stage of development. It was during this time that the first known education of the handicapped (including the

[606]Transcript of interview with "H.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 75.

mentally retarded) was attempted. The earliest educators were clergy and later physicians. With the alterations in thought regarding mentally retarded children there evolved a change in discourses, knowledge and the surrounding rationales and techniques. For example, when in the mid 1700s there were "humanitarian" attempts to educate the mentally retarded population the rationale was that teaching would "ameloriate" mental defectiveness. The formation of the subject of the mentally retarded then changed to a more humane position, which was to pervade until the nineteenth century.

By the late nineteenth century eugenic discourses and vocabulary were dominant and governments addressed themselves to the problem of moral order. Notions of mental defectiveness provided a means to define many social problems as medical problems. This was articulated in the language of "degeneracy" which included the mentally retarded population and was believed to be "inherently cumulative" if the hereditary weakness was allowed to be interbred. The subjectivity and the moral state of the mentally retarded population was expressed in terms of eugenic programs to chart, detect and limit their breeding. By the early twentieth century the eugenics argument was on the wane, Special Schools had begun in Europe and the formation of the subject of mentally retarded child again changed and was positioned within a more kindly and sympathetic discourse both overseas and in Australia; it was the era of the "child savers".

In South Australia the basic framework of the current special education system, that is Special Classes and Special Schools, took shape during the years 1915-1975, after

which another "upheaval", integration occurred.[607] It was with the inception of public schooling that mentally retarded students and their deviation from the norm first became noticeable and problematic. They were soon excluded from "normal" classrooms and placed in Special Classes and later in Special Schools. Each element of the special education system appeared separately in response to different problems accompanied by different discourses which generated specific knowledge. This "sequence of problematizations" as Rose terms it led to articulation of a new set of vocabularies in the form of psychological testing. The advent of testing heralded the change from formation of subjects to formation of categories and the associated vocabularies and knowledge. In special education this meant placing a child within a certain I.Q. range and then learning the generated knowledge of what that child will and will not be able to do and the consequences for his/her education. The vocabularies of the psychological sciences have brought about two distinct contributions to the exercise of government.

> [F]irst, they provided the terms that enabled human subjectivity to be translated into the new languages of government of schools, prisons, factories, the labor market and the economy. Second. they constituted subjectivity and intersubjectivity as themselves possible objects for rational management, in providing the languages for speaking for intelligence, development, mental hygiene, adjustment and maladjustment, family relations, group dynamics and the like. They made it possible to think of achieving desired objectives - contentment, productivity, sanity, intellectual ability - through the systematic government of the psychological domain.[608]

The appointment of Constance Davey as the first psychologist in the South Australian Education Department in 1915 meant that special education was at least being considered by some. After her I.Q. test results "uncovered" a large population of children needing special education she spent many years "pleading" with the government to provide for mentally retarded children who were excluded or marginalised from

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[607]The term integration was used in 1975, it became mainstreaming in the 1980s and inclusion in the 1990s. All are terms to describe the inclusion of special education students in classes with their peers, not segregated as was the case with Special Classes and Schools.

[608]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 70.

"normal" schools. It was I.Q. testing that transformed the mentally retarded child into a "governable domain". Tests and examinations combined the elements of power, truth and subjectification; they transformed the individual into knowledge as an object of a hierarchical and normative "gaze" and made it possible to qualify and categorise. This provided knowledge and associated language and produced a legitimate discourse and the information to assess the condition. Translating the individual, in this case the mentally retarded child, into a domain of knowledge made it possible to govern subjectivity according to norms claiming the status of science, by professionals grounding their power and authority in their "objective" knowledge. Following this, the pertinent features of the domain were then available in a form able to be presented so that decisions could be made about them, in for example, the psychologist's office, the Education Department or school, the doctor's office and other such sites. Post-modernists term this as "invention of devices for the inscription of subjectivity" which allows the government of "life" and which I argue has been the fate of the mentally retarded child and his/her family, but not always against parental wishes.[609]

Special Classes began in South Australia in 1925 but by the 1940s the social meaning and expectation (and hence subjectivity) was still that the mentally retarded child although obviously different should still strive to more or less conform to the "norm". "B.'s" neighbours said to her, **"Get her ready for normal school, she can go to normal school."** When her "brain-damaged" daughter would have what they perceived as a "tantrum" they'd say, **"She needs a darn good smack on her behind!"** Some early educators thought they could indeed make such children "normal".

> **[S]he (the principal, name deleted) believed that attention span was something these children lacked and she was determined to keep their**

[609] Ibid.

> **attention span. So when we took over the school we built a lot of what you'd call dog boxes. They were made out of three ply and they had a little tray across the front of them with a little hook and eye catch. They couldn't get out and once they were there she was determined they wouldn't be able to walk around the room and they would stay and learn to read and write like all other children.**[610]

Following the failure of this approach, the mentally retarded child remained positioned and signified as **"the sort of children only dirty people have"** and as such needed to be excluded from society, that is institutionalised.[611] The "rituals" of testing and classifying the mentally retarded child as a "moron", "imbecile", ineducable and so on formed a concept of attitude which went hand in hand with the method for inscribing it, that is testing. Hence the I.Q. test became central to the modern techniques for "governing human individuality" an essential practice when decisions are to be made by authorities about the destiny of subjects, in this case the mentally retarded child. Certainly, as I suggest, it is no accident that psychology plays such a significant part in the technologies of government within liberal democracies. These societies do not need to exercise power by domination or coercion of subjects. Power can be exercised through education, (in this case special education), professionally and privately, by providing the knowledge and the discourses and values by which professionals interpret this knowledge. Norms are established by which educators and others involved can evaluate and techniques made available to supposedly improve situations. Should a child be classified as a "moron" or "idiot" then the techniques advocated to improve this situation were placement in an institution and for a child in the "mental defective" range schooling was not believed to be necessary or useful to the state, which meant that parents either coped with their child at home or placed the child in an institution with others, including adults, perhaps more severely retarded.

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[610] Transcript of interview with "B.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 3
[611] Ibid., 25.

In South Australia, the parents who found themselves in this position started the parent movement, the Mentally Retarded Children's Society, or M.R.C.S. As a result of their insistence and persistence the state's decision in the early 1950s was that Special Schools would be established for mentally retarded children. At that time the discourses surrounding the mentally retarded child positioned his/her subjectivity as that of a "useless" almost "non-person" and "unofficially" schooling was to be only a "baby-sitting exercise" not requiring or "wasting" the talents of highly trained teachers. **"It was more of a child minding centre."** Some parents expected more but some were just happy to have their child receiving some attention. For others it was a **"blessed relief. If he hadn't gone to school, he'd have killed me or I'd have killed him!"**[612] But for all parents interviewed it was a matter of what now would be termed equity. They believed that as it was in the Education Act that the state would take responsibility for educating all children, therefore it should educate theirs.

Underlying this notion I gleaned it was also a matter of their, the parents, self esteem. This was another factor in their lives. Psychology had established the "norms" of desirable childhood development and behaviour and these ideals were disseminated not only through medical and educational discourses but also through the mass media and popular literature, particularly magazines. Inevitably the gaps between the ideals of these "norms" and the behaviours of their children produced anxiety and disappointment, coupled with feelings of failure and inadequacy, such that they felt marginalised by their social circle and society because their children were not accepted and not allowed the same schooling as others, for whatever reason. **"We had a big circle of friends but they dropped off." "My husband became very reclusive, he just couldn't accept**

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[612]Ibid.

it."[613] In the post-modernist view self-esteem is a social movement that links subjectivity and power. The self, like poverty, racism and, I contend, mental retardation and its associated subjectivities, is not personal, but the outcome of power relations, the result of strategies and technologies developed to create a model of esteem, crucial to modern democracy. "Self esteem is but one in a long line of technologies that avail citizens of themselves".[614]

Prior to the publicity and subsequent formation of the parent movement the parents had believed they were powerless; they and their families had not been included in the formation of any positive discourses or knowledge, let alone involved in strategies and technologies to create an affirming image for their children or themselves. As the M.R.C.S. they formalised a positive subjectivity and associated self esteem. **"For a long while, people wouldn't bring them (mentally retarded children) out of the closet, but once we (the M.R.C.S.) started everyone came out of the woodwork!"**[615]

Throughout his writings, Foucault links practices bearing on the self to forms of power. Rather than always thinking of power in terms of restraints that dominate and repress subjectivity he sees it as also being responsible for creating and shaping subjects. In other words, power can work through and not against subjectivity, as was the case for the parents interviewed who created and shaped an alternative image of mental retardation, as they wished it to be acknowledged. As Rose suggests:

> to analyze the relations between 'the self' and power, then is not a matter of lamenting the ways in which our autonomy is suppressed by the state, but of investigating the ways in which subjectivity has become an essential object,

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[613] Transcript of interview with "C.W.". Property of Orana Inc., 36.
[614] Barbara Cruikshank, "Revolutions within; self-government and self-esteem", in Barry et al., Foucault and Political Reason, 248.
[615] Transcript of interview with "D.B.". Property of Orana Inc., 33.

> target, and resource for certain strategies, tactics, and procedures of regulation.[616]

Certainly, post-modernists link efforts to invent and exercise different types of political power to conceptions of the nature of those who are to be ruled. The position of selves, as subjects and as citizens is important, for as Foucault suggests, chance needs to be installed in its rightful place in history. It was "chance" that brought together the parents who formed the M.R.C.S. which changed the history of special education in South Australia. As he asserts, innovations are frequently made in order to cope, "not with the grand threats of political order, but with local, petty and even marginal problems".[617]

In "telling the story" of special education in South Australia I found that education for mentally retarded children was closely bound up with the social and economic situations into which state agencies were intervening, situations which were conditioned by the general question of social order and discipline within the community. However, particularly in the case of Special Schools, the "problems" which state intervention was meant to overcome were thrown up not only by the presence of the mentally retarded children themselves but also by their parents. The position and subjectivity of the parents, as middle class citizens of some influence in the community meant that they were able to effect changes and innovations to solve their problem, that is the lack of schooling for their children. Subsequently new knowledges and discourses were produced for speaking about the subjectivity of the mentally retarded and new conceptual systems and discourses were formulated for calculating their capacities and conduct. The translation of this subjectivity into the sphere of knowledge made it possible to govern according to devised norms and criteria thus establishing the authority of the state, in this case the Education Department. So it is that "the expertise

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[616]Rose, Inventing Our Selves, 152.
[617]Rose, Governing the Soul, 8.

of subjectivity has become fundamental to our contemporary ways of being governed and governing ourselves".[618]

As I proposed and establish, this is not to say that the parents interviewed were unwilling and unknowing "dupes" governed and coerced by the state. It was in their interests as well as the state's to have their children segregated and governed in the way that occurred, that is in Special Schools, and indeed this is for what they "fought". This process of state intervention into the lives of the mentally retarded child and his/her family should be seen as precisely that, a process with ambiguous outcomes for some, but one in which parents actively participated, having a significant impact on the final outcome. Such explanatory discourse is not solely constructed of concepts like control, regulation, repression or administration, but also those of asymmetrical negotiations, alliances and compromises existing within the structured fields of power relations, in this case the parent movement and the Education Department. Importantly, as was demonstrated by actions of the parents involved, those who may seem disadvantaged in such relations continue to act and have recourse for even domination is a process of interaction.[619]

This thesis has documented the development of special education services in South Australia. I have used a different methodology, a combination of some aspects of post-modernism with a traditional historical approach. I am aware that this approach will be viewed by some as problematic, but rather than view history in the traditional guise as a discipline aiming at so-called real objective knowledge of the past, I see it as a discursive practice that allows us to search into the past and re-examine and re-organise according to our theoretical position. Instead of coming from a neutral ground from where I could

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[618]Ibid., 10.
[619]Van Krieken, Children and the State, 39.

sit back amd objectively make unbiased choices and judgements I have chosen this reflexive interpretation, aware that it will align me with some readers and against others.

I believe this methodology is a valid way of making visible some aspects of the past that led to the development of special education in South Australia and in particular the process of constituting the subjects of the mentally retarded children and their parents. My interviews with these parents revealed what Focault terms their struggle against the submission of subjectivity. He sees this as a struggle against the privileges of knowledge and against secrecy and mystification, and the effects of power linked to them. Certainly the parents involved with the MRCS had to continually battle against the secrecy of the medical knowledge and its effects when they were seeking answers about their children and later their education. A post-modern interpretation sees their struggle and resistance as possible because their positions constructed by overlapping discourses were frequently contradictory thus allowing possibilities for new positions. For example, "B." was a middle class wife and mother of whom society demanded a certain position, that is that she remain at home and care for her husband and children. The fact that she wanted to (and did not need to) work meant that she experienced tensions that led her to identify contradictions between these positions and this led her to redefine her position as a mother and an employee. Her position was made even more untenable because one of her children had abnormal behaviours and educational discourses of the time positioned parents as responsible for the management of appropriate child behaviour which leads to "normal" socialisation. This meant that unusual or abnormal behaviour patterns exhibited by children were frequently categorised as inabilities of the parent. Therefore she also had to redefine her position as a parent of a mentally retarded child, as did all the other parents at various stages. In doing so, they redefined their field of

possible actions and as Foucault would contend, continually positioned and repositioned, demonstrating the relative and changing versions of power.

I believe that by utilising some parts of post-modern theory to try and examine how people understand themselves through configurations of knowledge-power-self I have added another dimension to this thesis. In Foucauldian terms it can be described as a series of "histories of the present". This way of organising the past allows us to better understand the forms of history and in particular the relationship between discourse knowledge and power that has positioned the mentally retarded child within the state education system.

I have shown that special education was not solely the composition of the state Education Department. It was developed within and by a broad and somewhat contradictory range of people, both individuals and groups, who remained outside the structured arena of the state. Their negotiations and mediations regulated and legitimised the knowledges and discourses of special education, giving them power and status. This complex interweaving and inter-actions of language, power, knowledge and subjectivity has shaped the life experiences of the individuals examined in this study. Many historians however, are sceptical of the analogy between "history" and "memory". For some history is meant to be "objective", while memory or "life experience" is viewed as entirely "subjective" and "unverifiable". This thesis has posited that without recourse to memory, this "history" of special education would not "have a voice". To the women and men I interviewed, their sense of "memory", "fact", and "past" and present" were and are crucial processes and constructs which form(ed) their subjectivities, their sense of be-ing and also their sense of what should be said. It can be said that there is no single history of special education and nor should there be, there are multiple histories and multiple selves which can be constructed and reconstructed; it is a

matter of which narratives we choose to privilege and why. I have chosen only one of the possible "tellings", it is not all that could be said or the only "telling". It is the story which generated from the words, **"We only wanted them to be taught the art of living."**[620]

[620]Transcript of interview with "B.L.". Property of Orana Inc., 67.

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Interviews conducted:

"T.A." 3-5-92. (Psychology Branch).
"B.B." and "H.B." 28-5-92. (parents).
"D.B." and "D.B." 27-3-92. (parents).
"B.C." 10-5-92. (parent).
"E.C." 20-8-92. (peripatetic teacher).
"C.D." and "J.D." 28-4-92. (parents).
"I.E." 2-6-92. (teacher).
"J.F." 2-2-93. (teacher).
"S.F." 18-9-92. (Psychology Branch).
"J.H." 4-4-92. (parent).
"M.H." 20-6-92. (teacher).
"J.L." and "T.L." 4-7-92. (parents).
"S.M." 13-4-92. (Psychology Branch).
"C.P." 12-11-92. (Psychology Branch).
"M.S." and "D.S." 20-1-93. (parents).
"J.S." 2-8-92. (play-group organiser).
"B.R." 14-7-92. (parent and school secretary).
"C.W." and "D.W." 7-7-92. (parents).
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