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ABSTRACT

Based on the assumption that Britain is moving toward mass higher education while the U.S. is on the verge of universal access, the three papers in this volume summarize prospective changes in some of the major characteristics of students in the two countries. Forms of British expansion are discussed. One of these is the new 2-year Dipolma of Higher Education that, according to the government's recent White House paper on education, may be designed as a terminal qualification in its own right, or as a basis for subsequent education for teaching and other professions or for degree courses in polytechnics and universities. The Dipolma, it is pointed out, may serve to diversify educational opportunities and introduce greater flexibility in the pattern of higher education; on the contrary, if it is standardized, it may fasten a new rigidity on the system. The final paper points out deficiencies in the planning and coordination of the University and polytechnic sectors, emphasizes the necessity for designing the whole of higher education, and outlines the need to articulate the parts of a comprehensive and diversified system if the British are to plan "the accommodation of future numbers of students, the future balance of work between the sectors, the future types of course and the future academic communities, entirely free from the suppositions of the past." (Editor)

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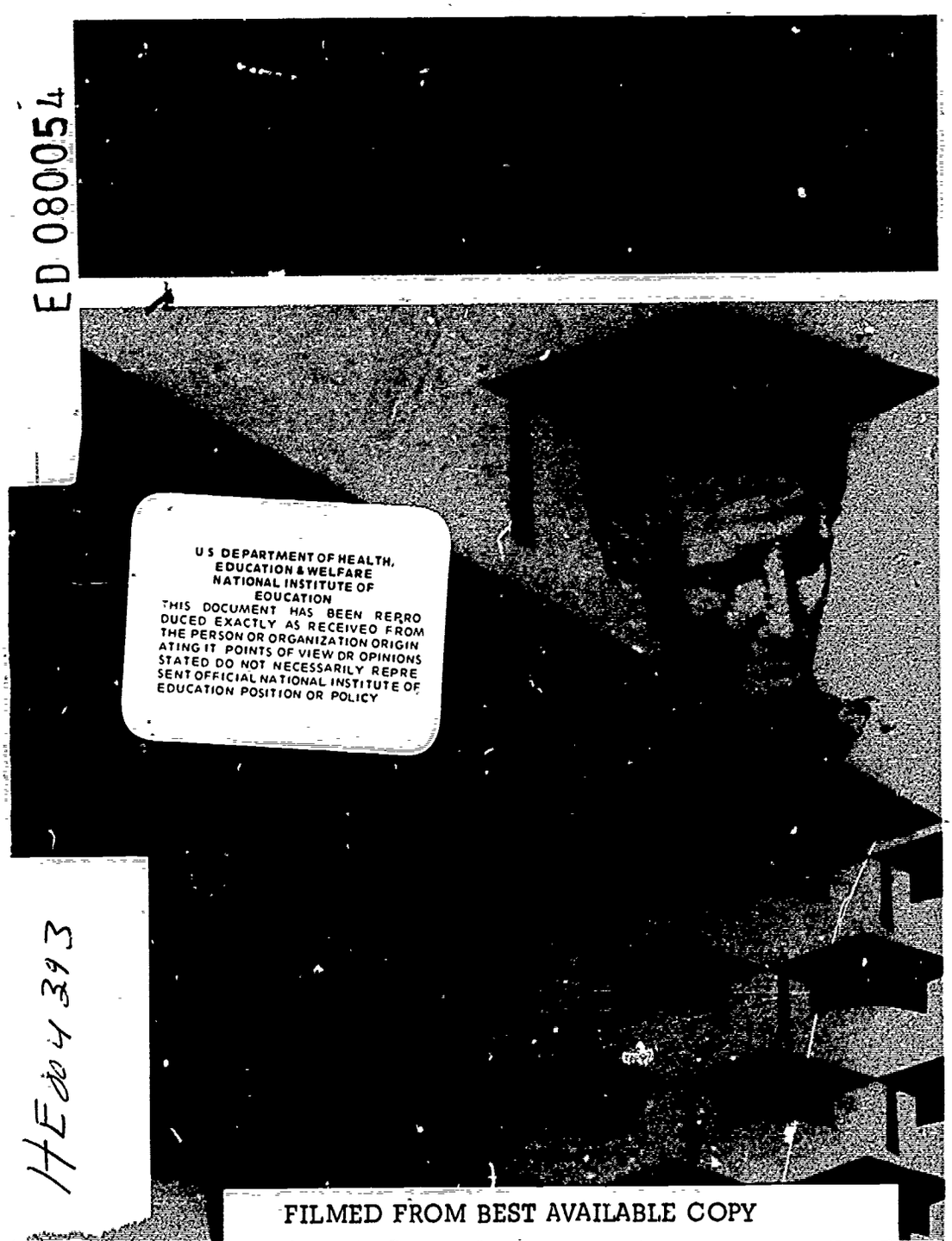
From Elite to Mass to Universal Higher Education:
The British and American Transformations

McCONNELL · BERDAHL · FAY



CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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From Elite to Mass to Universal Higher Education:

The British and American Transformations

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Introduction

T.R. McConnell of the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, began to study the British universities in 1948 under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. He has returned to Britain many times since, on several occasions with the aid of the Carnegie Corporation, to keep in touch with the expansion of the university sector and the development of other institutions of higher education. Much of his commentary on the British educational scene has been included as comparative material in his writing on American higher education. Dr. Robert O. Berdahl of the University of Buffalo is widely recognized in Britain for his studies of the relations of the University Grants Committee, the state, and the universities. His publications began with *British Universities and the State* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1959); his new

paper on "The University Grants Committee on the Threshold of Mass Higher Education" is soon to appear. Margaret Fay, a doctoral student in sociology at the University of California. Berkeley, is a graduate of Newnham College, Cambridge, and a diplomate of Oxford University.

A shorter version of the first paper of this collection was read at the international conference on higher education held at the University of Lancaster, England, September 4 to 8, 1972. Excerpts from the address will be published in *Higher Education* (Amsterdam, the Netherlands). Sections of the paper also appeared in the Research section of *Change* magazine for October 1972. Margaret Fay assisted in the research underlying the original paper, but the draft was the author's. The second paper is somewhat revised from the article of the same name in the Summer 1972 issue of the *Higher Education Review*, published by Tyrrell Burgess Associates, Ltd., 34 Sandilands, Croydon, England. The final article, slightly revised, also appeared in *Higher Education Review*, in Autumn 1971.

Since these papers make many references to comparable problems or movements in American and British higher education, it seemed desirable to make the manuscripts available to readers in the United States as well as to those abroad.

Lyman A. Glenny
Director

From Elite to Mass to Universal Higher Education: The British and American Transformations

T. R. McConnell

One of the central strands in the history of American higher education is its development from an aristocratic to a meritocratic system. "Basic to the aristocratic philosophy of college admissions," said Cross (1971, p. 1), "was the premise that the young people who should go to college were those who could afford it and who needed it to carry out their station in life." These students attended private, high-tuition colleges. The meritocratic ideal was opposed to the assumption that higher education should be restricted to a social, or even to an intellectual elite. This ideal asserted that a college education was not a birthright, but an opportunity that should be extended to all those who had the scholastic ability to profit from the higher learning. Elite, private, expensive colleges no longer sufficed. New, low-cost institutions, especially the state universities and the land-grant colleges, welcomed qualified students from

humble origins. They provided the means of entry not only to the learned professions, but to a wide range of new occupations. They embraced the principle of service: "An institution is to be operated for the good it can do; for the people it can serve; for the science it can promote; and for the civilization it can advance (quoted in Eddy, 1957, p. 269)." The land-grant colleges epitomized the ideal of equality of educational opportunity and, together with the state universities, they quickened the social, economic, and political growth of the nation. "The colleges," it has been said, "have emphasized the dignity of labor, the combination of liberal and practical education, social consciousness, a widening of opportunity in the democratization of education, the potentiality of science, the freedom of education through secular control, the necessity for citizenship training, the regard for the student and citizen as an individual, and the idea of a university serving all the people throughout their lives (Eddy, 1957, p. 286)."

The great expansion of American public higher education took place after the second World War. The impetus to this development, or perhaps it was an expression of a movement already well under way, was the report of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education. The Commission concluded that approximately half the population could profit from at least two years of education beyond the high school, and that a third had the capacity to earn a four-year college degree. Critics in whom the aristocratic attitude still lingered and others who feared that the report's emphasis on the expansion of public higher education would endanger private colleges and universities denounced these conclusions. But the Commission was both influential and prophetic. This writer was a member of the Commission, and looking at

the scene a quarter of a century later, he finds that the Commission's proposals for expanding educational opportunity have been essentially realized. In the United States at large, approximately 60 percent of high school graduates enter institutions of higher education. In some areas the proportion is much greater; in California, for example, about 80 percent go on to some form of post-high school education.[1]

A recent analysis of college-going in the United States (Cross, 1971, p. 15) showed that regardless of socioeconomic background, most of the males in the two higher quartiles of scholastic ability entered some form of post-secondary education. In 1967, 74 and 82 percent of those who were in the two higher quartiles of ability, but in the lowest quartile of socioeconomic status, continued their education beyond high school. The corresponding percentages in the two higher ability levels but in the second, third and fourth quartiles of socioeconomic status were, respectively, 77 and 89, 79 and 93, and 88 and 94 (low to high). The percentages of attendance in the two lower quarters of ability in the four quartiles of socioeconomic status were also surprisingly high: 48 and 57, 55 and 58, 40 and 69, and 65 and 79 (low to high).

Smaller proportions of high ability women went to college from limited socioeconomic backgrounds. The percentages in the two higher quartiles of ability from the four socioeconomic levels were as follows: 52 and 69, 58

[1] It has been estimated that the true proportion of the age group 18 to 21 enrolled in higher education in 1971 was about 37 percent. Because of the high attrition rate prevalent in American higher education, the proportion of the relevant age group graduated from college is well below the proportion which enters.

and 77. 77 and 88, and 86 and 95 (low to high). High ability is not as likely to compensate for low socioeconomic status for girls as for boys.

Toward Universal Higher Education

It is apparent that the United States is ready to take the next step in extending educational opportunity, namely, moving from mass to universal higher education. Some observers look upon college attendance now as almost "compulsory":

> As more and more college-age youngsters go on to college, not to be or to have been a college student becomes increasingly a lasting stigma, a mark of some special failing of mind or character, and a grave handicap in all the activities and pursuits of adult life [Trow, 1970, p. 142].

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971, p. 18) does not favor universal attendance, but does recommend "universal access for those who want to enter institutions of higher education, are able to make reasonable progress after enrollment, and can benefit from enrollment."

There has been a recent estimate of the sources of the "new students" who will enter American higher education (Cross, 1971, p. 23). The computation began with an assumption that "universal" higher education will have been attained when 80 percent of high school graduates go on to some form of postsecondary schooling. The hypothetical reservoir of potential students was then determined by subtracting from 80 the percentage of high school graduates in each quartile of a combined distribution of ability and socioeconomic status who now

continue thei education beyond high school. The results show that there would be almost no additional males from the upper half of the ability distribution, regardless of socioeconomic level. However, the reservoir would include a fairly large number of women who stand in the top half in ability, most of whom would-be in the lower half of the socioeconomic scale. A large proportion of both males and females would be drawn from the lower half in scholastic ability and predominantly from the lower half in socio-economic status; more women than men would be drawn from these categories. It is doubtful that the bulk of the students in the lower levels of ability can be adapted to the present curricula and methods of instruction. Therefore, the recruitment of these students to higher education will require profound changes in the objectives and structure of the system. The task for the future is to design educational institutions and programs to fit the characteristics and needs of students in a new era of egalitarianism.

TOWARD BRITISH MASS HIGHER EDUCATION

Britain is on the verge of a stage of development in higher education from which the United States is emerging: the former, many believe, is about to move from elite to mass higher education, while the latter is in transition toward universal access to varied forms of postsecondary schooling. Britain is in fact a long way, even in numbers, much less in institutions and educational programs, from a mass system of higher education. It is difficult to determine in any country the percentage of given age groups enrolled in higher education, but for approximate purposes the comparative enrollment rates given in a recent publication may be accepted. The estimate of the proportion of the age group 18 to 22 enrolled in all forms of higher education in the

United Kingdom was 13.5. The proportion [illegible] group 18 to 23 enrolled in the United S[illegible]as 35 (Cerych, 1972, p. 6). A British commentator was correct in saying that if there are 835,000 students in higher education in 1981, Britain will still not have a mass higher educational system on the pattern of the United States (Scott, 1970).[2] Neither will mass higher education have arrived if the Labor party's proposal to provide for at least one million full-time students in 1980 materializes. It has been suggested that it would take 1,500,000 students in Britain to approach the present scale of mass higher education in the United States and certain other countries (Crampin and Armitage, 1970).

Expanding the Reservoir of Students

Such numbers may not be reached for a long time, but the reservoir of students qualified for some form of higher education may be expected to grow materially. By 1981 a quarter of the age group is expected to leave school with one or more A-levels (advanced examinations), which presumably would qualify them for some form of higher education. Not all these leavers, of course, will want to go on to higher education, but an increasing percentage will wish to do so. Ultimately the pool of possible entrants may be considerably larger. It is probable that under

[2]The recent White Paper on education from the Department of Education and Science states that the entrants to higher education in 1971 comprised 15 percent of the 18-year-old age group. The number of entrants projected for 1981 is 200,000, which would represent 22 percent of the 18-year-olds. The total number of full-time and sandwich students in higher education in 1981 was estimated as 750,000. This will be looked upon by the expansionists as a very conservative projection of the necessary places. [Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, p. 35].

present circumstances. many capable students do not sit for A-levels, or fail them. How many students with sufficient ability to succeed in some form of higher education are excluded by the examination system, or for lack of interest or lack of confidence in finding a desired place, choose not to sit the examination, no one knows, but the number is probably appreciable. Dr. Eric Briault, the chief education officer for Inner London, was recently quoted (Macpherson, 1972) as having said that the present sixth-form curriculum and examination system is unsuitable for even the traditional sixth formers, and that nearly one-third of these students, who are presumably the ablest academically of their age group, either fail all their A-levels, or pass only one. Dr. Briault's report also predicted that only 38 percent of the group will ever take a degree course in a university or polytechnic, and that a third are unlikely to go on to any form of full-time higher education.

The predictive value of A-levels is increasingly called into question. Wastage in the British universities is much less than in most of those in the United States; it is something like 4 to 5 percent in Oxbridge, and about 15 percent in the civic universities. On the surface this suggests that selection on the basis of A-levels is relatively satisfactory. But this basis of admission, in some subjects, at least, probably eliminates a good many students who would perform as well as those who are admitted. This conclusion is suggested by the fact that studies have shown a relatively low correlation between A-level grades and academic perfomance in the universities. A recent investigation of this relationship in the Department of Chemical Engineering at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology led to the conclusion that although the relationship of A-levels to the results of

the first year midsessional examination was quite appreciable, the relationship diminished with progress through the three years of the university course until it became of no real significance in the final examination. The investigator concluded that A-level grades constitute an unreliable and possibly hazardous prediction of a candidate's future academic performance (Bagg, 1970).

The limited predictive value of A-levels is also suggested by the fact that although over the whole range of intelligence and creativity there is a positive relationship between these two variables, the association may essentially disappear for selected groups of people. For example, researchers at the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research at the University of California, Berkeley, found that there was a slight, but probably negligible correlation between intelligence and creativity (MacKinnon, 1968). Thus, if universities and other institutions of higher education in Britain are looking for potentially creative students, A-level grades may identify few such people. Furthermore, there are other kinds of educational attainment than the linguistic forms academics prize for which verbal aptitude is an inefficient predictor. In her research on the attainment of technical college students, Lady Ethel Venables (1967, pp. 172-199) has shown that nonverbal intelligence tests, combined perhaps with tests of mathematical aptitude or achievement, were better predictors of performance in certain technical college courses than conventional verbal aptitude tests. Findings of this sort led the colleges of advanced technology, and subsequently the technological universities, to accept the Ordinary or Higher National Certificate (technician qualifications) as alternatives to A-level examinations for admission. Diversified systems of higher education require

different channels of entry and different predictors for varied kinds of performance.

British institutions have been more adaptable in this regard than American colleges and universities which, with minor exceptions, depend on high school course patterns and grades or scholastic aptitude tests, or a combination of both, for selecting students. Recent studies have shown that these bases of admission have discriminated against underprivileged and minority youth who are potentially capable of satisfactory performance at the college level. Consequently, the College Entrance Examination Board is searching for new means of identifying such students.

More Need Not Mean Worse

In spite of the enormous increase in attendance at colleges and universities in the United States, the average academic ability of college students has not declined, but in fact has actually increased during the last 40 years. The basic explanation of this phenomenon is that in the 1920s only about 60 percent of the most able high school graduates entered college, while in the 1960s the corresponding figure was about 90 percent (Taubman and Wales, 1972).

The stable ability level of students in higher education in the United States suggests that the proportion of the age group 18 to 22 in some form of British higher education could almost certainly be doubled without changing the present average level of ability, even as conventionally measured. Dr. Arthur Suddaby, Director of the City of London Polytechnic, has argued that the proportion could be raised to 30 percent without changing the

present lower IQ limit (*Times Higher Education Supplement*. April 7, 1972). By carefully reasoned argument and reference to available data, two analysts (Black and Sykes, 1971) recently concluded that during the great increase in British university enrollment over the last 10 or 12 years, ability of entrants not only has not deteriorated, but may actually have risen with the steadily increasing excess demand for university places. Turning to the trend of future academic standards, the same analysts expressed the opinion that the pool of ability is still sufficiently unexploited to permit a large increase in university enrollment without lowering standards of admission or degrees. In support of this position they asserted that the course and examination system rejects a considerable number of potentially competent university students, a point already made above. They also noted that women, especially those from working-class homes, are significantly underrepresented in the university student population. One study, published in 1969, showed that of children from manual workers' homes, only one girl entered a university for every eight boys; for all social classes combined about a third as many girls as boys went to a university. Although the rate of university entrance of women with minimum qualifications is lower than that for men (44 as against 67 percent in 1967), the number of women admitted has been growing faster than the number of men.[3] Many women, instead of seeking or finding places in universities, enter the colleges of education or other institutions of further education such as the colleges of art or commerce, or go

[3]Much of the discussion concerning the ability, sex, and socioeconomic background of the university students has been taken from Steven Black and Mary Sykes, "More means worse revisited," *Universities Quarterly* 25: 289-325, Summer 1971.

into such fields as nursing. In the future, many more women may have to turn to advanced further education for their courses. As noted earlier, the hypothetical reservoir of potential students for higher education in the United States includes a fairly large number of women in the upper half of the ability range, almost all of whom would be from the lower half of the socioeconomic scale. The proportion of relatively high ability women who fail to take advantage of higher education in Britain is much larger than in the United States.[4]

In spite of the fact that because of the size of the group the absolute number of highly intelligent working-class children is greater than the number of highly able middle-class children, British working-class university students are very much in the minority. According to statistics supplied by the Universities Central Council on Admissions (1969-70), 29 percent of candidates for university places accepted in 1969 came from the homes of manual workers, compared with 26 percent in 1955. The UCCA report for 1969-70 showed that 44 percent of the candidates accepted came from the professional classes, who made up about 14 percent of the total population. The other 56 percent had parents who were skilled manual, clerical, shop or factory workers, groups which comprised over 85 percent of the total population. An

[4]The Open University has proved to be attractive to British women. The percentage of women applicants for 1972 had reached 36.9 just before the period for applications closed. This compares with an average of about 31.5 percent for other universities. Women are relatively more successful in the Open University than men; during the University's first academic year 21 percent of the men failed to complete their course, but only 15 percent of the women did so (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, June 9, 1972).

Oxford administrator has pointed out that the universities may become still more selective during the 1970s, and that this would have a disastrous effect on applicants from working-class homes (*The Guardian*, September 24, 1971). A recent study indicated that about a third of the students in selected colleges of education and 45 percent in selected polytechnics had parents in manual occupations (Entwistle, Percy, & Nisbet, 1971, p. 9). But the polytechnics, too, are rapidly becoming middle-class institutions, and if the colleges of education become more academically selective, they may admit fewer students from the working class. Unless other institutions of further education somehow compensate for rising middle-class representation in the polytechnics, potentially competent students from working-class homes will become the rejects of British mass higher education. Only by a determined positive action program, first to keep promising students in school to 18, and second to motivate working-class young people and recruit them to appropriate forms of higher education, will Britain bring to realization the ideals of a democratic society.

The Fit Between Students and Institutions

Although doubling the enrollment in British higher education is unlikely to lower the general level of ability, it may be expected to produce changes in students' educational values, academic ambitions, vocational expectations, future careers, and immediacy of vocational rather than generalized intellectual interests (Black and Sykes, 1971, p. 309). One might anticipate, furthermore, that different types of institutions would recruit differentially with respect to some of these attributes. However, the only extensive study of the sorting of students among universities, polytechnics and colleges of education that

has come to the writer's attention has not fully supported this hypothesis.

Entwistle and associates (1971) studied the characteristics of students in seven universities, eight colleges of education, and five colleges of technology all of which were polytechnics or had been designated as such. The three groups of institutions were differentially selective with respect to students' previous academic performance and their general academic aptitude. More than two-thirds (68.5 percent) of the university students had A-level grades equivalent to three C's or better (on a scale of A-E). Comparable percentages for colleges of education and polytechnics were 7.4 and 5.3 respectively. The scores on an academic aptitude test were divided into five categories—very high, high, moderate, low, and very low. The percentages in the two highest categories combined were as follows: universities, 44.2; colleges of education, 10.5; and polytechnics, 20.5. The percentages of students in the highest category alone were 18.7, 1.6, and 4.2 respectively. In the lowest category the percentages were 4.0, 23.8, and 14.7. There were differences in A-level grades among students in various fields of study.

As one might have expected, the three groups of institutions recruited differentially among social classes. For example, 61.3 percent of the university students, 55.6 percent of those in the colleges of education, and 44.8 percent of the polytechnic students had fathers in professional or managerial occupations; comparable percentages in manual jobs were 27.1, 33.1, and 45.2. There were also differences in the kinds of schools from which the students came. Nearly a quarter of the university entrants had attended either independent schools or highly selective "direct grant" grammar schools, whereas only a

tenth of the students in the colleges of education had come from such institutions. Only 1.4 percent of the university students had attended secondary modern schools compared with 18.9 percent of those in the polytechnics. Although the relationships of socioeconomic background and secondary schools attended to students' educational interests, attitudes, and values were not explored, presumably there was some association.

Entwistle and his colleagues (1971) went on to explore differences in personality. Their data showed that on such nonintellectual variables as those measured by Eysenck's scales of extroversion, neuroticism, tender-mindedness and radicalism and by the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values, the differences among the three groups of institutions, after controlling for variations among the various disciplines, were rather small. The differences were associated with fields of study rather than the kinds of institution attended. Except, then, for differences in A-level grades and scholastic aptitude test scores, there was little evidence of differential recruitment among universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. The results of this investigation were, of course, functions of the instruments employed for assessing students' characteristics. In a study made in the United States, a different personality scale detected some pronounced differences in student attributes among selected institutions.

Psychologists at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at the University of California, Berkeley, devised an index of intellectual disposition derived from several scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory (Heist, Yonge, McConnell & Webster, 1968). Four scales of the Inventory were used as

primary criteria in computing the index: thinking introversion, theoretical orientation, estheticism, and complexity. (The scales of autonomy and religious liberalism served as secondary or qualifying criteria.) The focus of the index of intellectual disposition is not on verbal skills or problem-solving ability, but on characteristics which combine to produce a disposition toward high intellectuality—"an intrinsic and broad interest in intellectual subjects and the world of ideas, a willingness to deal with complexity, and enough freedom from traditional patterns of thought to enable imaginative and creative responses to occur in a variety of situations." General academic aptitude is only moderately correlated with the index of intellectual disposition. The relationship is actually low enough to permit a wide distribution of intellectual disposition scores in institutions which are highly selective academically and have student bodies which are relatively homogeneous in academic aptitude. Wide differences in intellectual disposition were found among entering student bodies in five undergraduate liberal arts colleges which differed considerably in the general scholastic aptitude of their freshmen. The percentages of entering students in the three highest categories (combined) of intellectual disposition (scores on the index were distributed among eight categories) varied as follows among these five colleges: males 7, 8, 23, 27, and 50; females 5, 6, 34, 42, and 68. It is apparent that the index of intellectual disposition is capable of detecting substantial differences in student characteristics among institutions with reasonably comparable undergraduate liberal arts curricula.

A recent study of graduate education identified the University of California at Berkeley as the best balanced, distinguished university in the country (Roose and Anderson, 1970). Except for a limited number

selected under special conditions, Berkeley admits students to its freshman class only from the highest eighth of high school graduates. As one of the most selective research universities in the United States, Berkeley could reasonably be expected to attract a large number of undergraduates in the highest levels of the index of intellectual disposition. Such, however, is not the case. An analysis of the responses of the Berkeley freshmen of 1959 showed that they were considerably less intellectually oriented than those entering the California Institute of Technology and three selective liberal arts colleges—Reed, Swarthmore, and Antioch. Fourteen percent of the Berkeley freshmen were in the highest three categories of intellectual disposition, while 21 percent of the men at California Institute of Technology and 35 percent of those at Reed, Swarthmore, and Antioch combined were at the same level of intellectual orientation. Intellectual disposition scores were secured from four samples of Berkeley freshmen between 1959 and 1966. The proportions who were in the three highest categories increased from 13 percent to 18 percent over this period. What strikes one, however, is the relatively small percentages of Berkeley students who exhibited an interest in abstract thought, who were theoretically rather than pragmatically oriented, and who were critically disposed and open to new ideas. The author of a report on Berkeley students observed that "brilliance and intense intellectuality . . . are *included* in this student population, but are by no means typical or highly characteristic (Jako, 1971, pp. 29-30)."

One might well ask why Berkeley did not attract a much larger proportion of students with attributes consistent with its intellectual reputation and image. One also wonders why only 17.8 percent of British students

gave intellectual rather than occupational, social, or personal reasons for attending university (Startup, 1972).

There is already talk of free access to British higher education (Carter, 1970). The proponents of expansion realize that if widespread failure and attrition are to be avoided, a highly differentiated system of higher education must be designed. "Equality of opportunity . . .," declared Sir Peter Venables (1970), "must provide the maximum degree of educational mobility through a diversity of institutions and upwards through a . . . variety of routes to a diversity of excellences, all of which are indispensable for the well-being alike of the individual and the community." With all this diversity of students and institutions, however, it becomes difficult for the individual student to find an institution or an educational program that fits his particular characteristics and aspirations.

The problem of "fit" between students and institutions is an extremely complicated one. It is one that demands a complex system of counseling which will provide the student with a profile of his abilities, aptitudes, interests, and personal dispositions and which will supply extensive knowledge of the objectives, programs, admission requirements, and standards of performance in a great variety of institutions as well as in a wide range of occupations. To my knowledge, no country has provided in its schools and colleges the kind of counseling which a mass and diversified system of higher education makes essential.

The most effective system of counseling, however, cannot be expected to enable the student to make his educational and vocational choices certainly and irrevocably at any one point in his career. Studies have

shown that about 40 percent of the students at the University of Keele change their intended fields of specialization during or after their foundation year. A study of National Merit Scholarship students who were in the highest one or two percent of college freshmen in the United States revealed about the same degree of revision in educational plans. Speaking to this problem, British investigators (Entwistle, et al., 1971) recently wrote:

> Assuming that many mistakes are made both by institution and by student, there would appear to be a need for greater flexibility in course structure. At present, particularly in some of the long-established universities, irrevocable choices of course are made on entry. Opportunities to change course and to change institution seem to be necessary compensations for the difficulties in selection and choice [p. 28].

Transferring from one institution or sector to another is much easier for the American student than it is for his British counterpart. A study of the flow of students in California higher education revealed a great deal of movement among the sectors of the tripartite system. In the fall of 1966, for example, 3,761 students transferred from community colleges to the University of California, but 1,423, more than a third as many, moved in the opposite direction. More than 17,000 students transferred from the community colleges to the state colleges, and at the same time 2,762 went from the state colleges to the community colleges. Nearly 900 students transferred from state colleges to the University of California, and almost as many moved in the opposite direction. Some of this transfer may have been unnecessary or undesirable, but it is probable that a large part of it was educationally defensible. There are some safety valves in the present British

system. Students who left school before the sixth form may study for A-levels in the technical colleges. Students who have earned the Ordinary National Certificate, the Higher National Certificate, or the Higher National Diploma in further education may be admitted to some of the technological universities. Nevertheless, a much greater degree of flexibility will have to be built into British higher education if the needs of a highly diversified body of students are to be effectively served. This may require significant changes in the structure of postsecondary education.

FORMS OF BRITISH EXPANSION

One means of transforming a highly selective elite system into institutions of mass higher education would be to expand the universities well beyond present plans to do so, and at the same time to change their character. A distinguished Cambridge academic, Brian Pippard (1972), has recently proposed just that. He wrote:

> We who have protested that education is the birthright of a civilized man are surely caught in a ridiculous posture when we resent the crowds at our gates demanding to be educated, and even daring to hint that they are disappointed with what we have to offer. Why should we not be true to our ideals, at whatever pains, and welcome all comers? They may not be hungry for learning but they are hungry for something that will enrich their lives, and perhaps we should feed them for, after all, who else will if we do not?

Professor Pippard went on to say that universities should become the guardians and teachers of something wider

than scholarship. While remaining aware of the intrinsic value of science or history, he said, the universities should care more for the light they cast on the application of intelligence to everyday affairs. "We may have to remind ourselves continually," he declared, "that our students will be faced with making decisions on the basis of limited information, and cannot afford the academic luxury of suspending judgment until all sides of the argument have been thoroughly explored." The greatest expansion in university enrollment in his view should be during the first two years. In this period, students should "develop their minds into useful instruments at work and joyful companions of their leisure," and at the same time acquire an understanding of what is involved in higher academic study. Only those who prove to be genuinely moved by the love of learning should be admitted to advanced courses and more highly specialized training. On other occasions Professor Pippard has proposed that universities should award a degree at the end of two years of the kind of university work he envisaged for the bulk of the students.

One of Professor Pippard's distinguished colleagues looks with disfavor upon such a transformation of the universities. Sir Eric Ashby (1971) agrees that Britain is heading for the goal of mass higher education. He agrees, too, that most students in a mass system will want problem-oriented or mission-oriented teaching, perhaps after the style of the polytechnic in which sandwich courses alternate periods of formal study with periods of employment where mission-oriented problems prevail. But, Sir Eric contended, mission-oriented instruction is something universities are not designed to provide (except in such fields as clinical medicine, social studies, and engineering) "either by tradition, social function, or by the

qualification and experience of their teaching staffs." To ask university dons to give problem-oriented courses, he declared, would be to ask for something as unlikely as a change in society, namely a change in the disposition of academics who are now dedicated to the investigation of "problems generated and solved within the disciplines themselves."

The study of the orientations of university teachers in Britain made by Halsey and Trow (1971) clearly supports Sir Eric's assumption that dons are unwilling to turn from the pursuit of scholarship to the solution of contemporary problems. Only one university teacher in eight envisaged a mass system of higher education which would enroll a third or more of the age group. The dominant view supported a modest expansion of the present selective university system, but opposed its transformation in the direction of mass higher education performing a great variety of new functions. The university system may double in size during the next decade but, observed Halsey and Trow,

> The older institutions cannot expand indefinitely; they are limited by their traditions, organization, functions and finance. It is likely that an increase of enrollment in higher education beyond about 15 percent of the age group requires not merely the further expansion of the elite university system, but the development of mass higher education through the growth of popular institutions . . . . British academic men, even the progressives and expansionists among them, are not prepared for an expansion which would threaten the central characteristics of elite universities [pp. 462, 464].

Commenting some three years ago on the establishment of the polytechnic, or so-called public sector of British higher education, Trow (1969) declared that:

> The government wants a large and growing sector of non-university institutions which will be the basis of the system of mass higher education, centering on (but not exclusively devoted to) the acquisition, application, and dissemination of useful knowledge, linked both administratively and informally with private industry and local and national authorities who will employ their product, proud of its distinctive character as the "modern" sector of higher education, no longer worshipping the false gods of the university honors degree and the university prestige [p. 34].

The Cost Factor

Institutions of mass higher education will differ from elite universities in significant ways—they will not be simply universities multiplied by two or four. For example, they will differ in cost. Halsey and Trow (1971, p. 464) observed that no society can afford to educate 30 percent of its young people at the cost of education at Harvard, Oxford, or Sussex. British opponents of new popular institutions or new courses of study often disdain these innovations as "education on the cheap." Thus, critics charged that the government had established the polytechnics in order to educate students less expensively than the universities (although there is as yet no evidence that the actual costs in these institutions will be greatly below the universities, especially if the polytechnics are adequately provided with buildings, equipment, libraries, and amenities). Again, when the James Committee on the Education and Training of Teachers (1972) proposed that

colleges of education, and perhaps the universities and polytechnics as well, should offer a two-year Diploma in Higher Education, some critics rebuked the Commission for devising an inexpensive means of offering a general terminal education to a large proportion of the growing student body of higher education. It is clear, however, that society will be unwilling to provide mass higher education at expenditures comparable to those of major research universities. The staff/student ratios; the expenditures for research including faculty time, supporting personnel, and equipment; and perhaps the salary scales of universities heavily committed to investigation and high scholarship simply cannot be bestowed on the whole of any nation's system of higher education. As suggested elsewhere (McConnell and Berdahl, 1971), it is doubtful that all British universities can become distinguished centers of research and postgraduate education, and therefore only a limited number should be selected for such eminence (a proposal which would be vigorously opposed by most vice-chancellors and faculties). The support for research and advanced degrees has been further attenuated by the action of the Council for National Academic Awards in registering candidates for the research degrees of Master of Philosophy and Ph.D. in the polytechnics. Sixty Ph.D.s were awarded by the Council in 1970, and 79 in 1971. Presumably all 30 polytechnics will strive for recognition in research and postgraduate education, yet it seems beyond the nation's economic resources to support 75 or more research institutions carrying students to the doctorate.

The United States has also witnessed a proliferation of institutions which grant doctoral degrees; by 1970, 200 colleges and universities were awarding doctorates in a variety of fields. There were also many more

which aspired to this status. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1972, pp. 110-113) has identified 46 leading research universities granting the doctorate and a second category of 48 universities of somewhat lesser research and graduate eminence. The Commission has recommended that federal and state support for comprehensive doctoral programs should be confined to these 94 universities, and that the remainder should be encouraged instead to develop selective doctoral programs on a regional basis. Some such rationalization is essential if Britain is to support a limited but adequate network of research institutions.

Graduates' Lower Vocational Expectations

Graduation from the British elite sector has been the avenue to high social status and to preferential positions in education, industry, government, and the professions. But a former president of the Association of University Teachers (Perkin, 1971), has warned that, "as we move from an elite to a mass system of higher education, it is more than obvious that a degree which is open to up to 25 percent of the age group can no longer be an exclusive passport to the top 5 percent of the jobs. Many jobs which were formerly done by non-graduates will have to be done by graduates [p. 18]."

There are already signs that British university students will have to lower their vocational expectations. Graduate unemployment became a problem in 1970, and the rate seemed to have doubled by 1971. The shortage of traditional positions may be in part temporary, but it is increasingly clear that economic recovery will not restore the old preferential placement of university graduates. The Confederation of British Industry has predicted that the

number of jobs that industry considers appropriate for graduates will not increase as fast as the supply in the next ten years, and that if an increased graduate output is to be absorbed, many graduates will have to look to a wider range of jobs and an increased acceptance of positions below the traditional level (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, January 28, 1972). Even science, engineering, and technology graduates have been forced to consider a much greater variety of openings than they did even two or three years ago. Appointment to the Civil Service is a case in point. In 1970 the Civil Service recruited 700 graduates to the executive class, for which a degree had not normally been required, but only about 100 to the administrative class, the traditional degree-level entry.

As mass higher education develops, graduates will accept positions once considered inappropriate for holders of university degrees, and the educational requirements of a wide range of positions will be raised well above the actual levels of intelligence, knowledge, and skill that are required for acceptable performance. Consequently, it has been said, what is usually called an oversupply of educated persons might better be called a supply of overeducated persons (DeWitt and Tussing, 1971, p. 8).

One possible consequence of the diminution of the social and economic rewards for graduates is for students to settle for shorter periods of education and to turn to different kinds of schooling. In the United States, for example, it has been reported that unusual shifts are occurring in college enrollment patterns, including a trend away from traditional academic programs into vocational curricula of many types. Students are also reported to be shifting from academic programs in four-year colleges to

occupational curricula in two-year community colleges. Another response is for graduates to take advanced degrees as a means of meeting competition. In the United States this has led to a current surplus of Ph.D.s. It does not follow, however, that many people with doctorates will be unemployed for any extended period. The "extra" Ph.D.s will displace those with lower degrees in positions not previously requiring a higher credential. The United States is experiencing an oversupply of elementary, secondary, and college teachers. Holders of the baccalaureate degree who do not find positions in the schools are likely to stay on for a Master's, and those with Master's degrees who desire but fail to find positions in community colleges will go on to the doctorate. However, not all occupations are oversupplied. In the United States, and no doubt in Britain as well, there are shortages of personnel in certain fields. In the United States these fields are nursing and other allied health professions, chemists, counselors, dietitians, social workers, urban planners, and various occupations in local government. Furthermore, new occupations are appearing. In the field of health alone it has been estimated that there are more than 200 specialties associated with the advance of technology in health care. It has been predicted that in the United States the number of allied health specialists requiring at least a baccalaureate will increase from 229,500 in 1967 to 410,000 in 1980, and those requiring less than the baccalaureate will increase from 424,000 to 656,000. In the meantime, positions for registered nurses are expected to grow from 659,000 to 895,000.

Upgrading Courses

The response of British institutions of higher education to the employment conditions sketched above are predictable. Undergraduate courses for certificates or

diplomas will ultimately be upgraded to programs for the first degree. Teaching will become an all-graduate profession. Postgraduate courses for diplomas will be extended to courses for advanced degrees, although this trend may be restrained by the policy of the University Grants Committee to restrict growth in postgraduate enrollment. Nursing, which has a foothold in the universities, will probably become a recognized university subject, and Britain's long tradition of apprenticeship and learning on the job will probably give way to formal college courses leading to degrees, for example, in accountancy and law. "All teachers in all schools, estate agents, foremen in factories—the list of potential upgradings is a long one (Holloway, 1971)." After the war the Nuffield College report (1948) on *The Problem Facing British Universities* urged that these institutions turn aside the pressures for new kinds of training in the applied sciences and the social sciences, for otherwise there would be no end to the proliferation of new fields of specialization:

> If Law, why not the very similar profession of Accounting? If Forestry, why not Horticulture? If Engineering, why not Navigation? If Agriculture, why object to Commerce? If Architecture, why not Building? If Music, why not Dramatic Art? [p. 90].

Since the civic universities were established to serve their localities and regions, it is not surprising that all these questionable fields of professional study have invaded the universities. The universities may continue to make a relatively conservative response to the needs or the demands for new fields of education and training, but popular institutions of mass higher education—with the

mandate to serve their communities, their regions, and the national interest as well—will respond willingly, even enthusiastically, as did the land-grant colleges and state universities in the United States, to new social, economic, and cultural pressures and opportunities. But even for polytechnics, with their strong vocational emphasis, there is a word of caution. The Standing Conference of University Appointments Services has pointed out that even scientists and applied scientists, as well as arts graduates, may not be able to use their subjects vocationally. Narrow specialization, whether academic or vocational, may be maladaptive for many students whose future careers may depend more on a broader educational background stressing flexibility and adaptability than on specialized honors courses.

Finally, the need to broaden and liberalize students' educational programs may lead to a diversification of educational values. Higher education may come to be seen as an end in itself. " . . . even if it could be shown that the economic system has no need of any expansion of higher education," Carter (1971a) has pointed out, "we would all still argue in favour of providing it. For surely educaton should be judged by its contribution to the quality of civilization and to the happiness and self-fulfillment of human beings. It is a poor, silly doctrine which looks at it only as an ancillary in the production of material wealth." Presumably Carter is not talking about the education of gentlemen as an elite, privileged, self-regarding, or uncommitted class. Unless a liberal education inculcates a heightened sense of social responsibility and service, the public may withhold support on the ground that the benefits are so heavily private that they should be paid for by the individuals who enjoy them. "The man of humane sentiments and

sensibilities, the whole civilized man," said Carter (1971b), "will be concerned with the impact of advanced technology on society, the relationships of nation-states, the problems of human relationships in the family and in urban society, and the enrichment of life for everyone."

STUDENT GRANTS OR LOANS?

The division of economic and social benefits between the individual and society is too complicated a subject to discuss here. Suffice it to assert at the moment that the democratic ideal, poorly realized to date, is to extend equality of educational opportunity to all for both personal and social values. This will require the expansion and reorganization of financial aid to students, a problem which is under review both in Britain and the United States.

One of the reasons for examining methods of student aid is that the relatively privileged students now secure most of the assistance. This phenomenon is not confined to Britain, as the following quotation from Bowman (1970) emphasizes:

> The fortunate, born into homes in which they had early advantages of many kinds, are over-represented in the universities of all countries. It is in the main to these relatively privileged young people that the general public is extending special grants for education, with special opportunities to earn more in the future and to prepare their children in turn to take advantage of educational opportunities. The perverse effects are most extreme where the less privileged have already been filtered during the earlier grades of school that could qualify for

> university. But the effects are serious enough even in so open a system as that of the United States, where there is as wide a representation of the population in the universities as anywhere in the world. At the same time, the United States, followed by Japan, is the country in which the largest proportion of the direct cost of university education is covered by the students or their families. It is in countries with relatively small proportions attending universities that the students and their families are paying the smallest share of the cost. Nevertheless, recent studies suggest that the proportion of total education subsidies received by families in the higher income group exceeds the proportion of taxes they pay over a large part of the United States [pp. 141-160].

Blaug (quoted in Taylor, 1970) has reached the same conclusion. He wrote:

> About fifty million pounds out of a hundred million pounds spent on student support . . . goes to students who could perfectly well pay for their own maintenance. Without splitting hairs it is fair to say that *half of the grants system simply goes to those who already have*. There is nothing wrong with this if we really believe in supporting an educational *elite*. But to defend grants in higher education on grounds of social equality is a monstrous perversion of the truth [p. 55].

The fact that at present most governmental aid to students does not go to low-income youth may be in considerable part responsible for the fact that the percentage of working-class students in the British universities has grown very little in the past decade, and for the fact that

the polytechnics are rapidly becoming middle-class institutions. What might be done to extend educational opportunity to qualified and motivated students whatever their socioeconomic background, especially in polytechnics and other institutions of further education?

Some of those who take the position that individual benefits considerably outweigh the social benefits from higher education hold the view that the student should pay for his education through full-cost tuition and fees. If the student lacks the resources, he should secure the necessary funds from loans rather than grants from the public purse. There is an increasing interest both in Britain and the United States in substituting loans for grants. The writer's position is that this would be an unfortunate policy in the case of needy students. Already at an economic disadvantage in comparison with students from middle- or high-income families who complete college with little or no debt, the poor student with a large loan to repay starts the economic race with an even greater handicap. One must admit, nevertheless, that the growing public economic burden of the expansion of higher education may well require some adjustments in the system of financial assistance.

There has been a steady decline in the proportion of British students living at home, which has meant an increase in student financial assistance. In 1969-70 only 16.6 percent of all university students were attending institutions in their own communities. For the first time, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals has asked the universities to encourage more students to live at home and to persuade sixth-form students to apply to local universities. This presumably

would reduce to some degree the pressure on the public purse. A reorganization of the structure of higher education would make it possible for a large proportion of students to complete the early stages of postsecondary education at home. The first of the three cycles of education and training for teachers proposed in the recent James Committee Report (1972), a two-year course leading to a Diploma in Higher Education, is in effect a plan to create short-cycle institutions and to make them widely available throughout the country. It has also been proposed that junior or tertiary colleges teaching for a Diploma in Higher Education should be established within daily traveling distance of the bulk of the population. These colleges should provide for some students a terminal qualification, for others an entry to further general higher education, and for still others an entry to professional training. This would correspond to the recommendation of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education to establish as many as 280 new two-year community colleges by 1976 as a means of providing these institutions within commuting distance of practically all potential students.

Guaranteeing the Educational Minimum

Everyone qualified should be assured the opportunity to complete a tertiary college program. To that end, adequate student support should be available throughout the tertiary college years, extending from the later secondary school period through the early stage of higher education, which is the time when the sons and daughters of working-class families leave school in large numbers. Most or all of the assistance at the tertiary stage should be in the form of grants. Beyond the tertiary stage, assistance might take the form of a combination of grants and loans, something after the pattern proposed by the

Carnegie Commission, which recommended an expanded program of assistance consisting of educational opportunity grants based on need, a work-study program, student loans, and other means of student support. In 1966-67 in the United States, 225 000 undergraduate students from low income families received grants under the federal Higher Education Act of 1965. The Carnegie Commission declared that the adoption of a policy to remove financial barriers should make grants available to about 2.9 million students, 32 percent of total enrollment, in 1976-77. The Commission proposed that the grants should be scaled to provide up to $1,000 per year to students working for a recognized undergraduate degree or certificate, ordinarily for not more than four years, but up to a maximum of six years; and $2,000 per year to students working toward a graduate degree or postgraduate credential, generally for no more than two years, but up to a maximum of three years for students in professional programs requiring three years beyond the Bachelor's degree. The Commission proposed that as a supplement to grants, loans should be made available to postsecondary students in amounts not to exceed $2,500 per year, with a total of $6,000 for undergraduate studies and $10,000 for graduate work.

The recent higher education bill passed by the United States Congress established a program of basic educational opportunity grants that if fully funded would entitle a college student to receive up to $1,400 annually, minus whatever his family could reasonably contribute, up to 50 percent of total college attendance costs. The bill extended the benefits of new and existing student aid programs to part-time students and to those at accredited vocational and proprietary schools. The bill also extended the loan program by increasing the amount a student may borrow each year from $1,500 to $2,500. It placed a limit

of $7,500 on the total amount undergraduates can borrow, and a total of $10,000 for graduate students including their undergraduate loan. In addition, the bill extended the program of college work-study, authorized support for postsecondary vocational schools, and provided for support of cooperative education.[5]

British university students receive mandatory grants: altogether there are some 300,000 students in degree or degree-level "designated" courses who are eligible for these awards. But there are 80,000 students who are dependent on discretionary awards from the local authorities. Whether a student secures a discretionary grant depends on where he lives. It has been noted that one of the most marked geographic differences is in the willingness of local authorities to give discretionary grants to students working for the Higher National Diploma (a non-degree credential). Although four out of five local authorities give Higher National Diploma students the full award that those in the universities receive as a right, there are over 5,000 working for the HND whose grants vary according to their residential areas (*Times Educational Supplement*, May 14, 1971). The National Union of Students (Straw, 1971), declaring that "the only sector of higher and further education which has within it a majority of children from working-class homes is the

[5] In his proposed budget for 1974, President Nixon included (1) a new program of basic opportunity grants for needy students reaching nearly a billion dollars (but eliminated supplemental educational opportunity grants in the amount of $220,300,000), (2) support for a work-study program in the amount of $250,000,000, (3) funds for special college services for the disadvantaged amounting to $26,000,000, and (4) an increase in the appropriation for interest on insured student loans. (However, funds for direct student loans were practically eliminated.)

sector where the provision of grants remains the worst," has urged the government to provide mandatory "university-type" grants for students on Higher National Diploma courses[6] and other advanced non-degree courses leading to recognized qualifications. Part-time study will be a significant feature of British higher education for a long time to come even if there is steady progress toward mass attendance. Therefore grants should be extended, as needed, to part-time students. Part-time attendance is now recognized in the United States as desirable for many students, and this is provided for in the new higher education bill recently enacted by the Congress.

What is needed in Britain, and in other countries as well, is a combined system of student grants and loans which will make mass higher education not a middle-class privilege, but the right of all who qualify, whatever their family background. It has taken a long time for the United States to take aggressive efforts to extend educational opportunity to all, and especially to the disadvantaged minorities. As Britain moves into an era of mass higher education, it should make certain that "mass" applies not only to numbers, but to the spread of educational opportunity to the entire population.

In the United States, students are being encouraged (if they wish) to insert periods of work or other fruitful experience between secondary and higher education, or between the stages of undergraduate study. This means that the system of grants must be flexible as to time. Furthermore, a diversified postsecondary system

[6]The government has recently said that it is its intent to do so (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, p.33).

must provide continuing education for personal, social, and cultural enrichment; advanced training: and reeducation. Adult education will become much more common, and institutions like the Open University will offer opportunities for education throughout life. This suggests that every person should be given an entitlement to a certain level of education, good over a lifetime until it has been used up. Beyond this basic entitlement he should be able to reach higher educational levels by personal expenditure through loans or current resources, or a combination of both. Such a plan could elevate a society to new levels of economic productivity, social sensitivity, and cultural enjoyment.

COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND COORDINATION

Whether British institutions of higher education enroll 835,000, 1,000,000, or 1,500,000 students by 1980, the system as a whole will have to be planned and coordinated. A comprehensive national plan, continuously reviewed and updated, is essential to assure diversified institutions and educational programs, to avoid unnecessary and uneconomic duplication of facilities, and to provide for the appropriate movement of students from sector to sector, institution to institution, or program to program.

Britain has long had a dual system of higher education—the universities and further education. The creation of the polytechnics made the system binary at the university level. The report of the James Committee on the Education and Training of Teachers laid the basis for the emergence of a trinary system—universities, polytechnics,

and colleges of education.[7] None of these sectors has an adequate plan for long-range development. As noted later, the University Grants Committee has not yet managed to create a true university system. The James Committee contented itself mainly with sketching the formal organization of the colleges of education and apprenticeship training. The substantive development of the two-year diploma course, the organization of the period of professional education, and means of induction into professional practice, together with the development and articulation of national and regional plans for teacher education, remain for the future, although the recent government White Paper on education recognizes the necessity of rationalizing the colleges of education and their role in the further education system (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, pp. 46-47).

Finally, the Department of Education and Science has never issued a reasonably explicit, comprehensive policy for the development of the polytechnics, principles of differentiation among them, or guidelines for planning by individual institutions. Consequently, the polytechnics have moved steadily toward the university model, until many of them look more like universities than the popular institutions they were supposed to become. Speaking of the polytechnics' "lost opportunities," Burgess (1971) has concluded that the chief reason why things went wrong is that the Department of Education and Science thought that establishing these institutions was only an administrative exercise; the Department was preoccupied with means

[7] However, a tripartite system may not emerge. It is likely that the Department of Education and Science will keep the colleges of education mainly in the system of further education.

without defining the ends. Another critic (Pratt, 1971) has declared that the educational implications of the binary policy have never been worked out in the polytechnics.

The final testimony came from Anthony Crosland who, as Secretary of State for Education and Science, established the polytechnics in 1964. Speaking in mid-1972, he distinguished three groups of polytechnics. The first includes a large number of institutions which are moving toward the university tradition. The second group includes polytechnics which have continued to serve their regions essentially in the form of enlarged technical colleges without responding effectively to the growing demand for degree courses in the arts and the social sciences. The third group, the smallest, is attempting to realize the purposes for which they presumably were established—developing firm links with the communities in which they are situated, for example with the industrial firms from which many students come and to which they return; and shaping their courses to the needs of their students instead of fitting the students to their courses. In order to accomplish their announced purposes, the polytechnics would have had to attract working-class students; devise new methods of admission to the traditional ordinary and advanced level examinations; offer a plurality of courses to meet a variety of student needs, including courses below degree level; welcome the part-time as well as the full-time student; and cater for adults as well as youth. Only a small number of polytechnics have dedicated their efforts to these goals (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, June 16, 1972). If he were still Secretary of State, said Crosland, he would concentrate resources on the polytechnics which were responding conspicuously to student demands and social needs. In his critique, Crosland did not identify the

primary reason why the polytechnics went awry, which was the absence of a national plan and the lack of guidelines for the development of individual polytechnics. Neither he nor his successors ever produced such a plan.

The present confusion in British higher education has provoked a plethora of remedies but no widely held plan for development. The binary policy has come under vigorous attack. One critic (Scott, 1972) has written:

> The binary policy has outlived its usefulness. Six years ago it helped the polytechnics and other colleges liberate themselves from the world of the "tech" without accepting the fatal embrace of the universities; today it is a brake on their future progress. It is unjust, because it discriminates unfairly against the further education sector of higher education; it is a source of waste and duplication and it is an obstacle to progress because the whole bureaucracy prevents effective planning of advanced further education.

The National Union of Students, which has vigorously attacked the binary policy, has urged that all institutions of higher education in an area should be consolidated into new, comprehensive centers of higher education—polyversities—offering a wide range of courses for students of diverse interests and abilities, and encompassing both research and teaching functions. Carter has proposed, instead, regional federations of institutions. Each federation might consist of a university, a polytechnic, one or more colleges of education, and perhaps ultimately some junior or tertiary colleges.

Whatever design emerges—whether parallel sectors are retained or regional comprehensive or federated

institutions are created—a national instrument for planning and coordination is imperative. A national board for polytechnics corresponding roughly to the University Grants Committee is under discussion, and a Further Education Planning Committee to coordinate polytechnics, colleges of education, and advanced further education has recently been proposed (Standing Conference of Regional Advisory Councils for Further Education, 1972). But without a planning and coordinating commission for the whole of higher education, including sixth-form or tertiary colleges, colleges of further education, polytechnics, colleges of education and universities, sector planning bodies would be insufficient in the long run, even if they were useful as first attempts. The possible forms which a national planning and coordinating commission might take are outlined in the third paper.

In the United States the necessity of statewide planning has been recognized in the new higher education bill recently passed by the Congress. The act provides that any state which wishes its institutions of higher education to become eligible for federal financial assistance must designate an existing state agency or a new state commission which is broadly and equitably representative of the general public and of public and private institutions of postsecondary education, to make comprehensive studies of resources for higher education to the end that all persons who can benefit from education beyond the high school should have an opportunity to do so. This is now the task of any state or nation which would design a highly diversified system for the great proportion of its youth and an increasing number of its adults.

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Flexibility or Rigidity: University Attitudes Toward the James Report on Teacher Education

T. R. McConnell and Margaret A. Fay

The report on *Teacher Education and Training* by a committee chaired by Lord James of Rusholme, Vice-Chancellor of the University of York, evoked an enormous amount of controversy even before it was published because what may have been calculated "leaks" gave early indications of the committee's probable recommendations. We are not concerned in this paper with the committee's conception of the process of teacher education but, first, with its proposal, as the critics interpreted the recommendations, to sever the colleges of education from the university institutes of education with which most of them are now affiliated and through which college students may now earn the university degree of Bachelor of Education in university-supervised curricula.

The committee proposed to give the colleges a new status as a sector of a trinary system of higher

education, and recommended that the major growth in provision of professional courses for teachers should take place in the colleges of education—a recommendation that seemed to give the universities a secondary role in basic teacher training. For successful completion of the committee's four-year program of teacher education and training, students would qualify for the degree of B.A. (Education) to be awarded by a newly created National Council for Teacher Education and Training working through newly organized Regional Councils for Colleges and Departments of Education, or, preferably, by the Council for National Academic Awards, a body previously chartered to award degrees to students in non-university institutions of higher education.

The second element of the report with which this paper is concerned is the committee's proposal for the colleges of education, and the universities and polytechnics if they so wish, to establish a two-year course leading to the award of the Diploma in Higher Education. The committee conceived of the Diploma course as providing a general higher education of value in itself. The Diploma could serve as (1) a terminal qualification for many students, (2) a basis for professional education and training for many teachers, (3) the foundation for degree courses in the colleges of education, the polytechnics, or the universities, and (4) the background for training in professions other than teaching. The Diploma, said the committee, might be awarded by the National Council for Teacher Education and Training, by the universities which might choose to validate the qualification, or, preferably, by the Council for National Academic Awards.

Now that the early furor over the Report of the James Committee has diminished and sweeping condemnation of many of its recommendations has given way to more considered appraisal, it may be worthwhile to

underline some of the major attitudes and assumptions which, either explicitly or implicitly, ran through many reactions to the provisions summarized above. It may then be useful to reflect on the bearing of both the recommendations and the reactions on the evolution of a general pattern of higher education.

THE UNIVERSITY SYNDROME

At the heart of most of the criticism of the Report was the British preoccupation—even obsession—with university status and character.[1] It was inconceivable to many of the critics that teachers could be effectively educated outside the universities or institutions under their academic tutelage and control. Thus, Carter and Ross (1971) of the University of Lancaster declared that, "Teaching should have a call on the most able of our students and it follows that teachers should be educated and trained in the mainstream of higher education not in a separate sector." The mainstream, of course, is the intellectual flow of the universities. What gives the

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[1] Preoccupation with university status is not exclusively a British phenomenon. A recent history of the development of California's tripartite system of higher education ascribed the striving of the state college sector for university status—or at least university nomenclature (14 of the 19 colleges were recently renamed universities)— to a strong sense of relative deprivation on the part of the colleges deriving from the designation of the University of California in the state's Master Plan as the institution authorized to award doctoral degrees and given monopoly over certain fields of professional education, especially medicine and law (Smelser, N.J., Growth, Structural Change, and Conflict in California Public Higher Education, 1950-1970). See also McConnell, T.R., Flexibility, Quality, and Authority in Coordinated Systems of Higher Education, for an illustration of the Smelser thesis in recent developments in British higher education. Both articles are included in N.J. Smelser & G. Almond (Eds.), *California public higher education*, 1973.

university its distinctive and paramount intellectual character was not often specified, but commitment to research was usually given a predominant role. Thus Lord Boyle (Boyle et al., pp. 141, 143), Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, participating in a discussion group on the James Report, declared that teachers, like other professionals, need to be trained in "the atmosphere of research" in a program which is "intellectually stretching" as well as relevant to their teaching commitment. It is the university, Lord Boyle went on, which stresses "the importance of the critical mind and of analytical thinking." Presumably he consigned other academic institutions to a class stigmatized by intellectual ingenuousness and superficial thinking.

Those who would have liked to confine teacher education to the universities found themselves in a somewhat embarrassing predicament. The polytechnics had appeared on the scene; some of them are engaged in teacher education, and their students may earn degrees of the Council for National Academic Awards Therefore, the polytechnics can hardly be excluded from the club although they are supposed to be primarily teaching rather than research institutions and are presumably "mission oriented" rather than "discipline oriented" places. In their submission of evidence to the James Committee, Carter and Ross (1971), almost as an afterthought, cut in the polytechnics when they said, "We repeat our preference for seeing teacher training move through the broad stream of higher education in polytechnics or universities." (Perhaps the assumption was that polytechnics also will ultimately become research-oriented.)

Return for the moment to the contention that teachers should be educated in research institutions. It

should certainly be possible to prepare teachers effectively in a research university[2], but it does not follow that they can be educated successfully only in that environment. It may be relevant here to point out that in the United States teachers are prepared in many kinds of institutions, including liberal arts colleges, multi-purpose colleges or universities with limited emphasis on research and doctoral programs, and universities with moderate or heavy commitment to research and doctoral education. There is no evidence that any one of these kinds of institutions educates teachers more effectively than the others. One could find instances in which teachers are better trained at a liberal arts college than at a university or at a state college which still considers teacher education to be one of its principal functions. Undoubtedly there is also great variation in effectiveness among institutions of any one general type. There has been no effort in the United States to give one type of institution monopoly in the education of teachers. Instead, widespread experimentation has been encouraged by several agencies. Beginning in 1921, the Ford Foundation alone has expended $70,000,000 on experiments in teacher education, including $29,000,000 on so-called "breakthrough programs" in forty-two colleges and universities. The "breakthrough" programs were conducted in private liberal arts colleges and public and private universities–institutions ranging in size from hundreds to thousands of students, and varying from concentration on undergraduate teaching to heavy commitment to graduate education and research. A survey of forty of these experimental programs identified several

[2]Not everyone would agree. Burgess (1972, p. 157) has declared that, "The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake is not a good basis for professional education. . . ."

correlates of apparent effectiveness; type of institution was not one of them. The factors which characterized the successful programs could be operative in any kind of institution committed to excellence in teacher education (Stone, 1968).

Turning again to the British scene, one finds that the James Report appears to have strengthened the interest of some university spokesmen in maintaining the connections between the universities and the colleges of education. Before the James Committee reported but during the period when many "leaks" emanated from it, an officer at a focal point in university affairs suggested to one of the present writers that the universities, apart from departments and institutes of education, actually had not been deeply interested in teacher education and might not be greatly concerned if they lost their control over the colleges of education. He did say, however, that the universities might react defensively if the James Committee's recommendations seemed to treat the universities rudely. This prediction came true, at least in part. The Vice-Chancellors' Committee issued a fairly severe critique of the Report, opposing the severance of the colleges from the universities and declaring that it would be preferable to work towards an all-graduate profession by developing further the existing four-year Bachelor of Education degree which is awarded by the universities for a cooperative program between them and affiliated colleges of education. Although the Vice-Chancellors admitted that there was a case for wider consultation among interested parties in planning teacher education, they objected to the replacement of the present Area Training Organizations based on the universities by the Regional Councils proposed by the James Committee in which the universities presumably would lose their

dominance, and insisted that "for the purpose of academic oversight of courses and of the planning of in-service provision . . . a 'partnership of interest' centered on a university should continue (Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, 1972)."

Members of university departments of education or institutes of education, which had the most to lose in staff and program if the colleges of education were severed from the universities, were among the most vocal opponents of the James Committee's recommendations. As this was being written, not many university senates had been heard from, although they were in the process of responding to a questionnaire concerning their attitudes distributed by the Vice-Chancellors' Committee. The reactions of the University Grants Committee to the recommendations have not been made public, but were incorporated in a confidential memorandum to the Secretary of State for Education and Science. One suspects that the UGC response was considerably more temperate than that of the most critical university spokesmen.

What did colleges of education themselves want? Although some of them have grumbled from time to time that the universities with which they were affiliated had shown little interest in them, or on the other hand, that the universities had attempted to dominate them and impose an overly "academic" and theoretical emphasis on their courses, the colleges nevertheless have found their university connections the best elevator to the status which they so fervently desire. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (1970) proposed that federated groups of colleges should be associated with a parent university--the term "parent" is significant. They were

willing to accept parental supervision so that their qualified students might earn university degrees, and some of their faculty members might be admitted to the common room. The attitude of many members of the Association seems to have been succinctly expressed by a college principal who declared that the universities were the only bodies with the prestige, the independence and the concern for academic and professional standards, unaffected by political beliefs, which could insure the future integrity and independence of teachers themselves (*Times Higher Education Supplement,* December 24, 1971). However, the Executive Committee of the Association issued a statement on the James Report which declared that the colleges should be free to seek validation of their work from whatever source they wished, including the Council for National Academic Awards, but also observed that, "There is good reason to suppose that the vast majority of colleges would wish their students to be working for university awards (Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education, 1972, p. 14)." Nevertheless, after the James Report appeared, staff members in colleges of education did not unanimously favor university affiliation: Although 81 percent of the staff in university departments of education, according to a survey, believed that the colleges of education should be brought closer to universities, only 54 percent of the staff in the colleges expressed the same view, while 32 percent said that the colleges should be more closely connected with the Council for National Academic Awards (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, February 18, 1972).

Behind the contention that teachers should be educated only in universities or in institutions under their academic control, one detected the elitest attitude of university members, and also the yearning on the part of

those outside the universities for membership in that as yet small caste who wear the university badge. Eric Robinson (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, March 26, 1971) commented on the paradoxical attitude of the National Union of Teachers. "The Union in its educational idealism wants more people of humble origins to have higher education," he wrote, "but in its professional aspirations it wants fewer of them to become teachers." He added that, "Despite widespread lip service to comprehensive higher education the separation of higher education from further education is hardening into a rigid separation between the professional classes and the others as substantial academic education becomes a *sine qua non* for membership of the top class."

In responding to the James Committee Report, the Department of Education and Science did not formally propose to sever the colleges of education from the university institutes of education. In fact, the Department, acknowledging that some of the colleges would like more complete integration with the university sector and that some universities would welcome this in the case of particular colleges, provided for such integration if it were "complete", requiring that "...staff, students and courses would need to be equal and integral parts of the institutions concerned." The Department's White Paper also specified that the university's number of students thus enlarged would form part of the total enrollment target for the university population which the DES envisaged for 1976-77 (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, p. 44). This structure obviously will not encourage the universities to incorporate many colleges of education.

The Secretary of State for Education and Science, however, did not choose to make the colleges of

education into the third sector of a trinary system of higher education as envisaged by the James Committee. She did say that it was the government's intention that some of the colleges either singly or jointly should develop into major institutions of higher education concentrating on the arts and human sciences with particular reference to their application in teaching and other professions; such enlarged institutions would "not be easily distinguishable by function from a polytechnic or other further education college." It was apparent from the White Paper that the DES wished to identify the surviving colleges even more closely than now with the system of further education (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, pp. 44, 46).

At the same time, the Department did not propose to give the colleges of education a monopoly over teacher training. It recognized that universities might wish to continue to offer postgraduate training courses, and it noted with approval that a number of universities had already offered four-year sandwich courses including a year of professional study and practice (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, pp. 22-23).

The Membership Badge

The badge of membership in the exclusive club is a *standard* university degree. The doctrine (realists now consider it partly a myth) is that first degrees from British universities are equivalent. "Although awarded by forty-four universities and the C.N.A.A. on curricula which vary from one university to another. they represent, grade for grade," asserted Sir Eric Ashby (1971, pp. 52-53), "about the same level of achievement." Sir Eric couched the variances from institution to institution in polite

language, saying that, "Although there is a discernible peck-order among British universities it is (unlike the peck-order in America) not reflected in the quality of the bachelor's degrees, but rather in the fringe benefits more liberally provided for in some universities than in others.... British universities turn out nothing but Lincolns, with more expensive coach work on the Oxbridge models, but mechanically all at the same high level of design and workmanship."

Lord Boyle (Boyle et al., 1972, pp. 128, 152) has asserted that the first degree course, which he characterized as of "roughly uniform standard" throughout the university system, is a guidepost, a central point of reference which serves to hold university education on course. "When we say degrees," another critic said, "I think we have got to make it clear that we mean degrees that will fit into the currently recognized pattern (Boyle et al., 1972, p. 139)." Taking the view that the B.A. (Education) proposed by the James Committee would be decidedly inferior in quality and course requirements to the standard university degree, some critics went so far as to denounce the suggested new degree as substandard, degraded, debased, or little better than a technical qualification. It was asserted that because of this inferior quality, neither the universities nor the C.N.A.A. would validate the B.A. (Ed.) degree, and that therefore it would have little credibility and no standing outside the profession in Britain; that the holders would be inferior to the possessors of "real" degrees in the same profession; and that the degree would have no currency in the United States, the Commonwealth, or the Common Market countries. The Committee of Vice-Chancellors declared that the proposed scope and pattern of the B.A. (Ed.) degree would have more in common with an award

of a professional rather than an academic institution (as if universities were not already engaged in professional education!), and that it would be likely to have little more favorable recognition than the existing Certificate of Education for admission to advanced courses. In effect, the critics said that what the James Committee proposed was a bogus degree. Recently the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education proposed that the universities or the C.N.A.A. should award three-year B.A. and B.Sc. degrees, as well as four-year B.Ed. ordinary and honors degrees, and the C.N.A.A. spoke favorably of the development of a three-year B.A. (Education) degree which, however, would be different from the one proposed by the James Committee.

Evaluating Unequal American Degrees

The present writers have their own quarrel with the general structure and content of the B.A. (Education) degree proposed by the James Committee, but it is not because it failed to conform to the university template. Higher institutions in the United States manage to conduct a highly complicated system of institutional interrelationships with degrees that vary greatly both in the academic standards and educational patterns. Sir Eric Ashby (1971, pp. 59, 53) has explained in part how American institutions adapt to this diversity. He pointed out that every American college and university can allow the standard of its degree to settle at a level which the market will bear. He might have added that the market, even by relatively informal methods, puts a remarkably appropriate valuation on a student's and an institution's performance. Through experience, university graduate schools have learned to calibrate an applicant's

record according to the academic reputation and character of the institution or institutions and departments from which he received his previous degrees. Also, as Sir Eric noted, there are devices in the United States for gauging academic accomplishment independently of the institutions from which the student was graduated. The Educational Testing Service has long made available to colleges and universities examinations for advanced standing as well as the Graduate Record Examination from which a reading may be taken of an individual's general educational background and his mastery of particular disciplines or fields of study. The College Entrance Examination Board offers the College Level Examinations on the basis of which advanced standing may be granted at entrance or credit given for accomplishment outside formal courses. The American College Testing Service provides comparable kinds of measurements of achievement. There are many forms of external certification, from civil service tests to examinations for licensure in medicine. Admittedly, the American system of "validation" is a cumbersome one, but it allows a high degree of diversity among institutions and educational programs, and it encourages individual as well as institutional evaluation. Consequently, as Sir Eric Ashby concluded, "The American system, with its wide variation in the market value of degrees, is better adapted to a system of mass higher education than the British system." But if the British, in order to cope with the late twentieth century, should move from an elite to a mass system of higher education, there will ultimately be a wider range of ability in degree-granting institutions, and consequently the equivalence of degrees will be further eroded, and both higher institutions and the employment market will have to devise means of measuring relative educational performance.

Instead of condemning out of hand the B.A. (Education) degree proposed by James because it would not conform to the standard university pattern, it would have been more appropriate to ask whether it represented a coherent educational program designed for the attainment of well-defined objectives. Instead of writing off the new degree as a basis for admission to advanced or postgraduate university (or polytechnic) courses, it would have been more reasonable for institutions to ask whether the B.A. (Ed.) course had prepared students to undertake courses at higher levels, or what deficiencies individual holders of the degree might have to make up before proceeding to study for advanced qualifications.

In any event, the debate over the degree for intending teachers may have become academic. The Department of Education and Science has declined to accept the James Committee's recommendation for a four-year B.Ed. degree to be given for a two-year basic course followed by two years of professional training, the second year of which would be in school employment. The DES proposed, instead, that new three-year courses incorporating professional studies and supervised practical experience should be established leading to an Ordinary B.Ed. degree, and for those qualified, to an Honors B.Ed. degree after a fourth year. These degrees, said the DES, should be validated by existing awarding bodies, i.e., the Council for National Academic Awards or the universities rather than by the new national and regional bodies proposed by the James Committee. Presumably students taking the new B.Ed. degree would have to meet current degree standards; thus those who, as noted above, insisted that a degree for teachers should conform to the standard pattern have won the argument (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, p. 21).

Uniform Admissions Standards

Non-university institutions may attain status not only by attempting to equate their awards with university degrees, but also by raising entrance qualifications at least to the minimum level required for university admission. There has been a steady upgrading, according to this standard, in the qualifications of students entering the colleges of education. The proportion admitted with one or more A-levels rose from 60 percent in 1968 to 65 percent in 1971, and in the latter year, 40 percent had two or more A-levels. Since the number of school leavers who reach minimum university admission standards is increasing steadily, many believe that as soon as possible the colleges of education could and should establish entrance standards comparable to the universities—a method which the polytechnics are already using to climb the status ladder. The Secretary of State for Education and Science declared that the normal entry requirement for the new B.Ed. degree she proposed would be the same as for universities (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972, p. 21).

One of the reasons often given in Britain for educating teachers, including those for primary and middle schools, in universities is that they should be recruited from the most able students entering higher education. Since the universities accept only able students, that is where future teachers should be found. But of course, the polytechnics must now be coupled with the universities as sources of highly intelligent recruits. Presumably everyone would agree that teaching should attract able people. It is another matter, however, to say that *only* the most intelligent or academically outstanding students will make good teachers. In 1968, Crocker found little evidence

of any relation between qualification at entry and final assessment by the college of the quality of the student at the end of the course. "Indeed," said the report, "a survey carried out in Kent of 391 trained teachers who took up first teaching appointments at primary schools in the county during 1969-70 does not show any correlation between the level of entry and the final assessment." For example, 43 of 130 students who were admitted with five or more passes at Ordinary level were given a final college assessment of "above average" and 66 were called "competent." Of the 137 who entered with 0-levels plus two or more advanced-level examinations, 47 were rated "above average" and 68 "competent." The percentages who were rated "above average" or "competent" were about the same in the two groups. Another study made in Britain found a correlation of .353 between IQ's on the Otis Gamma test and marks in practice teaching. The author of the report concluded that, "Whilst a minimum level of intelligence would seem necessary for successful teaching it does not follow that intelligence and teaching ability beyond that point increase proportionately to each other [pp. 49-52]."

These results are fairly typical of the findings of studies made in the United States of the relationships between scholastic aptitude or academic marks and teaching performance. The author of the Kent Report pointed out that the modest relationship ordinarily found between general scholastic aptitude or scholastic record and assessment of teaching performance does not argue against careful selection for colleges of education, or presumably for other teacher training institutions or programs. "Indeed," he said, "the implication is precisely the reverse. It would seem, however, that if changes are to be made in respect of entry they should be made, not

along the lines of the imposition of a straightforward minimum qualification of two passes at A-level, but by an even closer consideration of the qualities, character, motivation and approach of individual applicants."

There is good reason to believe that teaching ability is not a uniform trait, but one which may vary with the characteristics of teachers and pupils, the nature of what is to be taught and learned, the level of instruction, and many other factors. Everyone would like to have teaching attract academically able people; it is something else to say that *only* the ablest should be recruited. On this basis, one questions whether entrance standards to the colleges of education should be as high as those for universities, just as it seems questionable to say that universities, which skim off the academic cream, are the *only* places which should prepare teachers. Yet planning for teacher education is being determined more by considerations of status than by rigorous investigation of different modes of preparation.

The Diploma Dilemma

The first of the three cycles of education and training proposed in the James Report is potentially of great significance for the development of a comprehensive system of higher education. The proposal to institute two-year courses leading to a Diploma in Higher Education is in effect a plan to create short-cycle institutions.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [1971, pp. 66, 67] has outlined the functions which new types of short-cycle institutions that have emerged in recent years in various member countries are expected to fulfill. These functions are: 1) to respond

to the increasing pressure of individual demand for higher education, 2) to contribute to the equalization of educational opportunity, 3) to respond to growing needs for a wide and diversified range of qualified manpower, and 4) to generate or facilitate innovation in the postsecondary system as a whole by assuming a number of functions which traditional universities are often reluctant to accept. The OECD monograph points out that for several reasons establishing new institutions is the easiest or best way to begin a process of change: "They are newly created, or at least they have no secular tradition; they might have greater built-in flexibility; they are closer to local needs and interests; and they perhaps reflect more accurately the nature of the new higher education clientele."

Experience has shown, however, that even new institutions may not introduce fundamental change into the system. In Britain, short-cycle institutions would seem to offer the potential for innovation and flexibility, but they might also be used as a means for preserving the present status system among institutions. Consequently, one of the principal problems in planning new short-cycle structures is to define their relationships with established institutions, especially the universities. This almost invariably turns out to be a difficult determination. The difficulty has been described by Taylor (1972):

> Short-cycle institutions are open to two main criticisms. If their links with the university are too close, they soon cease to have an identitiy of their own and become screening devices for later academic courses. If their courses are end-stopped and their qualifications terminal, without much possibility of continuing with full university

> studies, they are labeled as lower grade and fail to attract students. They become, in effect, the secondary modern schools of higher education.

The attitude of the universities will be crucial to the development of the two-year Diploma courses envisaged in the James Report. One distinguished Vice-Chancellor has already given two-year courses the *coup de grace.* After noting that the James Report stated that one of the purposes of the Diploma course was to provide essential background in the main areas of human thought and activity, Lord Boyle (Boyle et al., 1972) declared:

> Well, this sounds rather like a sort of all-in attempt to achieve sixth-form "breadth" in the first year of higher education. And one can all too easily visualize how desperately the colleges would try to make this sort of thing academically respectable. The result could easily turn out to be, far more than at present, a very, very watered-down, pale version of a university course [p. 150].

This, however, is an extreme reaction. As a matter of fact, the idea of the Diploma in Higher Education has evoked widespread but qualified support. The most frequently stated reservation is that unless the universities validate the Diploma and admit diplomates to degree courses, the credential itself will possess little currency. The attitudes of university departments and institutes of education were probably well expressed by Elvin (1972, p. 137) when he asserted that the Diploma will be of little use "unless universities not only recognize it, but really validate it and help to run it."

The Diploma will become significant for higher education as a whole if it acquires value in itself and also becomes a recognized means of access to higher levels of the postsecondary educational system—and not just to professional work above the Diploma course in the colleges of education In its comments on the James Report, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors (1972) agreed that a place exists for a new two-year award in higher education, but went on to say that, "We expect that any new two-year course leading to the award of such a diploma will be offered primarily at non-university institutions." This suggests that the universities will continue to recruit their students from the sixth forms for a full three-year degree course. However, unless universities (and polytechnics) admit qualified transfer students from the Diploma course with a reasonable amount of advanced standing, the award is unlikely to gain academic currency. There is great pressure in California for the University of California and the state university-state college system to admit all qualified graduates of the two-year community colleges. Something like this will have to be done in Britain if the Diploma course is to serve a wide range of interests and abilities and is to become a part of an articulated system of higher education.

The worst response of the universities to the proposed Diploma would be to introduce it themselves as a substandard award. Since the Department of Education and Science and the University Grants Committee have already expressed an interest in a two-year degree and may put the universities under pressure to expand their enrollment without increasing their costs, it is possible that the universities, the Vice-Chancellors' Committee notwithstanding, will turn to the two-year Diploma as a

way out of the bind. But if they used the Diploma only as a consolation prize for their own unsatisfactory students, they would debase it so that it might never attain currency for other purposes.

If the universities do validate the Diploma, they will be tempted to force it into the straightjacket of the typical academic curriculum. Trow (1972, p. 142) pressed this point in a panel discussion of the James Report. "It seems to me likely", he predicted, "that the universities will apply their own well-tested and firmly held standards to a set of arrangements that may not be appropriate." The consequence will be to deprive the Diploma of its impetus to innovation and diversification.

Possible university domination of short-cycle higher education in Britain is suggested by California history. Speaking of the preparatory or transfer functions of the California community colleges, Elvin (1972, p. 135) accurately pointed out that the California institutions comprise what "is really a pretty coherent system with the universities' full assent and one might almost say, if not with their domination, with them at the top of the tree." Excessive control of community college curricula by the University of California has been confirmed by a recent study of two-year institutions (Medsker & Tillery, 1971).

Saving the Diploma from University Conventions

There was widespread dissatisfaction with the James Committee's proposal that the Diploma should be awarded by the National Council for Teacher Education and Training working through Regional Councils for Colleges and Departments of Education. Anticipating this criticism, perhaps, the Committee suggested that

ultimately the Council for National Academic Awards should validate and award the Diploma, and, in fact, the C.N.A.A. has already expressed willingness to do so.

> In view of the C.N.A.A.'s sympathetic attitude to innovation and its concern for individual colleges, most of us hope that the academic awarding functions, which may include the award of degrees in designated colleges, will be discharged by that body, while accepting that a university able and willing to adopt such a role cannot and should not be formally inhibited from so doing [James Committee, 1972, p. 55].

Others might be less sanguine about the innovative tendencies of the C.N.A.A., especially if the Diploma were to be awarded to some students for work below degree standard, or to students in non-transfer programs. If the courses for the Diploma are to incorporate innovative approaches to general and pre-professional education, and terminal programs as well, they must be saved from the conventional imprint of university, and possibly from usual C.N.A.A., arrangements. This suggests that the general educational design for the new two-year courses might have been the responsibility for a limited period, perhaps of five years, of a new national body representing the colleges of education, the universities, the polytechnics, other institutions of further education, the teaching profession, and other professions for which students might be educated after completing requirements for the Diploma. Had such an agency been established, it obviously should have included overlapping membership with the proposed National Council for Teacher Education and Training so that the two bodies could coordinate and harmonize their

plans. After a period of active innovation, experimentation, and evaluation of the new courses, the validation of the Diploma could have been transferred, if it then seemed appropriate to do so, to a sympathetic C.N.A.A.

In any event, the Department of Education and Science has embraced the James Committee proposal to establish a Diploma of Higher Education, and has proposed that it should become a new option to be offered by institutions in each of the main sectors of higher education—universities and polytechnics as well as colleges of education. The Department has also stated that the qualification offered after two years must be made generally acceptable as a terminal qualification and in particular as a qualification for entry into appropriate kinds of employment, and that it should also serve as a foundation for further study as well as credit toward other qualifications including degrees and the requirements of professional bodies. The C.N.A.A. may take an innovative approach to the Diploma, since it already is a member of a committee on the Diploma representing the colleges of education, the polytechnics, the universities, and other interested parties. Perhaps this committee can stimulate innovative planning and differentiated programs.

An innovative and experimental approach to courses for the Diploma and its development over time to serve a wide range of student characteristics will preclude the standardization of the Diploma across the whole system of higher education, yet such standardization has been widely assumed in discussion of the Report. A diversity of educational arrangements from which students may transfer to advanced courses is desirable, but it creates many difficulties.

In California, requirements for transfer from the community colleges to the University of California and the California state university-state college system vary considerably. Variation occurs not only between the two systems, but also from campus to campus of the University of California and among the 19 institutions in the California state university-state college sector. This creates many difficulties for transfer students and makes it difficult to realize the stated policy of the California Coordinating Council to assure all transfer students the opportunity to enter one of the four-year public colleges or universities. Presumably, transfer is rationalized and facilitated by a network of liaison or articulation committees between the community colleges and the two state systems, and between the two state systems themselves. The general committees are supplemented by articulation committees for certain fields of study. Community college students who wish to transfer to advanced engineering curricula must obviously have taken certain preparatory courses in science and mathematics, or having failed to do so, must make up deficiencies before final admission to advanced engineering courses. The articulation committees lay out these conditions and supply the relevant information to faculties and counsellors. In some fields no such clear-cut preparatory curricula would seem to be necessary or even determinable; in these fields students' intellectual attitudes and processes may be better indices of preparation for advanced work than specific bodies of knowledge. Nevertheless, although the specific requirements have been reduced in recent years, the University of California has tended to require even in these fields a particular pattern of community college courses. Perhaps if the Diploma in Higher Education can be developed from the beginning to

incorporate the values of both general and preprofessional education and to serve the needs of both terminal and transfer students, some of the rigidities of the California system may be avoided, and the new award may promote innovation and flexibility rather than protection of the present system from change.

RESTRUCTURING HIGHER EDUCATION

Numerous commentaries on the James Report predicted that the universities will be unlikely to accept the Diploma-in-Higher Education as the equivalent of two years of the three-year degree course. One year's exemption, as the Committee of Vice-Chancellors pointed out, is a much more likely prospect; under this condition only certain Diploma subjects would be accepted as constituent parts of university or C.N.A.A. degree courses. The Vice-Chancellors' Committee stated that in accepting work under the Diploma toward a university first degree, "our impression is that universities are likely initially to consider each case individually, taking account of the general educational background of a candidate and the level of attainment on a diploma course in disciplines relevant to the degree course concerned." This seems to be a constructive attitude provided that the universities and the polytechnics, individually or collectively, make clear what will be accepted toward the requirements for first degrees, and provided that these conditions do not impose an indefensibly rigid educational pattern of preparatory work.

The first step in restructuring British higher education, then, might be to make two-year Diploma courses in higher education available throughout the country. Turning from their somewhat strident early

criticisms of the James proposals, Carter and Ross (1971) more recently offered constructive suggestions for exploiting the progressive potential of short-cycle higher institutions and for revising higher educational structure. They proposed that junior colleges teaching for a diploma in higher education should be established within daily traveling distance of the bulk of the population. This two-year course, they suggested, should provide for some a terminal qualification, for others an entry to professional training, and for still others an entry to further general higher education.[3] They also proposed that all or part of the capacity of some colleges of education should be released for diploma courses. It should be understood, they added, that the bodies which awarded the diploma (in their scheme the C.N.A.A. and the universities which wished to take part) should write in opportunities for those who were at an appropriate standard and who

[3]The action of the University of Lancaster Senate was much less favorable. Responding to questions from the Vice-Chancellors' Committee, the Senate decided that it *would* recognize the Diploma in Higher Education if the award were made by the University itself, that it would *probably* recognize the Diploma if it were awarded by another university (or polytechnic), but that it would only *possibly* recognize the qualification if it were awarded by one of the proposed Regional Councils. In considering whether the University should itself teach for the Diploma, the Senate concluded: "Not for the same diploma; we might wish to consider a two-year course within the University, but it would be more sensible to make it a somewhat different kind of course (*Times Educational Supplement*, February 25, 1972)." If the attitude of the Lancaster Senate is indicative, one concludes that a diploma may be instituted as a terminal qualification or as a prelude to non-university professional training, initially in teaching, perhaps later in social work, nursing, and other occupations. This would permit the universities to continue on their own essentially unaffected way. Alternatively, as suggested earlier, they might establish a two-year diploma as a means of "cooling out" those of their own students who did not meet degree standards.

wished to do so to move into a polytechnic or university at a suitable point and proceed to a degree. The latter provision is a crucial one. If qualified students are not assured of the opportunity to transfer to advanced courses not only in the colleges of education but also in the polytechnics and the universities, the so-called junior colleges will serve as dead ends to drain off the educational "losers" in order to assure the continued privileges of the university- or polytechnic-educated "winners." These junior institutions would thus serve the primary purpose of entrenching the universities in their privileged status at the top of the educational hierarchy.

The Department of Education and Science has chosen to limit the range of ability and previous preparation for admission to the proposed Diploma courses. It has stated that the normal minimum entry qualification should be the same as for degrees or comparable courses. This stricture, which presumably was at least in part dictated by the desire to give immediate academic status to Diploma courses, significantly limits the two-year program as a device for extending educational opportunity. If short-cycle higher education were widely available to a much larger percentage of the population than now enjoys the opportunity for postsecondary schooling, and if there were to be determined efforts to adapt the educational program to a wide range of interests and abilities and to motivate students instead of admitting only those already interested in learning, profound changes would occur in the system of higher education. There would be a wider range of curricular options instead of the present narrow band of academic and technical subjects; talents so far untapped by the present system could be discovered and trained; innovation and experimentation could be encouraged; new courses and perhaps different

standards for degrees might be devised; and transfer would be facilitated among institutions so that the student could have more control over his entrances and exits to and from the system, over his search for an educational program that would most nearly serve his purposes, and thus over his educational destiny.

Tertiary Colleges

As noted above, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors indicated that students who earned the Diploma in Higher Education would probably have a good chance in most universities of one year's exemption on a three-year degree course; this view corresponds with that of many other reactions to the Diploma proposal. While a well-designed Diploma course might constitute half of a four-year degree program, one year superimposed on two years taken elsewhere would commend itself to few degree-granting institutions. This dilemma is a product of the James Committee's attempt to reorganize teacher education and the early stages of the whole of higher education with the same device—an effort which led some of the Committee's critics to suspect that the Department of Education and Science was covertly using the Committee to introduce changes in the system of higher education which it would have hesitated to propose directly.

A more viable systematic structural reform of the early stages of postsecondary educaton than the introduction of the proposed Diploma course might have been accomplished by creating a new institution encompassing the first year of the college of education, the university, or the polytechnic and the later years of secondary education. This institution might have been called a junior college or a community college, as in the

United States or, as Ross suggested before the James Report appeared, a tertiary college. The new institution could have taken the form of an extension of sixth-form colleges, or it could have been based on a college of further education. Alternatively, extended sixth-form colleges could have been affiliated with nearby technical colleges in order to design tertiary colleges with highly diversified curricula. The tertiary college could be terminal for some students and preparatory to advanced higher education for others. As Ross (1970) put it, "The suggestion is that instead of a system based on school followed by 18-plus selection and then university, college or correspondence course, we should have a system based on school followed by a tertiary diagnostic college and leading to university, Open University or other form of higher education." This arrangement, said Ross, "would give the student time to taste advanced work, and opportunity to reject it if he so wished, a chance of deciding for himself where to proceed for his university education or whether to go directly to employment whilst retaining the right—and qualification—to enter university later if he so wished."

The widespread availability of tertiary colleges would move British higher education some distance along the route laid out for the United States by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education toward the goal of assuring all young people, if they desired it, the equivalent of two years of education beyond the high school. To that end, the commission recommended that 230 to 280 new community colleges should be in operation by 1980, and that 35 to 40 percent of all undergraduate students should be enrolled in such institutions. Noting that high school graduates are academically more advanced today than previously, and that the first year of college is often largely wasted for students with a good educational background

and clear academic or occupational goals; the commission proposed that the length of time required for the baccalaureate degree should be reduced from four to three years. If this reduction should occur, graduates of two-year community colleges might expect to attain the baccalaureate in an additional year; this would create for the advanced institutions the same dilemma that the two-year Diploma in Higher Education would pose to British institutions.

The solution in the United States might be to combine the last two years of secondary education with the first year of community college, college, or university education into a three-year tertiary institution from which qualified graduates would be admitted to the last two years of degree courses elsewhere. The Americans and the British thus have common problems in extending access to the early stages of postsecondary education to a much larger proportion of the age group.

Comprehensive Planning Required

The James Committee has been criticized for going beyond its terms of reference in making proposals, including those concerning the two-year Diploma, which if implemented would affect the whole of higher education. If Britain is moving toward mass higher education, it is essential to plan the transition and the development of the relevant institutions; an oblique approach such as that through the James Committee may produce confusion instead of purposive reform, or reinforce educational privilege instead of widening educational opportunity. The Standing Conference of Regional Advisory Councils (for further education) has recently called for the creation of a national committee to bring about effective cooperation in

the planning and development of the whole of higher education. Nothing less is required. Perhaps it is time to appoint a national planning committee with the prestige of the one chaired by Lord Robbins but with a much broader assignment. Or perhaps a voluntary body such as the influential Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in the United States should propose the main lines of British development. Having considered these recommendations and taken widespread counsel, the government could formulate its policy and turn to the Department of Education and Science and the other appropriate agencies to give it effect.

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Planning Mechanisms for British Transition to Mass Higher Education

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Visiting Britain a little more than a decade ago, one of the authors found little desire among the universities to educate a larger proportion of young people, nor did he detect any strong social pressure for the universities to do so. Having expected the demand for university places to grow much more rapidly, he asked the vice-chancellor of one of the civic universities to explain the lag. "You must understand," was the reply, "that in England we have a stratified society. Consequently, although we will increase our enrollment absolutely, we do not expect to serve a larger percentage of university-age youth, and do not anticipate any insistence that we should." The vice-chancellor was a poor prophet. A few years later the Robbins Committee startled the country with its projection of places needed in full-time higher education to 1980-81. And then, within only four years, enrollment exceeded the Robbins forecasts, which have

since been characterized as "ridiculously low". Time and events have far outrun Robbins.

The lingering desire of some to slow down or curtail the newly forecast expansion, for whatever reasons, will not stay the influx. In fact, the new projections will probably also prove to be too low, not only because the pool of applicants qualified for some form of higher education may have been under-estimated and the quickening effects of the products of expansion itself may not have been sufficiently taken into account, but also because liberal voices, if still in the great minority, suggest that Britain is moving more inexorably and more rapidly than it realizes toward the conviction that some form of higher education is the right of the many rather than the protected privilege of the few. Those who have watched the development of British higher education over a quarter of a century can only be astonished when a university vice-chancellor writes that the great expansion of higher education anticipated during the '70s, even if not dictated by economic needs, would nevertheless be justified by its contribution to the quality of life and self-fulfillment of human beings (Carter, 1971b). Perhaps it is less surprising and even more prophetic for a lifelong leader in technical education to declare that "The time is overdue for establishing the right of all citizens to the tertiary education which is appropriate to their proven abilities. . . . (Venables, 1971a)." If this materializes, Britain will have embarked on a mass system of higher education. A recent study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1971) indicates that most industrial countries are at an intermediate and critical stage between elitist and mass higher education. As noted earlier, Halsey and Trow (1971, p. 462) have estimated that in Britain an extension of higher education to more

than 15 percent of the age group will require more than expansion of the elite university system; it will call for the development of mass higher education through popular institutions.

THE "NEW" STUDENTS

Anything approaching mass higher education will ultimately require diversified institutions to serve students encompassing a wider range of academic ability as well as special aptitudes, interests, and expectations. For a time, however, the band of ability of entrants may actually narrow in some institutions. The Universities Council for the Education of Teachers has declared that the colleges of education should raise their entry standards. One informant has estimated that the percentage of entrants to the polytechnics with two or more "A" level passes or equivalent has increased over the last five years from about 40 percent to 65 percent and is still rising. Thus students may be shunted from colleges of education and polytechnics to advanced technical college courses. In the short run the band of ability in the whole of higher education may remain about the same, but in the long run the trend is probably toward still greater diversity among students in the total system.

In the United States, approximately 60 percent of high school graduates enter some kind of postsecondary institution. This means that the student body of American higher education varies enormously in scholastic ability, intellectual dispositions, socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, and vocational aspirations. The entering classes of some large institutions may cover almost the entire range of these attributes, but other institutions are differentially attractive or selective. So diverse are the admission

requirements, the curricula, and the academic standards of American colleges and universities that it has been said that, whatever his ability, any high school graduate will find an institution which will admit him if he looks long and far enough. (How long he may survive, of course, is another question.) This diversity makes the title of Sir Eric Ashby's recent description and analysis of higher education in the United States, *Any Person. Any Study* (1971), highly apropos.

The great increase in American colle enrollments in the 1950s and '60s, as Sir Eric noted, came mainly from the upper half of the age group in ability. Over 80 percent of boys who rank in the upper half of their high school classes now go on to college; the percentage of girls is considerably smaller. The pool of male talent in the upper half is thus almost exhausted. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1968 & 1970) believes that its proposal for providing at least two years of post-secondary education for all who desire it would draw one million additional students into higher education by 1976, and that a vast program of grants and loans would, by the year 2000, free college attendance from the last vestiges of limitations imposed by ethnic grouping, geographic location, age, or quality of prior schooling. Many of these students will come from culturally limited homes and communities; no small number will have been culturally deprived. A high proportion may arrive with serious educational deficiencies, and with unrealistic educational and vocational expectations. Most of these "new" students presumably will enter community colleges or the less selective public and private four-year institutions, although some will have the potential capacity to succeed in major universities. Most of them, wherever they go, will need compensatory and remedial work to succeed in regular

curricula. As noted in the first paper, the emphasis to date has been on making the new entrants over into the traditional student image, which has often subjected them to frustration and failure. The problem now is to adapt educational programs to the characteristics of the new students and the social needs of the 1970s (Cross, 1971, pp. 21-23).

If we are to believe some British educational prophets, "open access" is not to be an exclusively American policy; there is already talk of "free access" to British tertiary education (Carter, 1970). If this begins to materialize, British institutions will be increasingly subjected to the same kinds of strains which American colleges and universities have experienced. "New" students will enter further education in ever greater numbers, and the problem of adapting schooling to their characteristics instead of trying to reshape them to traditional programs or even conventional standards, will become, as it has in the United States, the major challenge.

IMPEDIMENTS TO DIFFERENTIATION

Under the academic free market that existed so long in the United States, educational entrepreneurs and innovators were limited only by their ability to obtain funds from public and private sources. Many types of institutions appeared: public, private, religious, secular, men's, women's, coeducational; teachers colleges, liberal arts colleges, institutes of technology, multi-purpose state colleges, land-grant colleges and universities, private universities, state universities, two-year community colleges, and more. Within any one of these "types," institutions vary greatly in academic quality and prestige. All this adds up to what Sir Eric Ashby (1971, pp. 91-92) characterized as

"the bewildering complexity of American higher education." Nevertheless, there are strong impediments to effective differentiation of functions among institutions or systems, and widespread efforts to emulate prestigeful models. Sir Eric found "a streak of frustrated aspiration running through the whole system: two-year colleges striving to do para-academic work, four-year colleges itching to set up graduate programs, undistinguished universities bidding in the market for academic stars whose presence (even off-campus) will lift the universities some notches in the status list. . . ." Thus the California state colleges considered that the state's master plan for higher education consigned them to second-class citizenship in comparison with the University of California, and so they urged the state legislature to change their names from colleges to universities, pressed for time and money for research, and, some of them, for the right to award their own doctoral degrees (Dunham, 1969, pp. 51-54). The state colleges (sometimes renamed universities) in other states are probably less envious of the major universities, but they, too, may be expected over time to try to emulate the institutions which carry greater prestige.

Emulation, of course, is not all bad; it may be valuable if it impels students, faculty, and administrators in "emerging" institutions to look to examples of educational excellence (not all of the same kind). But emulation that leads to ever greater similarity of institutions and programs will promote the conformity of "increasingly convergent goals adhered to by ever more similar means" (Martin, 1969, p. 228). After studying eight presumably distinctive colleges and universities, Martin concluded that most of these institutions are less committed to distinctiveness than to professional norms which incorporate the conventional standards of

excellence—good teaching, but not too good; a mainstream academic style; published research; acclaim by peers; and attachment to scholarly or professional societies. Martin observed that academics get caught in a one-model box, whether they are in public or private institutions, in universities or small colleges. They are hypnotized by the "versity"—the miniversity, the university, or the multiversity.

Pressures toward conformity may be found in British higher education as well. For example, certain scientists in one of the new universities which had established schools of studies rather than departments observed that almost every change which had occurred in the sciences since the institution opened had been in the direction of conventional departmental behavior. Burgess and Pratt (1970a, pp. 172-173) concluded that the colleges of advanced technology, although originally proposed as alternatives to the existing universities, quickly turned their backs on their technical college heritage and moved rapidly to embrace the university model. Now that the colleges of advanced technology have become technological universities, one suspects that they have moved even more rapidly toward the university norm in academic orientation and organization. Whether this is true will be determined by the intensive study of these institutions that Sir Peter Venables is conducting.

The virus, as one might have expected, has attacked the polytechnics. In announcing the "public sector" of university-level, but presumably not university-type, institutions, Secretary of State Crosland slammed the doors shut for a decade at both ends of the polytechnic sector; he foreclosed the possibility of movement at the top into the university system, and he

dashed at the bottom any hope technical colleges might entertain of becoming polytechnics. However, it did not take much time to show that slamming the door did not extinguish what Crosland called the rat race for status. If the colleges of advanced technology turned their backs on the technical college tradition, will not the polytechnics do the same? The straws in the wind foretell that course. Officials have invariably declared that the polytechnics are primarily teaching institutions, yet have reiterated that they are expected to engage in applied research. One minister said in the early stage of polytechnic development that he had urged the research councils to make grants to the polytechnics; if they do so in any great degree (which is yet to materialize), there will be increasing interest in basic rather than applied research. The rationalizations for encouraging research in the polytechnics are the usual ones: the vitality of teaching depends on participation in research; the opportunity for research is necessary for the recruitment, and especially for the retention, of able faculty members in competition with the universities. Whatever the rationalizations, polytechnics have been established as research institutions if for no other reason than that the Council for National Academic Awards registers candidates for the research degrees of M. Phil. and PhD. With such encouragement as this, and with the university model and perhaps university appointments in view, polytechnic faculties are pressing ever more strongly for time, equipment, and funding for research.

Nor was all the convergence in one direction. While the Department of Education and Science was exhorting the polytechnics to serve industry, commerce, and public administration, the University Grants Committee and the Science Research Council were pressing the universities to expand and strengthen their

relations with industry, and to offer more intensive post-graduate and post-experience courses designed specifically to meet the needs of commercial and industrial personnel. A university vice-chancellor, perhaps with forgivable bias, has declared that with the exception that polytechnics offer courses at varying levels for students with different types of ability, all the reasons given for differences between the two groups of institutions seem to him to be bogus (Carter, 1970, p. 92).

Part-time students were the casualties of the CATs' transition to university status. Perhaps for this reason the Department of Education and Science has insisted that the polytechnics welcome part-time students. Yet early in polytechnic history, it was apparent that full-time enrollment and full-time courses were expanding, and part-time students and courses were declining. The director of one of the best of the polytechnics admitted informally in October 1970 that part-time enrollment in his own institution had declined from 3,000 to 1,000. He insisted that social and economic conditions, not discouragement by the polytechnic, were responsible. One suspects, however, that faculty attitudes and the apparent preferred status of full-time students had discouraged part-time enrollment fully as much as external social factors. The Department of Education and Science probably faces a losing battle to keep polytechnic part-timers from going the way of those in the CATs. In 1970-71, only four percent of the students in first-degree courses approved by the Council for National Academic Awards (which awards degrees for completion of approved courses in the polytechnics) were part-time; the Council hoped that its rapidly increasing number of approved part-time courses would quickly change the proportion (CNAA, 1969-70, p. 14).

Still other factors favor similarity rather than divergence. Student preferences and the surplus of university and possibly polytechnic places in science and technology have accelerated polytechnic expansion in the arts and the social sciences. Of the 42 additional first-degree courses approved by the Council for National Academic Awards for 1969-70, 20 were in arts and social studies, and for 1970-71, 14 of the 46 new approvals were in these fields. In some instances, polytechnics are experimenting with arts courses in relation to journalism, radio, television, drama, and publishing; or with the relationships of technology to the quality of human life; with other interdisciplinary programs; or with the relationships between general and specialized education, some or all of which may be promising innovations. But to our knowledge the Department of Education and Science has issued no guidelines for the development of the arts and the social sciences in the polytechnics, and one fears that these subjects, too, will become more and more like those in the universities.

No studies of the similarity of courses in the universities and the polytechnics have come to our attention, but since faculty trained in the major universities tend to mold other institutions into the university pattern, the influence of university faculty as members of subject boards of the Council for National Academic Awards and as external examiners would seem to be a strong force toward convergence. Such phenomena accentuate the difficulty of differentiating functions of institutions and systems, reinforce the apparently inevitable struggle to copy prestigeful models, and emphasize the extreme difficulty of attaining parity of esteem among diversified institutions.

Differentiations of Role and Scope Required

If the analysis above is sound, that is, if the free market today is likely to be more productive of conformity than variety, coherent planning of institutions, sectors, and comprehensive systems is essential for attaining a diversified and flexible pattern of higher education.

In the United States, because of the vast dimensions of the national scene and the nature of the federal system, comprehensive planning must occur for the most part at the state level. There has been rapid growth in the last decade in the number of states with statutory agencies authorized to coordinate public (and sometimes private) institutions. The statewide statutory bodies are of two general types: First, consolidated governing boards which both govern and coordinate the institutions under them; these boards are ordinarily found in states with a relatively small number of public colleges and universities. Second, statewide coordinating boards, which do not supersede institutional or sector governing boards but serve as comprehensive planning and coordinating agencies. Increasingly, such boards have been given regulatory rather than purely advisory functions.

To attain both educational diversity and fiscal economy, most of these statewide agencies now undertake some form of role and scope assignments. "Negatively," concluded a recent analysis of statewide coordination in the United States, "such a process will discourage most institutions from aspiring to become high cost, research oriented, comprehensive state universities and will curb unnecessary duplication of educational programs. Positively, it will encourage the creation of diverse types of institutions and will stimulate the addition of new programs to meet unmet needs (Berdahl, 1971, p. 146)."

Two methods of making statewide role and scope assignments have been identified: across-the-board, and selective. The former procedure makes explicit role assignments for all institutions in each sector of higher education and assumes that all program changes will be made within such boundaries. This is the essence of the California master plan for higher education, which allocated both common and differentiated functions to three tiers of institutions—the University of California system, the state college (now the state university-state college) system (a group of multi-purpose institutions which evolved from teachers colleges), and the two-year community colleges. The Illinois pattern illustrates the selective procedure. The Illinois master plan provides for a five-sector "system of systems": two comprehensive, multi-campus universities—the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois University; a group of limited universities offering doctoral degrees only in the arts and sciences; a group of institutions limited to awarding Master's degrees; and the community colleges. The Illinois State Board of Higher Education monitors the academic development and reviews the proposed budgets of these sectors. The Illinois plan makes *planned* movement possible among these systems (with the exception of the community colleges), and new institutions may be added to any one of the sectors, each of which has its own governing board.

After watching the California system which, like the polytechnic and university sectors in Britain, assumes no movement of institutions from one group to another, the authors strongly support the principle that there should exist the possibility of changing an institution's role and scope in accordance with developing plans for higher education as a whole. It is essential, however, for the

coordinating agency which has the power to approve change of sector for a selected few institutions to be strong enough to discourage and disapprove it for the many others.

THE BRITISH SCENE: PLANNING BY THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMITTEE

Although Britain's size and unitary form of government would not preclude a comprehensive national planning agency for postsecondary education, there is at present no body which performs this function. We shall turn to this matter later; in the meantime it is relevant to ask what planning has been done by sectors.

A member of the staff of the University Grants Committee has characterized the universities as the planned autonomous sector, and the polytechnics as the unplanned public sector. It is true that the UGC today is less a buffer than a planning and coordinating agency for the universities (with the exception of the Open University and certain other degree-granting institutions). Its primary role, according to its terms of reference, is "to assist, in consultation with the universities and other bodies concerned, the preparation and execution of such plans for the development of the universities as may from time to time be required in order to insure that they are fully adequate to national needs." The functions of the UGC are formally stated less in terms of power than of guidance, but the Committee nevertheless has steadily become more directive, and in that sense regulatory. By convention rather than explicit delegation, it actually exercises more authority than nearly all the coordinating boards in the United States. For example, only the Oklahoma coordinating board and the Georgia statewide governing

board receive lump-sum legislative appropriations which they then distribute among the institutions. The UGC has this de facto power by virtue of its "advice" to the government on the distribution of funds among the universities.

Evidently, recent UGC planning has not differed greatly in style from that which has been done in some American states. A recent intensive study of planning and coordination in New York, Florida, California, and Illinois has shown that planning there has been primarily quantitative, for example, estimating the number of students to be enrolled, instead of concentrating on the issues of educational substance and quality (Palola, Lehmann & Blischke, 1970, p. 538). The UGC has been preoccupied with essentially the same features—expansion in enrollment, creation of new institutions, provision of necessary buildings, standards for plant construction and purchase of equipment, computation of unit costs, methods of controlling expenditures, and other logistical problems (Griffiths, 1969). To be sure, there have also been examples of substantive planning such as encouraging the universities to meet new or additional needs for specialized manpower identified by various commissions, furthering the development of management studies and the applied sciences, distributing high-cost fields of specialization among the universities, and encouraging educational and organizational innovations at some of the new universities. Nevertheless, the UGC, like most coordinating agencies in the United States, has paid little attention to such problems as these:

- The purposes of the university—should it be concerned primarily with the education of professionals, or are there broader personal and social values to be served?

- The kinds of students who should be enrolled, the relevant methods of selecting them, and the kinds of education appropriate for them.
- The balance and relationships between general and specialized studies.
- A comprehensive plan for the development of postgraduate studies and for numbers of postgraduate students.
- Relationships of the universities with the secondary schools, including the influence of university curricula and admission requirements on sixth-form studies.
- Relationships with other sectors of higher education.

Presumably, a diversified system of higher education requires not only a reasonable division of responsibility among the sectors, but also differentiation and distinctiveness within each segment. When he was president of the multi-campus University of California, Clark Kerr (1958) articulated the need for both unity and diversity in the University system. "Nothing could be more appalling," he said, "than the vision of ten or more University of California campuses cut from the same pattern." Yet the new and innovative campuses of the University of California have moved steadily toward the academic norms of the two largest general campuses, not primarily because of external constraints, but through inner propensities. The State Finance Department and the Chancellor's office have imposed a crippling and uniform set of detailed financial and educational controls on the California state university-state college system. Fortunately, neither the government nor the University Grants Committee has inflicted comparable controls on the British universities. Nevertheless, the UGC has attempted to mold them into a basic common pattern. It

has established uniform faculty salary scales and has imposed an upper limit on senior faculty ranks. It has recently discouraged diversity by declining to fund a substantial increase in students on the four-year course at Keele, which has been given the choice of restricting expansion in its four-year course to a total of 2,400 students by 1977, or of increasing enrollment to 3,000 by allowing some students to omit the foundation year. Of broader significance is the UGC's unwillingness deliberately to underwrite differential academic quality among the universities. Although at least some of the UGC subject committees have made efforts to augment the support of unusually promising departments, this attempt has collided with the UGC policy of treating all universities even-handedly. One of the UGC staff members said informally that although it was generally understood that Oxford and Cambridge, and perhaps Imperial College, London, were institutions of higher distinction than the rest of the universities and that there were manifest differences in academic standing and reputation among the remainder, the UGC had no intention of devising a plan in which some institutions would be developed as places of higher distinction than others. This policy has led the UGC to compress the array of unit costs among the universities, subject by subject, by moving both high-cost and low-cost departments toward the norm. There is apparently little support either in the UGC or among the vice-chancellors for the recognition or creation of "centers of excellence." Lord Annan, while admitting that there was little chance that the UGC would "make overt the distinctions between universities which everyone knows are acknowledged covertly," expressed the hope that the Committee might designate scientific departments which had a special claim for earmarked research grants as "three-star departments" (*Times Educational Supplement*, October 2, 1970). Our

impression from many interviews is that most vice-chancellors, as well as the UGC, are unalterably opposed to any overt preferential treatment. Many of the vice-chancellors, in fact, were unhappy when they learned that grants from the Science Research Council had been heavily concentrated in a small number of universities. Sir Eric Ashby (1971, p. 87) stated the principle: "The UGC finances institutions on a basis of equality: the research councils finance individual men on a basis of their quality."

It would be difficult at the moment to say whether the balance of influence by the UGC is more on the side of conformity than distinctiveness, because the block grant system permits an institution, if it chooses, to innovate in educationai programming. As we read the scale, however, there is an overwhelming need for greater *planned* differentiation in the university system. For example, our American experience suggests that since not all universities can become distinguished centers of research and postgraduate education, all institutions should not expend precious resources in trying to attain such status. Instead, the UGC might select a limited number for such eminence. While this might be preferable to uniformity at a lesser level of quality, most vice-chancellors would probably be unalterably opposed, fearing that if Oxford, Cambridge, and London became great graduate universities, they would attract the cream of postgraduate students and research faculty.

Lack of Polytechnic Planning

As noted in the first paper, the Department of Education and Science has never issued a reasonably explicit, comprehensive policy for the development of the

"public sector," principles of differentiation among the polytechnics, or guidelines for planning by individual institutions. If one needs support for this statement, he need only quote a former minister. Said Mr. Gerry Fowler (*Times Educational Supplement*, May 7, 1971), rather severely, " . . . The Department seems to make no progress at all with planning the growth of higher education over the decade. At the same time, polytechnics are required to submit building plans based upon projected increases in student numbers. With no national guidelines, such planning can produce at best only imaginative and intelligently written fiction."

One of the most unfortunate consequences of this lack of planning is that the Council for National Academic Awards has never been given a chart of polytechnic development to guide its decisions, although assessors from the Department of Education and Science sit with the Council. Apparently, the CNAA has never had the benefit of formal answers to such questions as these: How comprehensive should the polytechnics become? What general curricular patterns would be appropriate? What advanced degrees should be awarded? What is an acceptable range of ability for admission to degree courses and to part-time courses? Should the traditional English pattern of equivalency of degrees be followed?

On all these matters the Council for National Academic Awards must act without clear guidelines from the Department of Education and Science. Furthermore, the Council has not formulated a comprehensive educational policy of its own; at any rate, to our knowledge, no such policy has been published. It is not surprising, therefore, that an informed observer has characterized the decisions of the CNAA as "pure ad hoc-ery". However ad

hoc these decisions may be, they are giving what may turn out to be an irrevocable cast to the polytechnics.

It is possible, of course, to take the position that without systematic central planning the polytechnics are free to develop into a new mass system of higher education. Burgess (1971) has declared that polytechnics should free themselves "from the assumptions underlying what is satirically called the planning process," which, he says, has been mainly to project the demand for higher education. However, he himself admits that "muddle and misunderstanding are inexorably driving the polytechnics into an imitation of the universities." Whether, given the decisions already made by the CNAA, and the trend toward university norms noted above, it is possible now by the best of planning to turn the polytechnics into a comprehensive system of mass higher education is questionable.

In the meantime, the colleges of education are in limbo. There is a growing belief that they cannot be indefinitely justified as single purpose or "monotechnic" institutions. Some of the possibilities for future development have been listed by the Higher Education Policy Group (1971). The colleges might give greater emphasis to the arts and sciences, as did the expanding teachers colleges in the United States. Their scope might be broadened to include professional courses in the social services, and perhaps in still other occupational fields. Organizationally, some of the larger and better colleges could be chartered as degree-granting institutions, or degrees could be awarded by the CNAA. Others could be affiliated, federated, or integrated with polytechnics or universities. These alternative forms of developmen. were outlined in the recent report of the James Committee on

the Education and Training of Teachers. Except for independent degree-granting status, these proposals have been recently accepted by the government (Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1972).

What exists at the moment, then, is a university sector with increasing UGC coordination and direction, but insufficient internal differentiation; a polytechnic sector with no clear rationale or guidelines for development; a large number of colleges of education with an uncertain fate; an Open University with significant ramifications for the other sectors; and no formal means of comprehensive planning or coordination for higher education as a whole.

Alternative Methods of Coordination

Sir Peter Venables has made a forceful case for unified planning of a comprehensive system of higher education by pointing out the necessity for resolving such disparities as these: the granting of degree-awarding powers to a non-university body and to non-university institutions; the financing of these institutions and of the Open University by direct grant from the Department of Education and Science rather than the University Grants Committee, so far as the state is concerned; the inevitability of over-lapping functions among the parts of the system; and disparate conditions of government, administration, and conditions of service throughout the range of institutions. These factors, according to Sir Peter (1971b), require a unified system of administration. What he means by "unified administration" is not entirely clear, but presumably it would ultimately involve planning and coordination of the whole of higher education.

Several proposals have been made for organizing higher education, but they may be grouped into a small number by disregarding the many variations in which they are couched. One proposal is to place the polytechnics and the universities under a single agency which would perform for all these institutions the functions the University Grants Committee now exercises for the universities alone. If at least some of the colleges of education became degree-granting institutions in their own right, they, too, could be placed under the aegis of this committee.[1] However, such a monolithic system does not commend itself to us. The University Grants Committee has had increasing difficulty in managing the number of institutions it now encompasses. A "colossal" education grants committee, Halsey (1969) has pointed out, could not be effectively managed by part-time dons (who presently make up a majority of the membership of the UCG) and power would inevitably gravitate to full-time officials, which in fact, is already the trend in the UGC. An erstwhile vice-chancellor and former member of the UGC agreed with the full-time academic officer who administers the bulk of the UGC grants in his institution that the universities no longer deal with the academic members of the Committee, or with the full Committee, but with a large bureaucracy composed for the most part of civil servants. This is likely to be increasingly true even if the number of institutions under the UGC does not increase materially; the influence of the professional staff would multiply many-fold if a large number of institutions were added. The task of coordinating 75, 100, or more institutions would almost certainly lead to increasingly rigid control—a trend already evident in the

[1] Presumably an inclusive grants committee would have to give greater attention than has the UGC to differentiating the institutions unless all of them were molded into a general university pattern.

UGC. Carter's (1969) comment on the viability of a national council representing all aspects of higher education is apropros: "This is a very complex system containing institutions of very varied kinds and it seems to me the sort of body which would either tend to be unrepresentative or tend to be so large as to be unworkable."

There is no real counterpart in the United States to a comprehensive postsecondary grants committee encompassing 75 or 100 institutions, and exercising as high a degree of direct control over them as the UGC now does over the universities. A partial analogy may be found in New York. The New York Board of Regents is the general planning agency for all education, including both public and private higher education, in the state. However, its coordinating authority over public higher education was largely unexercised until 1961, when new legislation required it to issue an updated master plan for higher education every four years. The Regents have been severely criticized for failure to provide adequate leadership for higher education. Furthermore, they have never been given budgetary authority over public institutions comparable to that exercised by the University Grants Committee. The Board of Trustees of the State University of New York, which was created in 1947, is the governing body, and thus the coordinating agency, for all public institutions of higher education outside New York City—four university centers, twelve colleges of arts and sciences, two medical schools, two specialized educational centers, and six agricultural and technical colleges. In addition, the State University shares authority over five "contract colleges" affiliated with private institutions, and administers thirty-four community colleges jointly with local district boards. In spite of the fact that the University encom-

passes all these institutions, it has not made an exemplary record as a planning and coordinating agency.

In California both an educational consulting firm and the staff of a legislative committee have proposed that the system of governance and coordination should be revised by incorporating all public institutions under a single governing board, much on the model of the State University of New York. It has been said that this solution would represent a kind of overkill. Many of those familiar with the history of the monolithic State University of New York would probably agree.

A second proposal for rationalizing British higher education is to establish comprehensive universities on a regional scale. One variant of this proposal is to merge all institutions of higher education in an area into new, comprehensive centers of higher education--"polyversities," offering a wide range of courses for students of diverse interests and abilities and encompassing both research and teaching functions. Carter (1971a), however, believes that comprehensive universities cannot be organized like comprehensive schools because the elements included would be too varied and extensive to be manageable in one institution. He proposes instead a federation of institutions which might consist of a university, a polytechnic, one or more colleges of education, and perhaps ultimately, some junior colleges. He believes that the necessary coordination of policy could not be attained under divided control, or by giving the university final authority over the other institutions in the federation. Therefore, he goes so far as to suggest that the charters of universities should be revoked and replaced by new charters appropriate to the government of a cluster of cooperating institutions. Each federation, of which there

might be 40 or 50 in Britain, would receive a grant from a central inclusive higher education grants committee.

The same general plan has been proposed for reorganizing the tripartite system of higher education in California. There, the regional clusters would include one or more campuses of the University of California, one or more nearby state colleges, and all the public community colleges in the area. The proponents of this plan believe that it would foster the dispersion of the curricula which should be widely available throughout the region, the allocation of highly specialized programs among the campuses, open access to the system, and ease of transfer from one institution or one educational program to another in the same region in accordance with students' abilities, attainments, and interests. Presumably, Carter would expect his comprehensive federated institutions to provide comparable flexibility.

Doubting that parity of esteem can be attained in a divided system of higher education, Carter wants highly diversified federations, each part of which would enjoy the respect of all the other parts. But the fact of federation will not guarantee esteem to all the constituents. Carter (1970, p. 93) has acknowledged that there must be "high-research" and "low-research" institutions, "and the acute (indeed, almost insoluble) problem will be to curb our tiresome tendency to put these in classes as 'superior' and 'inferior'." His fear is well-founded. Experience in the United States indicates that constellations of the sort he proposes do not insure effective differentiation. Among the institutions involved, there is almost inevitable pressure for equal salaries (for example, the collective bargaining agreement for the City University of New York provides a uniform salary scale for

faculty members in the two-year community colleges ar the four-year and graduate institutions in the system, equal teaching loads, and freedom of time and support for research. Problems of hierarchy and parity of esteem still exist. Furthermore, although proponents of regional institutions seem to believe that federation will solve state or national problems of differentiation and coordination, no such easy solution is in prospect. In a large state like California or in a small nation like Britain, each regional university may be expected to press for the full range of professional schools and the full scope of graduate studies. Until the current period of financial austerity and a downward revision of enrollment predictions forced reconsideration of plans for the development of graduate education, each new campus of the University of California planned to establish nearly all of the advanced fields of specialized study offered at the two largest campuses in the system. Each regional university or federation would have the same ambition, which would make comprehensive planning essential. Surely, a central higher education grants committee in Britain could not distribute funds to regional comprehensive universities/federations apart from a systematic national plan for their development and a continuing review of the faithfulness of each one to an agreed upon design.[2]

A third proposal is to create one or more grants committees to stand alongside the University Grants Committee. Presumably the first new body would be a polytechnic grants committee, or even more broadly, an

[2] Although federations may not solve the problems of coordination and differentiation, some kind of regional planning for the development of British higher education may be developed in the future.

advanced further education development committee, whose "duties would begin with academic planning and end with financial control, and not vice versa, as some in the local authorities seem to wish." Only long-term planning by such a grants committee, said Fowler (1971), could bring order out of the ramshackle polytechnic course approvals involving many agencies. Apparently, the Department of Education and Science is moving cautiously toward a polytechnic grants committee. Two of the principal members of the DES staff said informally that they strongly favor the creation of a polytechnic grants committee which would be not just an advisory body, but one "with teeth." One of these officials held meetings with five associations of local authorities in an attempt to persuade them to surrender enough control over their local institutions to make a polytechnic grants committee viable. This grants committee, said the staff member, should include some representatives of local education authorities, academics from the polytechnics, and university delegates or representatives of the UGC. The local authority associations, however, opposed the creation of a polytechnic grants committee and for the time being the proposal has been put aside, but is certain to be raised again.

There is by no means unanimous support among the polytechnics themselves for such a committee. One of the leaders among the polytechnic directors was unenthusiastic when asked about the need for it. He said that if the local education authority had to surrender control of financial expenditures to a central body, the former would retain little real interest in the polytechnic's development. He admitted, however, that the present polytechnic system is essentially unplanned, and that in a period of financial contraction the system might break down for lack of

clear-cut lines of development. One suspects that other directors of polytechnics which enjoy generous financial support and a reasonable degree of freedom of action from local education authorities will be equally unenthusiastic about the creation of a polytechnic grants committee. Some of them, no doubt, are yearning to join the university club. The polytechnic director quoted here declared that as time goes on, the likeness between certain polytechnics and the universities will become so great that it would be appropriate for them to move into the university sector. At such time, he said, these polytechnics should be chartered to award their own degrees.

This director administered the polytechnic referred to earlier in which the number of part-time students had decreased from 3,000 to 1,000. This change in character, coupled with aspirations for university status or something comparable to it, suggests that only a planning and coordinating committee, such as a polytechnic grants committee, has any chance of maintaining a sector of higher education with different values, different students, and different educational programs from those of the universities. Such a body surely must ultimately be established for the polytechnics or the whole of further education.

Planning British Higher Education As A Whole

Planning and coordination by sectors will still not assure the development of a comprehensive, diversified, reasonably economical higher education system in face of inherent tendencies toward imitation, convergence, and conformity. It is for this reason that a higher education commission has been proposed, with responsibility for planning the whole of higher education and for designing

differentiated, but also interrelated, systems of institutions, with grants committees for the several sectors functioning under it.[3] Presumably, such a commission would determine the purposes of the system; define the functions of the sectors and their interrelationships; and make a continuing review of the integrity and effectiveness with which the sectors discharged their designated missions. The commission would advise the government on the number of students to be served by each sector, and the total expenditures required. After the government had made the basic decisions on these matters, the commission would make the final apportionment of students and grants among the sectors; each sector would then be coordinated by its own grants committee. The relationships between each grants committee and its constituent institutions would be essentially those that now obtain between the University Grants Committee and the universities.

Burgess (1971) has proposed that university enrollment should be limited to 250,000 by 1980 rather than expanded to 400,000 and that with the money saved an extra 700,000 places should be created in part-time vocational courses in technical colleges. Whether or not such a proposal is adopted, the issues involved are among the most significant ones which a commission coordinating the sectors of higher education should consider.

Apparently, however, there is at present no widespread support for a planning and coordinating

[3]The final array of sectors and corresponding grants committees may not be clearly anticipated at the present time; there might easily be three or four rather than two. The final arrangement would be influenced by many factors, including the reorganization of local government.

commission for the whole of higher education such as sketched immediately above.[4] Staff members at the Department of Education and Science with whom the matter was discussed saw no prospect that a top-level body coordinating grants committees would be established in the foreseeable future. One of them declared flatly that such an agency would be undesirable in principle because it would be so powerful that nearly everyone would fear its control. There is a real advantage, he said, in dividing the power; the likelihood of undesirable governmental intervention would be greater with a higher education commission than under a system in which parallel grants committees dealt directly with the Department of Education and Science. But the reverse may be equally possible; divided responsibility might leave effective power in the government's hand. Those who fear central planning—or dictation—insist that all the coordination necessary for the foreseeable future can be accomplished by informal consultation, regular liaison between the Association of Polytechnic Directors and the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and between the grants committees, and voluntary cooperation among adjacent institutions. Although he declared that "everything points to the need for a unified system of administration," Sir Peter Venables (1971c) recommended that the UGC and a parallel grants committee for the polytechnics and the colleges of education would be the best form of operation for three quinquennial periods; only then would it be

[4] Nevertheless, the Expenditure Committee of Parliament has recently proposed a Higher Education Commission for advising the minister on the administration and financing of the whole of higher education, doing for the universities, the polytechnics, the colleges of education, and advanced further education what the University Grants Committee now does for the universities alone.

feasible to bring all the bodies under a central coordinating commission. We respect the British propensity for gradualism, but we would ask whether after fifteen years it would not be too late to design a mass system of higher education sufficiently diversified and interrelated to serve the needs of a large proportion of youth and adults.

The American counterpart to a higher education commission above the basic grants committees is the statewide coordinating board. A recent survey of statewide coordination in the United States (Berdahl, 1971, p. 241) showed that the trend in states with a large number of public colleges and universities has been to "a system of systems," coordinated by what has sometimes been forbiddingly called a "superboard." As noted above, one of the most effective of these coordinating agencies is the Board of Higher Education in Illinois, which coordinates five multi-campus systems, each with its own governing board. By statute, the Board of Higher Education is directed to prepare a master plan for the development of public higher education in the state. Recent studies have concluded that the Illinois Board has done the most effective planning of any state coordinating agency. In the implementation of the statewide plan the Board has the power to approve or disapprove any new unit of instruction, research, or public service, and to review the educational and economic justification of all existing programs. It has the authority to set minimum admission standards for the several sectors. The Board also is required to review the budgets proposed by the several governing boards, and to submit to the General Assembly and the Governor its recommendations concerning appropriations for current operation and capital outlay. (The appropriations are made directly to the several governing

boards.) These are very considerable powers, but they are exercised after consultation with advisory committees and task forces composed of university presidents and faculty members, representatives of many organizations, and citizens at large. An analysis of coordination in four states including Illinois (Palola et al., 1970, p. 540) concluded that, on the whole, the autonomy and the performance of colleges and universities have improved as a result of statewide planning and coordination during the period of massive expansion in higher education.

The alternative to the creation of a British top-level coordinating body would be to depend on the Department of Education and Science for central planning and coordination, but, as pointed out early in this paper, the history is not encouraging. Members of the ministry themselves concede that the Department has yet to put together a coherent pattern for the whole of higher education. If the Department were charged with this responsibility, and if it then organized for the task and proceeded vigorously, a higher education commission might not be necessary, although many would no doubt believe that there should be an intermediary body between the DES and the sectors to serve as some kind of buffer. At a minimum, the Department would need some body representing both educational institutions and the public for continuing consultation on national plans and priorities.

Unless some agency is charged explicitly with the task of comprehensive planning and coordination, unguided development will create ever more unmanageable problems of financial support; uneconomic use of resources; duplication of functions; movement toward common norms; and failure to adapt higher institutions to changing social, economic, and cultural conditions.

Admittedly, central planning and coordination have their own dangers--they could stifle initiative, discourage innovation, and impose rigid and uniform controls. Two commitments might go far to avoid these hazards: to keep all plans under continuous evaluation and revision, and to open the doors, hoping not thereby to release the floodgates, to *planned movement* of selected institutions from one sector to another.

Sir Eric Ashby (1971, p. 102) has observed that America's primary educational task is to devise a coexistence of mass and elite patterns of higher education. To put it somewhat differently, America's problem is to adapt its institutions to the full range of backgrounds, abilities, and interests of students, with standards appropriate to each kind and each level of higher education, and to assure every person, whatever his social background and economic resources, the opportunity to reach the highest educational levels for which he is fitted. Has not this also become Britain's challenge? Is it too optimistic for Burgess and Pratt (1970b) to say that "we are now able to plan the accommodation of future numbers of students, the future balance of work between the sectors, the future types of course and the future academic communities, entirely free from the suppositions of the past"?

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