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ABSTRACT

This document is composed of two studies. The first examines the education of teachers in Germany, Sweden, England and Wales, and Denmark. It looks at the history of teacher education in those countries, focusing on (1) the fact that primary school teachers have tended to be women trained in inferior normal or teacher training schools, and (b) that secondary teachers have tended to be "educated" at universities in rigorous disciplines. The author states that teaching needs to become increasingly professionalized, that the role of the teacher has become extremely complex, and that the separation of teacher training from serious academic preparation has been harmful to the profession. The relations between teacher training institutions, schools of education, and universities in the above-mentioned countries are also analyzed and critiques are offered. The second study is of U.S. and Canadian institutions concerned with teacher preparation. As in the first study, related historical and cultural issues are examined. Issues studied in this connection include accreditation and certification, state and province relationship to education, and community demands. This study also contains numerous tables and statistics. The first study is followed by references, the second by a bibliography. (CD)

INSTITUTIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR TEACHER TRAINING

ISSUES AND NEW TRENDS IN SOME EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND IN NORTH AMERICA

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
PARIS 1975

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PREFACE

Within the framework of the programme of work of the Education Committee, the OECD has over the last few years undertaken an analysis of various aspects of teacher policies in primary and secondary education.

Teacher education, in relation to new patterns of teacher tasks, is central to the problems which confront Member countries in the evolution of teachers' roles. These problems were analysed in an earlier OECD publication : The Teacher and Educational Change - A New Role.

Work and discussions among experts have led to a series of preliminary conclusions concerning trends in this area which have been summarized in a report on : "Initial and continuing training of teachers - New trends and concepts", published in a volume entitled : New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks - General Analyses. This analysis was based on a number of case-studies of innovations in Member countries, undertaken in response to some of the key questions in the future development of the teaching profession.

The interest shown in these analyses has encouraged the Secretariat to publish supporting material in a first series of volumes under the general heading of : New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks. These volumes put together country studies dealing with these problems as well as studies which deal with the more general aspects of training policies and professional support.

A second series of documents, published by the Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education, and to which the present volume belongs, makes available additional studies of trends in teacher training policies in individual OECD countries or groups of countries.

I

UNIVERSITIES AND TEACHERS' COLLEGES
A STUDY OF CHANGING RELATIONSHIPS
IN SOME EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

by

Boris Ford
Director
College and Further Professional Studies
School of Education
University of Bristol
(United Kingdom)

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Summary

The main objective of this study is to examine and evaluate the ways in which the relationships between teachers' colleges and universities are changing in four European countries: Germany, Sweden, England and Wales, and Denmark. These countries were selected because of the contrast they reveal in the direction of change between these institutions, and in the philosophies and politics governing these changes.

The first task has been to establish, historically, why the teachers' colleges and universities grew up in virtual isolation from each other, which means asking why it was and, in many places, still is thought appropriate that primary teachers should be trained in single-professional colleges , and secondary teachers should be educated and sometimes trained in universities. The answers to this question are quite complex; they have almost nothing to do with educational theory and almost everything to do with the social problems of providing the essential minimum of utilitarian education for the working masses. The divided system of training went along with a divided profession, and it led to teachers' colleges being small, isolated, academically modest, maternal, and often one-sex institutions.

The study goes on to examine why it is that, since the Second World War, this sharply divided system has seemed increasingly anachronistic. The restructuring of school systems on comprehensive lines, the changed social recruitment to teaching, the new and enlarged task of the teacher, and the professionalisation of teaching, are some of the main factors which have led to the general acceptance t at teachers' education and training is a task for higher education and that universities need to concern themselves with the whole span of school teaching. It is as a result of these and of more specifically social political pressures that proposals have come forward for the creation of comprehensive universities, or for the establishment of federal links between institutions.

The main body of the study concentrates on these changing relationships in four European countries, and it is particularly concerned to evaluate the educational-pedagogic implications of the various programmes of reorganisation. As far as teachers are concerned, the following have been taken as premises:

(i) that teachers have to be educated as professionals, for a somewhat new and very exacting role and for a differentiation of functions;

(ii) that the separation of training in colleges, of education in universities, and of seminars outside both, is <u>divisive</u> of the profession of teaching;

(iii) that the teachers' "new role" implies integration of studies, openness of approach, and experimental methods;

(iv) that smaller specialist institutions are necessarily dependent intellectually on larger centres of study and research;

(v) that quality of teaching may be related to the size and complexity of the institution in which education and training takes place.

How far, the study asks, do the new institutional patterns of teacher education bear out these premises, either explicitly or as a by-product of the pursuit of other objectives that may have little to do with the needs of teaching?

The analysis of the information gathered from four countries confirms that there is a malaise about teacher education and that this stems from:

- the isolation of teacher-students and their staff
- the monotechnic character of the colleges and departments
- the need to upgrade the professional courses
- the lack of serious integration of theory and practice
- the paucity of pedagogic research.

All these factors relate, in varying degrees, to the changing relations between the two systems of teacher education; and they also reveal the extent to which the colleges and the universities are not only establishing links but are developing in complementary and even contradictory ways. The planning mechanisms of higher education to which the two systems are subject do not appear, very often, to be asking the right questions at the right time. It may be that the various institutional developments taking place in Europe, which can be described as fusion, federation, co-operation and independence, go some way to meeting some of the five main categories of problem identified above, but they mostly fail to perceive the specific needs of teacher education or of the teacher to master his new role.

Upon analysis, the central questions left unresolved by the various schemes of reorganisation are:

(i) Size: the absorption, in some countries, of teachers' colleges into vast comprehensive institutions creates a number of problems, most notably to do with the divorce between research and undergraduate teaching, with the autonomy of departments, and with the loss of contacts with schools;

(ii) Integration of studies: the assimilation of the colleges to the university pattern of study means substituting a sequential for a concurrent and integrated pattern of studies, and the teachers' training seminar remains a separate institution on the continent;

(iii) Professional orientation of higher education: in some countries, the organisation of higher education into professional sectors seems to contradict the trend, elsewhere thought desirable, towards later choice; and also it militates against inter-professional studies for the social and helping professions;

(iv) Academic life of staff: the problem of recreating the academic community, of establishing a network of meaningful academic, professional and research relationships, in the contemporary setting seems to be going by default.

Finally, the study identified a number of developments which, in the author's opinion, deserve closer attention because of the potential they carry:

(i) The English institutes of education and the B.Ed: this experiment in inter-institutional collaboration has helped to upgrade the colleges, while allowing them to retain their academic independence.

(ii) The Danish Royal School and Sweden's major colleges: these colleges represent a concentration of resources which can serve as a reservoir for smaller colleges.

(iii) Colleges of Education: for all their former limitations, it would seem premature to destroy the colleges; but they need to be linked with universities at many levels.

(iv) Higher Education and the schools: there is a growing recognition that innovation and development in the schools depend on the degree to which the colleges and education departments of universities become a source of innovative ideas and of curriculum experiment in conjunction with neighbouring schools.

Introduction

As the UNESCO Faure Committee noted in their report Learning to be, education has become a major industry since the war, and the business of educating and training teachers has developed correspondingly. Of course, the sheer number of teachers to be trained has multiplied enormously. But the development has not simply been numerical, it has above all involved a radical change in the concept of what it means to educate a teacher, and this in turn depends on changing ideas about the role of the teacher. Very many agencies, and notably OECD, have sponsored conferences, discussions, papers and full-length studies on the education and training of the new teacher.

What, then, of the institutions in which teachers are educated and trained, the education departments of universities and the teachers' colleges? How have they fared during this period of dramatic expansion of teacher numbers? And how have they fared in relation to each other? This second question provides the main theme of this Report. For one of the most interesting features of teacher education and training has been the deep theoretical and thus institutional division within its structure. Broadly speaking teachers in higher education and in the upper echelons of secondary education have been educated in universities, while other teachers have been trained in colleges. This division has reflected deep social divisions within educational systems, and it has been strengthened and sanctified by an elaborate paraphanalia of rationalisation and snobbery. During the years since the second world war this pattern has come under considerable pressure, with the result that universities have, in some countries, accepted a much wider range of professional preoccupations and even responsibilities, while the colleges have developed serious academic pretensions.

The result of these parallel processes has led to a redefinition of the relations between universities and colleges; or rather, in many countries, to these separate institutions defining their relations to each other for the first time; or perhaps, to be even more exact, to these institutions having their relations to each other defined for them. The greater part of the history of teachers' colleges is one of isolation: their job having been to carry out a comparatively utilitarian task for students of modest academic calibre. This task had nothing to do with the lofty academic purposes of universities. But as the teacher's role became visibly more and more complex and burdensome, and as the disciplines that underlay his training became correspondingly more demanding academically, so the distinction between training and education became less easy to sustain, and some of the indifference of the universities towards the colleges began to give place to an uneasy concern. In the U.S.A. the teachers' colleges were drawn onto the campuses of universities; in England they retained their independence but were placed under the supervision of the universities; in Denmark, the Royal College attained something of the prestige

and character of a university institution; while in Sweden and Germany, the colleges are being absorbed into the larger comprehensive university structures which are being instituted.

These developments are, in many instances, the outcome of large-scale institutional planning, prompted by political or at least by educational-political considerations. The debate has been conducted in terms of privilege and prestige and equal opportunity, in terms of providing a more general education and deferring vocational commitment, and also in terms of critical mass and the economies of scale. It would be possible to evaluate the character of higher education in the western hemisphere and of its transformation in these terms.

Some of the main concepts and propositions upon which the emergence of the "new" teacher may be thought to rest, and which are examined in the course of this Report, are these:

- the academic community, including the relations between differing kinds of specialists in academic and professional education;
- the comprehensive university or centre, integrated or co-operative models, and questions of size;
- the academic dependence of the professional institution, including the relation between teaching, study and research;
- the integrated curriculum for professional studies, and the question of concurrent or consecutive studies.

More particular themes and questions which then invite analysis and discussion are:

- What are the intellectual and academic needs of the institutions concerned with teacher education and training, and what are the needs of their staffs? How are these needs supplied?
- For instance, how far can the staff of a college meet the enormously varied demands which training the "new" teacher presupposes, and how far can they do so out of their own resources?
- Whence do the mathematician or psychologist or philosopher, for instance, in a smallish college derive their intellectual and academic and professional sustenance? Through what contacts and reinforcement, through what professional intercourse? How far can they engage in research; and how do they, and how does their whole college, keep closely in touch with research developments, with the shifting frontiers and boundaries of knowledge?

- How far do they, on their own, succeed in relating the theoretical and academic with the practical, a question which might, on one interpretation, be redefined as mediating between the world of the university and the world of the school?

Professional and academic questions of this kind are asked less often than institutional and organisational ones. Being somewhat intangible, at least being not easily susceptible to statistical analysis, they tend to be of limited appeal to economists and sociologists and social-engineers, and to politicians. Consequently it may be that the comprehensive university, for instance, will solve some social problems and compound some academic ones. At least the question is worth putting.

The first part of this Report offers an account, necessarily a very abbreviated account, of the emergence of teachers' colleges and of their isolation from universities: a study, for the most part, of mediocrity and parochialism. A large part of the historical evidence has been drawn from English sources, mainly because these sources are unusually rich and also because very little of the continental literature is available in translation. This is followed by an examination of the ways in which the role of the teacher has been reconceived during the past half century and, as a result, the training of teachers has been emancipated. As its status and standards have been raised, and as the colleges have been elevated from institutions of residual secondary education into institutions of higher education, so their explicit relationship to universities becomes the major theme to be examined. The treatment of this theme which is offered here is neither definitive nor exhaustive: it might best be described, perhaps, as suggestive. It stems from some ten years' experience of teacher education in universities and colleges in England, together with visits and conversations in West Germany, Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden. There then follow four case studies of the changing relations between universities and colleges in West Germany, Sweden, England and Wales, and Denmark; and there is a final chapter which analyses and evaluates this body of evidence.

Thus the Report is designed to stimulate and guide discussion on a range of conceptual questions concerning the future shape of teacher education and training and the academic relations between the two. Among the most important and perplexing questions in higher education is the academic basis of professionalism and of professional commitment. It would be a pardonable simplification to say that the progressive philosophy of the time seeks to create whole men and women by means of integrated curricula in open and community-oriented schools. How far, then, do the current and prospective arrangements for educating and training teachers seem likely to produce whole, integrated, and community-oriented teachers or teachers of teachers?

CHAPTER I

The Traditional Structures of Teacher Training

1. A divided profession

The potted history of the training of teachers is a story of default and expediency and, until quite recent times, of calculated mediocrity. This is not to say anything so absurd, of course, as that there have been no great and charismatic teachers since Socrates, or that no-one was "well taught" until the twentieth century. Rather it is to suggest that the relationship between training and the quality of classroom performance has always been problematic, and that, in consequence, the institutionalisation of teacher training and education has proceeded on pretty haphazard and ill-tested principles. The assumption that education was acquired by bringing pupils into contact with educated minds, functioning largely on their own either as tutors in grand houses or as masters in individual classrooms, was modified, or perhaps one should say was augmented, over the centuries by the complementary theories that the pupil should be permitted to gather up his education as freely and spontaneously as possible from all that lay around him, and that what lay around him should be carefully moulded into an educational environment. In any event, teachers were educated on broad principles and within a range of disciplines that were thought equally appropriate to the education of other clerics and professional men, and the natural setting for such an education was the university. The sophistication of the teaching process and its establishment on a would-be scientific basis has not succeeded in displacing this earlier philosophy, which still provides virtually the sole method of "training" the university teacher and the major method of "training" the grammar* school teacher. And there are few grounds for supposing that civilisation would have risen more rapidly or fallen less abruptly if these groups of élite teachers had been trained more calculatedly or provided with a more elaborate technical expertise.

For lesser breeds, lesser institutions were invented. As the industrial revolution gathered momentum, and as the urban population multiplied and the franchise was extended first to most men and then to women, elementary education had to be publicly provided and large numbers of teachers

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* Throughout this paper, educational terminology will be used in a broadly descriptive way, without attempting on every occasion to provide a comprehensive set of international equivalents. Thus a "grammar" school is commonly understood today to be one which provides secondary education for a selected minority.

trained. Clearly the ranks of these elementary teachers could not be filled by gentlemen amateurs from the universities, and not simply because there were too few of them, but because they knew too much and had too many ideas. The teachers for the elementary schools should be modest people mainly of working class origin, who could be counted on to provide little beyond a basic learning and a few simple skills, and who might be able to instil and maintain discipline among children who mostly came from wretched and overcrowded homes. In the eighteenth century, the majority of teachers in the Middle Atlantic region of the U.S.A.:

> "...had come into Philadelphia or Baltimore from England as indentured servants to be sold to the highest bidder. Significantly, a school teacher did not bring as high a price as a shoemaker, a cooper, a mason, a carpenter or a barber." (1)*

A century later, the prestige of the teacher was, in many European countries, not very different, except that he no longer began life as a servant. But many of the characteristics and problems of teaching as a profession and of teacher training derive from the humble working-class origins of the state teacher in the nineteenth century.

From country to country various methods were devised to train these teachers, but the spirit in which the task was undertaken is well documented in Britain. The monitorial schools of the early nineteenth century, for instance, were an ingenious way of contriving that teaching could be done by the young and ill-qualified; and they were replaced by the pupil-teacher system under which a pupil was apprenticed at 13 for five years. This scheme was introduced by Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary to the Privy Council for Education, and he was clear about its social purposes:

> "...he considered the elementary school teacher as a 'missionary amongst the poor'. He did not wish elementary school teachers to rise above themselves and was concerned that they should bear in mind the inherent dangers in 'over-educating' the working classes. For both reasons, Kay-Shuttleworth was only interested in providing a scale of pay equivalent to that of an artisan and was inclined to think of training for teaching in terms of a craft apprenticeship rather than as preparation for a profession." (2)

Matthew Arnold was blunt in his comments on this pupil-teacher system:

> "It is sufficient to say that the plan which these objectors recommended, the plan of employing teachers whose attainments do not rise far above the level of the attainments of their scholars, has already been tried. It has tried and it has failed. Its fruits

* Figures in brakets refer to References.

> were to be seen in the condition of elementary education throughout England until a very recent period. It is now sufficiently clear that the teacher to whom you give only a drudge's training, will do only a drudge's work, and will do it in a drudge's spirit." (3)

It was out of this system that grew, in England, the training college or normal school, to which a certain number of pupil-teachers were sent for a two-year course. The English, like the early German and Swedish, training colleges were initially run by the voluntary bodies (or religious orders) and not by the State, and Kay-Shuttleworth obtained government grants for them. These products, the elementary school teachers, were to be inspired, he said, by "Christian charity" and to undertake "serious duties in a humble sphere"; though he also noted, as if to underline their humbleness, that the young people were mostly entered for the colleges and the profession of teaching not because of any "peculiar fitness for this vocation" but because they lacked "qualifications for any other". (4) In Germany instruction in the elementary schools was often given by people who worked their way up, through teaching of a kind, from lowly positions like school helpers, former soldiers, sacristans (or vergers), or people with an interrupted school or university education. Robert Lowe, the Vice-President of the Education Department, who coined the famous phrase "we must educate our masters", enlarged on this deferential view of elementary teaching in a pamphlet published in 1867:

> "I do not think it is any part of the duty of the Government to prescribe what people should learn, except in the case of the poor, where time is so limited that we must fix upon a few elementary subjects to get anything done at all... The lower classes ought to be educated to discharge the duties cast upon them. They should also be educated that they may appreciate and defer to a higher cultivation when they meet it, and the higher classes ought to be educated in a very different manner in order that they may exhibit to the lower classes that higher education to which, if it were shown to them, they would bow down and defer." (5)

What these "duties" were which the lesser classes had "cast upon them" (whether by God or man) had been succinctly described by Kay-Shuttleworth:

> "In every English proprietor's domain there ought to be, as in many there are, school houses with well trained masters, competent and zealous to rear the population in obedience to the laws, in submission to their superiors, and to fit them to strengthen the institutions of their country by their domestic virtues, their sobriety, their industry and forethought." (6)

Well might the Department claim that "the profession is open to the child of any common labourer or common working man upon no harder terms than forgoing higher wages and submitting to a great deal of moral restraint between the twelfth and the twenty-first year". (7) His wages, at this date, were estimated to be rather less than a policeman's and rather more than a curate's, ranging, according to the region of the country, from about £65 to £132 per year - teachers in Roman Catholic schools received only £60. Moreover, as the Newcastle Commissioners put it: "He reaches in early life a table land, and may tread it till he dies". It was hardly surprising, therefore, that "Men were generally made schoolmasters because they were unfit for anything else", to quote from a Member of Parliament speaking in 1847; or that Lord Macaulay, speaking in the same debate, could say that schoolmasters are "the refuse of all other callings ... to whom no gentleman would entrust the key of his cellar". (8) And very many years later Bernard Shaw could still utter his witticism that "He who can does: he who cannot teaches".

None the less, the picture was slowly changing. In the emerging industrial centres of Europe, a rapidly expanding urban proletariat and the growing number of clerks and accountants, coupled with the steady enlargement of the franchise, combined to give elementary education a utilitarian justification and eventual respectability. The need to educate "our Masters" was becoming imperative, and by 1870 Forster, Vice President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in England, could tell the House of Commons: "Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity". The Elementary Education Act of that year established something like a national system, albeit a mixed system, of elementary schools, mixed in that it added new rate-assisted secular board schools to the existing ones which were supported by the voluntary religious societies. The effect of this change on the status of the school teacher has been well analysed by John Hurt in his excellent book Education in Evolution:

> "For as long as the elementary schoolmaster was unable to shake off the legacy of the past, his social, economic, and professional status remained incongruous. The passing of the Education Act, 1870, gave him a new confidence. He no longer needed to depend for part of his income on the generosity of his social superiors, nor did he have to endure a master-servant relationship with the incumbent. He could go and work for that institutionalized employer, the school board. For these reasons it is no coincidence that the National Union of Elementary Teachers (NUET), the first effective national non-donominational teachers' organization, was founded in 1870.

> With the development of higher grade schools, which was accompanied by the growth of opportunities for promotion to well-paid posts in large schools that were controlled by the rate-assisted school boards, the schoolmaster's status rose and with it his self-confidence. In 1889, the N.U.E.T. emancipated itself from its working-class stigma and became the N.U.T. The wider world outside the classroom accepted the schoolmaster's new self-evaluation." (9)

English snobbery is of a particular flavour, of course, but essentially what was happening in England happened elsewhere, with the evolution of two distinct systems of teacher training. In Germany, for instance, the separation of the two dates from the end of the seventeenth century with the foundation by August Harmann Francke of separate seminars for the training of elementary and grammar school teachers. Under the influence of Pestalozzi, the number of seminars for primary teachers was rapidly increased in the German Länder - in Prussia, for instance, the number increased from 14 to 38 between 1808 and 1840.. Normally these seminars were linked with model schools. In France, the Napoleonic structure created Ecoles Normales to prepare elementary teachers (or Instituteurs) and Ecoles normales Supérieures for higher secondary teachers (or Professeurs), and the latter establishments became supérieures in all senses of the term, above all academically. The "superior" secondary teacher has not been differentiated in France from the university lecturer. On the Continent, as in England, the two systems of training had as little to do with each other as the two categories of teachers they provided, who went off to teach the two nations. Their curricula, their standards and their professional outlooks were quite distinct, though there were some voices at that time which were raised in criticism or which spoke up, as did a Canon Warburton, for some kind of link between the two; he hoped that there would be:

> "A closer approximation of our training college system with the liberal culture of the Universities so that all that is best and highest in modern education may be brought within the reach of those to whom the teaching of the great mass of children of this and coming generations will be entrusted." (10)

On the Continent, the calling of teacher went along with at least a modest pretension to intellectuality, especially in France where he had to contend on a dialectical level with a village priest vigorously and cunningly trained. In Germany, as early as 1848 the elementary schoolteachers came out in favour of an academic education which would have extended it into the university. And in Denmark, though there do not seem to have been strong demands for the two systems to be "approximated", there was a succession of governmental gestures during the nineteenth

century which sought to raise standards, such as the law of 1818 which made a number of subjects obligatory and fixed the hours of instruction at an average of 42 per week; or the law of 1857 which established the training period as three years (in Germany, however, the overall period was six years) and which sought to improve the physical conditions in the colleges. On the other hand, a law of 1867 which deprived the colleges of their right to hold examinations, on the grounds that they were too easy, simply resulted in a great many candidates taking the state examination after the briefest attendance at a college or indeed without having attended a college at all. Not until the end of the century were examining standards regularized in both the state and the private colleges and common standards of equipment and premises imposed.

Canon Warburton was giving evidence to the Cross Commission of 1888, which was set up "to enquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales" and which found, as in Denmark, a good deal to complain about in the training colleges. The Commission recommended the establishment, experimentally, of day training colleges and the Government decided that these should be attached to universities. As a result, ten years later the universities were training over one-third of the teachers going into the elementary schools; and Dent has described this innovation as:

> "...a major landmark in the history of teacher education in England and Wales. The establishment of the day training colleges ended the complete academic and social isolation of the elementary school teacher. It ended the near monopoly of training by religious denominations. It queried the absolute value of residence as an element in training. It brought the first small advance toward academic freedom for colleges. And it gave the study of education at least a modicum of status." (11)

But a major division persisted; and anyway, these day colleges were something of a British oddity. As Robert Morant, first Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, wrote in his preface to the 1904 Regulations for the training of teachers, "no country in the world attempts to staff its Elementary Schools entirely or even mainly with University graduates" (12), and he was undoubtedly of the opinion that it ought not be attempted either. And before very long the universities had given up their day training colleges for elementary teachers and were concentrating on offering optional training courses for secondary teachers.

Such, then, was the distinctive character of teacher training in the nineteenth century in England and, with local variations, all over the western world. The elementary school teachers were drawn from humble pupils of modest means

and modest academic attainments; and it is true, certainly it was true in Germany, that entering the teaching profession helped such people to move up a little in the world, and thus it was chosen by many, particularly gifted sons of peasants, manual labourers, and small tradespeople, who had no chance or means of getting to a gymnasium in the town. By agreeing to undergo a period of professional training they were able to acquire a modicum of further education in earnest institutions called training colleges or seminars or normal schools; whereas the teachers for the grammar schools or lycées were drawn from students of all kinds attending universities who were sometimes offered a certain amount of teacher training, either in the university itself or in a separate seminar. The political philosophy which lay at the back of this dual system was all but explicit:

> "State direction of the education of the masses helped to safeguard the interests of the propertied classes. Hence it was acceptable to public opinion. Middle class education was another matter. Here State intervention could lead to tyranny. The Taunton Commissioners accordingly rejected the idea of training teachers for schools for the middle classes in government institutions. 'The great objection to the establishment of a training school for masters in the endowed schools', they wrote (1867-8), 'is that it would almost inevitably give the government an undue control over all the superior education of the country.'" (13)

The basic philosophy and pattern whereby secondary teachers were <u>educated</u> and elementary teachers were <u>trained</u> persisted well into the twentieth century. The very slow growth of universities meant that the majority of the brightest boys and girls either could not obtain a place at the university at all and had to be content with a place at a training college; or, having succeeded in getting a university education, they could not hope to obtain a teaching post at the university and so had to be content with teaching at the grammar school, or a few of them at independent (or, in England, "Public") schools. Between the wars, grammar and independent schools were often able, for these reasons, to recruit outstanding staffs and many of them acquired very considerable intellectual prestige as a result. These teachers were frequently untrained: indeed, they were thought, like the staff of universities, to be too well educated to need training. They dispensed the higher learning to the élite among school children, and at this eminent and exacting level they often did very well. And at least they were as bright, or nearly as bright, as the brightest of their pupils. Their prestige was high, and deservedly so, which had to compensate for the fact that their pay remained little better than a parson's or curé's and probably a little below a policeman's or detective's.

The elementary or primary school teacher, by contrast, was certainly less bright than her brightest pupils (though not of course for sexual reasons); and though fairly thoroughly trained, she was not particularly well educated. Yet that seemed appropriate enough, for the job, at her level of performance, did not obviously call for a higher education. She was there to give the children a grounding in the main branches of knowledge, and this tended to be best done by a good deal of rote learning. What she purveyed, to a great extent, was disciplined instruction, and society accorded her a correspondingly modest prestige and of course a despicable wage. But there was, socially speaking, a large compensation, which was that teaching provided the working-class and petit-bourgeois girl and boy with a toe-hold in middle-class society: it was their chief entrée to a profession, though in the 'twenties and 'thirties it was still a fairly lowly profession, as countless novels and biographies testify:

> "Since the primary schools are largely staffed by certificated teachers from the colleges the inevitable result has been to depress their status compared with secondary schools. The existence of second-class members of the profession and their concentration in certain types of school have the effect of creating second-class status for those schools. The elementary schools are, in effect, still with us though they were never intended to be. The consequence of keeping in existence institutions which were designed to supply the elementary schools when those schools no longer exist has damaging effects on the school system, on the unity of the teaching profession and on the identity of the institutions themselves. The restructuring of the arrangements for the education and training of teachers is twenty-seven years behind the re-structuring of the education service as a whole. This failure to adjust one system to the needs of the other is at the root of much of the existing tension and confusion of role." (14)

2. Teachers' Colleges

> "Teacher education institutions, in general, still suffer to some degree from the stigma attached to their humble origins and, in many instances, their status is still insecure." (15)

The colleges or normal schools were indeed of humble origin. They existed to train elementary teachers, and elementary teachers were expected to give a meagre amount of simple instruction and, in some countries, quite a large amount of religious strengthening to the children of the poorer classes. Lionel Elvin, the recent Director of the London Institute of Education, has noted:

> "...three leading ideas that informed the work of these nineteenth-century training colleges, three ideas that persisted in large measure past the turn of the century and up to the First World War in 1914. The first was that the education of the teachers themselves needed only to have gone a little further than the level at which they would be required to teach. The second was that 'character' was more important than academic attainment. The third was that these teachers were expected to be firm upholders of the existing social order." (16)

Elvin goes on to say that the teacher's task was "to drill the young. He needed only to be drilled himself as to how to drill them". In agreeing to enter the training college and acquire these skills, the student was often obtaining a modicum of further secondary education by the only route open to him. The English colleges saw to it through their recruitment and curricular policies that only modest students were admitted and that they should be worked hard (at York, for instance, "the day's programme began at 5.30 a.m. in the summer and 6.00 a.m. in winter, and continued until 9.30 p.m." (17), studying a variety of what then seemed improving subjects, such as scriptural knowledge, evidence of Christianity, church history, English grammar and literature, history, handwriting, arithmetic, Euclid, algebraic linear drawing, geography, philosophy, and vocal music, to quote the syllabus of the Chester Diocesan College in 1839 (18); plus, of course, large quantities of teaching practice. Shortly afterwards the Education Department made a number of subjects compulsory - religious knowledge, arithmetic, grammar and English language, school management, reading, spelling and penmanship; failure in one of these subjects was "held to be sufficient to deprive the candidate of all claim to a place in the class list, however superior his other papers may be", on the grounds that "proficiency in a few subjects is valued more highly than mediocrity in many." (19)

The essential point could still be made by Morant in his preface to the 1904 Regulations already quoted, where he laid it down that

> "Colleges must provide a wide and liberal course of study for ...students whose general education has not been carried far enough. No colleges should aim at obtaining academic distinction for its students if this involves either the overstraining of the powers of the student, or the neglect of any part of his professional training." (20)

There are two aspects to this statement: a patronising conviction that college students were creatures of limited academic ability, and at the same time an avuncular concern (in a typically English fashion) with their well-being - pupil teachers, as well as passing their annual examination, "had to produce evidence to show that their behaviour was

beyond reproach." (21) Nothing could describe more neatly the character of the majority of these institutions, above all in Britain, where "a well trained schoolmaster [could] be manufactured for about £90".(22) They were rather like convents: small, often rather isolated, inspired by a religious sense of improvement and dedication, worthily providing concurrent courses of modest education and teacher training, largely staffed, eventually, by spinsters for a predominantly female population, and concentrating of course on the preparation of elementary teachers and only elementary teachers:

> "Under the guise of fiction, Schools and Scholars, published in 1887, gives a somewhat colourful account of life at a training college. The college described possessed the minimum of furniture. 'There was not a picture or an ornament in any room; the asceticism of a workhouse was blended with the solidity and ugliness of a gaol... No man could have a moment of privacy until he was in bed. The barren, foetid rooms, with their greasy forms and notched desks, were the only place where a letter could be written...At dinner...silence was enforced...and the food passed down in rough platefuls... Manners were forgotten, and the greediest men grabbed at the vegetables with vulture-like eagerness'. After dinner the students went up carpetless staircases to their dormitories. 'Long lines of cells stretched like rows of horse-boxes from right to left ... The men were separated from each other only by a low partition, so that privacy was practically unknown. No candles were allowed so that those furthest away from the gas had to grope their way to bed.'
>
> "The drabness which permeated the students' surroundings embraced their professional training as well. Annesley, the chief character in Schools and Scholars, 'was shocked to find that he was expected to learn his country's history from a tiny fivepenny book, which contained strings of dates and names arranged in horrifying sequence, which he was expected to learn by heart.' 'Vast demands are made on the memory,' the Commissioners stated, 'little is done for the improvement of the judgement...'" (23)

In France and Germany the normal schools or seminars would have differed from the English colleges in three respects: they were not, or not always religious foundations; they provided a somewhat more intellectual or at least more astringent diet, often, as in Denmark, controlled by state examinations; and they concerned themselves less with the moral welfare of their students.

The history of teachers' colleges in the twentieth century, up till the Second World War, is a patchy one. The simplest generalisation is to say that they followed one or two steps after the reorganisation of the school structure. As the number of years of schooling was lengthened, the secondary school was transformed into a stage of schooling for all and not only for a select minority; and in England, as on the Continent, it was lodged firmly within the state structure. Gradually the teachers' colleges gained a student body which had already acquired secondary education, rather than having to provide an alternative form of secondary education under the guise of vocational training. And this meant that the colleges themselves became part of the structure of further, though not yet higher, education. In spite of this the years between the two world wars were, after an initial burst of enthusiasm for reform, a period of comparative stagnation. In Denmark, a zest for improvement resulted, in 1930, in a law extending the period of training to four years and expanding the curriculum (a foreign language became obligatory). But before these measures could be implemented, there was a need for considerable improvement in college plant and equipment; and the proposed measures for concentrating teacher training in fewer but larger and better equipped colleges never came to anything. By 1937 the training college regulations as a whole were obsolete and the system in obvious need of overhaul, an overhaul which did not come, however, for at least twenty years. In England, during these inter-war years, the number of colleges remained virtually unchanged and the number of students actually fell, largely because one of the Labour Government's responses to the economic depression in the early 'thirties was to decide not to raise the school leaving age. Indeed, the 'thirties was a decade when, apart from the indoctrinating fervour of the totalitarian regimes, not much seemed to be expected of schooling except the more scientific separation of sheep from goats, and their education accordingly, and when correspondingly little national resources were invested in this sector of the national economy.

The advent of the Second World War found the teaching profession ill at ease about its role and prestige and the colleges and normal schools in a state of impatience. Having moved into the area of further education, they were mainly conscious that they lacked the function and calibre of institutions of higher education, to which many of their students increasingly aspired. They tended to be comparatively small and often isolated, both intellectually and geographically. Their staff, as a result, tended to a parochialism and the disciplines they taught soon lacked energy - in England, one came to speak of "Training College English, or maths" as subjects having all too little resemblance to English literature or mathematics as they might be taught in a university. Since the duration of the course was often short, perhaps only two years, the syllabus was inevitably restricted to a predominant vocationalism,

and this at a time when a limited psychology was about as much social science as was generally to be found at the disposal of the staff. Moreover, the relations between theory and practice, and thus between college and school, were limited and seldom intimate. As for research in education, it was mainly concentrated in the somewhat sophisticated (and fallible) area of intelligence testing, and certainly did not figure as an activity appropriate to the college staffs. And finally, the colleges were monotechnics: they recruited students for a single profession, and most often for a single sector of a single profession. The moderately bright, earnest products of state schools, they entered these modest, earnest, spinsterish training establishments for a brief introduction to the skills of teaching, and within no time were back in the lower echelons of the state educational system. The privileged posts were, on the whole, reserved for university graduates who had been encumbered with little or often no training. Well might it be remarked, as it often was, that teachers are born, not made. At any rate, the resources for making them were, before the war, conspicuously inadequate.

CHAPTER II

The Emancipation of Teacher Training

1. The aftermath of the Second World War

If the war transformed the structure and assumptions of social life in Europe and beyond, it was a transformation that was to have a dramatic consequence for education. Whether in the victorious or defeated countries, education took on, or perhaps more accurately was saddled with, vast responsibilities for social reconstruction, re-education and individual rehabilitation. And its scale became correspondingly large:

> "In budgetary terms /education/ ranks a close second in world expenditure of public funds, coming just after military budgets." (24)

The immediate educational need was for great numbers of teachers, not only to replenish the schools, but to keep pace with the rising birth rate and the prospective rising school-leaving age - "in some developing countries they /teachers/ form the largest group of wage earners" (25). This was the period of the emergency training schemes, many of them set up in one-year colleges in which the standard, pace, and experimental quality of teacher training was transformed. The needs and perceptions of the time required a new kind of teacher, and the many mature recruits from the armed forces did a great deal to meet these needs: they brought into the profession an altogether tougher and more socially-oriented view of the job. It was in this atmosphere that there emerged, in a number of countries, the comprehensive school, most often organised on a fairly massive scale and including children of a wide range of intelligence. The comprehensive schools posed large organisational and pedagogic problems, and they brought together categories of teachers who previously would seldom have met. Together they had to learn from scratch how to teach in comprehensive schools, and this made it hard to justify any longer the "theory" that some of them needed training and others did not. It became abundantly clear that they all needed the kind of training which is part of a higher education. But the introduction of the comprehensive idea did not, of itself, affect the major division in the profession, the division between secondary and primary teachers. In many countries this gulf remains as wide as ever: primary teachers are predominantly female, less educated, less highly regarded, and of course appreciably less well (or more poorly) paid. Even in England, where the transformation of the primary school into (ideally) a centre of exploration and enjoyment, of movement and talk, has been most striking, it is still unusual to find graduates going into primary teaching: and only a few universities run PGCE courses (that is post-graduate courses for the Certificate in Education) for primary teachers. Primary teachers continue, almost universally, to be trained in normal schools or colleges of education.

The Second World War, unlike the first, led to an education-centred age. And the change in the circumstances of teachers amounting in places to a transformation, carried with it new expectations that defined themselves, before long, as claims on society and on the educational system itself. Put quite simply, they are the claims of an emergent profession - though to speak of them as claims is not, of course, to suggest that they were all formulated as a programme of explicit demands by the teachers' association:

a) the claim to be granted an appropriate period of teacher education in place of an inadequate period of teacher training;

b) the claim for an all graduate profession;

c) the claim that teachers' colleges should be considered to be part of the sector of higher education;

d) the claim that teacher education must include the education of the individual as well as the preparation of the professional;

e) the claim that professional education must be informed by research and experiment, and that it must embody an intimate relationship between academic study, educational theory and teaching practice;

f) the claim for appropriate resources of money, buildings, and equipment.

Together these six claims led inescapably to one further and far-reaching claim,

g) the claim that a new relationship had to be fashioned between the colleges or normal schools and the universities.

This claim, which has come to dominate the planning of higher education in Western Europe since the war, may appear to be a matter of organisation-engineering. But in fact it raises fundamental questions about the concepts and processes of teacher education, and about the academic resources and the intellectual vitality of the teachers of teachers. This chapter, on the emancipation of teacher training, will examine the changed role of the teacher in the light of what society expects of him and of the resources of understanding and skill that are now available to him; and it will also discuss the implications of the teachers' claim to professional recognition. And secondly, this chapter will ask what developments in the education and training of teachers are implied by these changes of expectation and status. Then the following chapter will attempt to document and analyse the ways in which these questions have been answered or ignored in the reconstruction of higher education in Germany, Sweden, Denmark and England and Wales.

2. The changing task of the teacher and the professionalisation of teaching

The concept of a profession is not a precise one, but it is clearly bound up with questions of social expectation and recognition, of levels of performance, and of specialisation and certification. Jobs may become intrinsically more complex and sophisticated, or even where the technical character of a given job may not have changed much, society may come to expect more of it; and in either case, the level of training and qualification will tend to rise.

Teaching has, since the war, enjoyed the benefits (and suffered the strains) of all these pressures. Society's need of education today has been examined most comprehensively in the recent UNESCO Faure Report, Learning to be:

> "Education... has two dimensions. It has to prepare for changes, show people how to accept them and benefit from them, create a dynamic, non-conformist, non-conservative frame of mind. Concurrently, it has to play the part of an antidote to the many distortions within man and society. For democratic education must be able to provide a remedy to frustration, to the depersonalization and anonymity in the modern world and, through lifelong education, reduce insecurity and enhance professional mobility." (26)

These words might have been written by a "progressive" educationist in the thirties, but they could not have been drafted by a group of seven educationists of different nationalities on behalf of an international agency until the last few years. This is a very different idea of education from that which describes it in terms of socialisation or simply of self-realisation. It sees the process of education as being critical of contemporary society, if not actively hostile towards it, and the teacher as being something of a mixture of lay therapist and futurologist. "In the last resort", the Faure Commission says, uttering a cautiously incongruous phrase, "in the last resort education has to prepare mankind to adapt to change", and the first of mankind will have to be the teachers themselves.

The changing role of the teacher has been the subject of countless conferences, studies, discussions in countless countries during the past twenty-five years, and it is not possible to summarise them here. But what consensus, if any, seems to be emerging? One attempt at an answer was produced in 1971 by the Executive of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) in England and Wales as part of a policy statement entitled The Reform of Teacher Education. It offered two diagrams of 'the Identity of the Teacher', Past and Future, which included the following terms:

PAST	FUTURE
"I the teacher am"	
a) inclined to feel inferior to and thus resentful of educational hierarchy, i.e. heads, local authority officers, inspectors, lecturers.	a colleague of the hierarchy, whose advice can be considered seriously.
b) totally responsible for the progress of my class in my subject.	a member of a team of professionals sharing expertise and responsibility; responsible as one of a team for the individual child in my groups.
c) a giver of information, explanation and stimulus to a class; a critic of skills and judgement individually; a controller of a group.	a guide to individual's paths through varying learning materials; a critic of skills and judgement; an expositor to individuals or small groups; a leader of seminars.
d) an enforcer of the traditional customs and ethic of the school despite their lack of relevance to society and to learning.	a member of a school society whose customs and ethic derive from society generally and from the functions of the school as a place for learning.
e) isolated from and independent of my professional colleagues.	concerned to make education a partnership with parents whom I can communicate with as fellow beings.
f) in some way not a member of the same society as the children and parents. not concerned with the parents or the home background.	a member of the same society as the children and parents.
g) entitled automatically to respect because I am a teacher.	entitled to respect (or lack of it) for what I am as a human being.
h) by my example and teaching, responsible for engendering a mainly middle class morality.	by my example in trying to establish a personal ethic and admittedly sometimes failing - and by understanding of the home ethic, leaving children to develop their own personal ethic.

The NUT summed up this section of its proposals by insisting that : "The challenges of teaching at present and in the future require that teachers should possess qualities of resourcefulness and sensitivity to a much greater degree than was necessary in the past; resourcefulness in planning and educating for a changing society, and sensitivity to the needs and demands of the developing child within that society." (27)

Without being so certain as the NUT that these qualities were needed any the less in the past, the summary is very much in keeping with the analysis undertaken by the OECD in its own project on "The Changing Role of the Teacher and its Implications", also in 1971. The experts who contributed papers* and met for discussions came from five countries** and they spoke, for themselves of course but also for official and progressive opinion in their countries, with a remarkable degree of agreement. The Rapporteur, Mr. Shipman, summed up their discussion by saying that there is likely to be"a shift in emphasis from teaching as the transmission of knowledge to teaching as the organisation of knowledge", and to the teacher as "the manager of the means to acquire knowledge" - this formulation is infinitely more satisfactory, partly because it is far more complex, than the naïve antithesis which one still meets quite frequently (even in OECD papers) to the effect that the teacher's task is not the transmission of knowledge but the development of the child. However, this move towards the encouragement of self-directed methods will need to be "carefully monitored, especially in the case of children coming from culturally deprived backgrounds". In this developing situation, the role of the teacher is bound to change considerably. The whole learning situation, including assessment and working relations between teachers and children, will be far more attentive to individual needs and capabilities. The teacher's technical skills will have to be based on "a mastery of the sources and methods of knowledge" and of new modes of learning; and they will have to include the ability to work closely with parents and social workers so as to "remove blockages to learning and to stimulate motivation". Clearly this degree of change will depend on a change in the attitudes of teachers themselves: towards a greater understanding of the process of child development and the relations between school, home and community, and (which is perhaps the most difficult change of all for traditionally trained teachers) towards the concept of team planning and collaboration in the learning process and away, in large measure, from the security and authority of the one-teacher classroom. Mr. Shipman went on to suggest that

> "It is when the mowe towards the co-operation between teachers is combined with the new emphasis on the part to be played by the learner in his own development that the radical

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* The Teacher and Educational Change : A New Role. General Report, Vol. I, OECD, Paris, 1974.

** Belgium, France, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.

changes in the teaching role become fully apparent. Indeed the term 'teacher' becomes misleading, for the teaching that remains is primarily concerned with equipping the child with the skills necessary for self-directed learning to occur. But even this is supplemented by activity designed to motivate, remove obstacles to learning and ensure that individuals have acquired the basic knowledge necessary for further work. With older children the management of learning resources, individual scheduling and counselling may take priority. But at each stage of the educational process a high level of skill is required and a new title such as 'educator' may be more appropriate than the term 'teacher'." (28)

Thus the actual classroom job, has become, or is now at last perceived to be, infinitely more complex and it draws on an infinitely wider range of knowledge and abilities than before. Simultaneously, the teacher is expected to understand far more about the interplay between school and community, between learning and social and home background, and also far more about the school as a social institution. It is true, at the same time, that people's disappointments about schooling are correspondingly large, so that teachers quickly become the whipping boys of society, either for their ineffectuality or for their complicity in the face of a corrupt or at least diseased social order. But either way, the evidence undoubtedly justifies the Faure Commission's conviction that "interest in education has never been greater. Among parties, generations and groups, it has become the subject of controversy which often takes on the dimensions of political or ideological battles. Education has become one of the favourite themes of empirical or scientific social criticism." (29)

With the unmistakable arrival of education and schooling at the centre of the social scene has come the acknowledged arrival of the teacher as professional, in some countries as a member of the "helping" prffessions. One index of this arrival is the transformation in the salary scales of teachers since the war, which in countries like Sweden, Denmark and Germany have enabled teachers to live (if they wish) like comfortable bourgeois, and even in England to live somewhat above the breadline. A second index is the increased flow of graduates into the profession. And the third index, of particular relevance here, is that the academic standard and prestige of teacher training have been significantly raised and the teacher training colleges and normal schools have been all but fully accepted as institutions not merely of post-secondary but of higher education. The form that this acceptance takes in four European countries will be studied in the next chapter.

The teacher, however, is only one of the professionals or education, and the hierarchy of the education profession, which has seen to it that the infant class teacher is at the bottom of the heap, is presumably something like this:

Ministry or Education Bureaucrats
Rectors/Vice-Chancellors of Universities
Local/Regional Education Bureaucrats
Principals of Colleges, Polytechnics
Inspectors of Education
Professors (of subjects other than Education)
Professors of Education/Pedagogy
Heads of elite Secondary and Private Schools
Faculty of Universities
Heads of other Secondary Schools
Staff of Colleges and Polytechnics
Heads of Primary Schools
Staff of elite Secondary Schools
Staff of other Secondary Schools
Heads of Infant Schools
Staff of Primary Schools
Staff of Infant Schools.

The national variations on this list could make a quite instructive parlour power-game, and no doubt many more than 17 rungs could be devised for the ladder. The game would involve a number of traditional and hitherto unalterable rules about the way, the distance and the speed with which pieces may jump up the ladder, including, of course, the rule that they do not move downwards. But while pieces sometimes jump upwards, orders and advice are constantly moving downwards, and here the national variations are very great as to the proportions of order and advice which any functionary can hand down to any other.

This is not an unduly ironic portrait of the educational power structure, and it is particularly relevant in a discussion of the teacher's role and innovation. For this kind of hierarchy is not only inimical to many forms of innovation - that is obvious enough. It is obstructive in ways which may only recently have become apparent. Thus there is reason to believe that the resistance of teachers to innovation can be more effectively overcome by their colleagues than by their supervisors, and yet it is still quite rare for classroom teachers to be directly involved in the planning of innovation and reform. Or, to take a very different example, a power structure of this kind, however liberally it functions, is bound

to engender authoritarian assumptions and relationships which contradict the teacher's changing roles. An American teacher who experimented for a year with a 10th grade "open" English class in a New England high school noted that "one of the most striking changes is that the direction of the flow of command from levels of authority down to the student is reversed. Student requests led through the teacher to demands upon the administration, a change which discombobulates the established system" (30) -- and, of course, vice versa. Hierarchies breed hierarchies, and so does education and so do educationists, all too easily and compulsively. Whereas the emancipation of the teacher as innovator depends on a sense of mutuality, on open relationships and group collaboration, and he will not practise in the school what the system does not practise with him. Moreover, the emancipation of the system does not consist of standing the ladder on its head and raising the pupil to the nth degree of importance over all others, for that is to create a new discombobulation. The only exception one might be tempted to make is for the infant teacher, who encounters the child while he is still learning and growing and discovering by leaps and bounds and who can probably do more than all the rest of the hierarchy put together to transform the child's world and mould his future.

This analysis is not, however, to question the need for the diversification of the system, quite the opposite. Just as the enormous complexity of the system requires a great range of talent and expertise, so the kind of task which the teacher-innovator is asked to undertake makes it very "doubtful whether all the new qualities required of the teacher can be found in one and the same person," (31) and also, be it added, all the new functions. A long list of these functions within the school can be assembled from any paper or conference on innovation and the teacher:

- there is the teacher as group leader, work organiser, expert and propagandist (32),
- or the teacher as parent, counsellor, policeman, and psychiatrist (33),
- or the teacher as exponent of visual, auditive or audio-visual concretisation (34),
- or the teacher as creator, inventor, innovator-pioneer, follower (35),
- or the teacher as researcher, etc. etc.

If these lists are not fanciful, it follows that either teachers will hold on tenaciously to a strictly limited view of their job, in the interests of mere survival, or there will need to be a differentiation of functions within the school community. The International Workshop organised in 1967 by the Max-Planck Institute on "The changing role of teachers required by educational innovations" gave a good deal of

attention to this diversification of functions. Johnston (36) listed the specialists out of whom the staff of the school might be constituted:

- teachers
- teacher-administrators
- teacher-consultants ("academic and/or skill specialists")
- teacher-counsellors
- teacher-resource agents, e.g. librarians, audio-visual electronic specialists, programmers, text compilers
- clerical ancillaries
- social ancillaries
- custodian ancillaries.

Trump insisted that "the identification of what teachers must do, and what may be done by a variety of assistants, is a fundamental ingredient in professionalising teaching". And Rodhe developed the concept of the teacher as member of different kinds of teams, working through sets of "horizontal relationships":

> "The doctor and nurse came first, then other experts, e.g. social worker, psychologist, librarian, AV-specialist, etc. The result of change in these horizontal relationships is that the teacher is asked to work in different kinds of teams, such as the teaching team, that may be departmental, or cross-departmental and consist of head of team, and team members (fully qualified teacher, teacher in training, instructional assistant, clerk), the departmental team, consisting of head of department, teacher members of department, specializing in various aspects of the department subject matter (librarian, AV-specialist, technician, clerk, etc.), the guidance team, consisting of principal, assistant principal, home room teacher, social worker, psychologist, or a combination of both in the person of guidance counsellor."(37)

Thus, whether one looks at the ramifications of the education system at large, or at the increasing complexity of the individual teacher's role, one sees the need today, not for hierarchies or for "chains of command", but for a network of reciprocal functions. Both the largest and the smallest-scale planning, for instance, of the shape of higher education or of a sequence of lessons, implies extensive team-work; in the case of the lesson, this means discussion with colleagues and pupils. And obviously enough, team-work is only possible if the teams have been designed and brought into being and if their members believe in the process of participatory democracy and its methods of work. This is not the place to examine the concept of participatory planning in education, but the spirit of such participation was well conveyed by one of the contributors to last year's OECD meeting of Country Representatives and Experts on this theme - all the accompanying papers are very much worth consulting:

> "The process of participation is closely connected with the creation of a new type of decentralization and centralization - based not so much on the dominance of hierarchical groups but more on the integration of interests and autonomy of all members of the system - which also contributes to a creative initiative and humanization of management. Increased autonomy requires transition from the traditional management by tasks to management by objectives."(38)

This contributor, Bozidar Pasarić of Yugoslavia, expressed very cogently the degree to which this concept must permeate the education system as a whole today and all its processes and relationships.

3. Towards the higher education of teachers

As has been argued in the last section, the task, the profile of the teacher has been all but transformed in the past generation. Indeed, the metaphor is a limiting one, for what is apparent is a change not only in the concept of teacher and teaching, but a great enlargement of the role of the school and of education in the popular mind. There is virtually no individual and social ill which the school and teacher are not expected to tackle and put right, and the roll-call of ills has become steadily louder and longer. How far has this influenced the teacher's morale and image of himself? There must still be great numbers of teachers at all levels who conform to yesterday's stereotypes - Russian educationists are said to plan on the assumption that there are two bad or indifferent teachers for every good one. How far, for instance, has the social prestige of teachers, measured either by their own estimate of how society ranks them as a profession or by the estimates of cross-sections of members of the community, changed in the past 20 years? A study made in 1956 which compared ranking studies from the U.S.A., Germany, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, and the U.S.S.R., found that "the position of teacher was virtually standard across the six nations, ranking slightly below such occupations as certified public accountant and army officer, slightly above farm owners and operators, and well above skilled craftsmen." And a very comprehensive study in which a representative sample of the entire adult population in the U.S.A. was asked to rate 90 occupations, emerged in 1953 with the public school teacher 35 places below the U.S. Supreme Court Justice at the top of the scale (though 55 places above the shoe shiner at the bottom): the teacher was just below the economist and building contractor (in the U.K. the former is probably highly prestigious and the latter is certainly not), and just above the railroad engineer and the county agricultural agent. (39) Where the distinction is made in such studies as these, there is an appreciable difference of ranking between different grades of teacher, notably between high school, secondary, and elementary, though it is probable that this gap is closing.

It is not to contradict the accounts given earlier of the teacher's changing role to say that a great many teachers

do not seem to be aware of what is in store for them and that they would very probably dissent if they did. Significantly, even where teachers are already engaged in innovatory situations, as at the Yerres Centre in France where the object was to "set up a new educational complex in an urban area as a stimulus to the life of /a constantly changing/ community", even here there is reference to "the inertia of habit and the lack of assertiveness which make the teacher a prisoner of his conventional image". Even among the teachers "who came to Yerres in order to break away from the old routine and embark on a process of change", there would seem to have been "no success in evolving a joint definition of this new role of the teacher in a new educational context". (40) For whatever may be said of educational consultants who find themselves brought together by OECD and UNESCO, teachers as a profession have all the conservatism of professionals and probably rather more, because they inherit the conservatism of one of the most socially mobile groups in the community - having "arrived", they are desperately anxious to "hold on" to their newly acquired social status. Thus one of the other participants in the OECD project reported that:

> "Changes in teacher role occur gradually but teachers themselves seem to sense that their role has changed. A study made in which 3,000 teachers were sampled by the American College Testing Program of Iowa City, Iowa, got the response that teachers are called upon "to be more of a parent, counselor, policeman, and psychiatrist than a teacher". This could be interpreted to say that teachers recognise that their role is changing and that they do not like and/or are not prepared for the direction in which the change is progressing. The change is probably not in agreement with their view of the proper role of the teacher." (41)

And one of the participants put it a good deal more strongly: "It is widely recognised that teachers have overwhelmingly accepted their conservative and reproductive role as dominant. Thus recent research has highlighted the teacher's diffuse, conformist and moralising qualities." (42)

It is obvious, then, that the large changes described earlier will only come about if they are part of a national programme of educational development, one of the main elements of which would be a major development in the education and training of teachers. What, broadly speaking, might this amount to? The OECD studies already referred to considered this question at length and concluded that:

> ....."These changes in the education of the teacher will necessitate changes in the status and organisation of the colleges concerned. The traditional system for preparing teachers usually contains two channels, one through university, the other through colleges of education. These in turn usually lead into

> academic secondary education on the one hand, and primary or lower levels of unselective secondary schools and the teaching in vocational and technical subjects on the other. Little comment is necessary on this division. The differentiation has been an anomaly as comprehensive secondary schooling spreads. It acts as a damper on the hopes and efforts of the teachers coming from the non-university sector, while cushioning the teachers coming from university against the need to keep abreast of the developments affecting their role as teachers. . . .
>
> . . . . . The linking of teacher education to higher education will inevitably change the organisation of the training colleges. They will have to shed their restrictive practices. It would be anomalous if open schools co-existed with closed colleges. If active learning is to spread in schools, it must be practised in the colleges. Such a reform in the colleges would also facilitate co-operation with schools in the preparation of student teachers, relate theory more closely to practice and help link teacher training, both initial and in-service, to R & D activities". . . .(43)

It would not be appropriate to go over this ground again. The particular concern of this study is to examine how far the very sizeable business of "producing" the "new" teacher and helping him to carry out his new role is related to the way in which the teachers' colleges and universities are linked organisationally and academically. For what is happening, as the next chapter will demonstrate in some detail, is that national programmes of development in higher education are profoundly affecting the relationship between colleges and universities, though in some instances they are being undertaken for reasons, social and political reasons, that may have rather little to do with the academic needs of the teaching profession. The two particular questions which need to be considered here are:

-the viability, as an academic community, of the teachers' college;

-and the integration of the prospective teacher's academic and professional studies.

The establishment of teaching as a profession has carried with it the demand that teachers' colleges shall be firmly located in higher education and that teaching shall become a graduate-profession. Exactly what this means differs a good deal from country to country, for if the concept of a profession is imprecise, so are the boundaries of higher education. But this much, at least, can be said: that <u>higher education implies a disciplinary and conceptual approach to studies, informed by research and by intensive study and reflection</u>. In higher education, and notably of course in

universities, learning and teaching are implicitly, and quite often explicitly, in touch with scholarship and with the shifting frontiers of knowledge.

As the business of training "masters of method" is replaced by the task of educating professionals, so the role and, theoretically, the character of the normal schools and training colleges have been transformed. But initially at least, these schools and colleges are mostly too small and they lack the intellectual resources to exist as self-sufficient institutions of higher education in the full sense. And thus the question of their relations to universities has become a dominant one, for they are bound to depend, for their intellectual reinforcement, upon larger and more elaborately endowed institutions, which in most countries are universities. The full professionalisation of teachers cannot be adequately defined in terms of salary structures and conditions of service, nor in terms of whether or not they hold degrees. All of this is the necessary apparatus of professional status. But the essential core of the matter rests elsewhere: it depends on the ways in which the education of the teacher as a professional is in immediate touch with the intellectual life of higher education. If the professional is the man who applies the concepts underlying his resources of skill and wisdom to the solution of new problems, then the teacher, whose very task is to equip the generations who will be living amidst tomorrow's problems, must be a professional or he becomes an obstruction. What has not always been perceived are the intellectual and academic implications of professionalism, though it has at least been conceded, in the past generation or two, that it is in the area of higher education that these implications have to be studied and realised.

The implications of size, especially in the case of an independent and often isolated institution like a teachers' college, are clearly of the first importance but they are not easy to "prove". Colleges are of all sizes. In West Germany, a number of them are well over 2,000; but in that country, as in the others, the majority of colleges are considerably smaller, often as small as 500. The questions one would like to pursue in a more detailed study would relate to the teaching patterns within individual colleges and to the size of individual subject groupings, in particular the number of specialist staff within each subject. In a college of 2-3,000, there might well be quite a viable group of philosophers or mathematicians, for instance, and no doubt a large number of psychologists. But how about in a college of 500? The key question (to which it proved impossible to get meaningful answers by correspondence) is the meaning of "a viable group", not simply for the purpose of teaching the necessary courses, but in order to maintain a self-sufficient academic nucleus of colleagues working in the same field.

Only a close study of the work of each of these colleges could reveal the full picture of the academic

limitations imposed on them by their comparatively small size. This may seem, of course, to beg the question how far they conceive themselves to be academic or only professional institutions. But if they are functioning within the sphere of higher education, the distinction is mainly one of orientation and emphasis; from either point of view they will need to be engaging in "a disciplinary and conceptual approach to studies, informed by research and by intensive study and reflection" (to quote the formulation offered earlier). How far can a small group of (2) historians, or (3) philosophers, or even (6) psychologists function at this level on their own, if they are not Piagets or Bruners and if the amount of study and research for which they have time and resources and competence is necessarily restricted? It was out of such small isolated pockets of training college teaching that there grew up, at least in England in the years before the war, studies which used to be unkindly described as "Training College English or Maths" or "Educational Philosophy or Psychology", studies which bore all too little resemblance, as disciplines, to the subjects of the same name pursued in universities.

The moral of this part of the story is clear enough. If teachers' colleges are to move fully into the area of higher education, they must either be very considerably expanded - only some of the German colleges of about 2,000 are of a size to be independent and academically self-sufficient; or they must enter into relationship with some other institution(s), with which and through which they can augment their own intellectual resources. In the following chapter, this process is examined in four countries, and it remains to be seen how far the great mass of institutional planning to be found in these countries bears very relevantly upon this question of intellectual resources. One has to enquire, at any rate, what federation or integration amounts to for the individual teacher in either institution? What impact will it have on his teaching of the discipline he professes? On his individual studies? On his research? How far will institutional links be translated, or will they spontaneously translate themselves into academic collaboration, and what is this likely to mean? And what might be the forms of academic discourse and dialogue between teachers working in different institutions? How about collaboration in the area of research?

There is one major question which may or may not be illuminated by the case studies in the next chapter but which must be considered here, and that is the question of the curriculum of study thought appropriate to the teacher in training and above all its relevance to his new role. In particular it is important to ask how far the two separate models, the consecutive and the integrated curriculum will be fused in some fashion if the institutions are themselves fused, or whether one model will tend to oust the other, for better or worse.

The close link between the primary or elementary school and the normal school coupled with the belief that the teacher need to know a little more than his pupils, but for safety's sake not much more, meant that the professional training of teachers continued for a long period to be based on a very simple curriculum, made up of some further acquisition of basic skills and an initial training in professional skills. The relationship between these two elements of the course was probably quite close in practice, in the sense that the pupil-as-teacher was simply required to take note of what was happening to him as pupil and learn to do likewise. Out of these unpretentious beginnings grew the main features of the normal school and college course, that amalgam of personal education, curriculum subjects, pedagogic studies, and education in theory and practice. At the same time, the concept of the Whole Child, who has become the subject of the teacher's theoretical preoccupations, has led to the concept of the Whole, Integrated Curriculum, and so long as the teacher was trained in a one-purpose institution of a small and intimate character, this philosophy could acquire the force of an almost religious conviction.

Across the border, as it were, the training offered to the secondary and grammar school teacher has retained a good deal of its feudal character. The major part of the teacher's training was, and still is, held to consist of specialist studies in a narrow range of intellectual disciplines, possibly (but not often) topped off with a short course of educational studies, theoretical and applied. The latter, being in an academically underdeveloped state, were viewed with a good deal of superiority if not contempt by the academic establishment.

It would be presumptious to offer comments at large on the range of subject-disciplines offered for study in universities and on the way they are taught. None the less, considered in relation to the academic needs of tomorrow's school teachers, it has to be said that they are not notably to the point. They tend towards an academicism, a concern to train the research mind, a degree of specialisation, which do not have very much to do with developing the mental qualities required for the task of teaching today. A major complaint about university courses, certainly from a pedagogic point of view, has to do not only with their content but with the way they are "taught". Mass lectures delivered ex-cathedra by professional pontiffs or by aspiring younger academics (and in mathematics they are commonly delivered at slow dictation speed), reveal an attitude towards the process of learning which is the exact opposite of the "ideal" schoolteacher's, and in addition they may, though in science faculties they probably don't, involve an ossification of knowledge. Of course, university teaching is not all lectures, at least not in all countries. But the rapid growth in student enrolments, which has often not been matched by faculty numbers, has meant that seminars and above all tutorials have almost certainly decreased at undergraduate level. Ironically, there seems to be a good deal more talk about individualised learning at

school level than in the areas of higher education where teachers are educated.

The colleges and normal schools, on the other hand, have gained very considerably in prestige during recent years by reorganising and upgrading their academic courses and by taking on specialist staff of higher qualifications. As a result, the main subject studies have become academically more demanding and respectable, and have been accorded recognition by universities - for instance, through the granting of university awards such as the Bachelor of Education (in the U.K.) to students in colleges. Since these studies only occupy the equivalent of a year or so of the student's course, they have had to be thought out afresh, and in most institutions they have been pruned of the historicism and academicism which still often characterise them in universities. There is evidence of attempts to find new principles of selection and even new conceptual bases on which to shape these academic courses. None the less, two basic premises seem very generally to have been retained: the premise that such courses shall not be professionally oriented, and the premise that all academic disciplines are "equal". There are grounds for believing that these premises need to be, and indeed that they are being, questioned in relation to the education of the teacher, however valid they may be for students who are not going into teaching.

It is almost certain that the kind of mastery which leads and equips a person to teach his subject includes a feeling of having studied it for its own sake as well as a preoccupation with the pedagogy of the subject. These two aspects of his study are complementary, and for the prospective teacher to engage in academic study simply for its own sake may amount not only to self-indulgence but also to self-mutilation. For the teacher has to gain an educational as well as an academic understanding of his subject or group of subjects (and it is probable that many teacher students, and not at all only those going on to teach in primary schools, will prefer to study a small group of subjects rather than only one). Part of this educational understanding will relate to the nature of the subject itself, and part to its relationship to the developing needs of children, and in this respect it is most unlikely that subjects will be found "equal". Bruner, in fact, has argued that just as "there are degrees granted by departments of physics, in theoretical physics, in experimental physics, and in applied physics, why not one in pedagogical physics?" And his conclusion is that "on a practical level the entire university community - indeed the entire intellectual community - must have a role in education." (44) Far from teacher-students pursuing physics or other disciplines without any reference to educational considerations, and simply for their own personal development, Bruner might be said to be proposing that <u>all</u> students, whatever their ultimate professions, should study explicitly the pedagogy of their disciplines as one way of learning "tremendous amounts" about them.

As it happens, what Bruner goes (or went) on to propose is that where the entire university assumes a role in education, there is no need for a separate education faculty. Which is at least a more respectable argument than those normally advanced for not admitting education as a separate discipline or field of study to the university. In most countries education is still not offered as a subject at undergraduate level; and being confined, it is thought, to the training of teachers, the education department is all too often treated as a second-class academic citizenry, which, as a result, is precisely what it becomes. The education department draws on and shapes those disciplines which can clarify the educational task, or, in Olson's phrase, which can serve as "the source of understanding of the milieu in which education operates". Olson lists a formidable range of relevant disciplines:

> "An elementary teacher teaching in a self-enclosed classroom, a middle school teacher teaching either a general or a specialized area, an early childhood teacher with his Dienes rods needs to know a great deal about the fundamentals of mathematics and the fundamental properties of matter; he needs to know about linguistics, dialects, and language acquisition; he needs to know anthropology, sociology, and the way in which the human group operates; he needs to know the fields of learning and behaviour. And he needs to be able to apply the insights of these fields to the teaching of reading for instance." (45)

Yet it is not so long since some philosophy (of a kind) and some psychology comprised the sum total of the would-be teacher's professional courses. As a team of international experts, meeting under the auspices of UNESCO to study current problems of teacher education, noted:

> "Even if it were possible for the time assigned to academic courses to be somewhat reduced and even if the total period available for initial training could be extended, we would still have to face the fact that professional courses as at present envisaged are overburdened." (46)

In addition, there are the specifically pedagogic courses which, in the opinion of the UNESCO group, have "fallen into singular disrepute" - one is thinking of courses concerned with the planning of curriculum, with the sequence of syllabuses for children of different ages, with class control, etc. Formerly these courses embodied hallowed answers to familiar problems. As the UNESCO group puts it, teachers "passed on the fruits of their experience with considerable confidence in the form of aphorisms and slogans which still enjoy currency and which probably enshrine a good deal of wisdom". But, the group goes on to say that

> "the pedagogic courses that are currently offered lack authority and conviction. Our impression is that they represent a curious amalgam of traditional elements and hastily improvised innovations.... Courses on methods of teaching commonly retain the old hortatory maxims interspersed with some doubtful extrapolations from theories of learning." (47)

In the last few years, curriculum study and analysis have made seven-league strides forward and they have assumed the character of a technology, if not a science. Though better than "aphorisms and slogans", a good deal of this work is the antithesis of "wisdom", and has not, in sum total, done all that much to rehabilitate this aspect of the teacher's work, though it has greatly complicated it.

Finally there is an area of collaboration which is central to the business of training teachers, though it cannot be said that what takes place there is notably collaborative and free from hierarchical assumptions. This is the area concerned with teaching practice, in which the teacher-student acquires experience of what it means, what it is like, to be a teacher facing children and working with colleagues: and where he brings his theoretical educational studies to bear on his practical task of teaching. This part of the teacher's training probably takes place in specially selected schools, though in some countries the number of practice places needed in schools is so great that a majority of all schools have to be used. But only a part of this practical training takes part in the school: the related parts, comprising such educational studies as philosophy, social sciences and history, and such studies as pedagogy, audio-visual methods, curriculum analysis, the analysis of subject-disciplines and of inter-disciplinarity, these commonly take place outside the school, in the teacher's college or seminar or university.

Though all these parts are intended to come together and fuse into a working philosophy for each individual teacher, they do so more often than not by accident and with a minimum of design. The school itself is often denied a serious tutorial role in the training process: it becomes simply the locale in which the student practises his skills, frequently under the supervision, not of the classroom teacher (with whose pupils the student may be playing havoc) but of the visiting tutor from the college or university seminar. This system, which is the antithesis of true apprenticeship, is a pernicious one. It does not help the student to integrate the diverse strands of his studies; and it fosters a divisive attitude towards the profession of teaching. Lecturers and tutors in education always run the danger of getting out of touch with the classroom and the life of the school, and so it is essential for them to visit schools and work very closely with teachers as well as with their practical teaching colleagues. But the obverse of this is that the classroom teacher runs the danger of losing touch with developing educational theory and experiment, and one way of ensuring

that he keeps in touch is to give him a tutorial role in the training of teachers which, of its nature, forces him to re-examine his ideas and methods and to take advantage of in-service education. In this way the training process becomes an educative process, and provides an ideal area of close collaboration between institutions and between different kinds of teachers and the students.

It is perhaps inevitable that the education of the teacher tends to be discussed in terms of the component parts of which it is made up, and the UNESCO group make an important point when they note that these separate elements, such as the main subject courses, the curriculum courses, the education and pedagogic courses, have been taught for understandable historical reasons by staffs of very different experience and of uneven academic qualification. The pecking order among the separate groups of staff has militated against the integration of studies which has been everyone's ostensible aim. Moreover, where the teacher's education is carried out consecutively in separate institutions, most often in the form of a subject course in a university followed by a pedagogic course, of various elements, in a college or seminar, only a modified degree of integration can be achieved, if any. And this leads to the ironic situation in which teachers are increasingly expected to provide an integrated educational experience for children in school, when they themselves have experienced an education and training that is often notable for its lack of integration.

The problem of ensuring that the character of the educational experiences which the teacher undergoes in training is not only appropriate but is also consonant with his new teaching role is all too seldom to the forefront of the planners' minds - unless it be the naive view that experience in a comprehensive university acclimatises one to teach in a comprehensive school. Some aspects of this problem are touched on in a paper on 'The balance of studies in colleges of education' by the principal of a college in the U.K.:

> "In the first place students must be made familiar with at least some of the apparatus and material coming from so many sources in the present day, and must learn to evaluate it. If they do not make a start in learning how to do this in college they are going to be passive recipients of kits and packages all their days. They will be helped in evaluation if they can look at the material both from the point of view of the specialist in education and from that of the subject specialist. Secondly they must have experience themselves of working on the material in the same way that children will be expected to work, that is, with appropriate technological aids, and in different kinds of groupings. Thirdly, they must be prepared to throw the material of the curriculum into novel combinations and to study the principles involved in integrated or

> inter-disciplinary studies and traditional subject study at different ages. New methods of study will require new and careful methods of assessment of what is learned." (48)

These suggestions relate primarily to the curriculum field. At the same time it is insisted by this writer that:

> "Only by looking deeply at the process of learning as he undertakes it himself at a level suitable to a student can he understand what education is about and acquire the standards by which to judge his professional work." (49)

This is well said. It is a reminder that schemes of education and professional training either come together or fail to come together in the minds of individual students. Where, as in so many of the schemes for integrating or linking the college and the university, the various elements of the course(s) are laid end to end or loosely alongside one another, and where the student does not encounter experiences which fuse these elements into a binding relationship, it is at least probable that the many and various elements of his role as a teacher will similarly remain discrete. His emancipation, like the curate's egg, is likely to be speckled.

CHAPTER III

1. Proposals for integration in the Federal Republic of Germany

The reforms of post secondary education being promoted in Germany are the product of many pressures of which a "predilection for organisation" may well be the first, "tempting (them) to try to put some order into (such an) irrational outcome of history" (50). In fact the structure seems to be not so much irrational as untidily heterogeneous, consisting as it does of a great hierarchy of institutions in a state of would-be upward social mobility towards the coveted status of university. The first institutions to join the universities at the top of the ladder were the "polytechnical schools" which succeeded in becoming Technische Hochschulen and finally full universities, when they were authorised to award doctorates. But their promotion left a vacuum lower down, which was gradually filled by Ingenieurschulen, recruiting students from the middle level of secondary schools, and by other colleges specialising in commerce, social work, seamanship, and other trades and crafts. And gradually they too, though not seeking to make the Abitur their criterion of admission but rather seeking to make it possible for many students to come up through apprenticeship plus qualified vocational school, have aspired to become professional colleges (Fachhochschulen). In fact, the key motive for the upgrading of the Ingenieurschulen was not so much vocational and professional needs (though that was the argument) as the status interests of students (qualification being measured by the number of years spent attaining it) and of staff (wishing to become "professors" and achieve a higher ranking in the civil service pay scale).

The Padagogische Hochschulen, or teachers' colleges, however, do require the Abitur and thus their entrants have the option of going to the university; and they recruited in 1969 much the same proportion of all students as the Fachhochschulen - 12.7 per cent as against 14.5 per cent - compared to 65 per cent in the universities. The teachers' colleges, having achieved the right to confer doctorates, that symbol of status in German society, had already achieved Hochschul status when the proposals for the creation of the Gesamthochschulen or comprehensive universities were agreed in 1970 after some years of intensive discussion. The system of teacher education at that time corresponded to the pattern described in Chapter II. Teachers for the primary and short-course compulsory secondary schools (age 6-15) were trained for three years in teachers' colleges, plus, as a rule, 12 months of in-service training in a Studienseminar; teachers for the Gymnasium (age 16-19) were educated at universities for four or more (often many more) years, followed by 18 months in a Studienseminar; and teachers for the middle range of the secondary school (age 10-16) received their training-cum-education for three years either in the university or college, plus 12-18 months in a Studienseminar. On the whole the colleges' courses had only recently acquired some "scientific" strengthening and awareness of research studies in education; while the university regime was based on research-oriented and highly

specialised courses in languages and the historical and natural sciences. The one was as narrowly professional as the other was narrowly academic, and the latter was inadequately redeemed by the quite separate course of practical studies offered in the seminars.

This system came in for increasing criticism during the sixties, and opinion was particularly impatient with the :

> "tradionalism which was characteristic of the educational system reconstructed after World War II. The old educational system was based upon early selection between the more or less 'talented' and upon the ideology of talent given by nature and hardly affected by education, thus affirming social discrimination and unequality of opportunities. This traditional system was definitely unable to cope with those educational needs of a developing economy and proved unable to answer the new social and political demands that were raised at the same time by groups of social and educational reformists: students and some of the teacher organisations, trade unions and internationally minded pedagogues and scientists. These aimed at fuller democratisation of educational opportunities, freedom of personal development, free access of everybody to higher education, free choice of profession and qualification levels"(51).

Out of this growing volume of discussion arose proposals for the establishment of Gesamthochschulen, proposals which were taken up initially in some of the Länder (for according to the constitution each Land is responsible for its own system of teacher training), and then incorporated into a proposed "Basic Law on Institutions of Higher Education" by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science in 1970 - the Bill has not yet been passed. The feature of this stage of the discussions was the degree to which a consensus developed between the Federal Government, whose Social Democratic principles naturally led it to favour a measure which seemed calculated to promote greater equality of opportunity, and the eleven Länder with their divided political loyalties, together with the West German Rectors' Conference, for whom such proposals might well have seemed a threat. However, the Secretary-General of the Rectors' Conference, Dr. Jurgen Fischer, has enumerated a long list of "hopes which are placed in the development of the Gesamthochschulen" :

> "with or without the adoption of common admission requirements, to open doors in the walls separating institutions, or even better, draw them all together within a common framework; by means of a reform, to co-ordinate or integrate related courses of study in

different institutions, thus making it possible for everyone to pursue his studies up to a level corresponding to his interests and abilities;

to temper or correct the uncontrolled growth of institutions in their federal setting by regrouping them physically and by co-ordinating curricula in a manner consonant with the needs of a modern industrial state; no longer to reserve exclusively for universities the concept of teaching and learning based on research - a generally recognised principle in modern education;

to replace the universality of the wider range of teaching in each individual university by the universality of the wider range of teaching which can be offered by a group of integrated institutions;

to bridge the gap separating the literary and the scientific and technological 'cultures' within the framework of an 'inner' Gesamthochschule;

to replace the multiplicity of administrative structures by creating large unified and self-governing bodies"(52).

Well might Torsten Husén, the Swedish expert on comprehensive school reform, have commented on the German idea of the Gesamthochschule: "The Germans overdo the case!"(53).

Dr. Fischer sums up this catologue of hopes and objectives by saying that the Gesamthochschule "is envisaged not as the beginning but as the culmination of all reforms". That depends, however, on the form which the particular reforms take. The atmosphere of agreement was undoubtedly only possible because the idea of the Gesamthochschule, as a national policy, was formulated in terms so general as to allow the association between the institutions of higher education to take two quite distinct forms: co-operation between institutions which remain essentially independent but linked, and integration which involves the creation of a unified institution with a single governing body and a measure of common curricula. Broadly speaking it is the integrated model which is favoured by Länder with Social Democratic majorities, by the Rectors' Conference, and by the main teachers' unions (other than the union of teachers in the Gymnasium). And it is clear that this model involves the most radical changes educationally, at least in theory.

The division between the two main political parties about integration or co-operation turns on the degree to which education is viewed as a major agent of social and economic conservatism or change. The hierarchical structure of higher education in Germany has been particularly evident in the case

of teacher training, because here separate colleges and universities have been recruiting students of ostensibly the same but, in practice, rather different calibre and returning them, after a period of training/education which itself embodied snobberies to do with research versus practical studies, to quite separate schools. From this social point of view, the co-operative model is likely to seem relatively ineffectual, for the separate institutions might retain their distinct professional functions with their distinct recruitment policies; whereas in the integrated institution students presumably enter together and pursue, at least for a time, common curricula and are comparatively free to move to and fro between different specialist streams. It is also said that among the main reasons for integration has been the pressure to equalise the different categories of teachers and that many of the parties involved in the reform of teacher training found it easier to upgrade and integrate the colleges into the universities (whatever their drawbacks) than to change the whole salary structure and system of payment to teachers working under the old system of grades. From this point of view, expressed by an officer of the Federal-State Planning Commission (which brings together the Land governments and the Federal Government), the upgrading of teacher training colleges may take place at the expense of the integration of practical and theoretical studies within the colleges, for their syllabuses may now become more like the universities.

It is at this point that the political-social case merges into an analysis of the comparative prestige of different modes of study, and of "the gap separating the literary and the scientific and technological 'cultures'", to quote Dr. Fischer. The criticism of colleges of education which seems to be wide spread in Germany is that their curricula and studies have been too wide, training "the pedagogical decathlon man and woman", and too "unscientific". This term (which is not commonly used in this way in English) implies that the colleges' educational studies were insufficiently grounded in the social sciences and also that they were not in touch with research. A representative of the G.E.W., the large and inclusive teachers' union, has expressed the view that "all teachers should have a very broad scientific education" and this unquestionably meant, in his view, that "it should be carried through in universities and not only in teacher training colleges which were at that time below the standard of the universities". In particular :

> "the standard of research work in the teacher training colleges is lower than at the university. It is not their fault, but they don't have the means and resources to do it the same way. It is also a consequence of the history of their development that the teacher training colleges were originally founded to teach only cultural subjects for all-round teachers, and research work in the subject is not done at all. So this work is done at the universities. We want the teacher to know the

problems of his subject down to the roots so that he is able to understand what is done in his subject and to learn later on if he wants to follow up the way of research work in his subject. This is impossible in a teachers' training college where this kind of work is not done but only education research work."

In fact the colleges have found it hard to obtain the resources to promote much research in education.

It is important to qualify these strictures on the colleges in two respects. They have brought professional sociologists and psychologists onto their staff. And during the past decade and more they have strongly developed the branch of educational studies which the Germans call "Didaktik". The role of didactics:

"is to revise the school curriculum and establish its fundamental criteria for the selection of elements, to develop and evaluate the methods of school learning and teaching; to investigate the individual and social learning situation and draw consequences for the concept and organisation of the learning processes in the school and finally to enable the teacher to draw all these elements and insights together in his own task of planning and evaluating the day-to-day learning process of the children and his own teaching activities"(54).

Didactics apart, however, the unscientific character of much educational study in the colleges has no doubt been in striking contrast to the intense academic traditions of the universities. The great weight and prestige of these traditions have led, understandably enough, to the conviction that only through some form of integration will the colleges be drawn out of their intellectual isolation and underdevelopment. It remains to be seen. It is at least arguable that the university tradition may prove overwhelming. Numerically, as has already been observed, the student population of the colleges is about one-fifth of the university student population. And academically the universities have revealed, in the judgment of M. Georges Daillant, Deputy Director of the International Association of Universities:

"a remarkable uniformity in their curricula, their ideas and their teaching methods. University education as a whole is based on intensive study, nourished in principle by research, of one particular scientific discipline. Even if in certain so-called 'mass subjects' (Massenfächer) the nourishment provided by research tends to become watered down and deficient in calories, the approach remains the same: narrow specialisation

> along the line of a breakdown of disciplines designed to meet the needs of research and governed by criteria of 'scientificness' (Wissenschaftlichkeit) which exalt the purely intellectual aptitudes above all others. The system is sometimes criticised for doing nothing but produce 'Fachidioten', roughly translatable perhaps as 'expert idiot'" (55).

It was the view of Professor Heinz Heckhausen of the University of the Ruhr, contributing to the seminar at which M. Daillant acted as rapporteur, that this university tradition is incompatible with the academic needs of the professional in training, for whom teaching ideally "consists of a multi-disciplinary approach to complex technical situations in their concrete, everyday reality". Professor Heckhausen argued that the educational objectives of this professional education:

> "are directed, generally speaking, towards a more comprehensive understanding of problems and even towards the development of the personality. The object is to enhance the interests, values and complex human aptitudes (outside the sophistication of a single discipline) which will enable the graduate to master in a critical, responsible, decisive and creative way the complex human and technical situations which his profession involves. This is not merely a question of professional efficiency, but also a matter of the qualities of a life style which is fundamentally political. The following short and random list may make clear what I mean:
>
> - ability to recognise complex problem situations;
> - readiness to assume responsibility and take initiatives for problem solving;
> - ability to develop social institutions for problem-solving;
> - ability to assess and to classify the factors of a problem according to their casual relationships and the degree to which they can be affected by suitable action;
> - immunity to oversimplification and critical distance vis-à-vis ideologies;
> - aversion to activities which, while they may earn money, power and prestige, are in fact meaningless and socially worthless;
> - versatility in assuming different roles in order to cope with all situations as they arise;
> - persistence in pursuing difficult and frustrating tasks if they promise to be worthwhile in the long run;

ability to adopt different points of view and to sustain a high degree of cognitive complexity;

ability to co-operate and to communicate with others;

tolerance for the views and habits of others;

ability to understand social situations, to recognise the motivations of views and actions, and to solve social conflicts, etc."

And he concluded his argument by asserting that such qualities as these are:

"scarcely sought or required in university education today. Indeed, intellectual preoccupation with the advancement of knowledge in single disciplines leaves little room for it"(56).

Holding these views, which add up to a formidable warning, it is not surprising that Professor Heckhausen invites his compatriots to "bid a fond farewell" to a number of "articles of faith and belief of educational policy". In particular:

"1. The belief that the factor of physical proximity can itself produce a measure of mutual co-operation, inter-relationship and agreement;

2. The belief that the centralisation of decision-making and the further piling up of bodies for self-governance and planning can stimulate and maintain educational reforms and co-ordinate everything. ....

3. The belief that distinct disciplines can be integrated, and that so-called 'interdisciplinary' teaching and research can be made feasible by the addition of new subjects or the holding of joint sessions;

4. The belief that living together irons out and levels off differences in social status. In a Gesamthochschule which absorbs the former para-university courses of study, the internal differences in status distribution will become more sharply defined"(57).

The main premise on which Professor Heckhausen's argument rests is that the West German university is so firmly entrenched in its particular traditions that it will inevitably destroy the interdisciplinary modes of study appropriate to the education of professionals, in the event of integration with the teachers' colleges. It may be that this thesis is one of the main reasons which prompts those who prefer the

co-operative model. But this is to raise a question which Professor Heckhausen did not altogether answer, which is the sanctity as distinct from the solidity of this university tradition. He spoke, he said, "without any anti-academic prejudice. Highly sophisticated, even one-sided academic intellectuality is indispensable." It is just that "on its own it is not enough to master a career and to master life"(58). But though it may be indispensable, it may not be needed in "great quantities". Perhaps "one-sided academic intellectuality", in an age of mass higher education, is only appropriate to the realm of doctoral studies - and even there is liable to produce Fachidioten. In short, perhaps the traditions "so firmly entrenched" need to be challenged and even extirpated?

This is certainly not the place to enter into an examination of the German academic tradition as such, but it is true that the wide range of academic opinion which has come to favour the idea of the Gesamthochschule seems to be responding to three simultaneous urges : to "horizontalize" teacher training so as to correspond to the reformed school structure; to make the education and training of the teacher more scientific and academically prestigious; and to shift university curricula in the direction of professional involvement. It is this last shift which Professor Heckhausen thinks so unlikely. On the other hand one finds the Rector of the University of Constance, Professor Gerhard Hess, saying that :

> "It will certainly be difficult to avoid the Gesamtho chschule being subordinated to the requirements of training. The concern of the State to provide training facilities for the growing number of students is the first argument in this direction. The vast majority of students will either be studying to be teachers or be studying the technical and applied sciences. It is evident that this development will take place at the expense of those university disciplines not specifically concerned with professional training. ... It is obvious that this tendency to give priority to professional training constitutes a danger to the 'university' element of the Gesamthochschule" (59).

And it is his belief that the inclusion in the Gesamthochschule of courses of study formerly taught in teacher training colleges and engineering colleges will "strengthen the career training function" of the institution as a whole.

Exactly how this professionalisation of university studies will be achieved and organised is open to considerable difference of opinion. In part it may be achieved as a by-product of moves to reshape existing curricula, such as the move to loosen up the traditional discipline of German literature and language and incorporate studies in modern

literature, the press, and "Trivialliteratur", as well as linguistic studies - all of which would undoubtedly bring the discipline far closer to the needs of the teacher. Partly it may be achieved by restructuring the pattern of studies, instituting, sometimes in the college, an initial period of common and general studies followed by specialisation. And partly the professionalisation of university studies may be achieved by bringing into the university the professors of didactics from the coleges. Indeed, it might be argued that there will not be much curricular change of relevance to the teaching profession until the faculty, the staff, is augmented in this way.

The initial tendency has been for the educational staff from the college to swell the small numbers of education and pedagogic professors in the university department of education - bearing in mind that the provisions of the laws on higher education assume that departments are the units of teaching and research. But in the University of Frankfurt, for instance, in 1971, the education department was broken up and the didactic professors were distributed among the specialist subject departments. One can see the argument for this attempt to integrate the didactic professors with their main subject professors. But in the case of mathematics, for instance, it has proved a singularly unsuccessful integration of the three full didactic professors of maths into a reluctant department of some 15 ordinary professors who apparently have no interest in high school teaching and who claim anyway, to "know what didactics are, we've been teaching it for twenty years. Nobody can tell us what a maths lecture should be." As a result the didactics professors find themselves academically ostracised, starved of funds, and without control over doctoral students. In their view, the disparity of numbers within the departments creates inseperable problems which could perhaps only be overcome by grouping the didactic professors together within each major faculty so that they become a semi-independent nucleus of a viable size.

The senior officials at the Ministry of Culture for Hessen, whose Minister had decreed this particular policy of departmental integration, did not make any secret of the fact that the university was probably somewhat reluctant to have teacher training wished on it in this fashion. But they saw the problems of the mathematicians, for instance, as essentially transitional; and interestingly they also believed that the integration of staff within the departments, which has the great advantage (theoretically) of enabling them to become members of a large team of colleagues in their field, would be strongly supported by the new assemblies which are responsible for the further development of the university and in which more and more students participate. As for the students, the officials seemed convinced that they could only gain academically and professionally, for "now the education students have a choice between

professors and they do not all have to go to a single subject professor". As the representative of the teachers' union, the G.E.W., put it, "if somebody has as his subject the history of the German language, it is better for him to work together with all people studying German language in the university so that he can see the whole scenery of the structure of the disciplined German language, and he can decide whether he wants to go this way or that. If he is brought up in a teachers' training college his view on life is maybe, not inevitably but maybe, too narrow if he is from the beginning only looking at children and adolescents". Moreover, within each department the student will find not only subject specialists but also the professor in didactics for the subject, and also, quite often, an educational professor concerned with scientific studies within the field. Time, it is felt, is on the side of the implementation of the new law and of the gradual acceptance of the integration by the professoriate of the university.

To help the education professors develop their own cohesion and sense of status, they are also being organised in Frankfurt into a didactics centre which will bring them together with the educational psychologists and sociologists. There are, of course, many ways of linking specialists from separate fields and disciplines and the structure being introduced at Frankfurt is only one model. What many of the experiments reflect is a departure, more or less radical, from the single subject curriculum and the attempt to incorporate into it optional elements of didactics, educational studies, and even a certain amount of practical work. The argument over the range of studies to be pursued has, somewhat oddly, divided along political lines, the five C.D.U. Länder of Baden-Württenberg, Bavaria, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland and Schleswig-Holstein pressing for a differentiated system of training and for a university course of four years in two subjects, one of them advanced. How these new patterns of study will work out remains to be seen over the next few years; but there is certainly evidence of a considerable and in places elaborate process of curriculum planning, even if a foreign observer has recently remarked that a good deal of this activity is de haut en bas and that there is a singular reluctance to take risks: "While they are swimming scientifically in the waters of curriculum research, Illitch, or his successors, will have run off with their clothes".

In the Länder where the policy is one of co-operation rather than integration, the co-ordination of the courses of study involves agreement on the respective academic roles of the institutions and on the content of the curricula, and it also implies the establishment of joint committees both at departmental and governing level. But essentially the institutions remain separate, they retain, especially the colleges, many of their former characteristics and intellectual assumptions, and their respective staffs continue to view each other with a sense

of their dissimilarity of standard and commitment. The question which seems to be almost wholly unanswered is whether the co-operative model provides a helpful intermediary stage on the road to integration, or whether the separate institutions will achieve a working partnership of sufficient equilibrium to enable them to continue on their independent paths. At present the situation does not appear to have achieved anything like this degree of stability or equanimity.

The discussion so far has circled around two distinct concepts of integration: integration between institutions, and integration of the separate elements of the professional and academic curriculum. Though distinct, these two concepts bear somewhat ironically on each other, for it seems probable that as the institutions become integrated so the integration of studies in the college curriculum will give way to a looser pattern of study somewhat on the university model, at the same time as the university may be attempting to introduce into its subject-oriented curriculum elements of professional training. There remains to consider a major issue which links the two levels of integration, and that is the Studien seminar. The seminar, out of which the college originally developed in the nineteenth century, is a separate institution under the direct control of the Land Minister of Culture. Often the seminar is based on a school and it will have a staff of three or more teachers particularly qualified to act as tutors and supervisors. Essentially the seminar provides the most practical element in the teacher's training, and it is commonly oriented towards teaching in one category of school or one age level. The college student, whose course will (in its integrated way) have included practical work in school assisting with lessons, goes on after obtaining his first state examination to a post in a school, and attends the seminar for 1½ years. Whereas the university student, having (at least formally) pursued no practical studies, attends the seminar for 2 years. In both cases attendance at the seminar is on a day-release basis, and during this period, the second or practical phase of training, the student receives a part-salary.

It is immediately apparent that the seminar as commonly organised at present is not comprehensive and that it runs counter to the philosophy of integration, both at the organisational and pedagogic level. The Education Council recommends the full integration of theoretical and practical studies and also the integration of universities, colleges and seminars. But though the Standing Conference, representing the 11 Länder, supported full institutional integration, it decided to retain the 2-phase pattern of training, with the result that the seminar, except in one or two areas such as Stuttgart, remains unintegrated. From the academic-professional point of view, this is a major gap in the concept of integration, for the 2-phase system makes serious feed-back impossible. Challenged about this, the most common explanation for retaining the

2-phase system is a political one: university students are free to engage in political activities and in many centres the more radical students have achieved considerable power which they have not hesitated to wield "destructively" and "subversively". It is not tolerable, so the argument goes, that the practical stage of the teacher's training, which he undertakes as someone who is now a paid Beamter (or civil servant), should be subject to these radical political pressures. Understandably enough the state, or the Land, wishes to keep control over the final stage of training and it does so by controlling the seminars. Nonetheless, the tendency is to say that the seminar should become part of the Gesamthochschule. The G.E.W. for instance, while accepting for the present the 2-phase pattern, says it would like to see experiments carried out with the 1-phase organisation of studies; but it is not quite clear how this might be organised without the seminar losing its close integration with the school. Talking with staff and students of a seminar in Frankfurt training for the upper stage of the secondary school, it was striking that most of them accepted the integration of university and college, if without much enthusiasm, but none of them believed that the seminar should be integrated with the university. For they saw the university, which they know at first hand, as going in for a "scientification of studies which leads people to be predetermined and too academic", and for being insensitive to the fact that the needs of the student teacher are as much social as intellectual. For these reasons they felt it to be imperative that the seminar should remain "quite another institution from the university because of all the processes of innovation which are sponsored there", and because the seminar can set in motion "processes which may animate the whole school institution which, like the Gesamtuniversität, is too big and heavy to be moved by itself". Were the seminar absorbed into the integrated university structure, they felt, it would go the way of the integrated teachers' colleges where "the practical studies are now rather to the worse than the better".

Questioned as to how the idea of the Gesamthochschule will work out, officials of all kinds, whether in ministries, universities, colleges, unions, tend to be optimistic and yet, when it comes to describing actual academic relations, vague. Opinion is clearly very divided, and not only politically, about the integrated or co-operative models. In Stuttgart an official view was that about 60-70 per cent of the staff of the teachers' college were in favour of the Gesamthochschule, but only about half of these were in favour of it being integrated. At the student seminars, nearly 100 per cent say they want the Gesamthochschule, but hardly anybody says it should be integrated. Very many people feel that the organisational difficulties of making the Gesamthochschule integrated are very great. As for the universities, it seems that opinion is not very strong for integration, perhaps about 30 to 40 per cent, who really, so it is suggested, interpret the integrated Gesamthochschule as meaning a greater university.

This is one view from one city, but it is not possible to visit Germany without feeling that the issue underlying most others is the question of "great universities" and how much greater they are to become. Many of them are already very large indeed, over 20,000 or some over 25,000. And yet it is apparently intended to integrate within them, in some cases, the teachers' and engineering colleges, and schools of social work and of art as well. The Wissenschaftsrat has suggested that institutions which are an hour's journey apart are still suitable for integration, though an outside observer might think that they would then find that co-operation "suited" them even better.

The scale on which Germany is planning to reshape its further and higher education and the speed with which it intends to build up its Gesamthochschulen is impressive. And it has been something of a triumph that the Federal Government and the 11 Länder have been able to work out these plans with so much agreement. The whole edifice rests on two major assumptions: that the university, with its scientific and research-centred traditions, is and should be the major partner in a comprehensive structure; and that these university traditions should be and are capable of being harnessed to the needs of the teaching and other professions. These are assumptions that are shared in Sweden and denied in England, at least by the former Government. A summary judgment, offered at far too early a stage and on far too cursory an acquaintance with the situation, might be that the concept of the Gesamthochschule, considered simply from the point of view of the teaching profession, is too grandiose, its gestures are too large to meet the particular and delicate needs of tomorrow's teachers. A less dramatic course, but one which might be far harder to bring about by governmental edict, was put forward by Professor Heckhausen; at any rate it is a course which stems from a concern for academic and professional standards and inter-relationships:

> "the integration of university and professional courses of study should take place only in new and small institutions of higher education. Existing institutions, universities and colleges, should remain independent, but each should transform itself internally into an integrated Gesamthochschule, diversifying and splitting up its traditional courses of study horizontally as well as vertically, and in particular seeking and developing the potential for reform within the fields of study themselves"(60).

2. Plans for centralisation and regionalism in Sweden

Education in Sweden is much planned. In the fifties there was a decade of experiment in comprehensive schooling which culminated in the establishment of the 9-year compulsory school. But in the judgment of an officer of the Teachers' Union, the reform of 1962 may have been undertaken too hastily, for it had to be revised in 1969; there were some difficulties in the schools which led to the suggestion that teacher education might be to blame. So the sixties was the decade of teacher training discussion, which saw the establishment of schools of education for primary and secondary teacher training and for educational research (in fact, the Stockholm School was established in 1965) and which culminated in the 1968 Teacher Training law. But clearly that could not be the end of the process, and in that same year there was set up a Commission known as the U68 to plan the overall size, structure and regionalisation of post-secondary education - the Minister of Education who set it up appropriately became Prime Minister. As a result the seventies is on the way to being the decade of planning, discussing and re-organising higher education. At this time it is hard to be sure which exactly of the proposals and plans will be accepted and what changes they will succeed in bringing about. U68's full report is being discussed for a year and proposals will then be put to Parliament in the autumn of 1974. Clearly, then, this Chapter is written in the midst of flux, albeit a familiar Swedish flux.

If the fifties were a period of secondary school experiment, they were also a period of considerable school expansion. For some 20 years there was a great lack of teachers, and as a result the teachers' seminaries and above all the universities grew larger and larger and it was said that virtually everyone who wished could get a job immediately as a teacher. This boom period in the teacher market coincided with a problem period for teachers working in the re-organised school system, and the two combined to bring problems of teacher training to the fore. A Teacher Training Committee worked for five years and then, in 1967, it put forward comprehensive proposals for strengthening and upgrading the teachers' colleges. In particular the Committee proposed reducing the number of colleges from 20, many of them small and local, to 8 major colleges which would give all types of teacher training, including greater opportunity for specialisation, both pedagogic and methodological courses, and a half-year of school practice; also these colleges would be made centres of educational research. As for the prospective teachers taking their academic studies at the universities, the Committee wished to see their studies far

more intermixed so that there would be no initial difference between being trained to become a teacher and a research worker. At the same time, the Committee argued for a greater congruence between the subjects studied in their own academic right at the university and the subjects subsequently taught in schools.

This Committee's proposals had a mixed success. The pressure of local loyalties saved 9 of the 20 former colleges and they became minor colleges, apart from the 6 colleges which had been enlarged into schools of education and classified as major colleges. This led to a tripartite structure of teacher education and training, with minor colleges training class teachers, major colleges also training graduates from the universities, and universities providing specialist-subject teachers with their initial education - this might include the academic study of education, which has apparently become a popular subject. The creation of the schools of education and the allocation to them of funds for research had the result of raising the prestige of teacher education, so that today one can hear it responsibly said that lecturers at the university tend to be of an appreciably lower prestige than at the major colleges, because the latter are necessarily more senior, especially in the research institutes, whereas many of the lecturers at the university are little more than young students. Nonetheless, the situation in 1968 hardly presented the rational pattern envisaged by the Committee or by Dr. Marklund and his colleagues on the secretariat.

One of the tasks facing U68 when it was set up in 1968 was the complexity of the structure of post-secondary education and whether its simplification would mean providing a central authority for higher education - at that time the universities were under the Chancellor's Office, the teacher education colleges were under the National Board of Education, the social institutes, journalist institutes, and so on were under separate Boards. In fact the current system might be described as a multiplicity of centralisations. If U68 were to propose rationalising this structure, it was also determined to introduce some decentralisation into it as well. Its proposals envisage the division of the country into 19 higher educational areas, each with a Board of Higher Education concerned with the planning of higher education in its area, including where applicable research and research training. The whole structure would be placed under an enlarged Chancellor's Office to be called the Office of the Swedish University and Colleges. As far as teacher education is concerned, the idea is that basic education will be carried on in the 19 local college units and no doubt class teachers will complete their training in these local colleges. But specialist teachers, both subject specialists and professional specialists such as teachers of physical education, home economics, handicraft, will then go on to one of the six major

regional centres for further specialist training at post-graduate level. A distinguishing feature of the six main centres is that they include universities and concentrations of research and other academic resources, and it is proposed that there shall be some regional machinery corresponding to the local Boards in order to co-ordinate plans.

If the proposals of U68 went no further than that, they would produce a tidy structure but not one which is radically different, in academic terms, from the kind of planning already described. The radical departure, though of course it has its roots and antecedents, is the premise from which U68 started its deliberations, which is:

> "the premise that higher education is to prepare students for subsequent occupational activities. This has consequences for its capacity and organisation, and to some extent also its location. Obviously, it does not imply that every study unit in a university or college should be directly linked to an occupation. The intention is rather that the individual's basic education as a whole should prepare him for an occupation. In the opinion of the Commission, working life should constitute an important source of renewal for education, at the same time as education should function as an important instrument for the development of working life"(61).

Accordingly the Commission proposed that the educational programmes in higher education be sub-divided into five occupational training sectors: medicine and social work, technology, administration and economics, teaching, and cultural work and information. In each local area there would be a Commission for each sector, responsible to the area Board and composed, it is suggested, of one-third teachers, one-third students, and one-third drawn from professional life. It seems probable that there will be a numerus clausus within each institution. Exactly how the existing institutions are to be re-shaped is not clear, and to a great extent the existing departmental structure will apparently continue. Indeed, it is suggested that the present small educational institutions would be restructured so as to fit into the present university departmental pattern, or where they are already professionally oriented they might constitute departments within the comprehensive organisation.

Looked at from the point of view of the universities, the professionalisation of higher education into these five distinct sectors is certainly a radical departure; but in reality it corresponds very much to the existing structure among the non-university institutions. And in large part the decision reflects the change in the job market: graduates can no longer

count on a job being available if they postpone their decision too long. As a result, there has been a tendency to advance the moment of professional decision and commitment. It is particularly interesting to find this trend strongly supported by the main student organisations of the centre and left; the demand, which has until recently been attributed to students as a whole, for more openness of choice and for ease of transfer from sector to sector is now the policy, in Sweden at least, of the radical left who are in a minority. The inexorable facts of a contracting or at least satiated employment market for professionals has had its effect on current ideologies. It has led, one gathers, to the concept of academic study pursued "for its own sake" within the university being viewed with rather general, certainly with increasing, disfavour. In fact,one of the most awkward opinions to fit into a coherent plan is the view that the university as such will cease to exist at the undergraduate level. Part of the difficulty may be one of communication, for probably the very word university doesn't signify quite the same in England as in Sweden, where university is one type of higher education, teacher training another one. As for whether both types will exist tomorrow, the answer tends to be that they will, but that what is now called the university will become smaller and smaller and that more of higher education will become directly work and job-oriented. To have a degree now without any professional earmarking apparently carries no prestige. On the other hand, the pressure to get into teaching has dropped in the last few years, perhaps because being a teacher today is thought to be rather tough.

The universities do not appear to share this view of their gradual diminishment, though there is undoubtedly a recognition that the traditional image of the Swedish university is changing. Maybe it will even be transformed. One of the main recent reasons for this growing recognition of change within the universities is that a large proportion of undergraduates have gone into teaching. Indeed, in the fifties and sixties it almost seemed as if the education of people intending to become teachers was the main business of the university, particularly in the sectors of languages, philosophy and the natural sciences. Gradually the teaching staff of the university became aware that they must adjust to this reality and modify their curricula accordingly, for they had decidedly not been designed for this specialist clientele. This kind of change did not happen suddenly, though it was aided by judicious pressure from the central authorities - and the Chancellor's Office is able to exercise considerable influence over the universities and the broad pattern of their curricula. Then, of course, the schools were in the process of being re-organised, and new schools need new teachers and new teachers, it is to be hoped need new curricula.

During these decades, then the universities adjusted their curricula to some extent, to the needs of the schools. New subjects were introduced and the teaching and examination of subjects found themselves slanted towards the profession of teaching. For instance, students studying social science with a view to teaching it in school had previously had to piece together their programme of studies from a number of places; now it became possible, in some universities, to make a package deal of it and to take a co-ordinated curriculum of studies leading directly to social science teaching in the schools. Similarly, students intending to teach Swedish at schools had previously been obliged to study two separate subjects which were traditional in the Swedish university, history of literature and Scandinavian languages. It now came to be felt, if under some pressure, that this was a very academic diet for a future school teacher of Swedish, and so there was created the new academic subject of Swedish which brings Swedish language and literature together as a single field. The departments of Scandinavian languages and of the history of literature or of practical literature still (need one say!) remain separate but at least there are now instances of them coming together to design a joint curriculum oriented towards teaching. Again it is clear that a good deal of initiative has been taken by the Chancellor's Office in an attempt to create inter-disciplinary courses, for instance a foundation course in biology, or a course for students going into administration which brings together sociology, education, economics and other subjects.

U68's proposals, insofar as they affect academic studies, are for the most part organisational, except that in the case of the present philosophical faculties it notes that :

> "U68's draft educational programmes mean a change in relation to the existing situation at, above all, the present philosophical faculties. The educational programmes at these do not always have a clear occupational relevancy. However, by the introduction of occupationally geared courses at the philosophical faculties, and by experiments with educational programmes combining courses at philosophical faculties and upper secondary school, procedures have been developed to make studies at these faculties more occupationally oriented" (62).

Otherwise U68's proposals have to do with the organisation of studies into:

> "... educational programmes, which can be general, local or individual. It is proposed that general programmes of education be established by the

Government, while local and individual educational programmes be set up by the local higher education authorities, in the case of an individual programme after application by the student"(63).

"The important thing is that the combination of courses making up the programme should constitute a good preparation for future occupational activities. This means that courses must not be seen as isolated units. Particular measures must be considered for each educational programme to ensure internal coherency and an overall view of instruction. If such efforts are to succeed, it is of great importance that the planning and administrative organisation, at both the local and central level, should have satisfactory contacts with the occupational field corresponding to the programme"(64).

In view of the developing situation at the university it was interesting to examine how far the proposals of U68 would be likely to strengthen subject groupings, for within the new integrated structure it might be thought that, for example, mathematicians of all kinds in a particular area, whether intending to become school teachers, accountants, engineers, architects, or to remain pure mathematicians, would find the institutional barriers between them greatly reduced and that they would then naturally tend to form an inter-professional group of mathematicians; and so on in the other subjects and fields. From the point of view of the future school teacher, this widening of his professional horizons would be an enormous gain. It was hard to discover whether U68 had felt this question interesting enough to examine, but the common impression was that the professional orientation would be likely to exert a stronger pull than the disciplinary and that the tendency would be for separate disciplines to be drawn together. Yet it was generally agreed that the departmental structure within the universities, and the institutes for each discipline, remain very strong and U68 seems to have accepted that the existing departmental structures will remain intact.

Events and pressures external to itself may already be pushing the university towards an awareness of the needs of teachers, but how far, one wonders, does this extend beyond reshaping some of the curricula? How far have the universities accepted the requirement of 1972 to participate in professional education, accepted the need to integrate academic disciplines with the relevant pedagogy and practice? And how far do the proposals of the U68 seem likely to promote this kind of understanding and integration of professional studies, and a corresponding understanding and integration between the university and the colleges? Certainly the institutions are likely to be brought together, nationally and on a regional

level, within a much more coherent planning structure. But there is little evidence that the university sector itself feels any great need for this : the universities may have no objection to "enclosing the teacher training colleges" (to put it in their terms), but they would not have come up with the idea themselves, out of their own needs. Insofar as the universities have had to do with education, in the sense of having departments of education, this has been at a purely academic and research level and the professional developments already described have mostly taken place in the non-education departments; though it is true that a certain number of people hold joint education appointments in the universities and the colleges. None the less, the subject departments or institutes are being required to become more conscious of the professional needs of their students and to offer them preparatory pedagogic courses; and also to admit lecturers of methodology from the schools of education to their meetings.

One of the important themes of U68 is that it :

> "considers contacts between basic education and research to be essential; this partly to promote a continuous renewal of educational content. It is desirable that such contacts be expanded to cover all higher education, e.g. by collaboration with research workers in the planning and realisation of instruction"(65).

A large proportion of the research in education, especially research into immediate and ongoing problems, is located in the major teachers' colleges, though the research workers do not at present seem to be closely integrated with the teaching staff and the students do not encounter them much in the course of their studies. The Swedish Union of Students, in its memorandum to U68, emphasised that :

> "teacher training should be based on scientific findings and the teacher trainees should take part in current educational research and development work, so that, within the general methodology of teaching, they could test, encourage and find out new working methods or aids within the educational field. Teacher training would thereby become a means of reforming the school."

But the students from the training colleges, in a separate memorandum commenting on the U68 report, seem to fear that the pedagogic institutes within the colleges will be transformed in some way, in their view the colleges :

> "must be permitted to keep their present research institutes and also to expand them. There is a serious danger, in our view, that the work hitherto done by the pedagogic institutes of the teacher training colleges to root pedagogic research in the school world, would be less efficient if the institutes were to disappear as a result of being integrated into a general organisation for teacher training."

An opinion one hears in the university, however, is that the whole structure of higher education proposed by U68 seems to be conceived from the point of view of undergraduate teaching with a job orientation, and the fear is expressed that the new organisation will, contrary to the hopes of U68, tend to separate research and the research worker from student teaching. One can see that, in the field of education, this could well be so, not because university-based research tends to be theoretical and fundamental and the undergraduate teaching professional, but (if swift impressions are to be trusted) because neither tends at present to be sufficiently professional in the full sense, or at least to be professional in the same sense. What U68's proposals would provide if fully realised, would be unrivalled opportunity for research within the university into the disciplines underlying professional study and into the concept of the integration of theoretical and practical studies.

Finally, it is important to ask how the developing situation appears from within a major school of education. A college of this kind will already have been restructured once and been given a considerable increase in the range and prestige of its studies, and it may have grown to about 1,500 students. A major college will in all probability have its specialist research institute, and also its staff, teaching between 10 and 16 periods a week, are expected to engage in research in teaching methods. On the other hand the college does not offer higher or research degrees, though some of its professors may also be professors in the university and have research students there. Thus there is already a good deal of interchange between a major college and the university at this individual level. The fear, already referred to, is that the college might somehow lose its research institute in a restructured system. It is not easy to see how such a change could emerge directly out of U68's proposals, unless it were argued, with some sly force, that if the research institute tends to be a separate institution within the college, very little integrated with the teaching function, then it might as well be located in the university where it would be accessible to research students. This kind of ambiguity of argument arises, perhaps, out of the compromise which U68's proposals seem to represent. For while

the colleges, after all, are already job-oriented and thus conform to U68's first principle, their inability to engage in higher degree work makes them dependent on the universities, and yet the exact nature of that relationship is not spelled out.

What seems to emerge from the discussions surrounding U68 is the way the mechanism of planning is dealing inevitably with larger national and regional structures, without seeming to enquire how these, or the relations between institutions, will affect the intellectual and professional relations between individuals. If the gap between research and undergraduate teaching is in danger of being widened within the university, and if this applies to education as well as to other disciplines, how will it benefit the individual staff and students of the schools of education to be brought into closer association with the universities? What can possibly be meant, in terms of a change in this or that individual's teaching and research duties, by the claim that the university as such will become smaller and smaller? And how precisely will the education and training of teachers be integrated as they move between the still separate institutions which make up the larger, theoretically unified, structure of higher education? To ask these questions is not to suggest that they cannot be answered, but it remains to be seen how the discussion initiated by U68 answers them or, indeed, whether it asks them.

3. Institutes and Schools of Education in England and Wales

The two simplest or at least most direct ways of dealing with teachers' colleges and universities are to leave them on their own, separate and unrelated, or to fuse them into single institutions. A more complex and delicate solution is to find ways of linking them academically while leaving them organisationally independent. In England and Wales the university institutes of education have, since the second world war, provided the framework for this latter form of relationship, and however patchy their success, virtually everyone engaged in teacher education deplores the recent governmental decision to dismantle a large part of this structure and to move the colleges, as far as possible, into the polytechnics' sphere of influence. Whatever degree of organisational tidiness this policy may achieve, there are cogent reasons for believing that it will do a very considerable academic and intellectual disservice to both the colleges and the universities.

The milestones in the development of educational ideas and practice in England - or rather to be more precise, the milestones which mark the translation of new ideas into official opinion and eventually, with luck, into general practice - are mostly named after the chairmen of officially sponsored committees. The name on the milepost marking a new era in teacher training immediately after the second world war was McNair. The McNair Committee, which was set up during the war, issued its report simultaneously with the new Education Act of 1944, an Act which transformed English secondary education and created an immediate need for large numbers of secondary teachers of a new outlook and calibre.

The McNair Report represents the great half-missed opportunity in English higher education, for it tackled the problems of teacher training and teacher education, and of their organisation, with a quite unusual concern for the life of the intellect. It began with the question of the size of the 83 existing colleges:

> "The majority of the training colleges are small in size, many of them being too small for either effective staffing or economical management. In 1938, 64 of the colleges had fewer than 150 students in attendance and 28 of these had fewer than 100. Further, many of the colleges are exceedingly ill-equipped and housed not

> only from the point of view of adequate teaching facilities but also as regards reasonable living conditions for students and staff alike. We give in the next two paragraphs some facts and figures based on returns made to the committee by 77 of the colleges. In this connection it is only fair to say that, in 1938, new buildings and other improvements were being planned for about 20 colleges, but the outbreak of war caused their indefinite postponement"(66).

What can institutions of this size, operating on their own, hope to provide in the way of training, let alone academic education? The answer is not much:

> "In 50 per cent of the colleges the laboratories, studios, workshops and gymnasia are inadequate. More than 50 per cent have no music room. In more than 25 per cent of the colleges the assembly halls, libraries, lecture rooms or dining accommodation are inadequate. Nearly 60 per cent have no cinema projector and more than 30 per cent have no broadcasting reception equipment for teaching purposes; and these figures do not mean that the remainder are adequately equipped in these respects. Such figures are depressing enough, but in the form of totals covering the whole field they fail to reveal the conditions in the most unfortunate of the colleges, in one of which there is no gymnasium, craft room or music room and the hall, common rooms, laboratories and art rooms are inadequate. On the other hand some colleges, but they are very few in number, appear to be adequately housed and equipped in almost every way"(67).

This state of affairs shocked a Committee which came to its task with civilised expectations, and which was concerned to raise the standing of education so that the profession might become "attractive to intelligent and cultured men and women". Essentially, in the Committee's view "education is a unity":

> "It does not make sense to regard the education of young people as one thing and that of adults as another and quite different thing; or to consider that though it may be desirable to have cultured teachers in charge of the sixth form of a grammar school it does not matter what kind of a person is entrusted with the education of infants, so long as she is fond of children."

And if education is a unity, it follows that the arrangement for preparing people for working in education, for teaching, cannot be a disunity. In particular, the universities:

> "... obviously have an important role to play. As centres of study and research they ought to give education a high place in their range of studies, and as institutions maintaining high cultural standards they ought to exercise a profound influence upon the education of teachers"(68).

Thus the Committee as a whole agreed that the university teacher training departments and the teacher training colleges must be brought into a working relationship. But the members split on the way this central recommendation should be achieved. One group (which included the chairman) was clear that the training colleges:

> "... would welcome closer contact with the universities, provided that it takes the form of a partnership between equals and does not lead to the universities having a predominant influence in the training of the students in the training colleges... We appeal to them, in the first place, to ensure that their training departments shall be as efficient as care and money can make them, and shall be regarded as important in every way as a department engaged in preparing students for their degrees; and, in the second place, to accept the view that the universities' contribution towards the improvement of our public educational system should be the concern of the universities as a whole and not be looked upon as the duty of their training departments alone"(69).

This group went on to propose a loose bureaucratic link between universities and colleges, based on the joint Boards which had been set up 15 years previously to organise the examinations for students in training colleges. The other group began by "wholly dissenting ... from any sharp distinction between education and training, as though the one were the proper concern of the best institutions and teachers and the other were not." These committee members had severe expectations of "the best institutions", and it was this that enabled them to insist with so much weight that no system for the training of teachers:

> "can be effective unless those who shoulder the responsibilities derive their authority from a source which, because of its recognised standards and its standing in the educational world, commands the respect of all the partners concerned and which, because of its established independence, is powerful enough to resist the encroachments of centralisation. The universities embody these standards and have this standing and this independence. But quite apart from these considerations the universities have an obligation to the whole educational system. Their vitality depends in part upon the kind of education given in

> the schools, both primary and secondary; and the schools, in turn, look to the universities for some measure of leadership in educational, as distinct from administrative matters. There is no more significant way in which this mutual dependence can be expressed than for the universities to play a leading part in the initial education and training of teachers and for them to maintain a creative relationship with practising teachers and others concerned with the conduct of the schools."

And so this group concluded that the universities should set up University Schools of Education; and lest anyone should suppose that these Schools would simply be grandiose joint boards, it went on to state "with the utmost frankness" that it was not proposing "something comparatively unimportant which will make no substantial difference to the work of the universities. On the contrary our scheme asks much of them. It demands of the universities a richer conception of their responsibility towards education: it will also involve additional staff, both teaching and administrative"(70).

The schools of education, in the recommendation of this group, would be "an organic federation of approved training institutions" with responsibility for "the training and the assessment of the work of all students seeking to be recognised... as qualified teachers"(71).

Its concept of an "organic federation" was very different from the traditional academic snobbery which distinguishes sharply between the education of high school teachers in universities and the training of middle and primary teachers in colleges. (The English tradition was anyway somewhat eccentric, for university graduates did not need to take a training course at all in order to be qualified to teach; so that, till the war, the majority of men and women taking the university training courses were those going into elementary schools, for whom training was compulsory.) The words in which the group rejected the divided pattern are worth quoting in full, because they are still so relevant to contemporary thinking and planning - well might the group remark in its conclusion that "we are not looking a few years but twenty-five years ahead":

> "Such a proposal is both undesirable and impracticable. It is undesirable because the teachers of younger children need to be well educated and well trained, because the kind of education given in the primary schools profoundly affects the educational prospects of children when they reach the secondary schools, and because, particularly when the educational system is being unified, it would be doing a great disservice to education to take a step which divided

> the teaching profession. It is impracticable because some students, very sensibly, do not make up their minds about the type of school in which they intend to teach until towards the end of their course of training, and because there is and should be mobility of teaching staff between primary and secondary schools. Further the fundamental studies and disciplines of all teachers, primary and secondary alike, are, at their apex, the concern of the universities. A School of Education of the kind we have in mind could enrich the work of the departments of the university which deal with physiology, psychology and sociology, and not least because of the inclusion of teachers of younger children."

Finally, the group dealt with the question of the colleges' proximity to the university and their relations with other institutions in their own locality:

> "Nor does our proposal involve the concentration of training institutions within a certain mileage of the university. There should be nothing disturbing, though there may be something new, in the idea of a school or department of a university having an outpost in the form of an affiliated institution fifty miles away. If a university has a department of education the nature of educational provision makes it desirable that it should have such outposts. Of course a University School of Education would not admit to affiliation a distant institution unless the authorities of the School were satisfied that the institution was co-operating with other educational institutions in the area, for example, technical colleges, schools of arts, agricultural institutes, in such a way that it became a centre of cultural interest for the neighbourhood and was not merely an institution for the training of students isolated from the community."

The group summed up its account of a dispersed federation by insisting that its success would depend on ensuring academic traffic both ways: "To break down the isolation of staff is even more important than mitigating the segregation of students"(72).

The government decided to leave it to the universities to opt for one or other of the main proposals, and in the event virtually all of them, with an English genius for the middle way, adopted tame versions of the more radical scheme and set up Institutes of Education. The essential difference between a school of education as proposed by the McNair group and an institute of education is that a school would have provided a framework of relationships between the university as a whole, and certainly its educational staff as a whole, and the

neighbouring colleges and institutions of further education; whereas an institute was to be a modest university set-up, separate from the existing education department and all too easily treated as a weak institution within the university hierarchy, housed most often even further down the road than the department of education. Most of these new institutes comprised a library for the use of college staff and teachers, and a small staff which arranged in-service courses for teachers and which organised panels of university and college subject specialists, with a brief to look at syllabuses and above all to be responsible for the machinery of examinations and assessment. Some of the institutes set up quite considerable research departments. And finally the institutes (or technically the Area Training Organisations which they incorporated) were responsible for recommending students for certification as qualified teachers - this applied also to those university graduates who chose to take the one-year training course in the department of education - which meant, ironically, that only those graduates who decided to undergo training could fail to acquire the qualified teacher status which, by the mere fact of graduating, they had already acquired.

During the next 15 to 20 years the training colleges, like the universities and technical institutions, came under enormous pressure from the greatly increased numbers wanting to enter higher education. They had, more or less simultaneously, to find extra places for students and to extend considerably the range of their academic curricula when their course was lengthened in 1960 from two to three years. These two developments naturally reinforced each other, for the growth in student numbers enabled the colleges to recruit new staff who tended to be younger and more innovative, and also they brought into the colleges strong academic qualifications both in the area of the school-teaching subjects and above all in the social sciences which contribute to the study of education. But while the enlargement of the colleges was decided for them by the Department of Education, the strengthening of their academic and professional life was the product, almost entirely, of their developing relations with the universities and with each other. If the 31 universities as total institutions probably did not have much to do with the 146 training colleges except tolerate them as neighbours with whom they had some kind of association*, individual members of the universities, from the main subject departments as well as from education, were increasingly drawn into the work of the subject panels (or Boards of Studies, as they were mostly called). And if the links between universities and the training colleges were very much less far-reaching than

(*) In fact only 17 universities had institutes of education, because, for instance, there was only one institute for the whole of London, and a number of newly established universities had not set up institutes.

had been envisaged in the McNair Report, they were still, by continental standards, substantial and to a great extent autonomous. The institute machinery of joint consultation and joint decision about the academic and professional development of the colleges seemed, to those involved, to be working unexpectedly well. To cite only one testimony out of a great many, from the University of London Institute of Education:

> "...we hope it will be clear that there are overwhelming advantages in this technique of development and progress as contrasted with one of directives from above that, however politely phrased, just have to be followed with or without the real assent of those professionally concerned. This is something that a forceful administrator may not easily understand, but it has become second nature to those whose work is in the universities... This is at the root of the feeling, which is virtually unanimous in the colleges, that ... the McNair framework has been a good one in these last twenty years"(73).

However that may be, it was not to last for very many more years and today it is in the process of being dismantled.

It is not easy to say what factor was mainly responsible for upsetting the equilibrium which had apparently been achieved. Perhaps it was the very success of the colleges in establishing their three-year curriculum, for under the guidance of the universities they used the extra year, not so much to intensify their programme of educational training as to widen their syllabus so as to include academic studies in their own right, for the personal education of the student. There can be no doubt that this appealed to the students, many of whom were university applicants who had failed to obtain a place and whose commitment to teaching and thus to a purely professional training was not very strong. Also there can be no doubt that it appealed to many of the newer college staff who thought of themselves as subject specialists, teaching philosophy, sociology, psychology, literature, science, mathematics, languages, history, the arts, music and other subjects in an educational context, rather than as comparatively undisciplined, or at least non-disciplined, teachers of method on the old pattern. The colleges became, in short, more serious academic institutions and this gave considerable impetus to two related demands, neither of them at all new: the demand that the colleges should be treated as part of higher, as distinct from further, education; and the demand for a graduate profession. These two demands, and all that they entailed, formed the substance of the recommendations which were put forward by the Robbins Committee in 1963.

The Robbins Committee (one of whose most influential members, Sir Philip Morris, the Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University, had been a leading member of the more radical

McNair group) was established by the Prime Minister to review the pattern of full-time higher education in Great Britain and to advise the government on its long-term development. In a country whose education has largely been kept on the move, either forwards or occasionally backwards, by the deliberations and reports of eminent committees, the Report of the Robbins Committee proved to be an exceptional document. In the first place it was a momental publication, running to a main Report and five volumes of statistical and other material. The importance of this great apparatus of special studies was that it provided the first clear picture of the demand for higher education, of the "pool of ability", and of the diverse resources of the institutions of further and higher education throughout the country. It was on the basis of these extensive studies that the Robbins Committee advanced its major argument about the scale of higher education, which it wished to see related to the "push" of qualified student demand and not to the uncertain "pull" of the employment market. The expansion it proposed for England and Wales was as follows(74):

Thousands

	Universities	Colleges of Education	Further Education	All higher education
1962/3 (actual)	108	49	28	185
1973/4	179	111	45	335
1980/1	291	131	59	481

The number of students in the training college in 1958/9 had been 31,000, so that the Robbins proposals, which were related to its estimate of the numbers of teachers needed in the schools and the proportion of these coming from the universities, involved a very rapid expansion indeed.

But what kind of institutions should the colleges be? The Committee recognised that though the colleges were providing "teachers of the future [with] the opportunity to be better educated than their predecessors, ... [they] feel a lack of public recognition of their standards of work"(75). Partly, the Committee felt, this was bound up with their size and spread of subjects. Of the 146 colleges, only one at that time had more than 1,000 students and 126 had fewer than 500 - indeed, 46 colleges had fewer than 250 students. Yet a college of 500, with a staff of about 50, was inescapably having to teach a very wide range of subjects, for the field of education had steadily been enlarged and in addition the colleges were offering academic courses for the students' personal education. "In our view", the Committee wrote, "the staff of any college should be large enough to permit of specialised teaching in many subjects"(76). It therefore recommended that as the

numbers of students increased, so the individual colleges must be enlarged to a size of at least 750 students. They would then all be able to function at an academic level commensurate with "higher education" - levels and hierarchies have loomed over English post-secondary education even more powerfully than in most of the continent. In England and Wales, this "level" is measured in relation to the university undergraduate degree, which is offered at honours or at pass standard. Some of the work of some of the colleges, it was the Committee's opinion, was already of pass degree standard, yet it remained the case that:

> "As things stand, a student entering a Training College ... automatically sacrifices the possibility of working for a degree. This barrier stands in the way of the many students who are fully capable of work at degree level, however strictly that might be defined."

The Committee came to the conclusion, or more probably it started with the conclusion, that "The opportunity to graduate must be created". But it immediately added its conviction that:

> "though the academic standard of the degree must be broadly related to what is customary in universities, the nature of the course and the approach to the various subjects should be such as to suit the needs of future teachers. No one would wish to see present university syllabuses arbitrarily imposed on the Training Colleges as a condition of making degrees available to their students"(77).

The Committee therefore proposed that a new four-year degree, the B.Ed. (Bachelor of Education), should be created for students in the colleges, and it assumed that about one student in four would probably be eligible and would wish to stay on for the extra year in order to take it. Essentially it would be a professional degree, based on the existing three-year integrated college course and providing an opportunity for a further year of more intensive educational and academic study.

The B.Ed. was the first of the Committee's major proposals for the colleges. Though it went only part of the way towards establishing an all-graduate profession, it undoubtedly represented a very important stride along that route and was generally welcomed. But when the Committee went on to consider how the colleges should be administered in the future, it entered a far more contentious area of discussion. For the central fact about the colleges, not so far mentioned, is that though linked academically to the universities through the institutes of education, they "belonged" either to the local education authorities or to the voluntary (or religious) bodies, by whom

they were administered and, together with the Exchequer, financed. This was the ingenious partnership which arose out of McNair, and the Committee spoke of it in warm terms: "remarkable progress... a notable record". None the less, the Committee rejected this pattern for the future because it:

> "... does not - and cannot - go far enough. In our view the proposals do not sufficiently reflect the colleges' development into national institutions drawing their students from far beyond their own localities and sending them out to serve anywhere in the country. Nor do the proposals significantly strengthen the link between the colleges and universities. To this objective we attach great importance, because we think that it would greatly help and encourage the colleges and would at the same time give the universities a major responsibility for direct leadership in a vital sector of higher education that has so far been only marginal to their main activities"(78).

But if, in spite of the institutes of education, the colleges remained marginal to the universities, could it not be argued that they would do better to establish themselves on their own like the colleges of technology, under the aegis of the local authorities and taking their academic awards through some central non-university body? This was indeed argued, but not by the colleges themselves which were virtually unanimous in wishing to remain linked to the universities. The Committee rejected this argument, at any rate, and produced a proposal "very much in line with the proposals in the McNair Report" (whose words it had already been echoing). Recommending a return to the concept of the schools of education, the committee proposed that the B.Ed. degree of the Colleges of Education (as they ought to be renamed) should be a degree of universities, and that university schools of education should assume responsibility for the government and financing of the colleges, for:

> "we do not believe that the colleges can develop in the ways we have advocated and achieve their full standing in higher education unless they are accorded collectively within the university orbit a sufficient degree of autonomy. This being so, it is highly desirable that academic and administrative responsibility should go hand in hand"(79).

Of course there was a powerful logic to this argument, but was it perhaps the logic of the "forceful administrator" intent on schematising institutional relationships and impatient with anomaly?

For the question was not simply one of desirability, but of willingness on the part of the universities. Being autonomous institutions, it would have been very difficult to impose the Robbins scheme upon them and there was little evidence that they were in the mood for such a radical development at a time when they were in the throes of their own very considerable expansion programmes. It may be that the enormity of the larger proposal made them rather more willing to accept the lesser one; at any rate, with a dispatch which would have seemed unbelievable ten years previously, they accepted the idea of the B.Ed., though for some time they were divided as to whether it should be offered as an honours or only as a pass degree. English universities, perhaps all universities anywhere, are notably slow to introduce new fields of study and education has always seemed to them a non-subject. They are also jealous of their own degrees. So the suggestion that non-university institutions should teach for their degree in a field in which they were not prepared to teach themselves (moreover, a field containing such signally non-university degree subjects as Home Economics, Physical Education, Art, Dance and Movement), this was to ask quite enough of Senates for the time being.

The Robbins Report was the second major attempt to knit the teachers training colleges and the universities more closely together, not only in order to upgrade the status and academic calibre of teacher education, but also in order to strengthen the universities' concern for education and for schooling, and in Robbins, as in McNair, the academic argument remained uppermost. The ten years since Robbins have seen that policy challenged, thwarted, and finally all but destroyed. By the end of the seventies the area training organisations and a large part of the work of the university institutes of education will, in present reckoning, have been wound up, and it is highly probable that many universities will have withdrawn from their present association with the colleges. This reversal of some 25 years of fairly steady academic development is being carried out in the name of what has come to be known as the Binary policy for higher education.

The binary policy was first announced in public by Ms. Crosland, the Labour Party's Secretary of State for Education, in his Woolwich speech in 1965. A belated reply to the Robbins Report, it offered the pathetic vision of a "healthy rivalry" between two sectors of higher education; one of them the public, and in so many words the public-spirited, sector consisting of colleges of education and the various categories of polytechnics and technical, professional, and further education colleges; and the other sector consisting of the autonomous universities (including some new technological universities formed out of the existing colleges of advanced technology).

> "In the opinion of many, particularly the students, the binary system is an exercise in discrimination against the majority of students in higher education. It is maintained that the fundamental difference between the two sectors is not to be found in the courses provided but in the profound difference in the conditions under which the courses are studied. For instance, in 1967/68 the cost per student in universities was £1,625, compared with £1,120 for students in advanced further education and £925 for college of education students.
>
> The Union believes that the quality of education provided must suffer when a limitation of resources means that colleges are unable to support research projects, adequately equipped laboratories, in-service courses and appropriate library facilities. As a result the status and standards of the colleges are adversely affected. ... It is this sort of "built-in" inequality in higher education of which the binary system is both a cause and an effect. Can it be argued, in justice, that there are two distinct categories of student, one of which requires the expenditure of substantially less money than the other? Can it be argued that it is desirable to duplicate courses, library and laboratory facilities, and to under-use and misuse staff? The Union has never accepted this type of argument and rejects its philosophy in higher education, as it has done in primary and secondary education"(80).

But advocates of the binary policy were not seeking, they claimed:

> "to create a depressed, second-class, and under-financed sector of higher education, as their opponents sometimes contend, but to give recognition to the possibility that there might be more than one valid philosophy of higher education, or such differences of emphasis within a philosophy as to require more than one institutional model. They wished less to create a new pecking order of colleges than to question the right of all universities to be above all non-university establishments in the order. They hoped to encourage educational innovation in a separate system strong enough to resist the temptation of assimilation to what was thought to be the university pattern"(81).

What this policy meant for the colleges of education, at that stage, was nothing very different. In view of their very firm wish to remain linked to the universities with whom they were collaborating in the creation of the new B.Ed. it was clearly not possible to move them over academically into the

public sector. So the colleges, which constituted at that time much the largest part of the public sector, continued to straddle the binary dividing line - a state of inconsistency that must have baffled continental opinion. And when, shortly afterwards, they were given far more independent governing bodies, it seemed as if the colleges were having rather the best of both worlds.

At the same time, an enquiry specifically into teacher training and education seemed long overdue if the new perspectives for schools and for teachers outlined in the earlier chapters of this report were to be realised. Concepts of training, habits of mind about integrated courses, syllabuses, relations with schools, inexperience about research, had survived from an earlier era and had then been modified under high pressure. A new committee, the James Committee, set about examining the role of the colleges and the content and organisation of their courses also under high pressure so as to complete its work in a year, and as a result its report, which appeared in 1972, was almost as devoid of evidence as the Robbins Report had been generous with it. On the matter of relations between the colleges and the universities, the Committee (with two dissentients from the college and school of education world) virtually proposed that they be discontinued. It advocated an all-graduate profession on the cheap, proposing a 2-year degree made up of semi-academic and semi-professional bits and pieces awarded by a new non-university National Council for Teacher Education and Training. The area training organisations and with them, in all probability, the university institutes of education should be closed down. The universities, in the view of the Committee, were not suitably employed busying themselves with the training of teachers or with validating the B.Ed. degree; they had far better withdraw to their more serious academic pursuits.

If the James Report was intended to provoke, it succeeded, for it aroused hostile reactions from the university institutes, from the colleges, from the teachers' unions, and from the students. Yet its thesis was only to carry the binary policy to its logical conclusion, even if that meant putting the clock back to the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the Committee put forward some fashionable twentieth century ideas about diversifying the monotechnic colleges and giving priority to in-service education: but all at the expense of an integrated curriculum.

After a period for discussion, the Government issued its policy decisions in a White Paper entitled Education: a Framework for Expansion - "a staggeringly depressing document ... badly written and badly argued"(82). The months of discussion at least induced the Government not to adopt some of the more surrealist proposals in the James Report, such as the new degree, the B.A. (Education). Instead, the Government decided to retain the recently created B.Ed. degree, "to the development of which much careful thought has been given"(83), and to make

it, at pass level, into the normal award for the 3-year teacher training course; and they hoped it would be validated by the existing bodies, including the universities. Some students, it was assumed, would stay on as at present for a fourth year, and would be awarded the B.Ed. at honours level. Though this meant that the colleges would retain an important link with the universities, the White Paper accepted the James proposal that the area training organisations, based on the universities, should be replaced by a new apparatus of regional committees. As for the colleges themselves, it was stated that the supply of teachers had so improved that the number of teachers in training in the colleges could be greatly reduced. At the time the White Paper was published there were 114,000 college students in training, and the Robbins Committee had suggested that this number might rise to 131,000 in 1980/1; but the Government now proposed that this number should come down to 75,000-85,000. So whatever the title of the White Paper, the colleges collectively were not going to expand, though some individual colleges "either singly or jointly should develop over the years into major institutions of higher education concentrating on the arts and human sciences, with particular reference to their application in teaching and other professions"(84). These colleges would cease to be monotechnics; but many of the other smaller colleges would probably continue to concentrate on teacher education, including in-service education. The remainder face a most uncertain future of amalgamation with polytechnics or with each other, of absorption fully into the public sector, or of closure altogether.

The White Paper is a "depressing document" because, among other reasons, it shows so little awareness that the relations between educational institutions are not (or should not be) described simply in terms of validating awards or of logistics. What is in great danger of being lost under the arrangements it proposes are the developing intellectual and academic relationships, carried on in subject boards of studies and elsewhere, which extend far beyond examining functions. The institutes of education have, over the past twenty years, put very considerable resources into strengthening these relations between the staffs of the colleges and the universities. An account of this kind of work, and an indication of the academic commitment and enthusiasm it can arouse, is very well conveyed in the following extracts from the text of a discussion held at Leeds University between members of the staffs of the University (labelled "U") and of some of its associated colleges of education ("C"):

Ford (U) The Leeds University Institute of Education was one of the first to be set up shortly after the war, and like the other Institutes its main function was to bring together the teachers' training colleges, as they were then called, and the University with its own graduate training

programme for teachers. So it would be very interesting to ask you, who come from the University and the Colleges in this region, to describe the way things developed at Leeds. What developments do you see as you look back over the 25 years of these relations? And what gains? Of course the really interesting question is: how would you measure the gains in academic or pedagogical terms?

Shields (C) When the colleges were running Certificate courses only, the value of the University Institute, as I see it, lay in promoting shared activities between the colleges as they began to form some kind of community, i.e. when it came to the degree the relationship was much more significant, because then we met together on a different wavelength with different targets, and we had to meet university demands of a different nature from those which were being made of the Certificate courses. Of course the colleges have undoubtedly had difficulties in meeting the standards which the university has required. It has been through the shared activities that the colleges have come to terms with the nature of the higher standards required for a first degree.

Pickering (C) Certainly since the B.Ed. degrees have been established, contacts have been much closer and very, very valuable to the colleges - and I think interesting and sometimes perhaps even enlightening to the universities.

Spencer (U) When I have visited the colleges of education I have been struck by the enormous enthusiasm of those who taught my special subject in the colleges and how much we had in common in the way of interest in education as in our specialist subject, and also I felt the very considerable isolation they worked in, especially in the field of a degree course which the university examined and which the university awarded. I have never felt happy about the lack of any kind of integrated arrangements whereby specialist departments in the university and specialists in those fields in the colleges could have a closer relation.

Shields (C) I think we need to particularise: ours is a combined subject course of academic and educational studies, together with the practical, professional studies. Now in the colleges, certainly when they are small, it's difficult

for tutors to specialise completely in one area like Mr. Spencer with his speciality of linguistics. The tutor has to play various roles with different groups, the role of the specialist within his discipline, of a specialist in the teaching of this at varying age ranges, and as someone able to give a rationale about this in terms of educational theory. I would think this is not unrelated to the question of isolation.

Perrott (U) — When it comes to the academic side of the B.Ed. in the final year, you are in difficulties because the university lecturer has been appointed probably because of ability in research, and, we hope, ability in lecturing at university level; the college lecturer has been appointed on entirely different grounds, usually because of his ability to produce a good teacher in various ways. He is not necessarily required to be a researcher or to be able to lecture at university level or to appreciate what the university person is doing. And so, of course, we have difficulties when we try to put the two together, particularly in a subject like my own (mathematics) where you can compare levels throughout very clearly.

Mills (C) — My subject is also mathematics, and at first, there was very little conversation with members of the university mathematics staff. Their advice and opinion was always willingly given, but they never forced anything upon us.... Five or six years ago, if I had been asked to prepare a syllabus - a course structure and a syllabus - to be awarded an honours degree in mathematics, I could not have done it. I have no experience of degree lecturing. For the B.Ed., the university people met with members from the college of education and we planned the course between us.

Owen (U) — I first became involved with the college of education through the B.Ed. and before that time I think it's fair to say that neither I nor many of my colleagues felt any link whatsoever with the colleges. Normally in a science department, and I take it in other departments too, the work that you do with your honours students is very near the boundary of knowledge - one is talking about one's own researches and the researches of colleagues, and we have the facilities of a library and equipment which are not always available to colleges. Now the B.Ed.

being an honours degree has to be of honours standard, and the question was, how do you create work of honours standard when many of the people involved in teaching it did not have the kind of experience that you need for teaching to honours standard?

Sutherland (U) — I wonder whether you have noticed an improvement in the qualifications of the staff of the colleges? If colleges consulted the relevant university department about the possible new appointees, it could have quite a marked influence on the college staff, and this would probably iron out some of the difficulties of collaboration in honours degrees.

Taylor (U) — I think history is probably a rather different subject from mathematics or even biology. My own view over the years is that there has been a distinct change in the calibre of the staff in history departments in the colleges; that there has been, I think very largely under the influence of the demands of the B.Ed., a greater emphasis on the academic side. But I should be surprised if this had been at the expense of what I would call the pedagogic skills. It doesn't seem to me that in fact the two are incompatible. On the whole the people in the colleges, whose academic capacity I respect and which is attested sometimes in their own higher degrees, strike me (from the outside, anyway) as people who are probably very good teachers and very good inspirers of teachers, if I may put it that way. My particular subject is one in which there is a less sharp distinction to be noted between the sort of thing that is taught in the colleges and in the university, or even in the quality of the students. I think there is a gradation, which is what you would expect if our selection procedures have any validity at all, but it's a shading off and at the margin there are students in the colleges who are clearly as good, particularly at the end of 3 or 4 years, as many of ours are.

Ford (U) — We have been talking mostly about the academic influence of the university on the colleges. But there is no doubt that the academic intellectual problem that is involved in helping a college answer the question "What is a B.Ed?" has had a quite noticeably broadening effect on one's academic colleagues, what Bruner is insisting on when he says: "Teaching is surely an

extension of the general exercise whereby one clarifies ideas to oneself. All of us who have worked on curriculum have learnt tremendous amounts about our subject matter simply by trying to convert it into a form that would be courteous and comprehensible to a young learner". I think this is an extremely important thesis that rather few of one's academic colleagues have previously had occasion to ponder, but that one's colleagues in the colleges have been compelled to ponder, because in a sense it is their bread and butter.

Spencer (U) When I talked about isolation earlier on, I wasn't only thinking of isolation on the part of colleges; I think that it is reciprocal. I felt extremely isolated from this great pulsating activity which is going on in the colleges associated with the university of which I am a part, and I think that a vast number of my colleagues are still isolated from that. We are, after all, in a sense all members of a community of teachers...and the relation of the courses that our students follow to the whole educational process in the terms of what Professor Bruner is talking about, seems to me very important....

I think it behoves us all to ask what practical steps have we taken to develop and increase the dialogue that we have with our colleagues in similar disciplines in the colleges. How many members, if any, of the colleges' staff have been asked to lecture to our university students? In our specialist departments? How many of them have been given the opportunity actually to teach and examine in our departments during a term or year, in order, if you like, to develop this dialogue and give them experience? How many of us go out and actually lecture to their students in colleges?

Sutherland (U) The period under discussion has been one where colleges and universities were working towards the definition of a degree. We are in fact struggling with the questions "What is a degree?" and "When is a degree not a degree?" and possibly the solution to which we are coming is that there must be different degrees and need they all be taught within the university and/or within colleges? In a university degree, traditionally, we have expected to work with our students at a particular intellectual level. Now it may very well be that we can combine this with the ability to teach, and to teach even young children (to take up Bruner's point).

Pickering (C) It seems to me that the new arrangements suggested in the White Paper, which will tend to separate the academic work from the professional, will in practice make the three year college student much more like the four year student in the university and will make it much easier for one to look at the matter academically in isolation from the professional. Many of my colleagues will deplore this. They will say this is the last thing we should in fact be doing. Yet it seems to me that it will enable us to give that kind of concentrated effort to academic work which in present circumstances wa cannot do, since we are all the time concerned not only with the academic subject but with methodology and the practical teaching in the schools.

Ford (U) I wonder if I may disagree with that pretty strongly. I belive the most challenging academic thing we have to do in the coming generation is to explore and find some answers to the question "What is a professional degree?" or at least a professional course of study. There is a wide expanse of social life for which this has become an absolutely key question, quite as challenging as any we have encountered in teaching our special subject. What do we believe "theory" and "practice" are, conceptually? How do we believe they actually do and might inter-relate :in what rhythm and sequence? And what is the relation between both of them and the academic disciplines we teach? If we don't tackle this problem, or if we tackle it by simply putting theory and practice end on to each other, it is because we don't know conceptually how to do it in an integrated way.

Perrott (U) We at universities think we know what we mean by a degree. So we do, in a rather narrow sense. And we do have some fair idea of what different types of person our degrees are best suited to. But we do need to examine more thoroughly what is meant by the B.Ed. degree, and I think this question of the linking studies should be thought about much more closely. In mathematics there is a formidable body of knowledge in link studies and it must be studied in its own right; and it is necessary and useful and proper for a teacher to be doing that. The difficulty, of course, is that he does need, in most cases, to come to it after a certain minimum of academic mathematics; and that is why I would be in favour of doing the academic work first and then we would understand what we are doing in the linking studies. And I think we could well develop a proper degree including a professional qualification as well as an academic qualification.

Taylor (U) I do think that it would be a great pity if the fruitful relationship which has developed so far couldn't be enabled to mature into something much more considerable than at present. I think if, either by our own decision or in the course of circumstances, we are cut off from the colleges, in the long run this is going to be a much more serious deprivation than we and our colleagues realise.

Connell (C) Mr. Perrott's prescription for a professional degree is so simple, I am worried whether it is complete. Is his description not a description of a teacher of mathematics, and is a teacher of mathematics the same thing as a teacher or is it only part of being a teacher? I don't know the answer.

Ford (U) The point is that the sort of people who are going to ask that question in its most challenging form are people from colleges and universities who have had to confront each others' assumptions and experiences, who have worked and argued together.

Taylor (U) Could I take that up and return for the moment to what Mr. Spencer said earlier, because I thought it was extremely challenging. One of the questions raised at the outset was what the university had got out of this relationship as distinct from what the colleges have got out of this, and I think this is a question that needs to be asked and asked again. What I think it demands on the part of the university and its staff is a very proper humility. I think that we have got a great deal out of it. And I think that the condition of our gaining a great deal more is that we should give a good deal more. I think that it is necessary for the university to involve itself, at one level or another, with the whole educational process(85).

These extracts from the discussion convey, far better than any amount of theoretical argument, the mutual academic value of collaboration between academics working in different settings, with different objectives. It seems to be of indispensable value.

But this kind of relationship must have a framework and it needs resources. With the closing down of the A.T.O.s, the universities run the danger of being deprived of these resources

and the colleges will suffer accordingly. This case was forcibly argued by the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education in their memorandum to the James Committee:

> "The colleges are at present and have been since the McNair Report was implemented, constituent colleges of university institutes or schools of education. They are already in relationship with institutions of the highest academic and professional standing and they see no reasons why they should be forced to look elsewhere. The universities since the establishment of Joint Boards in 1926 have been responsible for setting the standards for entrance to the teaching profession. Nobody familiar with colleges before the McNair Report will seriously doubt the contribution of the universities have made to raising the professional standards of teachers. We recommend that they should continue to discharge this responsibility. We would consider the removal of this responsibility and the termination of the relationship which has been developed over the last forty-five years, wantonly destructive"(86).

And in this memorandum, the colleges (which are mainly represented in the ATCDE) expressed their hope that they would also be able to diversify their courses and look towards horizons other than teaching; they were especially keen to develop the professional education of social workers alongside teachers, for:

> "all teachers should be better informed about the personal social services which are available to help their pupils and their families... Children must be seen by teachers as members of a family and a neighbourhood and not merely as members of a school class"(87).

Looking back over post-McNair years of association between colleges and universities, one must feel that in the end an idea and an opportunity were lost rather than seized. The scheme meant far less to the universities themselves than the McNair committee hoped - though probably it did not expect very much more. Universities are fairly hide-bound institutions and they are not moved easily - especially, in Britain, where they continue to enjoy a considerable measure of autonomy But this view of universities can also be over-stated, and in relation to teacher training they have moved very considerably in what is, by their standards, a comparatively short space of time. Though the McNair Committee may have been divided down the middle, the university response was almost unanimously to accept a considerable involvement with the teacher training colleges, and at that time these colleges were not very attractive academically. But undoubtedly the universities' major test came with the publication of the Robbins Report, because not only were they invited to create for the colleges a new

professional degree, but they were also invited to take over financial and administrative responsibility for the colleges. It is profitless to speculate whether they would have accepted such a proposal any more readily than German and Swedish universities have accepted comparable measures of integration, because in Britain the proposal was never accepted by the Government.

What was accepted by the universities was the B.Ed., and though some of them accepted it with bad grace, refusing, for instance, to award the degree at honours level or insisting on doing a good deal of the teaching themselves, the great majority of universities instituted this new degree at a quite unprecedented pace, for they accepted the argument of the colleges and of the teaching profession that it would be very unfair to deprive new teachers of this degree once it had been agreed to introduce it. The B.Ed. was, for a time, a motley affair, differing a good deal from one university area to another. But over the following few years it was greatly discussed and its distinctive character established. One of its central figures, which may be said to symbolise the association of the universities and the colleges, is its combination of academic and professional studies; after the three-year course is completed with the award of the teacher's certificate, these are carried forward for a further year of more intensive study at degree level. In many colleges these two strands are kept separate and they are plaited together (if at all) only in the minds of students. But in colleges associated with a few universities, such as Leeds and Sussex, the fourth year syllabus includes a third element, a "link" study in which the academic and educational elements have to be explicitly related, usually in the form of a special study which may involve some field work. Some titles of link studies from one of the Sussex colleges are:

Education and:	Art	An investigation into First School children's awareness and enjoyment of colour, and its possible effect upon their cognitive and affective development.
	English	A critical analysis of some popular children's novels relating to moral judgements emerging in children of Middle School age.
		Workshop drama as the solution to some problems of adolescence.
	History	The child's concept of Black Africa as revealed through three teaching methods.

Education and:	Home Economics	Raising of the school leaving age and home economics.
	Mathematics	Mathematical attitudes in adolescents.
		Primary children's concepts of measurement and the mathematical definitions of measure and metric.
	Physical Education	An investigation into cultural differences of Indian girls that may raise problems in physical education in secondary schools.
	Music	Music is not a subject: the place of music as a resource in an integrated curriculum, to 9 - 13 year-olds.
	Science	An attempt to improve the concept of weather among a group of educationally sub-normal children.
		Factors affecting pupils' choice of science in the secondary school.
	Geography	An examination of the Junior School child's understanding of the concepts of "village", "town" and "country".
	Religious Studies	The function of myth and symbol in religious education.
	Sociology	A study of the help given by schools in preparing pupils for the transition from school to work.

This attempt to find a way of integrating the various elements of the B.Ed. course presents considerable academic difficulties for the students, but it also imposes considerable demands on the university and college staff when they come to teach and examine the students' work. Certainly the university staff, most of them subject specialists rather than educationists, who have examined these link studies have not been unaffected by the task nor have they found it a simple one.

It is at least possible - and there is ample testimony to this effect - that the task has given them a more sympathetic and a wider view of their own specialisms, and of the problems involved in teaching them.

A comprehensive study of the B.Ed. made by the Principal of a college of education, concludes with this assessment of what has essentially been a combined university-college operation:

> "The achievement of the B.Ed. is surely that it has achieved the required standards and at the same time established whole new areas of curriculum.
>
> The evidence on standards is well established. Reporting to the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals in 1971 U.C.E.T. commented: 'Comparison between honours B.Ed. and other honours degree results suggest that standards are being required in the former which are at least as demanding as those of other degrees'.
>
> Some university teachers might harbour residual fears of inappropriate subject material being accepted for degree study. Equally some college tutors might resent pressure to stiffen course content. The last nine years have seen these polarities reduced, brought some understanding of opposing positions and have been marked by working compromise, experiment and evaluation. Out of these has come substantial progress in curriculum development. Apart from the progress outlined above there is significance in where interdisciplinary courses may be found. For it is not only those new universities (such as Sussex) who had seized opportunities to build their own curriculum in a new style in the 1960s who pioneered new subject areas for the B.Ed. In the larger attempts at integration within Educational Studies and between disciplines well established red-brick universities have been bold innovators. The bolder the changes in curriculum the more challenging have been the concomitant assessment needs. ... new curriculum can mean new methods of assessment. Again those universities which have made curriculum innovations have also been prepared to find new, appropriate assessment procedures"(88).

It is at these academic and curricular levels that the question of the relations between colleges and universities needs to be examined, at the level of professionals engaged on their particular tasks, making use of their distinctive skills. For very many years, in England and Wales, the universities and colleges executed a dance together which barely brought them into touch with each other. The McNair Report changed

that, with the result that they now know each other far better as institutions and they have also learned a considerable amount about each other's intellectual outlook and methods. During this period, and largely through this contact, the colleges have been transformed into more mature and academically serious professional institutions; and the universities have developed a sympathy for the business of educating teachers. It seems a perverse decision to enforce, for the coming period, a divisive binary policy which, however much it may exemplify logical and forceful administration, is not likely to give much academic support to the colleges as they undertake the developments and transformations that lie ahead of them.

4. The independent college system in Denmark

Denmark provides a most interesting and thorough example of a divided system of teacher training, though even there the first stages of integration have now been created. The division is immediately related to the two main types and stages of school, the Folk School taking all children for the first 10 grades, followed by the Gymnasium for the more academic children: these are virtually "closed worlds", to quote a teacher from a folk school, and it is "simply impossible to move as a teacher from one to the other" (in fact it is not absolutely impossible).

The gymnasium tradition is a very old one. Originally they were cathedral schools, and then later they were accepted as preparatory schools for the university. Thus they have a very strong tradition of scientific studies and of classical languages. Today, of course, the gymnasia are more modern, but it is still insisted that the teachers in the gymnasia must be educated in the universities; they must normally take two subjects, one main subject and one minor subject, almost two degrees, in fact. The training colleges, on the other hand, were instituted to supply the needs of the folk schools. The school law of 1814 introduced teaching for all children and the need for teachers in the schools was very great. Training colleges were started and their philosophy was that "the man who teaches the children of peasants must be a peasant himself"; he had to belong to the population he taught.

For a long time the training colleges provided an alternative form of further education for those unable to enter the gymnasia, but in the sixties the colleges were established by law within higher education but no attempt was made to introduce a form of integration between the colleges and the universities. The feeling in the teacher training institutions was, generally speaking, very much opposed to this because they felt their identity might be threatened. As a result, the division between the colleges and the universities is fairly complete and as far as teachers are concerned there are quite distinct forms of training, separate unions, salary scales and hours of work. And there is virtually no contact between the two systems or between their respective staffs: the two systems are now "structured in their separateness".

The striking fact about this situation, however, is not that it is divided, for there are divisions of this kind elsewhere, but that the social prestige of the college sector is almost as high as that of the university sector. All college

students must now have matriculated, but whereas anyone who has matriculated can go to the university, entry to the training college is by selection only. Moreover the demand to get into the colleges is greater, especially from women, partly no doubt because the college course lasts for 3½ to 4 years, whereas the university course lasts for anything between 5 to 7 years and, moreover, it seems that only about half the students survive the course. There is apparently no question, on the whole, of college students being disappointed university aspirants. They opt to enter the colleges either because they are already committed to teaching, because they want to work with children, and/or because they want to start earning a salary in a secure job sooner (though they will be paid less than gymnasium teachers, they will still be paid very handsomely compared to virtually all other teachers in Europe). And they are no longer likely to be put off by the feeling that the training college system is too in-grown, though to tell the truth it probably is so. In reply to this criticism the Rector of one of the colleges has admitted that he has always criticised:

> "the in-grown character of the training college, though it was worse ten years ago. Then a training college was a patriarchal institution, and the Rector was a sort of father to all the students. It was quite unbearable. But I think our new law is much better because how we treat the students as grown up people; we have no responsibility for their private lives at all"(89).

On the other hand it seems that the universities are not particularly popular at the moment with "ordinary people" who view them as "some sort of School for Scandal" - though coming at the culmination of some years of student confrontation, this "ordinary people's" view of universities is not peculiar to Denmark. It is apparently the case that while the colleges have become altogether more tolerant in their attitudes towards the students, their academic regime has become more regulated and their standards more demanding.

If, confronted with this situation, one then asks what the colleges might have to gain from association with the universities, the immediate answer tends to be "Nothing"! But there is clearly a feeling that the universities might well have a great deal to gain from some kind of association; in fact they would be taken out of their secure world and forced to develop a closer relation with society and a greater degree of practical commitment towards it. In the process they well might also be forced to give up some of their autonomy. However, the most common amplification of this negative response is to refer one to the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, which is undoubtedly a very significant institution. Founded in 1956, the Royal Danish School exists today to provide courses for teachers who were trained in training colleges and who have been teaching in folk schools for at least two years, and for teachers

in the training colleges themselves. The Royal School is situated in Copenhagen and has 7 branches or divisions in different parts of Denmark. It offers courses in all the main subjects of the folk school curriculum, both in the pedagogy of the subject and in the subject discipline; and also it offers courses in the disciplines of education, particularly various courses in psychology. These courses vary a great deal: there are 1-year courses, courses of much shorter duration, of 20 to 30 hours and of 3 months, full-time and part-time courses. But much the largest part of the School's activities are its graduate studies in education, which culminate in the master's degree in education : there is a degree course in educational psychology for college lecturers and to train school psychologists; and a joint course in a subject, for instance English, maths, physics, together with the study of education, including psychology, didactics, methodology and so on; and thirdly a course in education aiming at qualifying people to work in training colleges as lecturers in education. These degree courses, which may be completed in 3 years full-time or 4 to 6 years part-time, are held to be of the standard of a Master's degree - it is also possible to take a Master's degree in psychology at some universities and, at Copenhagen University, in education (though in the 15 years it has been taught, only 10 people have taken it). The Royal School has designed these degree courses specially for the needs of the folk schools : for teachers in these schools, for the teachers of these teachers in the training colleges, and for the subject consultants who support the schools and who may undertake research in the schools. There were, in 1972, about 1,100 students taking these degree courses, though the bulk of the School's teaching is in its ordinary courses, in which some 9,000 teachers were participating, and these do not include its short courses, including holiday courses, with about 5,000 students.

The 29 teacher training colleges in Denmark have no formal relationship with the Royal School, though they have a common Council. But clearly their informal relations are very close, not only because the Royal School draws many of its students from the staff of the colleges but also because its degree students are now increasingly gaining teaching posts in the colleges in competition with graduates from the universities. Thus the colleges may have virtually no links with the universities, but they have considerable links at various levels with the Royal School, and the Royal School makes a specialist contribution to teachers at a university standard of study and award. The training college view is apparently that the Royal School is comparable to a university. The view of the folk school teachers' union is that it is regarded as being on a par with the universities and that the only reason it is not a university is that it is a specialist institution. But the niceties of the Royal School's status vis-à-vis the universities matters far less than the effectiveness of its educational function vis-à-vis the colleges. It explicity sets out to provide a great deal of the academic support which colleges might hope to gain, probably in a much less organised fashion, from universities. And its flourishing existence may have a good deal to do with the fact the colleges and universities continue to pass each other by on either side of the academic road.

Yet, when all has been said on behalf of the Royal School, it is not a university, and if the training college system is in-grown, the Royal School may well make it rather more so. For it closes the pedagogic circle. In spite of all that it offers, its tendency is to keep teacher-students "in limited boxes", as one of its own students put it. One feels that the Royal School itself might derive considerable support, that it would be strengthened rather than undermined, if there were also academic relations between the colleges and the universities. The two systems are so different structurally and they are propped up by such contrasting and long-established traditions that this is not likely to happen easily, but none the less the matter is now on the agenda of educational planning. And while there are the natural fears among people concerned with teacher training that links with the universities and the introduction of some kind of modular curriculum might destroy the integration of studies in the colleges, the continued existence of the Royal School, with its carefully articulated and integrated courses of professional study, might provide an equilibrium.

How are links between the two systems likely to come about in Denmark? They do not seem likely to be initiated, at present, by the professional bodies in the field of education, and they will certainly not come about by some process of osmosis. They seem likely to be initiated, in Denmark as elsewhere, at a political level. During the sixties in particular, there was a considerable concern to raise the standard and prestige of education for the teachers in the folk-schools and to embody these objectives in an appropriate Act of Parliament. And it has been largely as a result of political initiative that the new University Centre of Roskilde was established and started teaching in 1972, to be followed by two other Centres. The distinctive features of Roskilde are its common basic education curriculum for the first year, its explicit concern with professional education at the "lower" as well as the "higher" levels (i.e. in the case of teaching, with the needs of the folk school as well as the gymnasium),* and the interdisciplinary structure of its curriculum centred on "problems". Perhaps one should also add a fourth important feature, which is that the courses of studies will mostly be completed in considerably less than the traditional 5 to 7 years; indeed, the concept of "completing" studies at this level is probably inaccurate at Roskilde. For these reasons, many people in teacher training say that Roskilde students are not properly trained as teachers and that they cannot fulfil all the necessary obligations of teachers.

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* As a matter of fact the new University Centre of Roskilde was not allowed to establish a programme for training primary and lower secondary school teachers. The reason for the refusal, given by the Ministry of Education, was that the Ministry did not consider the two years of common basic education as satisfactory.

Roskilde is too new for it to be possible to say how its pedagogic courses are shaping and what impact they will have on the schools and the colleges. Nor can one begin to estimate what impact Roskilde will have on the other traditional universities. But one notes that someone as well placed as Mr. K. Helveg Petersen, who was formerly Minister for Cultural Affairs and Chairman of the Planning Committee for Higher Education, has stated that he is "not very sanguine" about the introduction of new approaches to education within the traditional universities:

> "In my view we have to create a new sort of university, a centre where you have new courses introduced, shorter courses and the possibility of innovation, and then you might get a new dynamic restored. I would still maintain that you ought to have the teacher training college on the same campus. At least co-operation should be guaranteed. But I would not be content with just having the training courses there. I would want to have a new outlook throughout the institution as a whole, they should be more oriented towards society, more open to society, so that they could take in people who come with other qualifications than the ordinary ones. And particularly they have to change the relations between the theoretical studies and practical work (of which the universities at present do virtually none), and find out how they can place their students outside the universities for a while and then bring them back again." In a sense this would bring their studies into line with the idea of life-long learning"(90).

It remains to be seen if Roskilde and the other new Centres manage to achieve this. The very success of the Royal School may tend to perpetuate the divided system in Denmark rather longer than elsewhere.

CHAPTER IV

The ambiguities of relations between Universities and Teachers' Colleges

1. Social change and the education of the teacher

The main theme of an earlier chapter of this Report was the emancipation of the teacher and of teacher education and training. This theme was discussed in terms, very broadly, of changing assumptions about the structure of schooling after the Second World War; of the growing recognition of teaching as a profession of a serious intellectual calibre and of a complex range of inter-dependent sub-professions; of the developing role and image of the teacher; and finally in terms of his or her academic and professional education. These developments, in the years after the Second War, were no doubt deeply pondered upon by individual members of the profession at all levels, and undoubtedly innovations, whether of role or structure or performance, resulted in one place or another. Yet the broad picture seemed one of rather amorphous, or at least haphazard, development - not unlike the species of Progress described by a British Prime Minister in the early thirties, Ramsay MacDonald, in the immortally vacuous phrase: "On, and on, and on - up, and up, and up".

That is not quite fair: because education is pre-eminently the profession of individual initiative and thus its development rests, ultimately, on the work and vision of thousands of individual teachers. Until fairly recently, that was about all there was to say about teaching, for training, in any serious contemporary sense, was minimal and often irrelevant and teachers found their way forward by "sitting next to (or at least somewhere near) Nellie" and "through the school of hard knocks". A few charismatic and thrustful individuals managed to systematise what they were doing and create noted schools or philosophies which exerted considerable influence; but they have been surprisingly few, when one thinks of the enormous numbers of schools and teachers, many of them working outside the state system anyway. A Kurt Hahn here, a Neil there, and the rest nowhere very much as far as society was aware - though not, of course, as far as individual parents were aware, for parents have always responded to the exceptional teacher of their children.

In a serious sense, teacher training has now, at long last, come into its own and has graduated into higher education. Yet as one looks at what has been happening in a number of countries, its pedagogic development still seems to have been erratic and unscientific; for the most part it has followed belatedly the drift of developments in the wider educational field rather than initiating them:

> "It is however salutary to recognise that teacher education cannot adopt goals or methods that are contrary to those of the wider educational system. Teacher educators understand very well that their work is constantly subject to evaluation by those who control the schools and that they can do little themselves to change the schools." (91)

Moreover, it is the view of these two authors, studying teacher education in England, France and West Germany, that:

> "...change is impeded by the fact that teacher-education institutions in all three societies seem to have partially insulated themselves from their social contexts and often from the active experimentation that occurs in the schools. In this sense the challenge that has been felt within many organizations to update information, to question traditional assumptions, to consider new methods of working and possible new structures and relationships, is not being met and in some cases may not even be generally recognized. It is the schools rather than the training institutions that are confronting and grappling with the problems of minorities, environmental disadvantage and poor motivation." (92)

Of course there are teacher training institutions, whether functioning as departments of universities or as independent colleges, which have recently been engaged in serious experiment and which are animated by a concern to promote innovation. Yet they only accentuate one of the serious difficulties of teacher education, which is how to temper the impatience and zest of students, eager to transform the educational system, to the humdrum, conservative character of the schools in which they do their practice teaching and in which they hold their first appointments. There are ways and ways of undertaking this process of 'tempering'; above all it is not accommodation that one has in mind, but an analysis of the social dynamic of the educational task which uncovers the nature of its inbuilt conservatism. It may well be that teacher training institutions often ignore this kind of study, or shy away from the apparent pessimism it seems to generate.

> "The institutions of teacher education in England, France and West Germany may not have shown the same responsiveness to social change as other social institutions, such as the mass media and certain areas of government. Some undoubtedly regard this as a measure of the cultural limitations of these institutions, and therefore of the training that they can hope to offer to future teachers. But in so far as they have not adjusted to newer social pressures it could also be argued that the function

of teacher training and of other educational institutions is to build a bridge between tradition and modernity by making a continuous and considered response to social change. However different the detailed prescriptions for the reform of teacher education to which these commitments have given rise, the logic of both sets of assumptions confirms the need for efficient means by which issues concerning reforms in the social process, curricula and organisation of teacher education can be identified, raised and resolved." (93)

If the emancipation of teaching and of the teacher is unlikely to happen by spontaneous combustion or by a myriad of isolated good intentions and good practices, how far will it be (and, indeed, has it been) affected by national, governmental, or otherwise centralised initiatives? How far, as one looks from one country to another, have governments been directly interested in promoting any such cause, as distinct from seeing it promoted as a spin-off from something else? Since the war, the major initiatives have been socio-political in character and their architects have been political and social scientists working, in Europe, through political parties of a liberal and social-democratic persuasion. Thus it is not surprising that these post-war years have seen the claims of the ordinary and of the disadvantaged child dominate social argument and planning. Comprehensive schools and compensatory education, those somewhat contradictory panacea, have been the response of governments in country after country. And more recently, the elite character of higher education, with its restricted entry and its hierarchy of institutions, has led to proposals for comprehensive universities or for binary structures.

Broadly speaking, then, the mood in western Europe has been towards openness of opportunity and a lessening of privilege and restraint. The rate of technological development and obsolescence has undermined early commitment to a long initial training or apprenticeship, and this has combined with the shortening of horizons which result from insecurity and disturbance. Or perhaps a more exact image is of a series of shorter vistas across the span of a person's life: it is impossible for most people outside the major rock-like professions, and to an increasing degree inside them, to envisage what they will be doing in 10, let alone 20, years' time or what new skills they will need by then; they may well change their professions or jobs, or see their jobs change direction, as many as five times in the course of their working lives. No doubt many people, especially of student age or young professionals, will hope to have had a hand in changing the social structure and rewards of employment, as well as the character and satisfactions of their lives outside work. The condemnation of capitalism as a predatory way of life, and the pursuit, however confused and bemused, of communal alternatives, the distrust of science and the cultivation of the transcendental and occult,

the all-prevading permissiveness and the genial hedonism, that characterise the culture of the younger urban generations are only the more farouche (and, incidentally, heavily exploited) manifestations of the state of profound moral insecurity that goes along with, say, hijacking and Watergate and pollution. The extreme educational response is to drop or stride out of the system altogether. Thus the hopeful theories and practices of compensatory education in the sixties seem to have been succeeded, in the seventies, by a sense among sociologists of the comparative impotence of education to rectify problems of social deprivation and inequality. The current twin solutions are to "de-school" education and/or to extend it for the total span of life which may well institute the reign of the amateur and the visionary (neither of them as yet professionalised).

For those who remain within the system, however, the themes which are in the air and which recur in all varieties of educational setting are:

- comprehensive structures
- modular courses of study
- inter- and multi-disciplinary curricula
- variety of choice
- uncertainty over professional commitment
- varying duration of study, plus recurrent and lifelong education
- team and exploratory modes of study

This list of themes could easily be extended, though it would still retain its distinctive flavour. What is evident, however, is that these themes come up in the context of teacher education and its emancipation as much as they do in the context of re-shaping higher education. Wherever they teach, the task of teachers is changing and to a great extent it feels like an emancipation, though it may be some time before it also looks like it, for educational moulds and habits are hard to break. But that, presumably depends on the teachers of teachers, and on their assumption of a formative role near the centre of higher education. And it depends also on the degree to which the shaping of higher education is undertaken with explicit and even calculated attention to the pedagogic and not simply the institutional needs of teacher education and training.

As one looks from England to Scandinavia to West Germany, what do these needs appear to be? If there is, in all these countries, a malaise about teacher education, especially in the colleges, what does it add up to? The main

elements of this mood of uneasiness are, to some extent, the obverse of the themes listed above:

-the isolation of teacher-students and of their staff

-the monotechnic character of the colleges

-the need to upgrade their studies

-the lack of a serious integration of theory and practice

-the paucity of research in the colleges

All of these issues have forced out into the open the question of the relations between the two separate systems of teacher education, and between universities and colleges as institutions. And they have also revealed the way in which universities and colleges have been developing in somewhat complementary, and at times even contradictory ways. Teachers' colleges feel under pressure to extend their range of both professional and academic courses, developing into a cross between liberal arts colleges and polytechnics. Looking over their shoulders at universities, they tend to strengthen their academic specialisms at a time when many universities are trying to break down the power and isolation of their own specialist departments. The colleges are lengthening their courses while many universities are trying to shorten theirs. And the colleges' faith in integrated studies is under a good deal of attack at the same time as universities are being much criticised for their lack of serious interest in inter-disciplinary study. Thus the picture is a contradictory one, and it is aggravated at the present time by the quite rapid change in the market situation: teachers, having recently been hard to recruit in sufficient numbers, are now being trained in ample numbers and there is even a hint, here or there, of teacher unemployment. Inevitably this sets up a conflict between the students' urge for less structured, less professionally oriented courses, and their anxiety to see courses planned in relation to employment needs. How far have some of these problems been tackled, and with how much success? And what major difficulties will still remain to be solved? In so far as the evidence from four or five countries provides the basis for an answer, it will have to be both a tentative and a subjective answer.

2. Current developments

Granted two separate institutions concerned to produce teachers, each with a long history of detachment from the other, functioning with different objectives in mind, with different patterns of study and most often at different levels of academic prestige: yet granted also that today both institutions find themselves subject to pressures that are forcing them to reconsider their stance in relation to each

other: what, in theory and in practice, is the range of possibilities open to them? The structuralist would reply, no doubt, that the alternatives are Fusion, Federation, Co-operation, and Independence. And it could be said that versions of these alternatives are in the process of being established in Sweden, West Germany, England and Wales, and Denmark.

An alternative way, and perhaps the more realistic way, of putting the question is to consider the possibilities open separately to the teachers' college and to the university. For it is the college which is, in general, the more vulnerable institution and which is thought to be in the greater need of transformation. So much so, indeed, that it is being asked in England whether it should continue to exist as an independent institution at all. Recent proposals by the James Committee and recent policy decisions by the present Government clearly stem from fundamental doubts whether the teachers' college is any longer a viable institution; essentially, in this view, it is too small and weak to survive in a world of large-scale, if not mass, universities and polytechnics. The ideal solution, therefore, is to fuse the colleges with the polytechnics within the public sector of higher education, probably making them into departments of humanities or liberal studies which most polytechnics at present lack. Alternatively, a college could be fused into the neighbouring university, but this alternative has, in practice, had all the cards stacked against it and it seems unlikely that there will be more than one or two university-college fusions.

In England, the pursuit of the binary policy is being pursued fairly energetically, with its avowed intention of creating two separate and virtually unconnected sectors of higher education. In the interim, the colleges are being given the chance to show whether they can reshape themselves in various ways, mostly as small "poly-artnics", as someone has neatly described this concept. None the less, official policy is dominated by a belief in the economics of size and the long-term future of the colleges as independent institutions is in great doubt. But what is more immediately to the point of this Report, the advocates of binary policy challenge the view that there need be any fundamental relation between the colleges and the university, and they are oblivious to the arguments of the McNair Report. At the most they have come round to accepting the expedient of the university as a validating body for the colleges' courses.

The integrated model of the Gesamthochschule also appears to propose the disappearance of the independent college through its absorption into the larger university structure. But in this case the argument is not that the college will supply something which the other institution lacks, as the polytechnics may lack a humanities department, but that the university will supply something which the college lacks: large specialist departments, a "scientific"

basis of study, and a considerable volume of research. These arguments are at least related to some of the obvious needs of the colleges, even though in Germany the colleges are comparatively large. Whether taking over the colleges in this fashion will supply these needs or simply obliterate them is the still open question.

The proposals of U68 which are under discussion in Sweden seem at times, under certain lighting conditions, to be even more radical than the integrated Gesamthochschule, in that it is suggested that both universities and colleges, as such, will cease to exist and will give way to a single realm of higher education. The creation of 19 higher education areas organised around 6 major institutions of higher education may well, on paper at least, implement this basic concept. In another light, however, the retention of subject departments, with their strong base in the universities, and the subdivision of higher education into occupational training sectors, one of them being teaching with its strong base in the teachers' colleges, suggests that, to all intents and purposes, the universities and colleges will continue in being, though obviously under joint planning and directing agencies; and out in the smaller areas, they may well be virtually integrated. At the undergraduate level, these proposals seem likely to transform the universities rather more than the colleges if their curricula are indeed to become occupation-oriented. At the same time, the professors in the colleges will become members of larger departments and the students will have a wider range of both subjects and staff from which to choose; and thus in theory both should gain.

The less radical proposal is the co-operative model of the Gesamthochschule, in which the college stays where it is, and remains a more or less independent institution, though it is brought into a common planning structure with the university. The staff of the college acquire membership of a wider academic community, though it seems, if only for geographical reasons, likely to be a fairly loose membership. And the students gain a measure of additional curricular opportunity. This measure really seems to amount to rationalising the state of affairs which obtained yesterday.

In many ways the English and Welsh system of institutes or schools of education based on universities, which is in the process of being slowly dismantled, is an extention of the co-operative model of the Gesamthochschule, though the McNair concept of a school of education would have carried this considerably further. Indeed, in many respects it would have been the most educationally radical solution of all, for it was based on the idea of building up close academic and educational relations between institutions which were to remain functionally distinct and largely independent; which is probably a good deal harder to achieve than fusing them into a single mish-mash of an organisation. The McNair proposal was never fully implemented, but the institute of

education structure, with its range of boards of studies and its department of in-service studies, proved strong enough to help the colleges build up their academic strength and, eventually, introduce successfully the B.Ed. degree course in conjunction with the universities.

Lastly, there is the Danish system in which the colleges remain wholly separate from the universities, but have a close link with their own university-college, as the Royal School might be described. In addition there is the creation of three new university-centres, including a strong element of teacher education but not incorporating a college as such.

Looking back to the five major issues arising out of the "malaise about teacher education" (see above), one can see that many of the developments summarised go some way, even quite a long way, to dealing with them. Whether or not these developments have been designed for this express purpose, the discussions which they have involved have inescapably placed questions about teacher training and education high on the agenda: consciences have been pricked and prejudices have been disturbed. The colleges are bound to be very different places in the future: their staffs will certainly feel less isolated academically and their students less cut off from the main thoroughfare of higher education. Only in England and Wales does there appear to be a fairly determined attempt to move forwards backwards, amid the din of much protest.

But having chalked up the undoubted progress that has been made during the past few years, one is forced to recognise that many of the deeper needs of teacher education, especially if it is to educate the teacher to master his new role, have still barely been identified, let alone met; and also one can see that new problems are being created as the larger structural developments take shape. To examine the whole of this field of continuing needs and new problems in teacher education is obviously beyond the scope of this Report, and only those aspects of the matter which arise out of the developing relations between universities and colleges can be taken up here (and somewhat summarily at that).

3. Unresolved problems

As one thinks back over the history and development of teacher training, and latterly, teacher education, and if one then looks at the contrasting situations in these four European countries, it is striking that a number of factors which seem likely to have considerable influence on the calibre of tomorrow's teachers have apparently been so little discussed from this point of view. Though teachers' training institutions and their patterns and curricula of study are in the melting pot, in a number of instances, there has been far too little attempt (or so it seems) to calculate the impact of these developments upon the life of the individual student and member of staff, and thus upon the emerging teacher. The plans

are drawn up, the structures are articulated in all their ingenuity, and there then ensues a great hopefulness, amounting before long to a conviction, that all will be for the best for the individuals concerned. But it is striking that there appear to be no plans, in any of the countries visited, and not even in Sweden, to mount an accompanying study of the way these plans are implemented and to attempt to evaluate the degree to which they "produce better teachers", to put it in rather crude shorthand terms. Enormous changes are being proposed - institutions are being fused together or wrenched apart, patterns of study are being given a new orientation across the whole of higher education, and one can only express once again one's weary regret, not at the blandness of the planners (for one has, after all, been a planner oneself and one knows that a form of blandness is endemic to the task), but at the lack of study and research which should already be on the design-board if crucial steps during the formative stages are not to go unscrutinised. Among the questions that will clearly need to be kept under continuous study are those to do with the size of institutions, with professionalisation and flexibility, with integration of studies, including relations between initial and in-service education, with inter-professional education, questions to do with the unity of the profession itself, and finally and throughout, questions bearing on the intellectual calibre of the undertaking as a whole.

(a) Size:

It has been one of the main criticisms of teachers' colleges that they are too small. But if they have been too small in the past, it is not certain that the solution is to incorporate them, as in West Germany and, to some extent, in Sweden, "in mammoth establishments ... [this] is likely to counteract the effects of organisation into subject units and lead to the creation of the type of hypertrophied institution that other countries are trying to dismantle, e.g. the University of Paris", or so critics of the integrated Gesamthochschule claim. (94) In relation to teacher training, the sheer size of these institutions seems likely to generate three problems in particular. The first problem must be how to organise the relationship between research and teaching. In the small elite institutions of an earlier era, it was possible to believe that the Humboldtian unity of teaching and research manifested itself in every member of the professoriate. Today, for most academics, this 'unity' is bound to be at best a loose link between an individual's teaching and the aggregate of research undertaken by himself and his colleagues. The "basic and very serious question" posed by Georges Daillant is:

> "whether it will be possible to maintain the link in the Gesamthochschule. Even in the university, teaching responsibilities are becoming increasingly heavy as student numbers continue to grow, and everywhere the size of the university's share in the

overall research effort is getting smaller. In Germany, only a few years ago, it was estimated that some 80% of all research was carried out in universities. The percentage is now steadily decreasing and the process of erosion is one which could ultimately lead to the virtually complete exclusion of research from the university.

This stage has not yet been reached but it could be hastened by the creation of the Gesamthochschule, in which the emphasis on teaching will be much greater than in the university. Scholarly and academic work is likely to become more and more marginal ... Professor Heckhausen suggested that the establishment of Gesamthochschulen will lead to there being created beyond the tertiary sector, a quaternary sector, in which research will really be done. The Gesamthochschule might thus not only fail to achieve one of its aims - that of enabling more students to benefit from research-related education - it might also be a contributing factor in the disappearance from the university of that teaching-research link which is one of its remaining virtues." (95)

The second major problem is that in a large, let alone a vast, organisation, a pattern of closely integrated study is only likely to be achieved by a group of colleagues working more or less as a team. In so far as this is likely to happen at all in universities, it will happen within a departmental structure, or one broken down, as is now happening, into subject fields: but this is the worst way of organising educational studies, which are necessarily interdisciplinary. So within the Gesamthochschule or the larger of the major institutions of higher education in Sweden, the educational curriculum may well have to choose between an integrated but impoverished (because departmentally isolated) interdisciplinary culture, or a diverse but essentially non-integrated programme of options drawn from a variety of departmental specialisms. Neither is likely to foster the qualities that go to make up the "new" teacher, outlined in an earlier chapter.

The third problem which results from gathering a variety of institutions together on a common site hits the training of teacher more than most categories of professional study. For one of the main reasons why teachers' colleges are distributed fairly widely in a region is so as to enable them to build up working relations with their own groups of schools. A vast concentration of student-teachers in an urban university must inevitably diminish contacts with schools as part of an integrated curriculum, and it must postpone the major element of practical study to a second and disconnected phase based on seminars. If there are organisation ingenuities which can overcome these problems, they do not seem to have been adequately publicised. The most obvious ingenuity might be to resist the temptation to congregate all institutions in

the same physical centre. The theory one hears expressed in West Germany is that when a Gesamthochschule reaches a size of about 20,000, the time has come to start another in the same area rather than expand it further; but in fact there are Gesamthochschulen considerably larger than this already, and there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that, as in Paris and the United States, the multi-versity almost inevitably creates an anonymity, a lonely crowd of students, and a lack of meaningful relations with the faculty which lead to student unrest and protest, of which West Germany has had its share. For students training to become teachers, learning (one hopes) how to promote individualised study and supportive relationships in the classroom, the large-scale organisation of a "mammoth" institution provides about as unsuitable an environment for study as one could devise. In such a setting, the greater academic opportunities are being bought at too great an expense.

Certainly the experience of university institutions in England leads one to believe that a number of 7-8,000 is much nearer the optimum. Within that number it is possible to accommodate a very wide range of academic and professional departments and schools and yet enable them to keep in some kind of contact with each other. It also provides a senior academic community of about 700/800 which is amply large enough if the concept of an academic community is to continue to mean anything at all, as it must for people concerned with teacher education. The arguments in favour of great size mostly cloak policies of expediency and they are often supported by economic calculcations of very doubtful validity. Obviously colleges of less than 1,000 are too small for most purposes; but at least one purpose has been well served in the best of the small colleges, which is the creation of a sense of community. And though today's students rightly demand to be treated as responsible adults and resent any maternalism on the part of their universities and colleges, they have a far greater concern for community and for the primacy of human relations within an institution than most of their elders. As far as they are concerned, and as far as the teachers of teachers are concerned, this question of size is anything but a dying cause, though it may well be an inconvenient one politically.

(b) Integration of studies

The question of size is closely bound up with the integration of the students' studies, and Professor Heckhausen has already been quoted to this effect: "the integration of university and professional courses of study should take place only in new and small institutions of higher ecudation."

The integration of university and professional courses of study which he wishes to see established in small institutions can already be found in many colleges of education, especially in England and Wales, where the students pursue, in addition to their educational studies, a "main"

subject in its own academic right. This was one of the central recommendations of the McNair Report, and it was one of the main reasons for extending the college course in England and Wales to three years and subsequently, for degree students, to four years. At this stage the main subject studies can be accurately described as university studies.

The concept of integrated studies for the prospective teacher seems to be strongly held in all countries and at all levels. It is to be found in practice, however, only in the teachers' colleges in England and Wales (of the countries being discussed), for only here are all the elements of the teacher's training and education brought together within the single institution. In the course of his three or four years in college, an English student will pursue one or maybe two main subjects for the sake of his own personal education, then a group of educational and pedagogic and curriculum studies, and thirdly he will undertake his teaching practice and observation in neighbouring schools. Colleges differ considerably in the way they organise these various studies into a coherent programme, but what is common to all their plans is that these separate studies are pursued concurrently and that they are, as far as possible, explicitly integrated with each other. Let it be admitted that while concurrence can be achieved through time-tabling, integration can only be achieved through teaching and in the mind of the students. However, the ideal is firmly held. It is also held on the Continent, but there the quite separate institution of the seminar means that the teacher's education and training cannot be integrated nor concurrent, except for his academic and theoretical studies. But if Professor Heckhausen fears for the integration of what he terms university and professional studies within the vast structure of the Gesamthochschule, how much more remote must be the prospect of a comprehensive integration of all the elements of the teacher's education and training. For not only is the seminar still conducted under separate auspices and at a subsequent period, but the concentration of very many thousands of students in one centre must mean that access to schools becomes almost impossible to organise except on a most superficial level.

This argument, moreover, is not simply related to size. The assimilation of the colleges to the university pattern of study, which is proposed in Germany and possibly in Sweden, means substituting a sequential for a concurrent pattern of studies: a period of academic study followed by a shorter period of professional study. This pattern may suit the university graduate aspiring to teach in the upper reaches of the secondary school or in higher education; or if it doesn't necessarily suit him, it may be an inescapable arrangement. But there is every reason to doubt whether it will suit the class teacher, for reasons which do not need to be rehearsed here. From this point of view, the absorption of colleges into vaster universities will involve a severe pedagogic loss, which will not be fundamentally mitigated by the proposal

that the student's studies in the university should include an element of professional study: such an arrangement may be better than nothing, but it will not amount to serious integration. And one must insist that integration is not a shibboleth: it is of the essence of a professional education for academic, professional and practical studies to confront each other, for concepts to be tested and reinforced in practice, and for practice to embody and to be guided by disciplined theoretical study. If the structures that are being erected in Sweden and West Germany do not make this kind of interpenetration of studies feasible, then the proposed orientation of higher education towards the needs of the professions will, as far as teaching is concerned, be something of a hoax. The institutions may be integrated: for very many teacher-students, their studies are likely to be de-integrated.

There is an important extension of this argument which can only be raised here, and this is to question whether the creation of the new teacher, along the lines described earlier, can possibly be achieved in any other than a highly specialised institution devoted specifically to this task. Can a normal university course followed by or interspersed with professional studies, and then followed by a period of practical training, begin to offer a serious preparation for the intensely difficult role of being a teacher in tomorrow's world? At present there is an almost grotesque discrepancy between the new concepts of teaching and the plans for training teachers. At least one can envisage getting somewhere near a serious solution to this problem in Denmark, where the specialist colleges are serviced by the even more specialist Royal School operating at the level of a university within its own field; or perhaps in England and Wales, if the McNair plan for schools of education, linking specialist colleges to the full resources of the university, had been properly implemented. The thrust of this line of argument is that teachers' colleges need to become more, and not less specialised: no doubt larger than many of them are at present, and certainly in close association with universities. But this is to run counter to more fashionable theories, such as that that the colleges need to be diversified, maybe into multi-professional institutions or into species of liberal arts colleges, or that they need to be incorporated into department-dominated universities or polytechnics. Such policies may conceivably minister to other important needs: they do not obviously minister to the innovative needs of the teaching profession.

It has, of course, been argued (for instance, in the Report of the James Committee in England on the education and training of teachers) that it is not possible, either in the longer college course and certainly not in the absurdly short post-graduate course, to produce the fully trained teacher and that the training programme needs therefore to be organised into an initial introductory period followed by recurrent periods of in-service education and re-training. This is surely right, and it is therefore somewhat surprising

not to find any such scheme systematically worked out in the four countries visited. The James Committee's proposals were partially accepted by the British Government, and as in Scandinavia teachers, it is proposed, should be able to claim one term of in-service education for every seven years of service. The obvious difficulty of arranging a life-long programme of training for the teacher is that it cannot easily be made obligatory and very many teachers, who either leave the profession early or who decide not to avail themselves of their in-service opportunities, will have an even more incomplete initial training than they receive at present. It seems probable, at any rate, that any such scheme would only work if it were far more tightly organised and integrated than seems either feasible or likely, and that in the absence of such organisation it would render the training of the teacher an even less integrated whole than it is at present.

Lastly, one hears a good deal of talk about a third level of integration, between the primary and secondary training sectors. In many countries the differences in prestige between the two have been greatly reduced, though the intense academic specialist, who might go on to teach in a university as much as in a school, will probably retain his pre-eminence. That, one supposes, matters less than that the two kinds of teacher, the class and the specialist teachers, should not continue to be trained wholly apart. Both have a good deal to learn from aspects of each other's syllabuses, and from developing a sense of being colleagues. In England and Wales, the separation of the two categories of teacher in separate institutions was considerably reduced in the years after the war: the colleges began training secondary teachers and the universities accepted graduate students who wished to teach in primary schools. This trend was reversed some years later in order to ensure that the colleges continued to train the necessary numbers of primary teachers, for as their course was extended to three years and as they strengthened their academic studies, so their students tended increasingly to opt for secondary work. As a result a "balance of training" policy was introduced which to a great extent re-established the pattern of colleges training primary and universities training secondary teachers. Elsewhere, that remains the pattern, and it is not really clear how the proposals of U68 or of the architects of the Gesamthochschulen will affect the matter. In this respect, as in others, the profession, and the training it receives, is likely to remain unintegrated.

(c) The professional orientation of courses

This trend undoubtedly presents the most surprising picture to an observer from England. For the drift of much recent discussion there has been to deplore the monotechnic professional character of the teachers' colleges and the early commitment to teaching which they have to demand of their students. Students should not be asked to commit themselves so soon, it is argued, and thus it would be preferable if the

colleges were to organise their studies on the basis of an initial period of general study followed by various alternative professional courses. The non-professional character of many of the university undergraduate courses was held to provide an altogether preferable pattern from the students' point of view, and on the whole the students' organisations seemed to corroborate this view. As a result very many of the English and Welsh colleges are reorganising their studies accordingly, into a Part I of more general studies, followed by a one or two-year Part II of professional training. To this extent the college course will come to resemble the university's 3-plus-1 pattern of education and training.

In Germany and Sweden, however, the trend is in exactly the opposite direction, with the universities' courses being oriented towards the needs of the professions and with entry tending to be restricted in accordance with the needs of the market. In these countries, then, the university courses will presuppose an early commitment to one or other of the main professional sectors, and to this extent they will come to share the main assumptions of the college course. This will mean that the colleges need have less fear than they would formerly have had of being over-academicised in the event of being absorbed by the universities. Indeed, such a trend must make their absorption a good deal easier to implement, and one would suppose that they could have a good deal to teach the universities about the design and organisation of professionally-oriented studies at the undergraduate level. But oddly enough, one does not hear this much discussed and there is little evidence of the colleges being used as models of professional education in the large schemes which are being proposed.

Indeed, while these larger schemes may be structured on a professional basis, they seem at present to incorporate a minimum of thinking about the nature of a professional education. It is simple enough to divide higher education into five professional sectors, each with its numerous chur, but what, in terms of a curriculum of academic and professional studies, is to go on in each of these sectors? Though there was some evidence that the universities in Sweden, or at least in Stockholm, have begun to reshape their humanities and social science curricula to meet some of the needs of the large numbers of potential teachers among their students, this trend does not amount to a serious study of what a professional education for teachers should be at the undergraduate level. The assumption seems to be that an academic curriculum is meaningfully oriented towards the profession of teaching by the addition of some pedagogic courses; and this kind of naivete is all too likely in a university situation where so little systematic study has been undertaken into the nature of professional education for teaching.

In this situation the teaching profession may run the danger of getting the worst of both worlds: for the colleges,

assimilated into the universities or more vaguely into higher education, may find themselves giving up some of the integration of study that has been their hallmark; while the universities may be pushed into diluting the academic rigour of their curricula in the interests of making room for would-be professional studies. In other words, there really can be no substitute for a serious and "scientific" professional education, and the profession of teaching is now of a moral and pedagogic complexity which places a very considerable burden of responsibility on its initial training. The trend, on the Continent, towards the professional orientation of undergraduate education may or may not be justified on social grounds (though one must note that manpower planning has, in the past, provided a very shaky basis for educational planning). And of course various sectors of undergraduate education have long been directed towards the professions. If the same is to go for teaching, this lends an additional reason for the close association of the colleges with the universities, especially in those countries where the universities lack departments of education with their expertise in professional training, as in England: and so long as the colleges are not effectually obliterated in the process of association.

One of the possible outcomes of organising higher education into five or so very wide sectors of professional concern might be a growth of interprofessional studies, were it not that education or teaching seems invariably to figure as a sector on its own. Thus in Sweden, U68's five "occupational training sectors" are technology, administration and economics, medicine and social work, teaching, and cultural work and information. Within this pattern, it would clearly be very hard to establish even the beginnings of a professional and democratic participation at the training level between education and social work or administration or cultural work, whatever interprofessional study may go on within each sector.

It is probably less than helpful for teachers of all professionals to be educated and trained on their own, separated from students going on to work in adjacent professions such as social work and counselling. That may be an argument against the specialised teachers' college; but it is hardly an argument for a sectorial arrangement that isolates teaching, or for a general university course for everyone, followed by separate specialised seminars, for in none of these cases is there likely to be much training in professional teamwork. It is true that the problems of planning the curriculum and timetable of interprofessional courses of training are very considerable; on the other hand the mood of young people going into the "helping" professions today is probably very sympathetic towards this kind of participation compared to the mood of their established elders in the professions. It may be that a programme of initial training may be less important than in-service programmes designed not only for teachers but also for administrators, advisers, and heads, and for social workers and doctors, among others. Such

programmes could well be tied in with field projects and research programmes of a collaborative kind (like those of the U.K. Schools Council, for instance), which may well be structured on new lines as far as the distribution of authority and of complementary roles is concerned.

In England and Wales there has been a considerable amount of discussion about interprofessional links for the past twenty years, but all too little to show for it. The question is now coming up with renewed force, for the teachers' colleges face the prospect of a severe drop in their teacher-student numbers and they are therefore having to consider how to fill these vacant places. Undoubtedly many colleges would like to take in students for closely-related professions like nursery nursing, or physiotherapy, or mental nursing, as well as for the major social service professions. One of the main problems is that training for these professions is already fairly well established in other institutions, universities and colleges of technology, which may not want to part with them. And there is the problem also that the numbers training for these other professions are very considerably smaller than for teaching.

But the major issue remains an outstandingly important one. In England, a number of much-publicised recent cases of cruelty to small children have revealed a deplorable picture of the various professionals who work with children, including the teachers, being out of touch with each other; in one case at least, the upshot of this lack of co-operation was the death of the child. But there is no need to go to such dramatic instances to point the need for teachers to be not only in touch but above all in sympathy with the social workers who will often be dealing with the same children and their parents. Yet there appears to be no discussion of this problem in the countries visited on the Continent, and none of the schemes of reorganisation appears to make any provision for serious interprofessional study and training. To this extent, though the teachers' colleges may have come under fire as isolated and single-profession institutions, the main plans anywhere continue, in their parochial way, to treat teaching as a profession on its own, shut up within its own sector. In so far as teacher-students meet other students, it will be in the course of their non-professional academic studies: which is hardly the point.

(d) The academic and intellectual life of the staff

The main issues considered so far have had to do with the relations between institutions and between fields of study. What of the professional and intellectual relations between the individuals who work in these colleges and universities and who engage on these studies? What is the quality of their academic life? From what sources do they feed their continuing academic and professional energies, their capacity for invention and innovation, their sense of "relevance"? How do they keep in touch with the "moving

centres" of their own disciplines? How far do they establish close academic relations with students?

These are questions which deserve a report on their own, for they go to the heart of academic life and renewal. Here it will only be possible to indicate a few lines of thought, the main one being that these matters are clearly thought about far too little. There is, of course, a traditional answer to this range of questions, which is that these matters are attended to, or even that they attend to themselves, within the "academic community": that comparatively small, intense democracy of scholars and students (where ideally everyone is both scholar and student), which has remained the ideal of innumerable philosophers of education and academics the world over. It is very easy to dismiss this concept as wholly irrelevant to the ruthless, mass-organising, megapolitan world we and our students inhabit today. A few rare institutions - a liberal arts college here, a teachers' college there, or a "new" university somewhere else - may manage to exploit some unusually favourable circumstances and create, for a time, something like an academic community; but before long, so the harsh verdict goes, they will become corrupted and their staff will fall either into larger (and richer) temptations or smaller circles of isolation.

It may be so. But what if the process of education means entering into community? What if the tasks of the "new" teacher discussed earlier - the greater attention to individual needs and capabilities, the greater understanding of the process of child development, the shift towards team methods of planning and teaching and learning, the concern for the school as a community within a larger community - what if these tasks can be fostered within an institution and setting that can only be described as an "academic community"? Until evidence is forthcoming - hard, irrefutable evidence emerging out of research - that these qualities and concerns can be fostered in, for instance, an integrated Gesamthochschule of 25,000 people, one will continue to believe the exact opposite; for all the probabilities are against it. If the concept of the academic community is no more than nostalgic idealism, the concept of the "new" teacher as promulgated by OECD, UNESCO, the NUT, and all the Uncle Tom Cobleys of education, must be no more than wishful idealism. As far as this Report is concerned, at any rate, one must continue to believe that the two concepts are closely related and that they both retain considerable force.

It is quite obvious, however, that the concept of the academic community has to be recreated in terms of higher education as it exists or reasonably might exist today. One would have thought that it might feature in someone's plans, that there might have been a reference or two to the problem of establishing a network of meaningful academic and professional relationships as a condition of undertaking to educate and train tomorrow's teachers. For instance, one of the most important skills which a teacher now has to acquire

is how to work in teams with his colleagues of all kinds, and how to engage his pupils in working teams. How is this to be achieved in a training environment if it lacks any of the qualities of an academic community - the point being that the educational team is a microcosm of the academic community? This kind of contradiction between the needs of the teacher-student and of the teacher of teachers and the character of the social-academic environment in which they pursue their studies is often very marked, and yet there is little evidence of such questions being discussed among those who are re-shaping higher education.

The form in which the question can most easily be put (as it has been put in the earlier pages of this Report), is to enquire what provision the new arrangements make for the teachers of, say, mathematics or literature or psychology in neighbouring institutions, teaching at different levels and with different objectives in mind, to come together functionally (for if their meetings do not have a function they probably won't come together at all) and yet creatively, in terms of exploring their own disciplines. The replies tend to be quite vague. It is suggested that the college mathematicians or psychologists will now become members of the larger university departments of mathematics or psychology, or that they are already courtesy members - which is to omit to ask what kind of intellectual life a department as such carries on, especially at departmental meetings. The evidence gathered about this suggests that the college lecturers find themselves ill-at-ease, treated by the university "colleagues" as visitors from another, if not an alien, world. The quality of the discussion between members of the university and the colleges of Leeds is in very striking contrast to almost any other evidence that was forthcoming. This discussion was the product of a machinery of encounter and academic relationship; and both sides felt that they had gained significantly in relation to their differing needs as academics. It was this kind of intercourse that the more radical McNair group had in mind when proposing the establishment of schools of education linking the universities and colleges, and which the boards of studies have often (as at Leeds) done a great deal to promote. Within these boards, university and college staff function as colleagues, discussing new syllabus proposals and how they might be best examined, but also, and far more valuably, discussing questions of teaching their common subject in different settings, or discussing some development in research or pedagogics; and perhaps even going on to mount a study-project, or a series of seminars, or a conference for teachers. The possibilities are endless, even if one knows (and the James Report certainly rubbed it in) that a great many of these boards of studies, meeting under the aegis of the institutes or schools of education, have been content to function as little more than exam-minding committees. The boards represent the expression of an important need, the need of an academic to learn and extend himself and probe his subject through communication

with his colleagues; and this need is felt particularly strongly by the staff of teachers' colleges, who may not be engaging in research and who may be living and working in very small subject groups, with comparatively small libraries. But the important point about the boards of studies is that they were established and serviced by an institution whose very function has been to promote academic relationships across institutional boundaries. There will certainly be boundaries, whether between institutions or departments or functional groups or professional sectors, within the field of higher education on its present scale: the Gesamthochschule does not do away with the kind of boundaries which are under discussion here, nor does it lessen the need to plan quite explicitly for forms or analogues of academic community.

It was suggested above that one of the areas where the staff of the colleges most need to establish links is in research. The idea that every academic supports his teaching out of his own research has become absurd: research is now far to specialised for that. But certainly he draws upon the collective research of his colleagues; and ideally he brings to his teaching a mind informed and disciplined by having engaged in research. The same cannot, however, be said of the vast majority of college lecturers, who do not have the funds or the time or, most of them, the qualifications to engage in research (as distinct from enquiry). They are therefore all the more dependent on the work of others, and to a great extent they will draw upon this work as they find it in journals and publications. But in so far as this is the situation, it is not one which should persist any longer than necessary if colleges are to justify their elevation into the ranks of higher education. It was suggested earlier in this Report that one of the characteristics of a profession is that its training and education "must be informed by research and experiment", and there are good grounds for believing that each institution's work should, to some extent, be informed by its own research or at least by a spirit of research. There are two distinct categories of research that are relevant here: one is research within subject disciplines, both the subjects which are taught in school and the disciplines which provide the basis for the study of education; and the second is research into the pedagogy and methodology of the subjects. A college staff, however generously augmented and endowed, is unlikely to be able to conduct much research of the first kind, and in this area it should be able to draw on the work being done in the university with which it is linked. But the college staff could well undertake research within the second category; indeed, if it does not do so, it is not clear who else will, unless specially equipped agencies funded by the state or by private foundations.

At present, at any rate, the amount of research being carried on in the colleges seems to be minimal, except in Sweden where the colleges' research budget in education is larger than the universities'. There is talk of the colleges doing research in England, but so far no particular plans to

promote this. As the English colleges are being studiously prised away from the universities, one cannot suppose that the universities will be invited, or will feel much inclined to take a large part in helping the college staffs to acquire research skills and launch research projects. But in any rational plan that would seem one obvious ground for strengthening the relations between the universities and the colleges. The Swedish experience is not altogether a satisfactory one, for the research tends to be carried on in a special institute lodged within the college, rather than by the college staff as a whole; and the relations between the institute research staff and the teaching staff are fairly slight. None the less, the prestige of the major colleges concerned has unquestionably been greatly raised as a result of this policy.

There is one further point to be made, when considering the intellectual life of the college staff, and that is that the staff at present, in many countries, have no time for a serious intellectual life or for research. Colleges seem to have a deplorable record of over-teaching their students, and one finds many instances of members of the staff teaching for 15 and 20 and even more hours per week. This is not the place to lecture the principals and rectors of colleges, it need hardly be said. The reason for mentioning this matter of teaching hours is to illustrate that the process of coming to maturity as an institution of higher education is awkward and painful; and moreover, the academic culture of such an institution is not learned overnight. If the colleges are to remain in being, whatever kind of being that may prove to be, they will need to be helped to acquire a grasp of what it means to function intellectually in the realm of concepts and of testing out concepts, of teaching at a diversity of academic levels all of them informed by research. Most of them will not easily achieve this understanding by guesswork or by inspiration, but through contact and through working with colleagues in universities. There seems to be rather little evidence of this kind of contact and working relationship at present.

4. Positive ideas and developments

The last section has discussed a number of factors which present a somewhat discouraging picture of the degree to which the reshaping of higher education and of the relations between universities and teachers' colleges seems likely to produce teachers of an innovative outlook and a new sense of professionalism. There are a number of other developments, however, which incorporate very positive ideas, and though they have already been described in one or other of the four country case-studies, they need to be re-introduced in this summing-up section of the Report.

(a) The institute of education and the B.Ed.

Since the war, the school which has perhaps gained the greatest reputation has been the primary school in England and Wales. At its best (and its best is remarkably widespread throughout the country), it is a place of ordered and yet relaxed exploration. It has experimented with a considerable range of innovative ideas and methods in maths, language work, the arts and music, science. It has become a centre of communal talk and music and of individual expression in paint and words. And together with all of this, it has not surprisingly been an understanding and happy place. This revolution, which has given reality to the concept of the new teacher, has been the product of the training college. It would be very valuable to examine this piece of history in detail in order to discover how this particular revolution was launched and developed. But most informed observers would undoubtedly give a large part of the credit to the radical wing of the McNair Committee; for this group argued for the unity and continuity of education, for primary teachers to be trained and educated as fully as other teachers and to be given the same links with universities. And also it argued for an education that would be at once humane, attentive to individual needs, and in touch with the most vigorous standards of academic life. One might describe the "new" maths as a notable product of that formula, whose organisational form was the university or institute of education.

The second considerable achievement of this concept of collaboration between college and university has been the B.Ed. degree. This has been described earlier, but it is worth underlining its salient features:

-it is a new and not a revamped degree course;

-each separate university school of education has worked out its own version of the B.Ed.;

-within this pattern, each constituent college has shaped its own courses - in a number of colleges, the B.Ed. syllabus in the fourth year includes linked as well as separate education and main subject studies; the linked study tries to give some explicit curricular meaning to the concept of a professional degree;

-the colleges, with varying degrees of help or with no help from the universities, have taught their own B.Ed. courses;

-a majority of the universities now award honours degrees for the B.Ed., and the B.Ed. students have achieved results comparable with the universities' own;

-and finally, the B.Ed. is a professional education degree which one would have said, only a few years earlier, the universities would not feel competent or inclined to validate or the colleges to teach.

The B.Ed. experiment has upgraded the colleges and the teachers they train: and it has resulted in the colleges sending out into the schools a wholly new kind of graduate teacher. In spite of the criticism to which it has been subjected, it has been a model of good and close collaboration between the universities and the colleges, for it has been based on the continuing independence of both institutions. This, admittedly, is something more highly prized in England than on the Continent where neither colleges nor universities are independent of the state and thus may not so greatly value retaining some independence of each other as the basis of the relationship.

(b) The Danish Royal School and U68's major colleges

The Royal School is of universal interest because it recognises that the colleges' resources are bound to be limited, perhaps too limited and thinly-spread to make it easy for them to work consistently as solo institutions of higher education; and therefore it exists to provide a high level of academic support for the staff of the colleges. To English eyes this arrangement might seem to be a second-best, for the Royal School cannot easily offer the range and depth of academic support of a university except perhaps in the field of educational studies. Even here there are many reasons why the universities should be involved in education and in the training for education; and there might seem no point in their duplicating the resources of a Royal School. None the less, the concept is well worth exploring further, as supplementing the work which universities might undertake in the field of education, and because of the large-scale services it can also offer to practising teachers.

One feature of the U68 proposals in Sweden could be very similar to the idea represented by the Royal School, and that is the proposed creation of six major colleges, one in each main area, which would offer courses for higher degrees in education and be the centre of research programmes. It is not altogether clear how far these major colleges will provide a network of in-service courses for teachers from the smaller colleges and the schools, or whether they will exclusively offer higher level courses for teachers in training: to do the latter only would seem to be an unnecessary restriction of their potential scope. Indeed, their scope should be considerably greater than the Royal School's, since they will form part of higher education clusters or centres, including academic courses related to other professional sectors as well as university higher degree courses.

(c) The role of the teachers' colleges

The major question posed by all these developments is whether the teachers' college is to continue in being at all as a distinct institution; and if so, as a college related only to the needs of teachers or at least of education. In all the countries visited, except Denmark, it looks as if many colleges, though not all of them, will virtually disappear into the maws of larger institutions or conglomerations: becoming departments within polytechnics or centres of higher education or comprehensive universities. In England, during the past few years, this has happened with the colleges of art: they are now mostly within polytechnics, though they have remained physically where they were and have retained a large measure of apparent independence; the amalgamations have had very little impact on the day to day life of their staff and students. And so it may be elsewhere, with teachers' colleges, though in West Germany a number of them are likely, it seems, to be moved onto the university sites.

Were colleges to disappear in fact, were the kind of more or less integrated curriculum they stand for to be discontinued in favour of a university pattern of teacher training and education, the loss to the teaching profession would be a very serious one. The university pattern, however much it is being modified in Sweden and West Germany, is not only unintegrated (in any serious sense of the term) but the pedagogic element is either too scattered across a number of years or is too crammed into a very limited period at the end to be able to take up the formidably complex needs of tomorrow's teacher, especially the class teacher. It was not possible to discover any university pattern of teacher training that begins to measure up to the range of concerns and issues discussed in an earlier chapter of this Report, certainly on the Continent where the seminar functions as a separate institution, and even in England where the course based on the university is all-inclusive but hopelessly short. As suggested earlier, the needs of teaching points towards a greater and not a lesser degree of special provision and integration of curriculum, towards strengthening and perhaps broadening the colleges as separate institutions with a clear function of their own rather than modifying their distinctive patterns of study in order to be accommodated to the altogether vaguer university pattern - vaguer, that is, from a professional standpoint.

At least, until a satisfactory university model of professional education and training for teachers, particularly class teachers, has been evolved and tested, it would seem premature to destroy the colleges. There would seem to be every reason, in the meantime, to enlarge and strengthen the colleges, for many of them are still too small. There is every reason to find ways - and here the models have been tried out - of linking the colleges and universities at a number of levels. And there are most important reasons for seeking to give academic support to the staffs of the colleges, and wider horizons to the staffs of the universities: for

trying to recreate, in terms of contemporary institutional structures, the ideal of the academic community. The approach suggested by Professor Heckhausen, which in West Germany could apply to colleges organised on the co-operative pattern, has a great deal to commend it and is worth re-quoting here:

> "Existing institutions, universities and colleges, should remain independent, but each should transform itself internally into an integrated Gesamthochschule, diversifying and splitting up its traditional courses of study horizontally as well as vertically, and in particular seeking and developing the potential for reform within the fields of study themselves."

Something of this kind is being proposed by some of the English colleges, and perhaps by Roskilde in Denmark. And the larger college centres in Sweden could, effectually, take this form. But only, in all these instances, if certain priorities are observed, priorities which this Report has been concerned to underline.

5. Conclusion

This Report has revolved around one question above all, which is how to contrive and ensure that the changing structures of higher education attend to the very special needs of the teaching profession, in particular the need for innovation and renewal. Is that to expect too much? One can only hope not. For the concept of higher education, the concept of the university, must surely embrace the kinds of preoccupations outlined in this Report: the vitality of the life of the intellect, the relation between teaching and study, the academic implication of professionalism, the process of innovation. Yet it would be absurd to pretend that this is universally or even commonly the way things are. On all sides one hears it asserted that there is a crisis of higher education and that its structures and curricula are in the melting pot: or that the massive inertia of universities is holding up the process of re-thinking and innovation. An even more serious question than these, from the point of view of this Report is whether the gradual opening up of higher education and the movement from elite to mass to universal higher education, as one is witnessing it in various parts of the world and most strikingly in North America, whether this movement is bound to be accompanied by such organisational difficulties, by such problems of size and dehumanisation, by confusion about academic standards and evaluation, by staff-student confrontations, as to make it hard if not absurd to propound a thesis which depends upon the concept of "the intellectual life" of universities and higher education.

In the midst of these "crises" of higher education, it might seem unduly parochial to suppose that the needs of teacher education are going to have much influence on the way things are re-shaped, or that tomorrow's structures and

academic philosophies in higher education will provide at all adequately for the needs of the teaching profession. There are, however, two factors (or complex of factors) which give grounds for a modest parochial optimism. The first is the sheer size of the teaching profession. In many countries, until recently, one of the few jobs the great majority of university students could look forward to has been teaching. Ministries of Education are necessarily preoccupied with the supply of teachers to schools and thus, whether or not it is their direct responsibility, with the shape and organisation of post-secondary and higher education. As an illustration, the recent U.K. James Committee was established under the aegis of the Department of Education and Science to consider the organisation of teacher education, the needs, that is, of a single profession. The Chairman of the Committee was, almost inevitably, a university vice-chancellor, and the Committee, almost inevitably, made far-reaching proposals for the re-shaping of higher education as a whole - and did not feel deterred from doing so even though this meant exceeding both its brief and its professional qualifications. To adumbrate the needs of teacher education is, in effect, to set in motion a large and powerful juggernaut of an army whose clamour is not likely to be inaudible.

The second factor, which ironically is very often overlooked, is that the institutions of higher education are all teaching institutions; university academics may be predominantly untrained as teachers but they share certain pedagogic needs with teachers in schools, however little they may be disposed to admit this blood-relationship to themselves or to society at large. The changing roles and horizons of the teacher apply also to those who teach in higher education, and problems perceived in the explicit business of training teachers for schools are likely to apply, however much concealed and however modified in form, to those who teach students in universities and colleges. The students, after all, are the same individuals as they move from school to university and college, carrying their developing needs with them (and not always silently). For this reason, the educational needs of the teaching profession have a more direct bearing on the pattern of higher education than those of any other profession, however much more prestigious it may be in the eyes of itself and of the community. And in the long or even in the medium run, this communality of pedagogic interests is likely to make itself felt.

Out of these common pedagogic interests, and out of the linked and, hopefully, integrated initial training work of universities and colleges, there may emerge into the schools a generation of potentially new teachers. One of the hopeful pieces of evidence is that very many of the new recruits to teaching are entering the profession, not because they "can't", in Bernard Shaw's phrase, but because they believe they "can", because they see education as one of the few areas where, short of violence and confrontation, they can hope to make an impact on the social order. They see it as a "helping" and

"changing" profession, and they do not readily accept the idea that their task is one of socialisation if that means accommodation to the existing order. They are concerned "about the problems of racial, religious or ethnic minorities and ... the achievement of just and open societies", concerned to ask fundamental questions about "the more affective and ultimate issues of life and education for living". It is with an insistence on these three major concerns that the International Council on Education for Teaching concluded its recent symposium, Innovation in Teacher Education: an International Perspective, a symposium of some substance and range. Feeling as they do, they are anxious to accept the new image of the teacher and to learn the new perspectives and skills that this implies (questions which this symposium rather oddly omitted to consider). The more successful the training programme, the more urgently will they feel all this.

But one cannot conclude this Report on this euphoric note. For what do they find? They find that they become absorbed into institutions which seem compelled, if not specifically designed, to deny their ideals, institutions in which the sheer weight of traditional practices and attitudes, the sheer burden of recalcitrant behaviour, the sheer obstacles of inappropriate architecture and inadequate resources, and the sheer indifference of the environment, combine to dampen enthusiasm and reduce teachers to demoralisation. They find, as a result, that the turn-over of teachers in industrial cities is depressingly high, as high as 30% annually in some cases. They look round, in their common rooms, at the conservatism of many of their colleagues who remain. And they wonder, aghast and depressed, whether they will survive any longer, and certainly whether any of their "new roles" will have a chance to gain a footing at all. Even if they are fortunate in getting an appointment at a "good" school in which humane attitudes and progressive methods are encouraged, they have the great problem of working out a balance between the traditional and the new, and this is such a severe problem precisely because temperamentally they are not interested in balance. Before long, however, they will feel contrary forces at work within themselves, not simply the contrary forces of, say, innovation and conservatism, of expending energy in working out and applying a new idea, as against settling, once in a while, for the safer familiar lesson; but the seemingly contrary forces of exploration and consolidation, of the inspired impromptu sortie into the unknown as against the painstaking rehearsal of the familiar. It is the achievement of this kind of rhythm and balance in teaching which presents a new and impetuous teacher with perhaps his greatest test, and if one says that it can only be achieved with time, with patience and experience and flair, one is not wishing, on that account, to minimise the degree to which it can be studied as a specific problem during initial training. The important lesson a would-be innovative teacher has to learn is not so much how to master his new roles as to how to

incorporate them into a developing repertoire of skills and traditions; "The constantly recurring problem for the teacher is how to introduce his direct teaching opportunity without reverting to a type of relationship in which the pupil is reduced to a passive role"; for the teacher "continues to be the adult who has knowledge to impart". (96)

This is what one understands, presumably, by "learning how to go on learning", by continuing and lifelong education: the capacity to be responsive to new ideas and to take possession of them within a working philosophy and pattern of behaviour. This, and not a brash and knowing radicalism, is the mark of the emancipated teacher whose education and training has enabled him to assume his new roles responsibly. For there is the problem of the intolerant orthodoxy which seems, sooner or later, to overtake innovators: "the problem [is] how to make teachers changeable, not just to change them, because a changed teacher can become very resistant to new changes". (97)

The meaning of this is that developmental work, while it must be centred in individual schools and must involve individual teachers, cannot be carried very far or for very long unless it is supported and above all inspired from outside the single institution. The problem is how to maintain a high level of invention and commitment, backed by access to research findings and resources. Teachers find it exceedingly difficult to lift themselves by their own bootstraps; and they are not going to be lifted far by political action either. The kind of "lift" that is germane to this whole Report presupposes a network of specialists, ideally known to have been formerly experienced teachers, working from linked centres of educational training and research. Their influence and teaching will have made itself felt first at the initial training stage, so that teachers go out to their first appointments equipped to work in teams both with colleagues and with pupils, seeking opportunities for innovative work wherever they can find them. But then the teachers' college and the university are inclined to feel, or have been so inclined in the past, that their job vis-à-vis the teacher is finished: whereas it has only begun. For both of them must in reality be resource centres for schools and for the continuing education of teachers. The staff of the colleges, and the education departments or schools of education have to become a source of innovative ideas, of experiments in curriculum development, in conjunction with teachers in neighbouring schools. For most schools it must be these institutions which provide continuing inspiration from outside; just as the institution from which the college derives its own inspiration and academic support must be the university. How often is it so in fact?

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II

THE CHANGING RELATIONS BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN NORTH AMERICA

by

Roland Goddu
Director
New England Program in Teacher Education
Durham, New Hampshire
(United States)

LIST OF TABLES

Summary

The purpose of this study is to review the institutional constraints and opportunities which led to the development of normal schools into higher education programs in the USA and Canada. In addition, the effect of non-academic institutions on the development of teacher education programs is examined. Issues of certification and accreditation, degree program requirements, state and federal legal and financial influences and developments such as alternative schools and community involvement are examined as they influence changes in institutional responsibilities.

The study attempts to analyze the legal, structural and programmatic shifts and changes based in American and Canadian traditions of higher education. Materials from various states and provinces were examined to discover the most cogent examples of alternative structures and programs presently in existence. The state and provincial independence in the matter of control and program development in education is analyzed as the basis for new efforts to establish competency-based certification in many states and to allow for the elimination of weak preparation in some provinces, particularly Quebec.

The main conclusions of the study are that while legal responsibility remains with the various states each higher education institution has built programs based on accreditation procedures often tied to historical certification regulations which have created a cadre of tenured academicians who are now protected by academic freedom and tenure. In addition the separation of higher education control from the State Board of Education has created a history of academic prestige and autonomy from responsiveness and accountability to political or community pressures. The further separation of the preparation of teachers by the creation of colleges of education and multiple degree programs has created a duplication of academic courses where students may well never step out of the professional sequence, often their first year of advanced training. The counter forces in non-university institutions are developing programs which replicate the original normal school program and emphasize the learning of the craft of teaching through an apprenticeship system.

The major policy implications of these findings are:

(a) Careful control of diffusion of programs and degrees must be maintained when divergent institutions are amalgamated to increase the quality of education or when a low status training oriented program with high societal need is placed in an organization structure with a high status, high quality education program.

(b) Certification rather than accreditation should be used as the vehicle to determine competency of professional training since it is more responsive to constituent pressure and not so liable to academic subterfuge.

(c) In established academic communities the selection of tenured or senior faculty to provide the needed training program is the critical point of influence on developing innovative programs.

(d) In situations where rapid development of special type teachers is required, special purpose ad hoc arrangements such as Teacher Corps, the Career Opportunities Program allow for more rapid adjustment of program content, quality, and recruitment, particularly if the intent is training for an appropriate certification.

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

This study initiated by OECD comes at a time when teacher education is under heavy pressures in the USA and Canada. Major demands are being made for justifying the existence of programs which, up to now, have been taken for granted as a societal need. The US federal effort capped by the Education Profession Development Act (EPDA) has not accomplished the significant hope it held out as little as two years ago. Changing political forces, including the emergence of the NEA as a teachers association, has at least temporarily retarded creative and inventive development. At the same time, Canada is moving firmly and systematically to place teacher education on a par with other professional training in the university. There is much to examine and to learn from the past and present of these events. This paper represents one person's attempt to articulate the present state of affairs in a manner that would be helpful for those seeking direction for public policy from the macro organization or governmental level. It presents selected detail. There is certainly inaccurate and incomplete information presented. The hope is that the report errs in the direction of reality rather than desire or belief.

This study examines the changing relations between universities and other institutions involved in the education and training of teachers in the USA and Canada. The study is not a comprehensive survey nor does it examine all trends and arrangements in detail. The study does report changes that seem to energize the new or developing relations in teacher education in selected places throughout both countries. The report is based on materials and reports received from most of the states and provinces. Some federal documents were also examined, as well as reports and materials from national education organizations in the USA.

One of the persons who has influenced the major commitments of federal funds to the improvement of programs offered by higher education institutions has made the following statement:

> " American higher education has always been elitist; its faculties are still so, from Harvard to the latest community college trying to emulate either Harvard or its midwife, the local land grant university ...
>
> "Once in our history, the democratic normal schools provided all of the training in teaching and in the liberal arts such as it was. Their functions were taken over by the teacher's colleges, many of which followed the Bagley plan and included liberal arts training in their curriculum. Columbia Teachers College was among these. But once the arts and sciences colleges had been defeated in their efforts to preserve higher education as an old style Ivy League sort of preserve, once the teachers' colleges were converted into state universities what happened was that the democratization of education on the horizon - over 50 percent of our high school graduates beginning college though not staying long - went ahead while the foreground was ignored where one-fourth of our people remain fuctional illiterates, about one-fourth dropped out before finishing high school, and culture after culture was smashed on the iceberg of 'curriculum standards', 'structured curricula', College Boards. They were crushed by

centralized educational authority controlled by WASP hierarchies,* and by the research and scholarship establishment.

"The liberal arts colleges ... must find a new democratic purpose; and it is hard to see how that purpose will be all that different from that of the old normal schools, though teaching styles, and curricula, and the level of profundity will assuredly be different.

"... It does not matter which dies - the old arts college or the college of education; both are dead so far as American education is concerned. What matters is that the war cease and democratic education begin."1**

The statement is characteristically blunt. What one gathers between the lines is frustration with the protective mechanisms of the higher education institutions; the incredible energy breaking against standards and curricula. What is not said is the analogous application to standards and curricula for teacher education.

The responsibility for control and development of education in both the USA and Canada rests with the states and provinces. While in the USA extensive leverage is provided by federal support to education, and in particular to education professions development, the major locus of statutory power and financial investment for teacher education remains at the state and provincial level.

Within each state, teacher education has long been the captive of higher education institutions - be they normal schools, teacher colleges, liberal art colleges, universities - private or state supported,

As the latest report on the education professions points out:

"Planners of undergraduate programs in the universities must distinguish between the problems of students in many State universities and those of students in prestige schools (some of them State universities), as these two types of schools cater to different types of student bodies. In most State universities, such as Ohio State, Indiana, and the like, much of the undergraduate student body is trained for careers in teaching. The problems of their undergraduate departments are not very different from those of the 4-year colleges...

"... The hundred thousand or so new teachers of under graduate students in 4-year institutions and universities will have to resist falling into three traps : (a) They must not succumb to the temptation to provide low-level technical training to fit their students for the boring jobs which they will have to fill before they get a chance to climb the career ladder; (b) they must not imitate high prestige institutions in shaping their curricula solely to the preparation of students

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* WASP hierarchies means the White Anglo Saxon Protestant power structure developed from family and Ivy League College and private preparatory school connections, also called old school tie connections.

** See Bibliography.

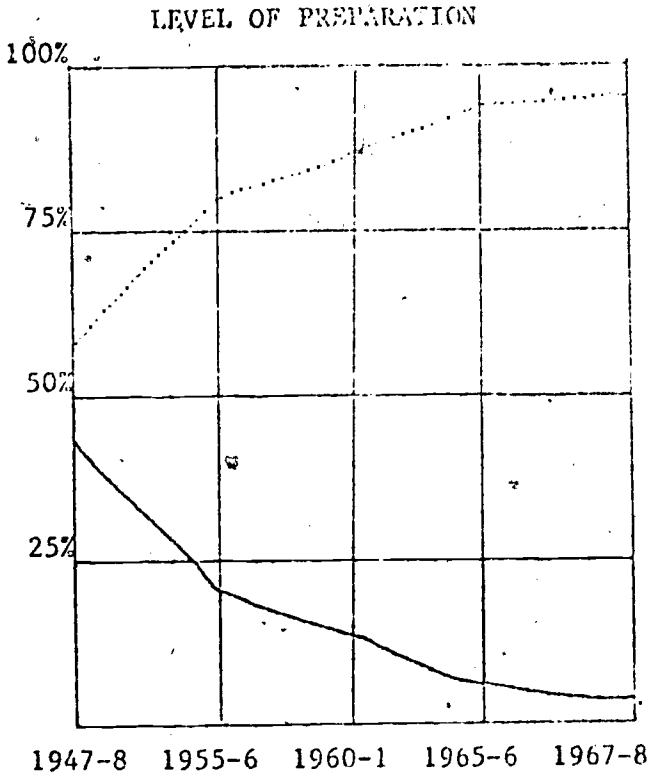
for graduate school, since the opportunities for persons with graduate training are likely to be less promising than those for persons with bachelor's degrees; (c) they must not continue to train students only for today's jobs many of which will disappear. Instead, they should prepare students for new careers, human services, where more job opportunities are likely to materialize."[2]

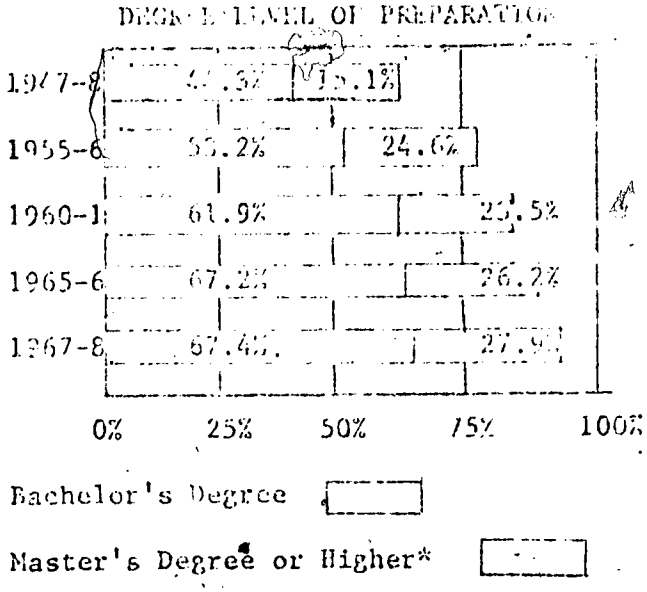
It can at least be identified as cries of concern that any existing acknowledged or approved institution is responding rapidly to basic societal needs be they democracy, the education of the populace, or the preparation of personnel for human services. Yet at this same time, more and more of the prestige liberal arts and sciences institutions (Yale, Wesleyan, Dartmouth, as well as Harvard), are instituting new programs in education for human services for their undergraduates. Thus the prestige institutions are adapting rapidly to meet the employment outlook of the 1970's and the trend towards completing one's education at the bachelor's level, and so the training patterns for the intellectual or at least the academically achieving elite are changing drastically.

It may be safe to assume again that this new pool of personnel for human services will not find its way permanently into general education in any significant number to change the historical character of the education profession. Certainly the experience with the innovative Master of Arts in Teaching degree programs initiated at Harvard and broadly copied by elite and high status institutions throughout the USA proves that this new breed quickly disperses to new careers or alternative schools and general education remains the same. One must look elsewhere for the constraining influence and for the dominant influence in American teacher education. Where are the standards and curricula coming from? Why the ongoing cries? Where is this dominant underground force that explains the following major change in the staffing of general education in the USA?

TABLE 1

Level of Preparation and Degree Level of Teachers in the U.S.A





*Includes a small percentage of teachers with six-year diplomas or doctor's degrees.

Source: NEA Research Division Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools. Research Report 1969 R-4, Washington D.C., p.60.

These teachers did not come from the elite prestige institutions. It is estimated that over 90% came from the following institutions listed in Table II and that 80% of these came from National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) accredited institutions.

The destiny of improved teacher education has been in the hands of those persons in these institutions, persons who are not identified as teacher educators. What person would be certified as qualified to teach was, and in many instances still is, the private domain of these academics. Any study about teacher education must recognize that the formal structures created by and for institutional change or improvement are only as effective as they are allowed to be by the teacher educators and academicians who control entry, and a significant proportion (some say as much as 80%) of the formal professional training of teachers.

TABLE 2

TEACHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

State	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS Accredited by NCATE[a]	Total[b]	State	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS Accredited by NCATE[a]	Total[b]
Alabama	8	25	Montana	5	8
Alaska	0	1	Nebraska	13	22
Arizona	3	4	Nevada	1	2
Arkansas	10	20	New Hampshire	3	9
California	17	55	New Jersey	7	21
Colorado	7	13	New Mexico	4	10
Connecticut	7	16	New York	23	96
Delaware	0	2	North Carolina	13	41
District of Columbia	3	8	North Dakota	6	8
Florida	5	17	Ohio	19	53
Georgia	7	30	Oklahoma	14	18
Hawaii	0	3	Oregon	9	15
Idaho	3	9	Pennsylvania	25	80
Illinois	23	61	Puerto Rico	1	5
Indiana	18	34	Rhode Island	1	10
Iowa	13	29	South Carolina	1	24
Kansas	13	24	South Dakota	8	14
Kentucky	8	22	Tennessee	12	33
Louisiana	7	20	Texas	21	53
Maine	3	16	Utah	5	6
Maryland	6	24	Vermont	1	13
Massachusetts	16	56	Virginia	6	34
Michigan	11	26	Washington	12	15
Minnesota	20	23	West Virginia	10	17
Mississippi	6	16	Wisconsin	21	45
Missouri	14	39	Wyoming	1	1
TOTAL				470	1,246

a. Source: National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. *Sixteenth Annual List, 1969-1970*, Washington, D.C.: the Council, 1969. (Effective September 1, 1969-August 31, 1970.)

b. Source: Stinnett, op.cit., 1970 Edition.

Since neither the USA nor Canada has created any appreciable number of totally new higher education institutions directed to teacher education, the dominance and control of those persons who are already in the institutions constrains efforts to amalgamate, modify, improve or change. The new dollars for education professions development have not in either country been used to create an institution from scratch; instead, most of the money has been expended for "pilot" projects, or add-on activities, not for basic reform of the ongoing practice of the teacher educators of an institution nor for basic reform of the structure and program of an institution.

The great majority of these institutions, begun as normal schools, became teachers colleges, then state colleges and some even state universities.

> " A large number of state schools, which had previously been teacher-training institutions, expanded within only a few years into full-status universities with expensive and often prestigious graduate departments... The majority of postsecondary institutions changed their admission requirements to accommodate the changing student body, although the more well-established, prestigious institutions did not. Those institutions with less selective entrance requirements increased enrollments faster than those which catered to academically gifted students."3

As enrolments increased, programs were expanded by increasing the number of already approved and accredited courses. This also meant that existing faculty remained in the key courses which they had by choice, tenure and seniority. Thus over a relatively short period of 20 years and with little effort, a faculty member hired as a teacher of elementary grade five in a normal school became a tenured faculty member in elementary education at the teachers college. Subsequently he became a faculty member of the state college sometimes shifting to a discipline field such as science as a result of training under the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) grant auspices, and finally ending up as a senior member of a faculty of a state university. An excellent practitioner for an elementary classroom now found himself in a job that required a different academic frame of reference In protection of his or her self interest, salary, tenure, prestige, this person turned to the accreditation and certification regulations as a safeguard. In addition :

> " As experienced elementary and high school teachers will need retraining to teach preschool, it will be only natural for them to obtain an advanced degree as part of their retraining.
> " ... The big boom in graduate education, which was aided and abetted by various forms of assistance to set up, operate, improve strengthen, and expand graduate education with the help of Federal grants, has whetted the appetite of numerous schools to upgrade themselves in the academic pecking order of postsecondary education."4

The preparation of teachers initiated in the 19th century in the normal school with its short one-year or two-year supervised practice in teaching and methods curricula, had come full circle. This basic component was replicated as the professional component in some form or other in Master of Arts in Teaching programs and in adaptation of programs for teachers for urban or other neglected and difficult tings. This component was seen as essential and required of

graduates of undergraduate teacher education curric rograms had now become so full of academic requirements tha d only fit in six weeks (!) of practice and as a major stu ut:

"The teacher training programs, the general educa. rograms based on Cardinal Principles (The Report of the Co n on the Reorganisation of Education) worked as training chers came to be increasingly located in universities normal schools' were made over into 'State Teachers Colleges' (and then into 'State Colleges' and branch 'State Universities'), the view that what a good teacher primarily needed to receive was a 'good general education' came to be increasingly received. The special 'courses for teachers' of normal school days went out, the plans for locating courses in the disciplines in Colleges of Education which were tried at Columbia in the early part of the century and pushed at a number of institutions influenced by the Carnegie Study of Teacher Education in Missouri (1920) did not finally prevail. And the notion that liberal arts courses within the disciplines prepared people to do many things (usually advocated by spokesmen for the disciplines) came to be accepted widely by Education people. The presidents of the teachers college wanted to make their schools over into general liberal arts schools. Under that pressure, teacher educators came increasingly to see that what was needed, by secondary teachers, was a good general education, a major in a conventional academic department plus certain 'professional' courses taken in the pedagogical division the position which Borrowman calls that of the 'harmonizers'. The elementary teacher took a major in a discipline called 'Elementary Education' or 'Curriculum and Instruction'.

"After a century of ups and downs, the 'harmonizers' position received its final seal of approval in the Second Bowling Green Conference; as the conference report says, 'the major outcomes of the conference are to be found in better attitudes, better communication and better understanding among all segments of the profession regarding the complex tasks of preparing teachers rather than in the significance of any agreements on content and procedures'. That a Bowling Green kind of arrangement did not so much constitute a program as a truce was not widely perceived.[5]

"... a workshop might be thrown in (Mr. Conant's book gave some support to these notions). Considerable efforts were made in some states, notably in California (1961), to require elementary teachers to take full academic undergraduate majors. Other states allowed or encouraged academic departments to require of elementary and secondary teachers in preparation a larger number of hours of undergraduate training in the academic departments." [6]

Teacher Education became thus a listing of courses with appropriate description, course outline, evaluation tool and bibliography. The teacher educator academician set out to mimic and one-up his academic idols from the arts and sciences while carefully protecting the college of education from any encroachment from the others on campus. The vehicle for academic protection and isolation became NCATE accreditation.

The Olsen description as well as many other of the academician statements about the transition from normal schools neglected to mention a significant origin for the list of courses found in most higher education institution catalogues. This list came from the certification requirements regulations in most states. The basic list

consists of

(a) Foundations of Education
(b) Educational Psychology
(c) Curriculum and Methods
(d) Supervised Practice Teaching

The normal schools and teachers colleges grew up as an integral part of the State Department of Education in the USA. Similarly in Canada many of the normal schools and teachers colleges courses in teacher education paralleled the certification requirements. In the USA, most of those institutions came under the jurisdiction of a new board of trustees when they became state colleges but even then the faculties were very sensitive to keep close working relations with the teacher certification office in the State Department of Education.

In Canada where the Ministry controls all of education in the Province, the transfer of normal schools and teachers colleges to the university was accomplished primarily with (through) legal charters. The ultimate control remains in the same place though the procedures for certification and program approval become subject to more academic control than to school or teacher association control. The experience is yet somewhat short to determine the actual effect on quality control though there is evidence already of a more rational allocation and development of needed educational personnel. Thus certification in Canada has become clearly tied to an academic program both of which are controlled ultimately by the ministry, by statutory right and by budget allocation.

Certification in the USA is in a period of rapid flux. Performance or competency-based certification procedures are extensively proposed throughout the USA. The key states in this movement have joined in a consortium to assist each other in the development of this new type of regulation and in convincing other states to join the movement. Florida has additionally passed new statutes with sufficient appropriations ($ 1,200 per teacher) to enable the development of competency-based programs for experienced classroom teachers. This is a major new event in teacher education in the USA where most of certification and teacher education effort up to now has focussed on preservice education.

Another force for flux is the Interstate Compact for Certification which develops enabling legislation to

> "..provide the necessary legal authority for state education agencies to work out procedures that ease the recognition by many states of decisions on educational personnel already made in another state. At the same time, safeguards are provided to assure each participating state that the system will not produce interstate acceptance of substandard educational personnel."[8]

Twenty-nine states already participate in this program. It is important to note that this compact does not yet reach out to higher education institutions. They still make their arrangements in their state of residence. There, the old alliances still pertain, State Colleges still maintain the standard approved program that fits the State Department regulations. There the private or parochial institutions who propose teachers accept these same regulations or simply assert their program as related to the courses listed for certification. One

can see why after having lost control of the state colleges, the state departments now seek mechanisms such as competency-based certification to re-establish some confidence that the state department of education is fulfilling its mandate under law.

On the other hand, academic pressures have led academic institutions to develop extensive accreditation procedures. Not only is a higher education institution in the USA subject to state approval (often perfunctory), but also to approval for accreditation by a regional higher education agency and by various professional accreditation agencies (in teacher education, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education). In Canada, the various ministries have established closer control over the general academic accreditation procedures through internal commissions and evaluation procedures It is not clear from the material at hand if accreditation of professional program is undertaken.

Accreditation of professional program in teacher education in the USA is accomplished under the jurisdiction of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. This body is authorized by the National Commission on Accrediting to adopt standards and procedures for accreditation of institutions preparing teachers. This accreditation is voluntary for the institution of higher education. The accreditation is made by site visitation by peers according to a standard booklet (a) provided by NCATE and (b) developed by a committee of peers, and approved for practice by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE). The standards are developed as minimal standards for

> "the quality of preparation programs and signifies that persons recommended by the institution can be expected to perform satisfactorily in typical teaching and other professional school positions throughout the United States."[9]

Historically, this accreditation procedure has paralleled the course structure and requirements for certification. The NCATE handbook for preparing for a site review provides sample curriculum for elementary and secondary teacher preparation programs stated in terms of courses and number of credit hours. As a result, college curricula duplicate the recommended format.

This approach emphasizes the formalization of higher education standards and curricula. As higher education institutions have sought out the status and rewards of respectability they seem to have forgotten not only their democratic origins, but also their unique characteristic and opportunity as academic institutions. The development of knowledge about teaching and learning is the most difficult of academic pursuits. Those few who have made discoveries in this area of knowledge have helped us all remain at a minimal cultural and social level. Could it be that the normal school created to bring literacy to young children, and the teachers college, created to bring the liberal arts to secondary schools, were actually the models for academic renewal of higher education institutions? Their knowledge development and transmittal characteristics, and their arrangement of faculty, students, practice and analysis provided not only for literacy and acculturation of teachers and their students but also for the integrated practice of an academic institution. The historical evidence of the present higher education institution arrangement does clearly delineate a movement to rules, regulations

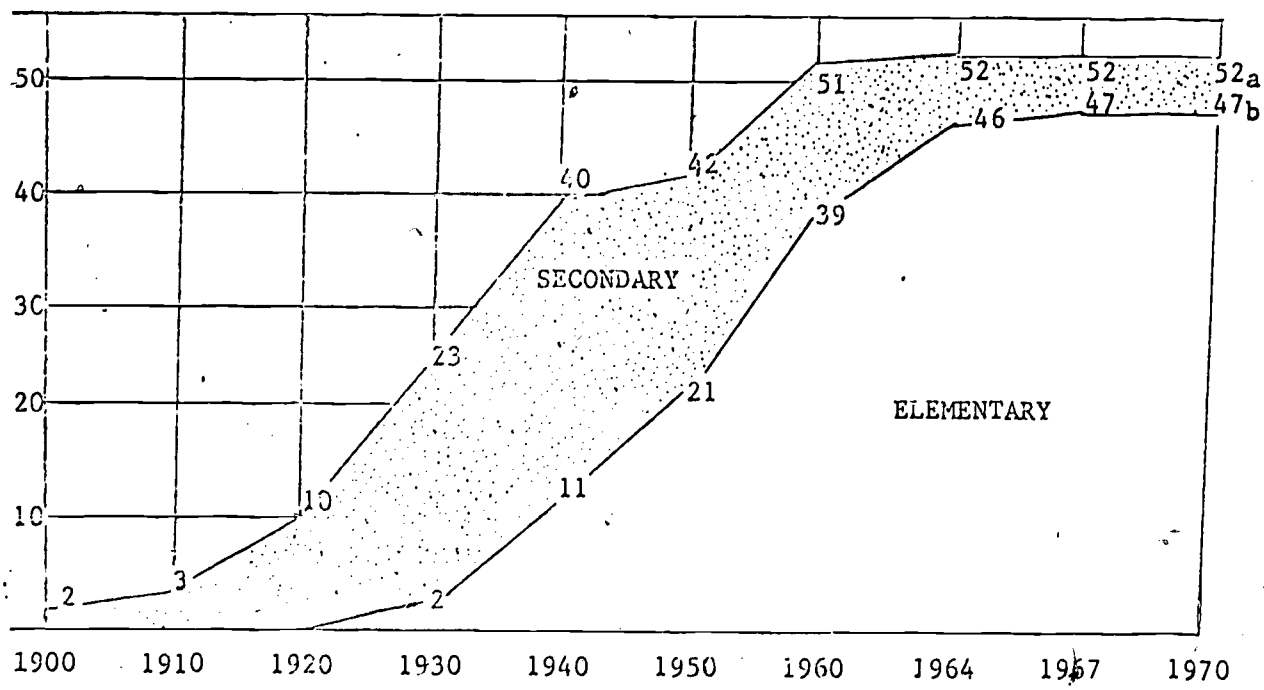
and structures where standards of quality are subordinated to standard of quantity and abstraction.

The USA may have left much that was good behind when higher education institutions grasped at status and prestige by increasing quantity of courses to meet a demand to increase the quantity of educated persons. Some new institutions working to help educate or train teachers have started to develop throughout the nation. Some as centers for in-service workshops, some as meeting places, some as experimental schools or alternative schools. Yet very few of these are staffed by the teacher educator academicians from the established institutions nor are they provided with any long-term funding from the state or local tax base. Started with federal funds, they continue as long as these funds and the energy of the resident reformers last. And at this point in time in the USA, they live with the political and economic debacle that surrounds the defeat of the education renewal concept at the federal level. In Canada, lengthy negotiations for absorption of structures seem to be the norm.

The Canada experience where the cycle came a little later in time may well evade some of the sacrifices to elitism and status. The decision of the Province of Quebec to prune existing normal school programs and to redirect them into established academic institutions was a hard risky decision. It did increase the possibility for quality programs in teacher education if the higher education institutions now find the invention which allows academic teacher educators to practice and develop new knowledge about the theory and practice of teaching. The USA has now created so many institutions, regulations and standards all of which look alike, review and certify the same thing, the same way, that it is most difficult to make visible the sensible fact that the practice of teaching which research shows to be the major experience in learning to teach, now covers less than 1/30th of the curriculum in the standard teacher preparation at most of the institutions listed earlier in this chapter.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF STATES ENFORCING THE DEGREE REQUIREMENT FOR LOWEST REGULAR TEACHING CERTIFICATES



a. Includes the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico; also three states which require five years.
b. Includes the District of Columbia.
Sources: Armstrong, W. Earl and Stinnett, T.M., A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States, Washington D.C., National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association 1964, 1967, 1970.

II. PRESENT STRUCTURE OF TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In North America, teacher education is normally divided into two distinct types :

- preservice is that teacher education provided before a person is hired for a regular (permanent or temporary) teaching assignment;
- in-service is that teacher education or training provided after one is hired - this training occurs mostly during the summer vacation

The purpose of this chapter is to describe in a general way the types of existing institutions that prepare teachers in the USA and Canada. The degree programs, types of degrees, certification requirement and certificates will be outlined.

In the USA, in-service teacher education most often leads to an advanced degree and at least to the accruing of degree credits. In Canada continued employment and promotion is also tied to these in-service courses. Most salary schedules (determined through local towns or district negotiations) provide for salary advancement when a certain number of credits and/or degrees are collected. Typically, schedules have the following categories Bachelors, Bachelors and 15 credits, Masters, Masters and 15 credits, Masters and 30 credits. Thus, much teacher education provided for practising teachers is in 3 credits components and often independent of a degree program. The degree program can and often will include many of the same courses or credits as a teacher can take independently; the difference lies in admission to matriculate for a graduate degree. This admission is made by a committee of university instructors. In some instances, training for teachers is provided by the local districts in the USA (rarely in the USA by the state) and in Canada by the Ministry of Education. These courses or training activities usually called workshops are more specific methodology training and usually do not carry credit though they are considered a normal part of professional employment. While one might expect in-service training of teachers as extensive and quite systematically organized, one finds instead that while offerings are extensive there is little effort to require or organize in-service training for the teacher in the USA neither by the local district, the state nor the teachers association. The single exception may be the State of Florida though the complexity of the undertaking of tying re-certification of teaching to competency based training makes it presently difficult to discover if the training is actually systematic or simply looks systematic because of the pre-determined catolog of competencies. In Canada, teacher re-training is provided by the Ministry based on a plan for program development in the schools for the coming year, or if no new or different programs are planned, teachers are assumed to pursue further study at the university. It seems also that the integration of teacher education in the university system includes assumption of the re-training and up-grading responsibility.

In-service training and up-grading have been discussed first to point out that universities assumed to perceive this on-going training as a teacher responsibility. The evidence in the USA is that once a teacher has the first professional degree, further involvement with the university at the university initiative is only for more specialized and advanced degree work leading to a professional role

or status outside of the regular classroom. This may not be true for secondary level content teachers taking an MA or MS in that content expertise. But from the university perspective those are not really degrees they are only filtering points on the way to a research degree. The point is that very few institutions of higher education or any other agency have developed programs for the continuing up-grading, training, and education of persons to make them more effective in elementary, secondary or even higher education institutions. This assertion stands in the face of the massive federal investments in National Defense Education Act (NDEA), National Science Foundation (NSF) or Education Profession Development Act (EPDA) institutes. These institutes and their affiliated major curriculum development activities such as the science, math or social studies materials developed have not been part of a systematic targeted plan for classroom teachers but rather efforts at curriculum (materials) reform for learners.

As a result many small temporary teacher centers based on permutations of the more systematic English system have sprung up through out the USA. These "centers" are usually voluntary organizations providing workshops at the request of a group of teachers and very rarely at the request of any administrator or education official. While this may continue the USA tradition of local control, it does portend a viable, useful advance in learning about teaching which will die unless funds and permanence are provided. One need only look at the trials and tribulations of the development of the Bank Street School of Education to see what resources and personnel need to be accrued to assure an on-going systematic service and impact.

Some in the USA perceive the Regional Laboratories or the Research and Development Centers as serving the systematic development of materials and programs for the upgrading of teachers. Political forces over the last years have seriously damaged the viability and effectiveness of these agencies. Few state departments of education have seen these agencies as serving them and fewer higher education institutions. The programs are national in scope and delivery, but, as mentioned earlier, the reality of teacher education is local.

In Canada, there is some evidence that the creation of the Research Institutes such as the Atlantic Institute and the Ontario Institute has provided a vehicle for research while leaving the education and training to the university system. Except in Quebec and Manitoba, where there is some evidence of interest in pedagogy, there is little evidence of a developing systematic program for development of the classroom teacher. Most of the energy, resources and money seem to be going again to structural reform of schools and curricular reform for learners.

In summary, then, in-service teacher education for both elementary and secondary teachers is in a state of neglect in the USA and Canada. There are signs of efforts by State Departments to assert leadership in this area due to their statutory mandate. There is little evidence of any higher education investment of personnel or program development in on-going teacher development. Rather one finds the effort focussing on curriculum reform and structural reform of schools. Some other institutions addressing the teacher development

need have developed primarily through the interest and energy of some local educators and are almost exclusively primary or elementary teacher in focus. They are successful only as long as local energy survives and to the extent that local leadership knows their way around the local and state sanctioning bodies for certification and funding. At the in-service level then, it is possible to find training programs that count towards further certification levels as well as academic programs that are somewhat independent.

There is an evident clear distinction made here between degree programs and certification programs. Such is not always the case. In many instances where a state university has come from normal school origins, the B. Ed. degree has been replaced by the B.A. or B.S.degree with minimal modification of program. Pre-service education is rampant with these types of confusions and variations in the USA. Canada, on the other hand, has been more careful to standardize the degree sequences. The B.A. is clearly an academic discipline degree, while the B. Ed. is a pre-service training program, totally independent of the B.A. program and often occurring in a fifth year for secondary teachers.

Thus we make a transition to pre-service education. The training offered by higher education institutions is extensive, systematic and firmly implanted. Territorial rights are definite and well protected academically and politically. Here the higher education institutions are the dominant force. In fact even teachers associations talk of the first professional degree and when they seek to upgrade elementary preparation have asked for undergraduate degree level preparation. In the USA one finds the following degrees offered by approved teacher training programs in higher education institutions approved by a state as equivalent to first professional certification or accredited by NCATE.

TABLE 4

TYPES OF ACADEMIC DEGREES GRANTED FOR TEACHER EDUCATION PRE-SERVICE PREPARATION IN THE USA

-1973-

Elementary		Secondary	
4 year sequence		4 year sequence	
B. Ed.	Bachelor of Education	B. Ed.	Bachelor of Education
B.S.	Bacholor of Science	B.S.	Bachelor of Science
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts in Education	B.A.	Bachelor of Arts in Education
B.A.T.	Bachelor of Arts in Teaching	B.A.T.	Bachelor of Arts in Teaching
B.T.	Bachelor in Teaching (rare)	B.T.	Bachelor in Teaching(rare
special sequences for liberal arts graduates			
M. Ed.	Master of Education (elementary)		
		M.A.T.	Master of Arts in Teachi
		M.S.T.	Master of Science in Teaching
		M.Ed.	Master of Education (secondary)

All of these degree programs are made up of three components: general education, specialization, and professional education. For the Masters degree programs, students accepted are usually assumed to have acquired the general education and most of what is provided is the standard professional sequence: foundations, educational psychology, methods, and some form of practice in teaching.

In the USA for the most part secondary school teachers tend to have been trained in the B.A. in Ed. 4 year sequence or the B.A. and Masters sequence; most elementary school teachers have been trained in the B.Ed. 4 year sequence and a very few remain who are being trained in the professional sequence only. That smaller proportion of teachers prepared in private or parochial colleges usually follow the B.A. in Ed. 4 year sequence which it will be noted provides for the least (minimal) amount of supervised practice in teaching.

One should note that the academic sequence is not usually specified in the certification requirements, only the basic professional sequence is. It has been asserted by some that this specific inclusion in the regulation is not only a remnant of the origins of the present structure of teacher education, when the dominant training institutions were under the direct control of the State Departments, but more a result of the political power of teacher educators in the state department and the state legislatures to protect their jobs by making their courses obligatory.

Be that as it may, many of former normal schools were the only higher education institutions serving a specific geographic region in a state at low cost. The change of normal school to teachers college offering a 4 year degree also came at a time in the USA when many more persons sought a college education and before the expansion of the community college. Many young people used the teachers colleges as routes to upward mobility and a good number of these chose local and state politics as a career, while those who went to the regional or national constituency institutions- mostly private and parochial - sought national or corporate careers.

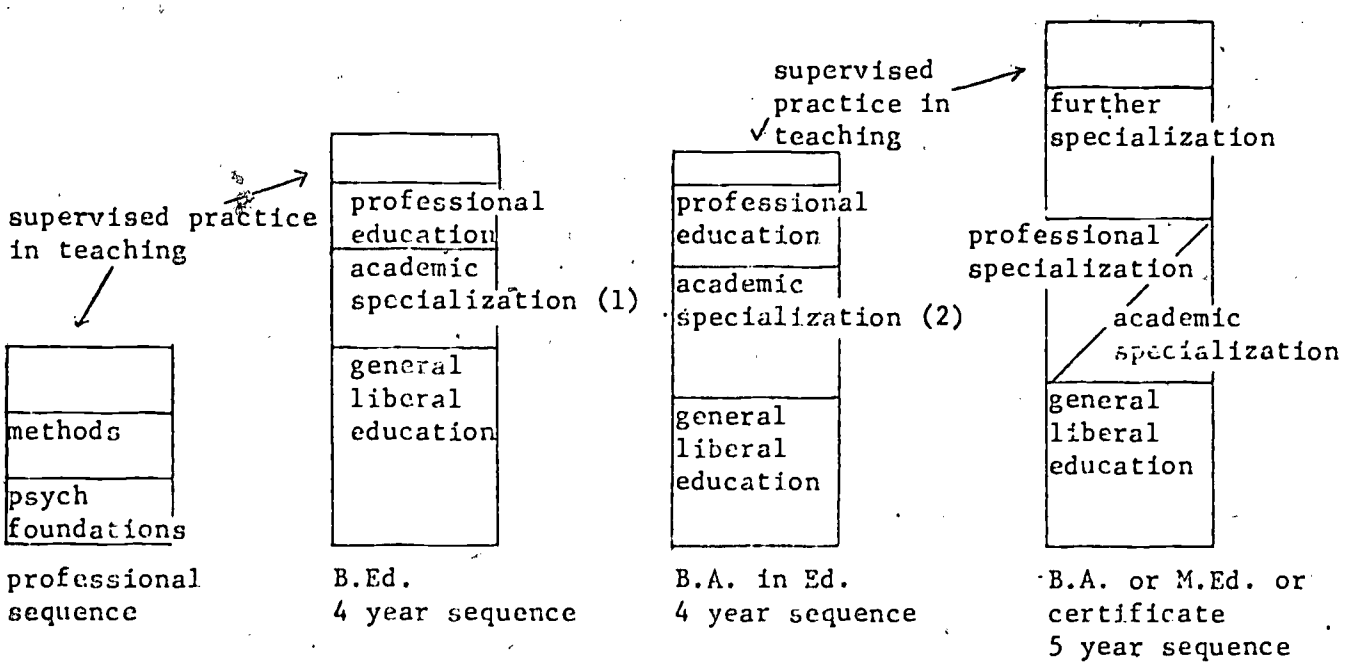
One should also note that elementary preparation programs have tended to be more professional practice dominated. If any academi discipline was taught it was psychology, little other academic content was taught including language. Even today most curricula continue to be dominated by child development and learning theory courses with content in language (reading) and sciences or social studies being presented as add-ons. This fact has kept elementary education out of the main stream of intellectual and academic development in the USA. With the minimal public interest in early childhood programs - there are still few public kindergartens - even the major discoveries of psychology and early learning have found their way very slowly into the public schools. Some evidence suggests that the Office of Economic Opportunity Headstart Programs while quite effective for young childre and communities where they existed, were used as a reason to further limit elementary preparation to the existing practice in classrooms and as described in the state certification regulations.

In contrast in Quebec, the Institut Familial movement was supported and strengthened by the Ministry and the universities. The movement of normal schools into existing universities has the opportunity to bring elementary teacher education closer to the early childhood research and training that is on-going in most of the universities.

TABLE 5

CONTENT OF DEGREE PROGRAMS IN ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE USA

- 1973 -



(1) usually consists of courses which present only that discipline subject matter relevent to elementary or secondary classroom teaching.

(2) usually is an academic major covering more of the subject matter a discipline major would cover.

In the USA, isolation of learning was reinforced by the creation of separate, equal and powerful colleges : the Liberal Arts College to supervise general education, and the College of Education - the core made up of the former normal school or teachers college faculty - to supervise professional teacher education. Even the creation of university programs for preparing B.A. graduates of liberal arts sequences for teaching suffered from the isolation of elementary education from secondary education as well as the isolation of both for the research and teaching in learning going on in other parts of the university - usually psychology or home economics.

There exist pre-service training programs of high specification and extensive numerical development. Many programs graduate over 250 teachers per year. One will usually find that there exists one approved elementary sequence and one approved secondary sequence which are fundamentally quite similar. The increased numbers are provided for by increasing the number of sections of a course. Some institutions report as many as 20 (!) sections of the same course in Foundations, Human Growth and Development and elementary or secondary Curriculum.

The experience of the developers of the massive federal effort to develop model teacher education programs has been slowed down by the existence of such complete and sophisticated programs and sequences.

> "Two curricular patterns have dominated elementary teacher preparation programs. The first includes an academic major-minor, general education as prescribed by the college, and special courses in educational foundations and teaching skills. The second type of program seeks to integrate academic content and pedagogy in a single series of courses covering elementary school subjects. Both patterns, however, include a period of student teaching preceded by other experiences in working with children. The academic major-minor and elective courses may be taken outside the department of education, and frequently beyond its influence, so that the student finds it necessary to comply with requirements established by two or more college authorities.
>
> "... The difficulties inherent in models based on achievement levels and proficiency, rather than completion of classes through eight semesters, imply grave consequences for the character of American higher education. Although each model deals with these issues, no one of them has found it possible to move entirely beyond the institution." 10.

As one reviews the structure of teacher education in the USA, one is amazed by the inventiveness and proliferation of programs and institutions involved in teacher education.

TABLE 6

INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE USA

-1973-

1. State Department of Education
2. Higher Education Institutions
   a. state colleges
      - liberal arts
      - teacher education
   b. state universities
   c. private colleges
      - liberal arts
      - teacher education
   d. private universities
   e. teachers colleges
3. Associations
4. Alternative Agencies
   a. street academies
   b. COP/Teachers Corps
   c. alternative and community schools
   d. teacher centers
   e. R & D centers in teaching
   f. association conferences/workshops
5. The Federal Government
   a. ESEA I
   b. ESEA III, NDEA, EPDA
   c. Head Start and Follow Through

An academic catalog has been variously described as an effective vehicle for obfuscation, bad history and good public relations. It does describe the basic skeletal structure of the programs of a higher education institution from the academician point of view. Such a representation of teacher education in the USA and Canada demonstrates the dominance of courses as the organizing patterns of the curriculum, the basic dependence on a few curriculum patterns, the use of different degrees (B. ED., B.A., B.S.) to credential what are basically the same programs of studies, and the isolation of the preparation of teachers from the schools they would serve in. One would wonder what those who invented the normal schools as professional training grounds would think of the programs and institutions they originated. There are a few who believe they would find Career Opportunity Program (COP) or Teacher Corps type program more acceptable to their tradition.

III. FORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN UNIVERSITY AND NON-UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS

The universities in North America have grown along with the society they serve. As a result, legal, financial and administrative linkages with other institutions have varied throughout at least the last 100 years. From a legal point of view, most higher education

institutions are chartered or approved by a legal state body. Some, particularly the original institutions, such as Yale and Harvard, have individual charters passed by the state legislature as part of the state constitution. Others such as the institutions developed as a result of the Morrill Act are created as a result of a state law. Other institutions developed through the efforts of religious groups who sought to charter the new institutions based on ties to Western European institutions or as non-profit educational corporations in the respective states or provinces. Offering a degree program to prepare teachers are the following institutions independently developed and with independent controlling boards:

1. former normal schools now at least authorized as state Colleges, e.g. Mankato State College;
2. former normal schools now established as private colleges of education, e.g. Bank Street College of Education (N.Y.), National College of Education (Evanston, Illinois);
3. former state agriculture or land grant colleges now state universities;
4. state universities, some of which were also land grant colleges;
5. private denominational normal schools and private denominational liberal arts colleges;
6. private denominational universities;
7. private universities.

It is only in the last ten years - with very few exceptions that a state coordinating or supervising body has been created to oversee all of higher education and in many states this supervision is advisory only for private institutions. Even the state supported institutions in many states are supervised by multiple boards. For example, Connecticut has the following

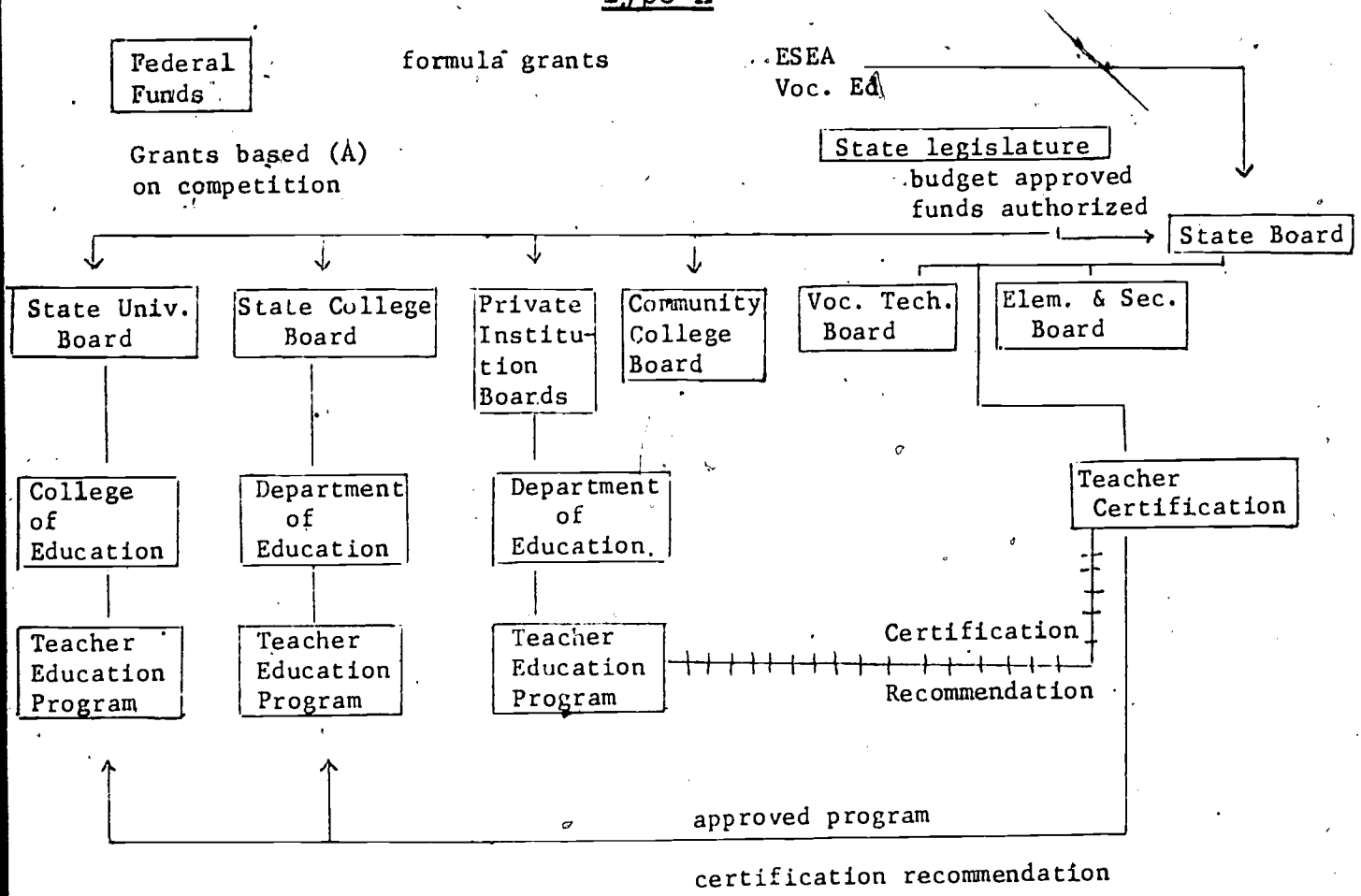
1. a Commission of Higher Education
   - budget review for state institutions
   - new program approval - all institutions
2. Board of Trustees for the State University
3. Board of Trustees for the State Colleges
4. Board of Trustees for the Community Colleges

Independent of any of the above are the Board of Trustees of each private institution. The State Board of Education serves also as the Board of Trustees for the Vocational and Technical Colleges of the State. Legal responsibility for institution program is thus quite diffuse. In contrast, in Canada the Provincial Ministry of Education supervises all of education including all private or parochial institutions. The following charts, in Table 7, trace some of the legal, programmatic, and financial structures in the USA.

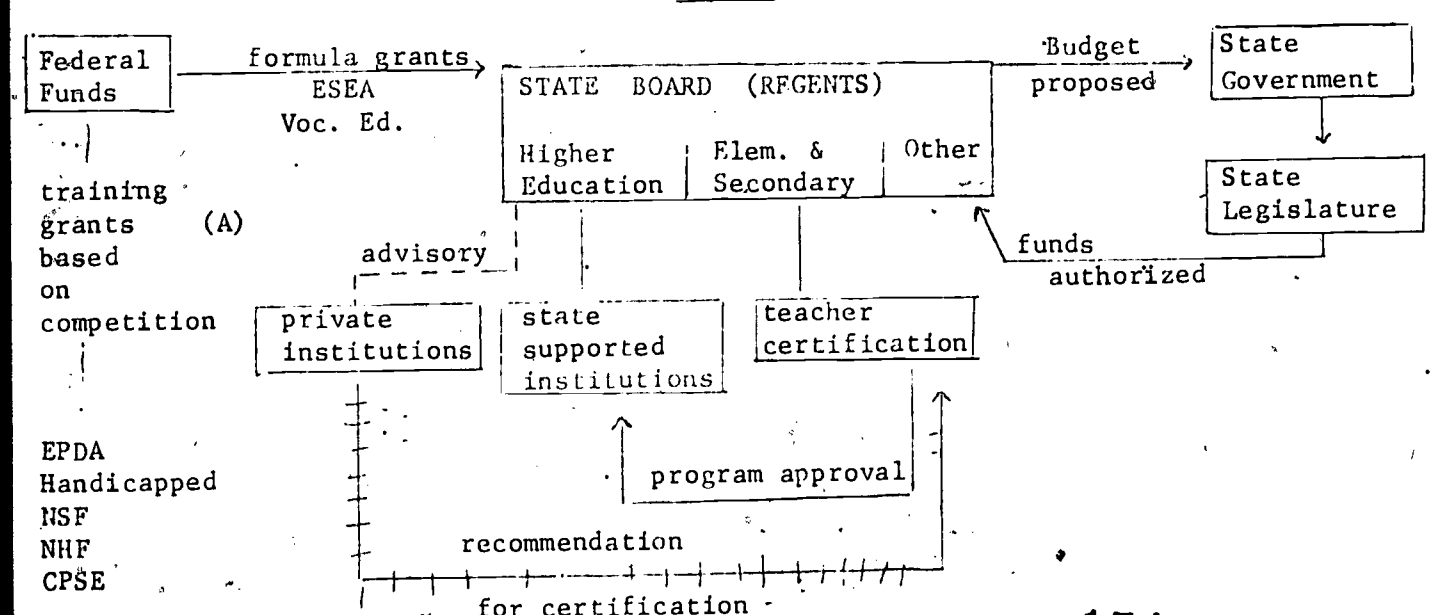
TABLE 7

TYPES OF FORMAL RELATIONS

Type A



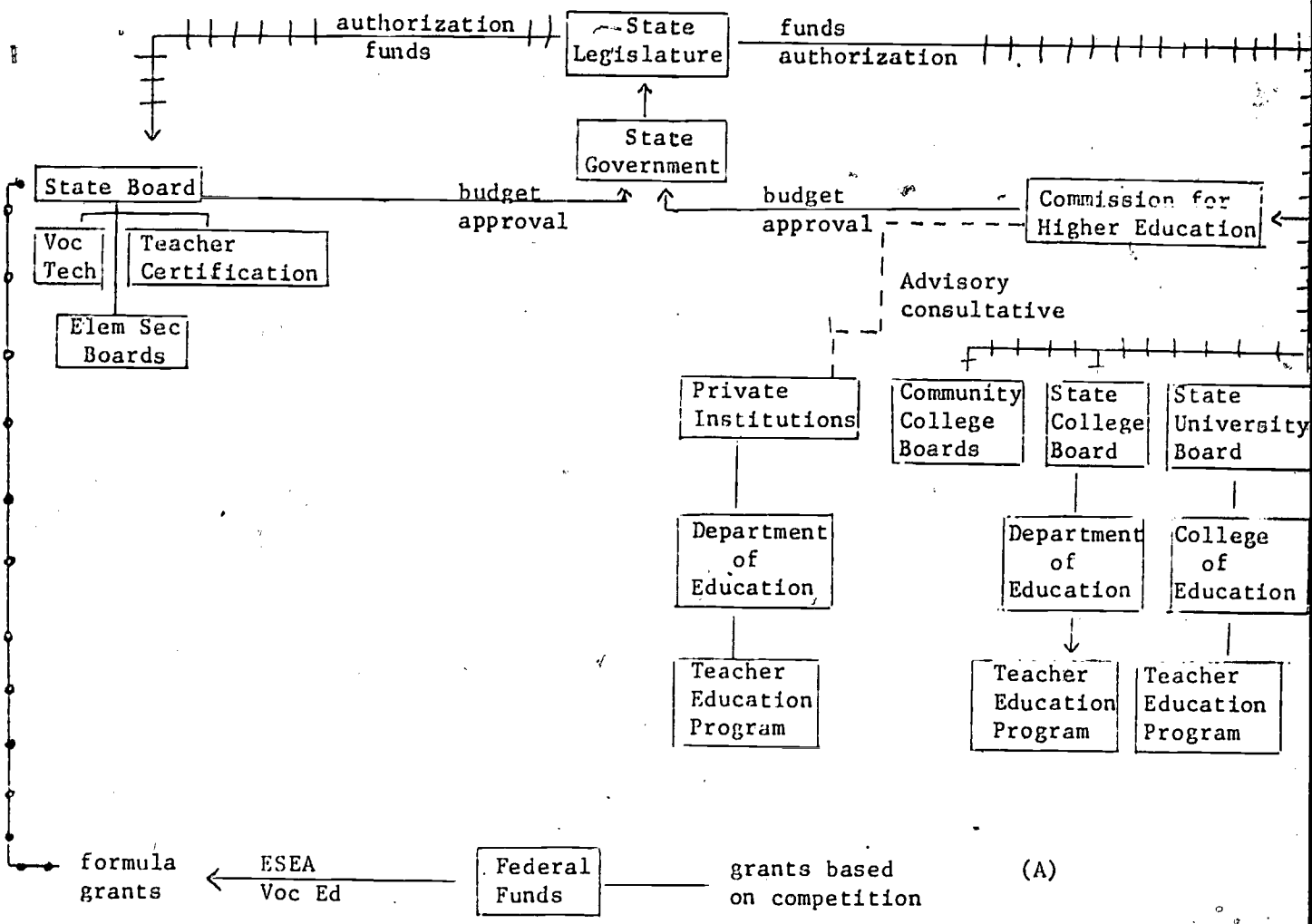
Type B



(A) all institutions eligible and receive funds directly

TABLE 7

Type C



Legally then, a higher education institution is responsible to a Board of Trustees. Any further legal relation is the result of a negotiated arrangement usually for more access to dollars, more independence of program or more facilities.

In case of the State Colleges, a significant legal shift occurred when they moved from teachers college status to state college status. Legal authority for their supervision moved from the State Board of Education to an independent Board of Trustees for each institution. This was seen as public acknowledgement and recognition of the regional service function of each of these institutions. It also made public the extensive state financial commitment to higher education. In Canada, this legal exchange usually takes the form of a contract between the Ministry of Education and the Higher Education institution clearly spelling out what considerations (facilities, personnel and budgets)are being turned over to the higher education institution. In the USA, the exchange occurred by creation of a new legal agency to receive the facilities and funds already available and to a legal recipient of the ongoing allocation from the legislature.

Today in the USA the following bodies usually have the following responsibilities:

A. Board of Higher Education
- comprehensive planning
- general program approval
- resource development and allocation
- standards

B. Board of Trustees of an Institution
- budget approval
- program approval
- facilities approval

C. State Board of Education (Elementary and Secondary)
- certification of teachers

1. Coordinating Council on Teacher Education
- develops regulations
- develops procedures

2. Joint Teacher Education Committee

type a
- develop coordinated programs to meet needs
- allocate resources
- develop standards

type b
- negotiate certification requirements
- develop standards for university training

type c
- approve candidates for certification
- approve programs

3. Advisory Board on State Certification
- advise and recommend certification standards and procedures
- serve as appeals and review Board

Most of these boards are broadly representative of the constituencies interested in education. Some political influences by organizations as well as the party in power are evidenced in appointment. The number of persons on the Board (12-15) typically diffuses this effect. Additionally, without the power of the purse, most of these bodies depend on persuasion and prestige for effect.

One can trace the formal, legal relations from a normal school created by the state department of education - or by some private group - for the purpose of preparing teachers. As the institution grew, its legal status did not change until it became a state college. Even if the private institution grew in size and program to the level of college, its legal relations or structure did not change. Given the broad language for higher education institution approval in most states, even the state colleges would not be

required to change status.* It is only due to some interest on the part of the faculty and administration of these institutions to become independent of the state board of education and to publicly be viewed as equivalent higher education institutions that the change was made.

TABLE 8

TYPES OF TRANSITION FROM NORMAL SCHOOL TO PRESENT ACADEMIC STUDIES

Original State	Intermediate State	State at Present
1. Normal School 2 years	Normal School 3 years	Type I College/University
2. Normal School 2 years or 2 yr. and 3 yr.	Teachers College 3 yr. and 4 yr. State College	Type II College/University Dept. of Education
3. Normal School	Teachers College (as in 2) College of Ed. at Univ. 3 yr. and 4 yr. programs	Type III College/University Dept. of Ed. School of Ed.
4. Normal School	College of Ed. at Univ. 4 yr. program Teachers College 3 yr. and 4 yr. program State College 4 yr. and liberal arts State College 4 yr. and Masters State University with College of Ed. School of Ed.	Type IV College University Dept. of Ed. School of Ed.
5. State Colleges 4 yr. Elem. specialist	State University 4 yr. Elem. and Sec. some Masters	College and University 4 yr. Elem. Masters Specialist Doctorate — Type V full academic program

* As a result of abundant abuses the Education Commission of States in the USA has proposed model legislation for each state to establish clear control for post-secondary education.

Teacher education institutions did not see their program as legally controlled by the state department of education. They were very careful to maintain the distinction between degree granting and credentialling. Degree granting was the province of the institution as soon as it was recognized as a higher education institution.* In fact, each institution decides what degrees to grant for what work. The credentialling was acknowledged as the province of the state department through the laws and regulations for teachers and educational personnel. This the state departments still hold today as a legal right even in those cases where the institution acts for the state department in issuing the first professional certificate.

In addition to accreditation of the institution of higher education and the legal charter granting authority in each state, the higher education institution with a teacher education program has a legal relation to the state department of education with regard to its teacher education program. While there is some debate raging whether the approval of the higher education institution is for the whole 4-year sequence or for the professional education sequence only, most states have developed working arrangements with the higher education institutions in the state whereby the state department approves the teacher education program of an institution and the higher education institution takes responsibility for recommending successful graduates of this program for certification. In practice in many instances, the certificate is issued at the higher education institution for the state department; this quasi legal arrangement assures even greater control of certification by the state supported higher education institution much to the consternation of private, parochial and experimental colleges. In some cases, then, the majority of teacher certification in a state is handled by an on-campus "representative" of the state department of education. While the legal authority remains with the state, this higher education institution has practical programmatic control of the application of the state department regulations to individual cases and the appropriateness of proposed changes in the regulations. The legal distinction is facilitated by administrative arrangement. This also seems to be the case in some of the provinces of Canada.

* In the USA most institutions are acknowledged as degree granting if they have a charter and produce graduates. Reputable institutions also seek approval from the appropriate regional accrediting agency but this is totally voluntary. These accrediting agencies approves both secondary and higher education institutions. This procedure is peer review based on an extensive report of philosophy, program staff, facilities made by the institution itself. It may be noteworthy that many respectable institutions, e.g. Harvard, have rarely sought accreditation. Most state supported institutions have sought this route to respectability and their interest may well be the support this approach gives to public acceptance of an institution's quality.

In Canada, and developing in very few states, the accrediting and approval function belongs to and is exercised by the provincial ministry. Most USA states who still bother to try to approve and accredit higher education institutions at all treat the whole matter with kid gloves.

Accreditation is also used for cross state acceptance of graduates and by the federal government as eligibility requirement for grants. The approved institution list grows more by history than review, though.

In some states, the state departments are beginning to question this type of administrative arrangement as they foresee the evolution of formerly predominant teacher education institutions - where such an arrangement was appropriate it seems - to multi-purpose, multi-constituency institutions - where the new forces at work in academia would tend to at least confuse the issue. Some vehicles developed to address this issue are Coordinating or Advisory Councils on Teacher Education. These bodies bring together higher education, public schools, teachers, and the community to recommend teacher certification policy, law and regulations.

Thus the higher education institutions formal tie is weakened. In the state of Washington and Vermont many such councils are being created for metropolitan or county areas. These consortia, as they are called, are seen as bodies that design an appropriate training sequence and training program for a defined school population which is then approved by the state. Such an effort radically changes the formal relations of higher education institutions to the state department by requiring the building of a new group - the consortia which would have the formal relation - not simply the higher education institution.

Financial relations between the higher education institution and the state have followed the legal changes. At this time no legislature in the USA allocates teacher education funds as a discret pool of dollars to be allocated to programs in higher education institutions or elsewhere. The teacher education allocation is a part of the regular allocation to the institutions. Thus teacher education programs are in the position of having to battle the budget war within the higher education institution. As the institution becomes more multi-purpose, the lower the chance of significant allocation. In fact, in many institutions, teacher education direct allocation has been kept deliberately lower with the expectation of high student enrollment fees. Funds for development or improvement have been seen as coming from federal sources primarily - National Defense Education Act (NDEA), the Education Profession Development Act (EPDA) and the National Science Foundation (NSF). In Canada it seems that the absorption of teacher education programs into the higher education institutions will create a situation similar to that in the USA where such funds will not be traceable, not directly controllable as they are when normal schools exist. This is true even when the College of Education is an independent budget item. Program budgeting efforts could provide a method for identifying these resources more clearly. There is not enough practice as yet to determine this; in fact no state was able to provide even an estimate of state and federal funds allocated for teacher education pre-servic as in-service.

Formal relations with the state are legal, financial and administrative. The state department relations are mostly administrative. Within the higher education institution, the relations between teacher education programs are rather confused primarily, the confusions stem from the fact that the four-year sequence require working arrangements with many other sections of the university. Such arrangements are not traceable in present budget procedures. The administrative structures of joint committees or university wide committees is tacit recognition of this. Yet even this arrangement

is confused by whatever arrangements are developed with the state department of education for program approval for certification purposes. The conflict is lessened in states or provinces where the total responsibility for education resides in one body at the state (Rhode Island, New York) or at the province level (Quebec).

Institutions of higher education have formal relations one with the other and with other agencies involved in teacher education. Many institutions of higher education belong to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) which facilitates the dissemination of new practices and coordinates national projects such as the ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education and the Journal of Teacher Education. Also many institutions seek NCATE accreditation. In addition, some regional groups or agencies have developed with interests in teacher education. The New England Program in Teacher Education (NEPTE) is one example of this, so are the Western Interstate Compact in Higher Education (WICHE), the Texas Teacher Center, and the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Staff Development Council.*

Each of these originated from outside the higher education institutions by governmental bodies or local school agencies attempting to develop a mechanism for attracting the attention of higher education institutions to regional or local staff development problems. Higher education institutions have used in these arrangements as mechanisms for developing cooperative programs using resources across institutions and across state lines. Other examples provide administrative arrangements for facilitating student exchange for courses as well as for special training site assignment. Antioch college (Yellow Springs, Ohio) is presently operating almost all if its teacher education program through a series of sites spread throughout the country where legal and financial arrangements were negotiated with local and state education officials. These consortia have the advantage of providing vehicles for on-site preparation of teachers and on-site program development. They are other examples of the state department initiated efforts of Washington, Florida, Texas and Vermont.

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* The New England Program in Teacher Education (NEPTE) is a non-profit educational agency developed by the federal government and the states in New England to improve education as an economic asset through better teacher education.

The Western Interstate Compact for Higher Education (WICHE) as a chartered agency legally constituted by the Far West states to develop cooperative programs of student exchange and program exchange. Some program effort has been undertaken in cooperative training for the human services professions.

The Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Staff Development Council (MSDC) is a voluntary arrangement of higher education institutions programs in education and the District of Columbia public schools for coordinated staff development for all the D.C. personnel. There are analogous groups throughout the USA.

The Texas Teacher Center is a voluntary partnership of the Texas State Department of Education, selected higher education institutions, particularly the University of Houston, selected colleges and public school sites, and the American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE). Again, other examples of such voluntary arrangements, particularly to test a given concept (here Performance Based Teacher Education) exists elsewhere in the USA.

Higher education relations to teacher centers developed by local groups and relations with local school districts or personnel are basically dependent on the motivation of individual faculty members. Even in those instances where many years' experience exist between a public school system or an individual school and a higher education agency, few permanent, legal arrangements exist. The evidence of this study is that higher education institutions are reluctant partners in cooperative arrangements with schools. Higher education institutions predominantly read their mission as broader and different than those of the other institutions particularly schools which are to be used as training sites. Their mission is the education of the students for larger societal roles and the transmittal of knowledge. This mission makes it difficult for many to see the need for cooperative arrangements with the lower schools whose purpose is seen as literary and preparation for higher schooling or with the state whose purpose is seen as legal sanctioning.

The encouragement of federal dollars through such vehicles a Career Opportunities Program (COP) or Teacher Corps have yet to demonstrate an effect on modifying the traditional, formal, legal and financial arrangements within the higher education institution and with its traditional partner for teacher education, the state department of education.

As teacher associations grow in independence and responsiveness to their constituency, they demand changes in teacher education. A major campaign in the State of Maine has barely budged the higher education institution or its program. The only effective formal relations have been teacher association status on the admissions committees to degree programs and on state wide commission Study commissions at the state or federal level do not create formal relations. Those have only come from deliberate legal or fiscal action. The competency-based effort has an impact on the formal relations only if massive on-going commitment of funds is gained from the state legislature or the federal government. With the demise of significant federal funds for teacher education, one can expect the present formal relations to continue except in those few states where special allocations for teacher education are provided for by the legislature. Florida is the only such state to date and those funds are clearly for in-service education, not pre-service where the basic formal relations have been established and continue.

In summary, formal relations between higher education institutions and other institutions involved in teacher education are minimal. A few legal arrangements have been mandated tied to changes in certification procedures. A few voluntary administrative arrangements on regional, state or local issues such as information exchange student exchange, cooperative programs, are developing mostly energized by federal funds. Most arrangements with local districts are carefully worked out arrangements for the use of a school as a training site and have limited time clauses. The basic, secure funding of teacher education comes from the state legislature and student tuition. The fiscal relations with others are therefore seen as temporary. These permanent fiscal relations require internal negotiations in the higher education institution, each college or department using its academic status and constituency to assure its allocation. Few states in the USA have systems of control and allocation which seem to exist in some provinces of Canada where the ministry can and does determine institutional allocation for teacher education within a total educational budget. The board structure for each institution or groups of institutions in the USA makes such objective allocation difficult.

IV. ISOLATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

Simply put, in both the USA and Canada, very few cases were found of actual programs in operation where teachers were trained in programs or at training sites with persons preparing for other professions. There is a developing rhetoric and call for coordination between teacher education, nursing education, social work education or any other human service profession. The actual practice reported demonstrates a long history of isolation. In some instances, kindergarten or other early childhood teachers have been prepared in the home economics or psychology department. These programs are described as (and those observed are) also isolated programs; they are deliberately and by regulation isolated from other regular, elementary or early childhood teacher preparation programs in the college or university).*

As mentioned earlier, there is evidence of a close working relation in Canada between hospital programs for young children and parents and the early childhood programs. The regular elementary school program does not seem affected by this effort, though. The only areas where persons preparing for the teaching profession join the rest of the student population is during the first two years at the university during what is called the general education portion of the bachelors degree. In many instances formal admission to the teacher education program comes only after these first two years. After admission to the teacher education program, few contacts outside this program are approved, encouraged or authorized. There is abundant evidence that this isolation extends to content courses for students preparing to be teachers. They are required to take a course in a content area offered in the department of education rather than in the content department of the institution. For example requiring Ed. 201: Elementary Curriculum - Mathematics, rather than a course in Math 201: Mathematics - Elementary Concepts.

The exciting experiment with the Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) degree concept attempted to budge this content knowledge isolation by building programs jointly sponsored by the content department and the teacher education department. There is much evidence that this noble experiment has ended as most major status institutions promoting this idea have closed or radically restricted their MAT programs. Among these are Harvard, Yale, Wesleyan (Conn.), and Oberlin (Ohio).

In April 1973, a major university (Vermont) did approve a major reorganization creating a College of Education and Human Resources with the mission of preparing a variety of learning specialists for the helping professions. The helping professions identified are :

* Even the new specialist programs suffer from this isolation.

"Some of the key helping professions identified are :

-- Education for the elderly
-- Leisure time education
-- Rehabilitation teaching
-- Alternative schools
-- Drug education
-- Environmental education
-- Adolescent community centers
-- Human potential centers
-- Day care and primary school centers
-- Teaching in industry
-- Family education

"... The task is to convert the present faculty to learning specialists whose skills, knowledge, attitudes and experience will enable them to prepare students in a variety of human service areas.

"... The planning, development, and delivery of a variety of human services require common competencies. The competencies represented by this program will be treated as a bank of options which can be delivered through a variety of facilitators : courses, seminar, modules, independent study, laboratory practicums, internship, etc.

"The following is a summary of the general competencies and knowledge areas that will be represented by this program :

COMPETENCIES	KNOWLEDGE AREAS
Counselling	Theories of individual and group change
Planning Administration	Organizational theory Theories of individual and group counselling
Systems Analysis Organizational Analysis Educational program Development Community development Communications	General systems theory Political processes Futuristics Organizational development Theories of learning and human development
Group dynamics	Personality development and mental health
Advocacy Consulting Coordination Policy analysis Dissemination skills Research Evaluation Individual appraisal	Analysis of social systems: Schools Colleges Government agencies Hospitals Families Communities Correctional facilities Mental health agencies Other social service agencies."

Ultimately, the broader classification suggested by the new program will afford graduating students additional professional career options in schools, colleges, governmental and social agencies, hospitals, correctional facilities and other social service organizations and agencies.[11]

It is clear from this document that much work remains at this Institution to develop a functioning program which integrates and bridges professional preparation, faculty and training sites. It may be that, while the university program suffers from the present academic structures, developing arrangements with practice sites in hospitals, prisons, social agencies is the major step in reducing the isolation. Thus, practice would be learned and applied in many professional environments while the academic integration of theory will await the breaking down of academic departments. The fascinating fact is that there is extensive borrowing across the professions from theoretical and research discoveries, e.g. Piaget, Skinner, Friere, etc. Each profession chooses to present these men and their ideas or their discoveries only from what can be assumed to be their unique perspective. One is amazed to find on the same campus a home economics department, a psychology department, an elementary education program, and a special education program, all sponsoring, developing and staffing a nursery school to demonstrate and train teachers. These clearly affiliated academicians choose isolation rather than collaboration. It seems that our search for academic freedom, which we consider so vital, does infringe on the rights of students to examine all the available truth.

It may be thought that the teacher and lawyer oversupply will encourage colleges to take seriously the federal suggestion :

> One suggested professional program for the managers of human services would consist of a mixture of courses in social sciences (e.g. economics, sociology, psychology and anthropology), integrated with fieldwork, and practicums in settings where social services are dispensed. Starting with the sophomore year, the program would include fieldwork. In succeeding years, the students would be rotated among a number of institutions : the schools, where they could participate in highly structured coaching programs; the home, where demonstration programs of cognitive child development and good nutritional patterns would be given in situ; recreation and adult training centers, health centers, and well-baby clinics. In the later phases, the students should not act as observers, but be employed as demonstrators. The fieldwork would become increasingly demanding as students become thoroughly immersed in the diagnosis of an area's social pathology. They should not only administer tests and discuss the results, but should assert also in

in what is commonly known as "casework", following up the progress of a group or a family. Concurrently with the fieldwork, the program of social studies should be continued, with the students going from the general introductory courses to more specialized courses. These courses would fit in very well with the advocated broader, non-professionalized bachelor's degree program. While the attraction and the use of the program will probably be limited to a small segment of students, not exceeding 10 percent of the total enrollment in undergraduate programs, such a program might well be a worthwhile undertaking for universities.[12]

V. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN UNIVERSITY AND NON-UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS

One of the major recent developments in relations between university and non-university institutions is the public acknowledgement by the federal and some state governments that one of their major goals is institutional change and that they select strategies that "address the entire teacher education system by concentrating on selected points of influence".[13] By investing its discretionary funds in activities such as the Teacher Corps, the Career Opportunities Program (COP), the Training of Trainers of Teachers program (TTT), and emerging efforts in Performance Based Teacher Education (PBTE), the federal government has opened the door to new direct influences on teacher education by the community and the public schools. Developments in the USA are best described as changes in perspective which allocate power and control for teacher education to new localities, the schools. Along the way many state departments of education have definitely re-asserted their authority and control. This new perspective has caused much strain in the formal relations. Yet many have been restructured as a result of the pressure.

In Canada, most of the developments have focused on the amalgamation of institutions which has brought the normal school programs into the mainstream of higher education. This has been accomplished mostly by legal means described in contracts. The programmatic change in teacher education has for the most part been minimal. As one dean put it, "We now report to a different boss, but most of us do and teach the same things we always have".

The basic programmatic change in both countries is the clear attention to community. Its involvement is demonstrated in boards and groups (often as equal partners) who decide about what teaching will occur in schools, as well as an increase in the number of courses about the community and involving community activity for the learner. The evident power of the carrot of federal discretionary dollars here has not been lost, though the amount of change in permanent institutional program is still quite limited. The rather

painful history of the New School at the University of North Dakota is an example. For three years now a community based program for preparing teachers in the schools of North Dakota has been an exciting venture for all involved. Today the New School impetus is being slowly deadened by the amalgamation of the School of Education and the New School. As the community involved program moves on campus, the academic structure slowly wears down much of the exciting give and take that takes place in the field. In the community where persons have learned to teach and to take on responsibility for their professional roles,[14] alternative schools have sprung up with built-in teacher development activities. They do not resemble the academic courses and programs. Understanding and acceptance are slow.

Many of these changes have received sanction and approval from other higher education institutions (e.g. Antioch or U. Mass. - Amherst). Antioch now operates an extensive program of site-based teacher training throughout the United States. U. Mass. - Amherst has creatively solved welding the traditional and the emerging trends by inventing "Simultaneous Alternative Teacher Preparation Programs"[15]. The vehicule is quite simple : (a) a Teacher Preparation Program Council makes policy and obtains resources for teacher education for the School of Education; (b) the Council has a budget : 65 supervisory assistantships, salaries, 15 teaching assistantships, salaries and travel monies. This Council approves programs by faculty or graduate students of the School. At present, 14 programs have been authorized ranging from secondary social studies for suburban schools to Off-Campus Teacher Education in creative alternative and experimental schools throughout the world - an effort to "deprovincialize" prospective teachers 90% of whom come from Massachusetts. The fourteen programs have multiple forms of arrangements with the schools which serve as training sites. And in a few cases the public school personnel and community persons determine and provide the majority of the training. Yet the program still exists as an exception so approved by the State Commissioner of Education for certification purposes, isolated by the general education and other university programs outside the School of Education. Those relations have not yet changed. The community and the schools are still held at a distance and are not privy to the academic deliberations of the institutions.

Earlier in the paper there is a quote calling for the redemocratization of higher education. Until the formal university committees for teacher preparation and the other university wide Committee on Teacher Education have school and community representatives voting as equal members, the schools and community will not believe that things have changed. The New School structure has such a voting system, and Dean Perone has said that this issue of voting rights is the key issue upon which the present amalgamation will succeed or fail. Arranging a legal or administrative mechanism among peers is

significantly different from sharing accrued power with significant and involved persons and institutions who educate teachers and utilize the teachers prepared for their schools and children.

Other strategies and values are involved in the Performance Based Teacher Education effort. The models were developed primarily in traditional academic institutions and are being carried into the schools and communities by state department of education personnel. This effort has led to the development of many quasi-legal consortia called variously : Staff Development Cooperatives, Teacher Centers or Education Renewal Sites. In each instance a body, inclusive of all the affected constituencies, is drawn together to design a program for the training and re-training of staff. The basic entry point then is certification of teachers through a clearly defined evaluation system agreed to by some or all of the following :

Teachers
Parents
College Teacher Education Department
Public School Administrators
Students
Citizens
Community
State Department of Education
Teachers Association
Administrator Association
School Boards Association

The simple choice to get this group together is a new development. How and on what basis decisions are made and implemented is a challenging question, as is what, if any, change in the on-going teacher education program pre- or in-service will occur.

Most states who have created these new structures for involvement have suggested the development of criteria for evaluation of teacher performance as the vehicule for determining certification. While how much mandate by the state is involved varies, it is clear that a collaborated approach to determining the appropriate competencies requires a new relation between the higher ecucation institutions, the schools, the community and the other education institutions as well as a new relation between higher education institutions and the State Department of Education.

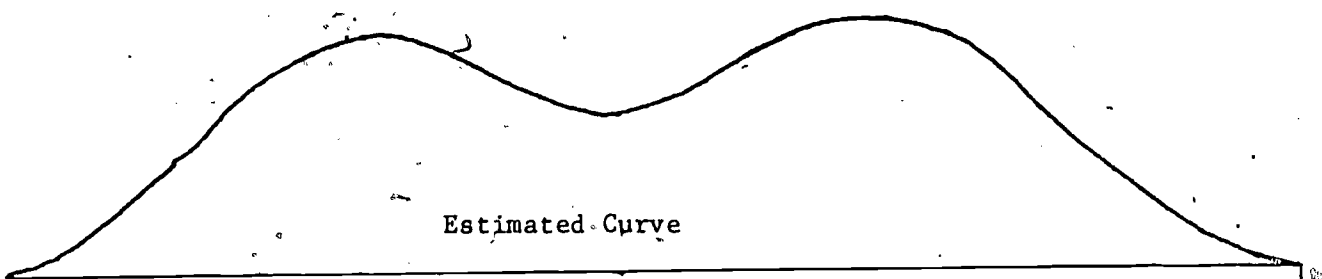
States such as Oregon, New York, Vermont and Washington have written general process guidelines for consortia to follow in terms of program evaluation. Typically, they concentrate on roles and responsibilities of the groups in the consortia.

These states have very general consortium guidelines and place the primary responsibility for

evaluation of competencies on the Institution of Higher Education, for example, Florida, ask the higher education institution to identify the procedures by which their set of competencies are to be measured. Control is with the college with direction established by the state.[15]

TABLE 9

DEGREE OF STATE CONTROL OVER CERTIFICATION



0	5	40	60	75	95	100
Information on CBTE given to any who request.	College developed, approved program approach.					
	Consortia required, but no set competencies or evaluation criteria -- operational guidelines for consortia increase as one moves from 5-60.		State now adds generic teacher competencies and other evaluative criteria.	State sets all competencies and evaluative guidelines but, evaluation done by institution.	State now establishes all evaluative criteria and actually evaluates candidates.	

On the other hand this is a new way to report and no longer does the institution of higher education determine program, evaluation, and recommendations. Florida State Department of Education statements about the major differences in old and new certification are an interesting articulation of this difference.

TABLE 10

MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PROPOSED STANDARDS VII AND VIII AND PRESENT STANDARDS VII AND VIII

(Florida State Department of Education)

Present Standards	Proposed Standards
Completion of courses and/or examinations to establish credit	Competencies may be proved in courses or in other ways through regularly established institutional policy.
Program schematic is given in terms of minimum semester hours' credit required	Program schematic is given in terms of percents of total degree program
General Education is approximately 50 percent of total with no statement about Related Studies to support teacher preparation.	General Education is approximately 30 percent of total degree with an addition of Related Studies approximately 10 percent of total.
Professional Education totals 18 semester hours, including six semester hours of Student Teaching.	Professional Education totals approximately 10 percent of total. Field Experiences, including Student Teaching, totals approximately 15 percent of the total.
Student Teaching emphasized but limited to six semester hours.	Greater emphasis on field experiences, including Student Teaching, which totals approximately 15 percent of the total.
Single teaching field is minimum of 24 semester hours; broad field is 48 semester hours minimum.	A single teaching field is approximately 18 percent of total and broad field is 35 percent
Eighteen of the 48 semester hours required for a composite field must be advanced.	One half of work in single teaching field must be advanced (junior or senior level).

This move to the public arena has also created some new strains in old relations. State legislatures have begun to probe deeply into the effect of changes in teacher certification and teacher education programs. Some of the reports from these legislative bodies (on which higher education institutions are represented) make interesting reading. For example :

> Obstacles to innovation. The problems most commonly cited in program improvement were, not surprisingly, staff time and money. Where more detailed responses were given, a number of factors were revealed. These included the natural resistance of some individuals to change, the fact that many public school personnel who are expected to participate in student training have not themselves been trained in the newer skills, the absence of a well-defined management system and funding pattern for the implementation of the 1971 guidelines for teacher certification, and the need for greater assurance that the competency-based approach is more effective than the traditional "Courses and Credits" model.[16]

Universities are also finding their relations with teachers changing. The transition of the National Education Association to an active teacher-professional organization (or union) has placed higher education in a defensive posture. No longer can the higher education institution assume acceptance of its ideas about pre- or in-service educatio The local and state education associations are taking clear positions about what will be taught and what the teachers want as training as an integral part of salary negociation. Many of teachers unions are publishing studies of their membership which indicates significant dissatisfaction with the college training received.

TABLE 11

REPORT OF SURVEY OF TEACHERS IN THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

My pre-service training has sufficiently prepared me for the kind of teaching I would like to do.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
%	10	42	11	28	9

No. responding to this item : 6,774.[17]

The development of such information about teacher, community, and school attitude and perception of training need is becoming an integral part of needs assessment activities. Programs will need to respond more realistically to such information as it becomes more scientifically accurate. Opinion, relief, and tradition will not suffice in the face of pressure organized as statistically representative information by interest groups about the quality of teacher education programs.

New non-traditional training developed in alternative institutions has also sought to justify itself in this fashion. Objective test results developed with the help of the psychology department of higher education institutions to measure the effect of encounter group training by a free standing teacher development center in providing more "open" teachers.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS:

Data collected for the first year of the study were subjected to analysis of variance and subsequent t-tests. In addition, means of differences (FIRO-B* minus FIRO-F for each individual) were computed for the FIRO-B and FIRO-F data as a method of comparison of wanted-expressed and behavior-feeling factors.

The three interpersonal needs measured by the FIRO instruments (in terms of affection, control, and inclusion) are defined below :

1. Affection - "The interpersonal need for affection is defined behaviorally as the need to establish and maintain a satisfactory relation with others with respect to love and affection. Affection always refers to a two-person (dyadic) relation ... At the feeling level the need for affection is defined as the need to establish and maintain a feeling of mutual affection with others. This feeling includes (a) being able to love other people to a satisfactory degree and (b) having others love the self to a satisfactory degree ... The need for affection, defined at the level of the self-concept, is the need to feel that the self is lovable."**

* FIRO is a code name for a test of Interpersonal Behavior developed by William Shultz and reported in The Interpersonal Underworld. FIRO: A Three Dimensional Theory of Interpersonal Behavior (Palo Alto, California; Science and Behavior Books, 1960), P. 20

** Ibid., p. 20.

2. Control - "The interpersonal need for control is defined behaviorally as the need to establish and maintain a satisfactory relation with people with respect to control and power ... With regard to feelings, the need for control is defined as the need to establish and maintain a feeling of mutual respect for the competence and responsibleness of others ... The need for control, defined at the level of perceiving the self, is the need to feel that one is a competent, responsible person."*

3. Inclusion - The interpersonal need for inclusion is defined behaviorally as the need to establish and maintain a satisfactory relation with people with respect to interaction and association ... On the level of feelings the need for inclusion is defined as the need to establish and maintain a feeling of mutual interest with other people ... With regard to self-concept, the need for inclusion is the need to feel that the self is significant and worthwhile."**

Graphic presentation of data and an analysis of results of statistical computations follow in categorical order :

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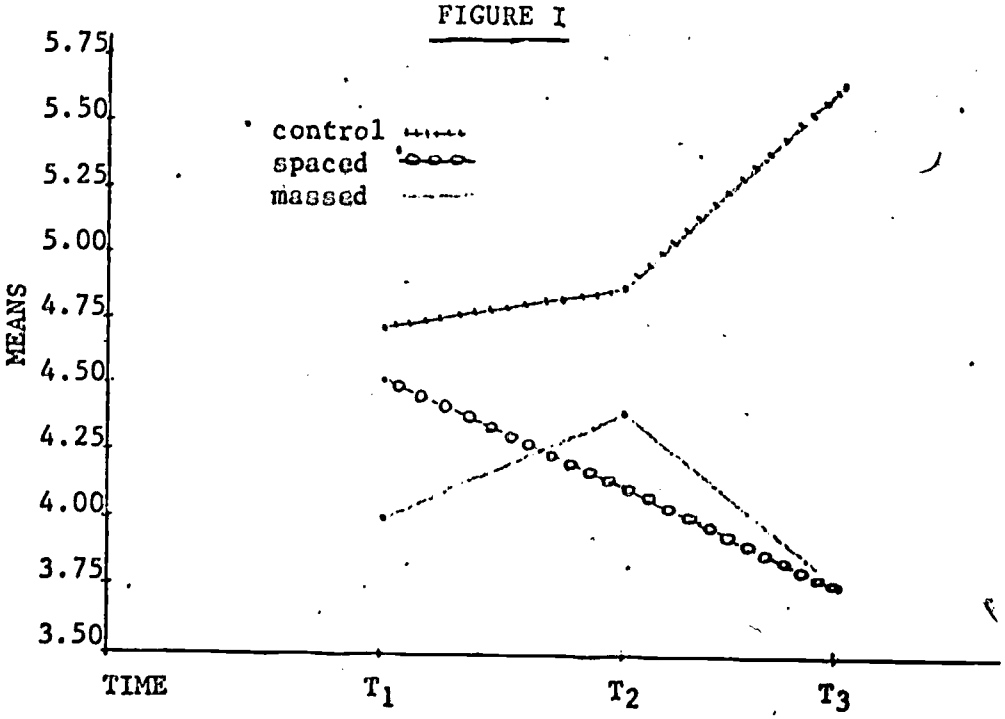
* William C. Schutz, The Interpersonal Underworld., op.cit., pp.18-20

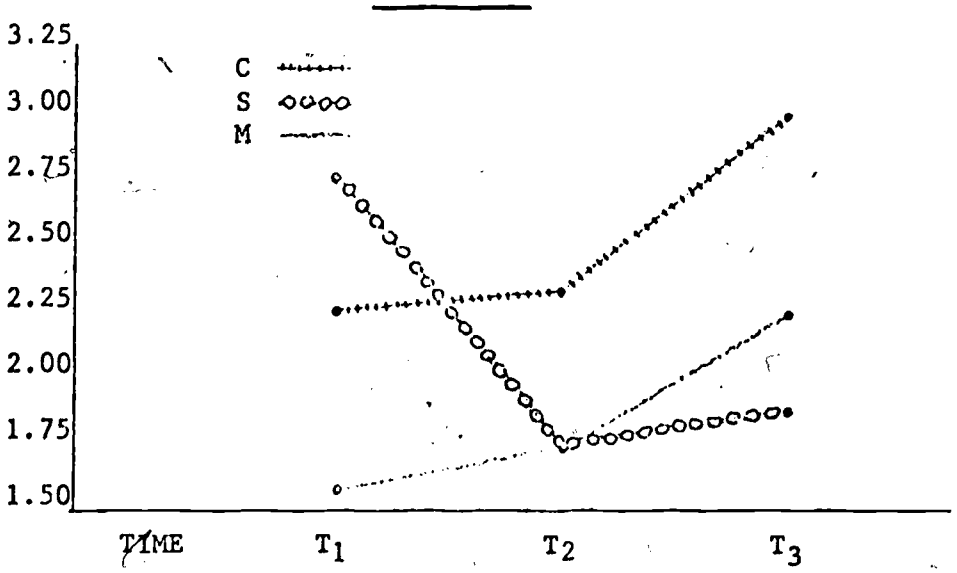
** Ibid., p. 18.

FIGURE I



AFFECTION EXPRESSED(B)

FIGURE II



CONTROL EXPRESSED (B)

Opinionaire

On the Opinionaire one found a significant difference when one considered the combination of types of encounter group and campuses tested. On the Colby campus the spaced group received the highest negative scores, these being significantly higher than the control group. The massed group failed to reach a significant difference when compared to either the spaced or control groups at Colby. At Farmington there were no statistical differences between the three types of encounter groups. [18]

The joint publication of this research demonstrates a new relation. Other examples of school and community based initiatives in teacher education are found throughout the U.S. Some other institutions who have forged new arrangements with higher education institutions for research and development in training are the Federation of Community Schools (Boston, Mass.) with Harvard University - Training of Trainers of Teachers (TTT) program; the Mass. Experimental School with the U. Mass. - Boston; Institute for Learning and Teaching, and the Nueva Country Day School (Hillsboro, Calif.) with Stanford University.

Recent developments have emphasized a reconnection with schools, the community, the classroom teacher. The renewal of teacher education in the USA has been definitely tied to the rebuilding of the local and state constituency. Higher education institutions traditionally independent of this political activity and tied to the constituency of students and the development of knowledge have found it difficult to respond to these new tendencies even with massive federal dollars supporting the community. Whether higher education institutions will be effected still depends on who will receive the tenured full professorship appointments in the next five years. If the persons involved in the recent developments in teacher education out in the community and schools are chosen, teacher education in the USA will significantly shift in higher education institutions; if not, teacher education in higher education institutions may well become more and more precious and smaller and smaller in number. These full professors will block or encourage the present evolution to joint and shared authority and responsibility for teacher education. Enough relations now exist. The question is will the legal route overcome the change of perspective ("democratization") route.

VI. THE CHANGING PATTERN OF TEACHER EDUCATION

This section attempts to draw together the influences and patterns emerging in the USA and Canada as a result of extensive activity and investment in education reform with its concomitant effect on teacher education. Yet, one observer of the scene has pointed out:

> ... After 1957 came the curriculum reformers intent on seizing the initiative from the "educationists"; along with them came newly hatched educational technologists, convinced they held the magic key. Most recently, as Broudy sees it, there has been the New Establishment : a number of philanthropic foundations (Carnegie, Kettering, Ford), the U.S. Office of Education, the education industries, the teacher organizations, a variety of enterprises "that generated enormous power and prestige and dollar rewards also for scores of men -- the men who constituted the New Establishment in education during the sixties and extending into the seventies ... After the years of exposing, grant-giving, innovating, and reorganizing, the schools are still considered failures in many places. Teachers are saying "mea culpa" daily; the increasingly confused controversy goes on and on ....Focal in this world is teacher education, which has not yet provided a "layer of professional competence" for the school system.[19]

Still the "foundations" approach to professional training is the dominant theory leading to the state of affairs that created the major concern in the early sixties about teacher education in the USA. The movement back across the trench of professional education and liberal arts represented by the Master of Arts in Teaching (M.A.T.) program developed at Harvard and elsewhere has not-re-connected teacher education to the philosophical and intellectual resources implied in this

approach. Somewhat as a result, but more probably tied to the pent up frustrations of racism and urban decay, the community and then the classrooms asserted and demanded more relevant quality education for the community, often through violent confrontation far from the ivory towers. The demand did not come from persons grounded in an academic tradition. Few were about who could translate the pressures and demands into the academic traditions. As a result the practice of teaching in classrooms changed while the academic program for preparation of teachers was maintainod in splendid isolation. When the student teachers came out to the schools for six weeks of teaching practice, what they found first in the cities, and lately more and more in the other schools in the USA and Canada, were teaching practices that no one had described, explained or predicted.

> A great many American institutions now preparing teachers represent, by virtue of their unique tradition, one or another of the earlier states of the art of preparing teachers; for instance, the emphasis upon pedagogy in training for the elementary school and upon the disciplines in training for the secondary school has become something approaching a constant tradition in many schools. Many schools represent, in various parts of their program, a series of ossifications of older strata. What the whole task of preparing teachers means in the entire social and institutional setting in which the preparation of teachers takes place, has not seriously been addressed either by the American Higher Education or by the schools until recently. Such projects as the National TTT Project and Tri-University Project do make an effort to examine the schooling of teachers in the broad context of its social and institutional setting.

> The pressures for such an examination are now coming primarily from America's schools and its alienated communities, as it endeavors to deal with poverty, injustice, and the failure of the 'educational system' to allow men to develop their full sense of power to act within the system. The primary responsibilities for developing programs to answer the needs of America's alienated groups has fallen, for better or for worse, to the local public school systems under Title I of the ESEA*. Title I and its evaluations have given the schools an opportunity to see how crucial is the total classroom situation or school situation created by teachers or teams of teachers, aides, and so forth; to look in ways never considered before at the quality of teaching which goes on in circumstances where teaching is difficult, and to see how egregiously teaching in these schools has sometimes failed. Now we are seeing the development of fairly extensive training programs for

* ESEA – The Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed by the U.S. Congress (Federal Level) in 1963.

elementary teachers under Title I. These training programs have until recently been almost entirely divorced from institutions of Higher Education.[20]

Due to federal intervention with agencies such as the Job Corps, the Peace Corps, the Teacher Corps & Headstart, a bridge to practice was accomplished. What remained to develop was a bridge to the theoreticians and academicians. But having gained the power to have persons in power come to them, the community, and more precisely the school, were not willing to allow another retreat by teacher education into academia. Field-based training became a non-negotiable demand for those who sought to link to the money and the revolution which had occurred in American education. When this community related student revolt hit the campuses, many became too busy protecting their programs to find time to link to the community and the school. Those few who did found themselves rapidly moving towards (a) the minority student-body position, (b) high demand for the equivalents of on-the-job or life experience to college credit, (c) lack of senior faculty able to communicate and accept these changes, (d) lack of funds for scholarship, (e) lack of programs and certification categories for actual roles in practice.* Thus, in the USA the traditional conflict between the practitioner and the academician was increased. The information available from Canada indicates that this particular problem was handled through legislative processes rather than social and academic upheavel. The bilingual school bills seem to have served to focus and more carefully define the issue there than in the USA. While conflict existed and continues, the radical change of schools did not occur outside the profession and its normal limits. There is evidence also that teacher education is also isolated and irrelevant in many cases in Canada, but the intense socio-political pressures on the schools have not had the dominant effect on education professional training there as in the USA.

This change in teacher education is best exemplified by the rapid increase of free or alternative schools developing in the USA,** and of the numerous alternatives one must create to be responsive to all practitioners even in the schools. And as these alternative schools have developed they have found a need to seek state approval for their programs. At this point certification of teachers becomes an issue.

One event which it is difficult to document but which was observed is the origin of the Performance Based Teacher Education movement. This effort, which State Departments have now accepted and are using for certification and evaluation control purposes, grew from a significantly different set of concerns. Some persons observed the social

* In fact, both the teacher specialist and teacher aid roles were in place before certification or degree programs were authorized.

** From a minimal amount in 1970 to a projected 2,500 in 1973.

upheaval and its resultant shift of power to community and schools as anti-intellectual, others saw the need to contain the diffuse energetic changes in practice developing through the school reform movement in such a way as to assure dissemination and installation, some sought a vehicle to attract more resources for education. From this loosely related group with conflicting values germinated an idea -- developing model (researchable) elementary teacher education programs which would make it possible to develop a large-scale systematic scientific body of knowledge about teaching and the practice of teaching. This often informal and certainly intuitive activity led to the development of the ten model Teacher Education Programs founded by the United States Office of Education (USOF) division of research and development. Out of this effort grew a significant list of performances or competencies. At the same time, field projects in places and in institutions near many of the researchers, were developing lists of performance objectives for teachers. Syracuse and the Syracuse Model are a good example, as a result the documents formed an enormous encyclopedia of performance of this informal interchange. And, as at most other points in human history when man saw all the pieces in one place, he invented a mechanism for understanding and control. Such is one explanation of the present Performance Based Teacher Education movement. This mechanism has the following characteristics :

(a) A group representing multiple constituency determines competencies (was this a result of the community control efforts ?)

(b) A comprehensive system (was this the result of building a coherent theory ?)

(c) A listing of performances on which one would be evaluated. (was this the effort to assure academically respectable controls ?)

(d) A modular approach to presenting training (was this a mechanism invented to tie the movement of existing higher education arrangements ?)

In any event massive federal dollars for an overall systematic approach were delivered. And more and more state departments joined the club, as well as the American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education. Certification and accreditation were thus tied in. Now as teacher education programs and institutions stand on the brink of accepting a major refocus -- the federal funds are disappearing. One wonders if State funds will be available quickly enough to continue to support the movement. At least fifteen state departments of Education have certainly made heavy policy and planning investments in this direction by establishing development consortia.[21]

Yet parallel trends are moving teacher education at higher education institutions in other directions. Affective education, Community Development, Interdisciplinary Teaching and Learning Teams, Humanistic Education, Futuristics are ideas and trends that are visible on many campuses.[22] Each assumes a different perspective on the future of education and teacher education; each represents different formal relations with institutions outside the higher education institutions. How they will affect patterns of teacher education is unclear. Most are very tied to the development of life styles in the culture, most are seeking ways to include new persons and places as resources for the preparation of teachers. They do evidence though that as always in higher education institutions someone is trying to reach beyond the conventional wisdom of the present, to retain roots in the past, or to find another acceptable way to describe what one has always been doing. Reforming education has reached teacher education and that itself is a significant change in the pattern of teacher education.

The two basic approaches people take to teacher education reform continue to be:

- those who start from what a teacher does to his or her children or any learner;
- those who start from some conception of what a good teacher does.

Both approaches now see each other and have begun a dialogue. It may be that teacher education has finally reached a point where the clash of its two cultures will result in a new culture. Today the pattern of teacher education emphasizes:

- Technical competency
- Critical competency
- Community building
- Constituency control or at least involvement
- Continuous evaluation
- Inter institution collaboration
- Continuous reform of structure, curriculum and faculty.

The change of teacher education in the USA is in :

- where it is done (more in schools and communities);
- how it is done (more exposure and involvement in the practice of teaching);
- who controls it (not only more state department of education control but also more teacher association, local school, parent and community control); and
- how it is evaluated (more scientific approaches to documentation and evaluation).

The change in Canada seems to be along similar lines, though the change in who controls it does not seem to be as radical a shift to the community or schools. Then the closer relation between the legislative body and the ministry may well make the programs in education more quickly responsive than does the complex American system.

Yet all of the changing patterns may well be most significantly affected by the present underutilization of available teachers.

> ... The supply of persons who traditionally seek jobs in teaching is likely to exceed the demand by a million in the first five years of the 1970's... Much of it is due to projecting past patterns of employment. These patterns were established during a period of brisk demand for teachers during the 1950's and 1960's ... Teaching was convenient interim occupation between the B.A. and the "Mrs." ... As teaching jobs become scarce, the decision to embark on another career will have to be faced earlier in life. Teaching positions as port-of-entry jobs will be harder to obtain and, consequently, many may decide not to be certificated as teachers. In all probability teaching will become a more linear and more consistent career for those who manage to get a position. This change in the character of teaching careers will pose new challenges to those who hire and train teachers - challenges which will be intensified by the need to provide enough teachers to meet projected enrollment increases in the late 1980's. In this respect, the "surplus" of teachers offers the opportunity for school systems to be more selective in their recruitment and more demanding in the preparation required.[23]

The issue of further enriching the education programs of the society by increasing the number of teachers and decreasing student/teacher ratios may not be addressed in the USA as long as financial allocation remains a controlling factor. On the other hand, Quebec has implemented a program approach that ties re-structuring and financing. Moving teacher preparation programs formerly normal schools into established and well financed higher education institutions carries with it careful allocation of funds to stated program objectives related to needs identified in the actual educational system. Ideas for alternative patterns in teacher education and in the form of institutions abound in the USA. The system for delivering and allocating resources - financial and training personnel for the good of children and communities - is much more possible in Canada.

VII. CONSEQUENCES OF CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN UNIVERSITY AND NON-UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS

As the institution of higher education opens its doors and develops closer legal administrative and financial relations with the state department of education, the community and the schools, the training programs will gain in intensity, involvement, and responsiveness. As more and different persons are continually involved, the amount of communication will increase. The institution, then, will need to develop simple direct mechanisms for communication to the right target while not increasing the bureaucratization through the addition of other formal channels. The university will report and communicate more with the community and the schools through documents other than research publications or books. One would expect television, radio and newspaper coverage to increase and with that the pressure for an immediate and early solution to what is basically a cultural evolution.

If the communication arrangements include as many of the bodies affected as possible, some of the strain between expectations and resuls can be allocated for solution to the responsible body. An advantage of having the community there is that rather quickly the community becomes aware of the fact that part of the solution to the problem is through legislative or political action. The academicians have not traditionally wanted to battle in that arena in the USA and Canada, even when their analytical abilities make them aware that political action is where part of the solution is found. Those ongoing new arrangements are characterized by the university waiting for the community to undertake political action even in the face of the risk that political action might be directed towards the university and most likely towards the person or group who is trying to open the doors. By being more visible, this person or institution is more vulnerable to attack and most often is not supported by his academic colleagues who do not understand, are not interested or fear. Involvement is the major mode of learning in this new arrangement.

Those involved as well as those not involved forget that each is now educating the other as the change occurs. As a result, personal and institutional distance develops even when both have the same values and beliefs. One could describe this as a group of sailboats setting off across a bay in a fog and naturally moving somewhat apart. As each moves across the bay, visibility is limited to a few feet around the boat. As a few of the boats drift close together, they share in each other's visibility but then drift apart again. Closer relations increase the amount of joint visibility for a time, but as each agency or individual does what they must do, they drift apart again. At that point, they do not know how close or how far they are apart and when they rediscover each

other, who is going in the appropriate direction. While it is safer to wait for sunlight before leaving, the children of the schools and their parents have already set out across the bay and many expect the academicians to be with them and at least to record where all have been.

Legally, closer relations require the changing of customs and the rewriting of laws. The higher education institution has the responsibility to describe where the new movements of culture have taken us so that laws can be adjusted to assist these new developments. Writing this new description of reality requires taking on a new perspective characterized by participation, intensity, community and sharing of power. It also requires the development of new modes of examining reality which are less essentialist and more existentialist. Discrepancy evaluation is just such an academic format that is developing. Malcolm Provus at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, has begun to articulate a methodology for describing a reality which changes its description of goals and objectives as well as process as it moves through time. Many of us find such relativity hard to accept, but it may well represent the reality of teaching and teacher education more accurately than a description or listing a priori of the ideal teacher or even of what a teacher does. Our laws then would be written to allow for many alternative types and modes of teaching and more careful participation in decision-making by all parties involved in education. No longer would the society allocate with complete faith the business of teacher education to the university.

Increasing the number of agencies involved by law carries with it a social responsibility assumed to be federal in the USA and seen as provincial in Canada; that is the responsibility to provide adequate and sufficient funding to provide for the education of teachers. The university bound model was cost efficient. It did produce teachers rather cheaply. Increased involvement of the institution and the trainees in the community and the schools cost more simply because it takes more time and travel. It also cost more because present higher education arrangements carry some over burden cost (e.g., tenured faculty selected for the previous goals who cannot or will not move to more involvement). Financing the activity requires recognizing also that with the sharing of power comes sharing authority over the allocation and distribution of funds. The school, community and state do in many instances share with the university the budget making and authorizing expenditure functions. This is a new behavior for all to learn. The evidence is, though, in at least five states in the USA, that teacher education funds will soon be allocated as a pool to be administered under law by the consortia created by law. If state funding of education in the USA becomes a reality, such a move will force and establish as standard practice the patterns developed now through Teacher Corps or COP type federal initiatives. There is clearly a movement in the Canadian direction of provincial authority and control over education.

Administratively, the closer relations increase the amount of communication and discussion. They also increase the pressure on the university to share policy setting authority : program structure, curricula content, and also admission, recruitment and placement. Who comes to the higher education institution becomes a shared decision. As a result, one cannot apply purportedly objective academic standards only.

The creation of consortia increases the need for clear, direct communication in forms other than academic publication. It increases the amount of time needed for clarifying expectations. This decreases either leisure time, thinking time, research time or teaching time. Academic life styles thus change as do academic procedures. The academic senate or faculty meeting does not long remain a strictly faculty domain as students, community, school personnel join as equal partners in the debate, deliberation and vote.

Financial arrangements change. The state department of education gains more control as the legal channel for funds. Academic budgets are restructured from line item allocations for individual professors to program budgets where a professor has money as long as he is part of an approved program. The university no longer can borrow from the teacher education department to support the philosophy department without the agreement of the other partners. And thus the closer relations draw the liberal arts into the arena. If for no other reason than the need for funds, one finds faculty members from English and History talking and cooperating with teacher education faculty. It may be that in the capitalistic USA, significant relations among the parties to teachers' education can only be drawn together by financial pressure. Many of us believed, and still do, that academic and professional motives were sufficient and appropriate. There is evidence that financial motivation can be a more persuasive argument.

Teacher education sits in the crack between academia and society. The present movement to closer relations between higher education institutions and non-university institutions has been centered around better teachers who could educate the community's children in new ways. Supported by federal dollars in the USA this energy has pushed into the deepest reaches of the higher education institutions, the schools, the community and the state departments of education. A similar move to more systematic planning and coordination of education activities in Canada has led also to the deep reforms. What remains is the challenge to direct this energy to the support of a qualitative difference in the society rather than a quantitative expansion of opportunity with a qualitative improvement only for one or another elite.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The university remains the rudder of our culture. While reaching out to more students and to more responsive programs and curricula, it must be careful of the possibility of its capture by one or another of the other forces and of its obligation to record, analyze and structure man's experience with reality and to transmit all of this. Teacher education is in fact the business of all the university. It just happens that the teachers and trainers active in society do not all work at a place called the university. They are all nonetheless the University as it addresses and affects Society. They are also recording, analyzing, structuring and transmitting. While they depend on others more proficient than they to record analyze and structure, they are the major transmittors. While the university needs to help them become excellent transmittors, it cannot neglect helping them with the other three. One wonders whether the movement to closer relations is not a polite request by alienated members of the university that doors be kept open.

While there are signs that teache s'associations will assert their right and responsibility to control, determine, and improve teacher preparation, no teacher association originated and controlled programs have appeared. Most of the association energy seems to be limited to protecting teacher rights and privileges in negotiation with the existing training institutions. Teachers associations' fight to gain the "high ground" and political compromise has taken the form of a joint commission, membership on key committees, not in developing rights and responsibility for the development, control or improvement of the standard program for the education of teachers.

All the while, the state and provincial governments have begun rightful efforts to control the escalating cost of education. Mergers of institutions, elimination of weak programs, efforts which require fortitude and some risk have been undertaken throughout Canada. In the USA these hard decisions have been and are still being put off in state after state. The fact remains that an estimated 35% of existing student bodies and faculties in higher education institutions are, in some form, committed to teacher education. That represents a very significant dollar investment in any state or province. It also is estimated that at least 30% of the jobs in most states are education related (in the USA at least 18 billion dollars in public school teachers' salaries alone).

Education represents a significant economic building block in both nations. For the most part it is unchallenged because of the long tradition of academic freedom and the role of general and higher education in creating a liberated and educated populace. If the energetic efforts of the Province of Quebec and of the State of Florida predict the future, some governmental forces are aware of the crucial nature of the variable and intend to direct this resource for economic and social gains.

This study suggests quite strongly that the who of teacher education is what needs careful examination. The structures (laws, programs, budgets) invented to help these persons come into contact, one with the other are important and have been extensively developed and imitated. Yet the most important event for teacher education and for the university is access to and involvement in all the practice of teaching as it occurs in society. All that practice does not occur at the university or with young children. For example, the neglected 11-18 year old person and his teachers are a crucial group to have access to and be involved with. The neglected non-university attending adults are a crucial group to have access to and be involved with. For teaching is occurring out there and it is influencing the future of our society and culture. Teacher preparation has slowly become reconnected with these persons. The academic structures, though have not responded significantly to the alternative programs the school and society reality requires.

A new effort for institutional reform which originates more closely with the schools and the parents has also begun to assert independence as a force in educational reform. For the most part, alternative and free schools or programs have been structured independently (and deliberately so) from either the established higher education forces or government forces. Particularly in the USA, there are some public manifestations of the "people power" movement. As such they seek not to dominate and control the establishment, but rather to develop a complete, independent, alternative route. These differ from early, private or parochial education systems in that they are very often community or locality identified rather than intellectual movement or religious persuasion identified. The effect at present is not significant in accomplishing the redirection of dollars but this movement has in fact accounted for the expansion, increased flexibility, and differentiation of certification and credentialling requirements. The "institut familiale" status in Quebec and the early childhood program or special education program status elesewhere is an analogous trend where something has grown up aside the system with a complete and effective teacher education program and which has been granted, often without major political turmoil, equivalent status to the traditional credentialling by higher education institutions as appropriate education or training.

The governments of Canada or the USA do not have the opportunity to re-do their past nor to re-do their institutions. Their options are constrained by who they have within the institutions - the present and existing institutions doing teacher education, existing laws, regulations and procedures, present financial commitments, present facilities, present political trends. They also have an enormous (some would say an inordinate) literature, and research effort continually proposing some refinement of laws, regulations, procedures, structures, programs, methods and practices. Most of what is proposed are significant improvements on the status quo, but only on the status quo. Very few efforts attempt to recast the established higher education institutions' program.

The clinical professorship where a person lived in the school and at the university was one such attempt. Present evidence is that very few extant examples of this role exist, and no institution has yet built a program predominantly staffed in this manner. As laboratory schools at training colleges have been closed or moved out into general education, most faculty have opted the higher education staff position. One wonders why this real life effort at an arrangement between the schools and academia, between practice and theory has not mutated into clinical professorships or even differentiated staffing arrangements. The fact is that the solution has been again institutional not programmatic.

Programmatic adaptation has just begun to appear in a few institutions. One of these is the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Here an attemp to find a working arrangement for 30 diffuse faculty members led to the development of a structure of alternative programs for teacher education. This approach assumed that one couldn't change most of the 30 and that the 30 wouldn't be going away very soon. The result was a mutation where many alternatives are open to all candidates where clear kinds of teaching jobs are identified as the result of each of the training programs. This is an example of a change in arrangements within an institution, it does not change any of the programs nor the relations between higher education and other institutions. This is still a higher education originated program. Yet it is a step in the creation of a profession responsive program.

The relations between universities and other institutions involved in the education and training of teachers are directly influenced by :

1. one's view of the role and function of institutions, particularly higher education institutions;
2. one's view of the profession of teaching and its role in determining its destiny;
3. one's experience with the practice of educating others.
4. one's view of learning by others;
5. one's tolerance for ambiguity of humane and societal goals as wall as technological goals;
6. one's view of the place and function of an elementary, secondary or other classroom teacher.

Few institutions have articulated answers, programs, or structures which are real answers to these questions.

Determining public policy and governmental structures to implement public policy in teacher education may require the willingness to demand from the higher education institutions more direct follow-up and involvement in the schools where the graduates work. The value of a true higher

education program for preparation continues to be documented even in programs where experience, on-the-job training, and field practice are dominant. There is a need for reflective analysis. It is clear, though, that as improvement of practice is an ongoing effort, so is the improvement of reflective analysis and the con-comitant clarification of values.

Bluntly put, teacher education does not depend as much on the institutional structure nor the proposed program as it does on the quality of practice a teacher is exposed to and the quality of learning he or she is challenged to reach out to. As any nation has moved to educating the populace beyond literacy, it has faced the challenge of attracting to and supporting in classroom teaching those who can enhance the quality of the life of learning without limiting the effort to some elite. Few nations or states have attained this level for any sustained period of time. The evidence of this study is that the USA certainly has few present examples and that Canada has some unexplored opportunities. This is a difficult standard for measuring higher education and the relations of higher education to other institutions, yet it is the essential standard.

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