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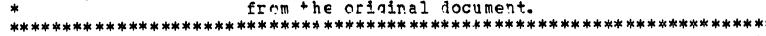   *Futures (of Society): Institutional Characteristics:
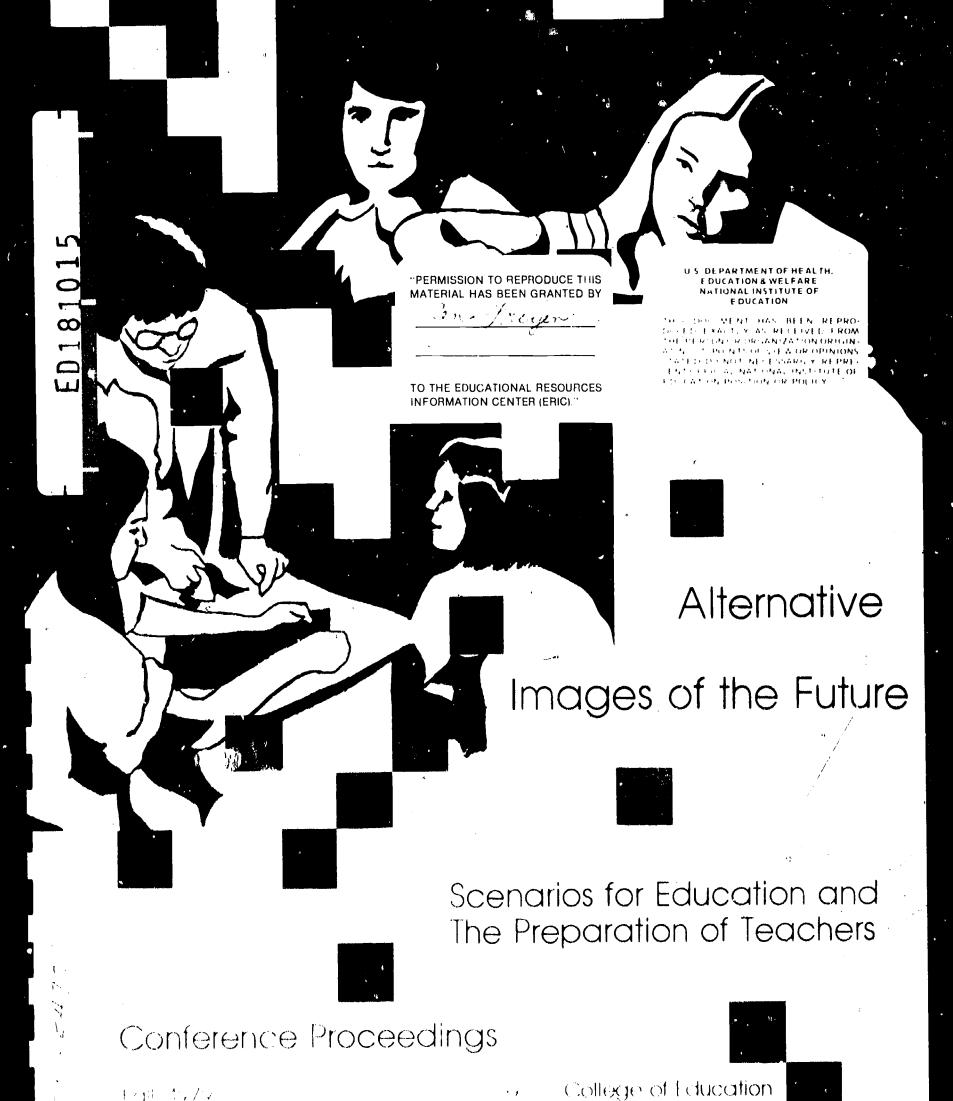   Needs Assessment: Prediction: Professional
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ABSTRACT
                 Papers on the following topics are presented: (1) the
future of teacher education: (2) organizing for change: lessons from
experience: (3) rethinking the role and function of the school of
education: (4) options for teacher education: and (5) teacher
education: 1984 and 2001. (JD)

Alternative

Images of the Future

Scenarios for Education and The Preparation of Teachers

Conference Proceedings

Fall 1979
University of Northern Iowa

College of Education
Dale Nitzschke, Dean

CONTENTS

PREFACE

These papers, presented at the fall, 1979, conference entitled "Alternative Images of the Future: Scenarios for Education and the Preparation of Teachers," reaffirm the importance of UNI's comprehensive study of teacher education. The authors present a vision of the future which underscores the need to re-examine and re-evaluate present programs and the assumptions on which they are based. They demonstrate that stasis impedes the development of individuals and can be dangerous--if not fatal--to the health of institutions.

Beyond strengthening our convictions about the need for this undertaking, these speakers have mapped possible future destinations for teacher education as well as directions for arriving there. Certainly their ideas should be seriously contemplated and judiciously weighed in light of this institution's goals. Only by considering all of the available alternatives can we be assured of the wisdom of our final choice.

Without doubt, the choice to begin the comprehensive study with a forum for these five educators to present their views has proved itself to be a wise one. One need only give a close reading to the following papers to test the accuracy of that assessment.

John J. Kamerick
President

James G. Martin
Vice-President and Provost

INTRODUCTION

The success of this conference, the first major step in the comprehensive study of teacher education at UNI, was due in large part to the enthusiastic response with which it was greeted. I would like to take this opportunity to thank those of you who participated by attending all or a part of the conference. The survey of participation that was conducted following the conference revealed that many would have attended if they had not been prevented by other commitments. We are pleased to make this record of the conference available to both groups.

We were indeed fortunate to have secured the services of speakers so capable of illuminating their intriguing visions of the future. As the next step in the comprehensive study, each department will be asked to meet during the fall semester to discuss the future of teacher education at UNI. The conference proceedings should prove to be a valuable source of ideas for these meetings.

Our success in fashioning a teacher education program that takes into account the multitude of diverse demands now made on schools and teachers will depend to a great extent on the involvement of the faculty of the entire University and that of concerned practitioners. If participation in the fall conference is indicative of the future commitment of these groups, we are optimistic that with a great deal of dedication and work, UNI will be able to meet the challenges of the future as it has so capably done many times in the past.

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Dale Nitzschke
Dean, College of Education

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CALF PATH OR ROADS IN THE WOOD:
THE FUTURE OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Robert B. Howsam
Visiting Professor
University of Virginia

Introduction

In 1968 John Gardner made the one hundredth year commencement address at Cornell University. He entitled it Uncritical Lovers, Unloving Critics. Its substance has persistently intruded into my consciousness over the decade since it came to my attention. Futurism hadn't come so much into vogue at that time, and Gardner didn't identify it as such. Still he projected his story 300 years into the future to the twenty-third century, at which point he had the then historians analyzing what had happened to bring about the downfall of the twentieth century civilizations around the world.

In part Gardner said:

"Men can tolerate extraordinary hardship if they think it is an unalterable part of life's travail. But an administered frustration--unsanctioned by religion or custom or deeply rooted values--is more than the spirit can bear. So increasingly men rage at their institutions. All kinds of men rage at all kinds of institutions, here and around the world. Most of them have no clear vision of the kind of world they want to build; they only know they don't want the kind of world they have. . . .

"The second thing twenty-third century scholars came to agree upon was that if society is going to release aspirations for institutional change--which is precisely what many twentieth-century societies deliberately did--then it had better be sure its institutions are capable of such change. In this respect they found the twentieth century sadly deficient.

"Most institutions were designed to obstruct change rather than facilitate it. And that is not really surprising. The institutions were, after all, designed by human beings, and most men most of the time do not want the institutions in which they themselves have a vested interest to change. Professors were often cited as an interesting example of this tendency, because they clearly favored innovation in other parts of the society but steadfastly refused to make universities into flexible, adaptive, self-renewing institutions."[1]

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[1]John W. Gardner, Uncritical Lovers, Unloving Critics (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1968).

In my view the institutions of education are not capable at this time
and under their present organization of delivering to the aspirations which
have been engendered in the American people. And that is a recipe for
disaster. The weakest element in the whole system of public education in
America is the teaching profession and the preparation arm of that profession.
If indeed we wish to deliver on the dreams and aspirations of the American
people with respect to education, we have no choice but to concentrate on the
preparation of teachers.

It was in this address that Gardner presented his concept of "uncritical
lovers" and "unloving critics." With respect to them he stated that "love
without criticism brings stagnation, and criticism without love brings destruc-
tion."[2] It was the latter which had brought down the institutions and the
societies in the later decades of the twentieth century.

Gardner didn't use the term "critical lovers," but it seems to me there
is indeed a third category of the critical lover, the one who believes in
and values what it is we do but does not blindly pursue it. This individual
critically looks at what we do in an attempt to insure that our institutions
remain effective and viable. And that is the challenge to this institution
in these years ahead: that those of us who are responsible for teacher edu-
cation be critical lovers so that we are not in a position where the unloving
critics can destroy us. If the University of Northern Iowa is to succeed in
the study which this conference launches, it will have to have critical pro-
fessionals from all elements of the education system who care enough to bare
the very soul of teacher education and the teaching profession and to remake
their very being. Teachers and their organizations, administrators, and
teacher educators will have to bury their past differences and work together,
or this effort can be predicted to come to naught.

Gardner's remarks were not a clear prediction. Probably they were in-
tended more as a thoughtful challenge and a social insight. Nonetheless
its futuristic prediction possibilities cannot be ignored. Further, there
is ample evidence within societies and governments of the raging criticism,
of uncritical lovers and unloving critics, and of both violent and non-
violent destruction of institutions.

I am going to give some predictions in accordance with the instructions
of the futuristic nature of this conference. I admit at the outset that
these predictions are biased.

Prediction 1: Given a reasonable degree of world stability, the American
society will be calmer in the 1980's and perhaps to the turn of the century.
Present trends indicate a determination to trim the sails of institutions
but to preserve them. This trend will be reinforced by the crisis in energy,
which has descended so quickly upon us. Probably nothing else has contrib-
uted so greatly to our change in ways of life over the last half century as
has the readily available supply of fossil fuels. Closely related has been
the availability of minerals and other nonrenewable resources, many of which
are being found to share the scarcity category with oil. As the realization
of genuine shortages comes to us, both collectively and individually, we
will "cut our pattern to fit the cloth."

_____

[2]Ibid.

As this occurs, there will be at least a measure of strengthening of the long-weakening basic, or primary, institutions of home, school, church, and community.

Communications, which are low in energy use, also will strengthen as transportation, which is high in energy use, is forced into retrenchment.

There seems no reason to anticipate that education--and particularly public school education--will suffer from these developments. Indeed it stands to be enhanced by the return to core values which is likely to occur. Conditions should prove favorable to a continued pursuit of effective education and from this to the strengthening of the teaching profession and teacher education. Resources will continue to be a problem, however, due in no small part to the inevitable crisis spending on new sources of energy. We as a society will not yield our mobility to any greater extent than is absolutely necessary, since mobility in modern times is so much a part of freedom.

Hedging the Predictions

Education is a vast and complex system within our society. It is comprised of many elements, some of which are much more central than others. Teacher education is not one of the primary elements or subsystems. Rather it is a subsystem of higher education, of the organized profession, and of state and local education systems. As such it does not fashion its own destiny. Indeed it tends to avoid the direct scrutiny of the public. Usually its "unloving critics" are found within the several elements of the education system itself, and the state of its being depends upon negotiations within the establishment. Often it is caught in the crossfire of conflict between the three major entities of which it is a subsystem. This tends to create insecurity in those who inhabit the teacher education domain and to render them innocuous in the internal and external politics of education.

Because of this reality, predictions are even more hazardous and tenuous for teacher education than they are for other elements of the system. What happens to teacher education through the remainder of this century will be heavily dependent on developments in the several major partners in the public education enterprise. This is not to say, however, that it is totally lacking in the capacity to influence its own destiny. It does, nonetheless, depend upon the support or non-opposition of other institutions and organizations. Movement in predicted directions may readily be subverted or redirected. Almost any move that could be proposed could easily be politicized and frustrated.

A further complication is that most teacher education institutions as well as most schools are public and hence directly dependent upon political and legislative action.

Paths or Roads

The title of this paper draws upon two oft-quoted pieces of poetry--
"The Calf Path" and "The Road Not Taken." The one tells of a haphazard
meandering trail made by a wobbly calf which other creatures, including man,
took up. Over the years it progressively became a path, a road, a street,
a crowded thoroughfare, a central street till "o'er his crooked journey went
the traffic of a continent." Generalizing, the poet says:

> "For thus such reverence is lent
> To well established precedent.
>
> "For men are prone to go it blind
> Along the calf paths of the mind."[3]

The other tells of walking in the woods, of coming to a fork in the
road where each fork seemed equally well traveled. On no good basis a
choice is made.

> "Oh, I kept the first for another day,
> Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
> I doubted I should ever come back. . . .
>
> "Two roads diverged in a wood, and I--
> I took the road less traveled by,
> And that has made all the difference."[4]

Teacher education and education in general face "calf path" and "roads
diverge in the wood" decisions between now and the end of the century. The
most important decisions have to do with teacher education. To deliver
quality education requires two types of institutions. One is the delivery
of service institutions: the schools. The other is the profession(s) which
supplies the work force for the work place. The success of the education
system depends upon strength in both of these elements. Through two and a
half centuries the society has emphasized schools and de-emphasized the
preparation and professionalization of teachers. The consequences of this
policy become clearer every day. If we "calf path" the decision, schools
have little hope. The "road that diverged in the wood" that will "make
all the difference" is teacher education in whatever effective form.

Prediction 2: Perhaps later rather than earlier, between now and the end
of the century, the profession of teaching and teacher education will be
recognized as key to effective education. Strong efforts will be made to
upgrade teacher education as a means of improving education in the same way
as medical education was used to upgrade the medical profession and medical
practice following the 1910 Flexner Report.

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[3]Sam Walter Foss, "The Calf Path," Poems That Live Forever, ed.
Hazel Felleman (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1965).

[4]Robert Frost, "The Road Not Taken," American Poetry and Prose,
5th ed., ed. Norman Foerster (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970).

Flag on the Play: A long time back, one of the characters in the Pogo comic strip said, "I thought I was winning in the game of life, but there has been a flag on the play." The flag on the play predicted above could be the failure of professional organizations to encompass in their agendas both the short-term objectives--such as salaries, conditions of work, and representational issues--and the longer-term goal of professional self-actualization.

The Semi-Profession Assumption

There is little or no prospect of major change in the public education system of this country unless there is a fundamental reconsideration of all aspects of the delivery system which has been developed as a means of achieving societal goals. In the view of this observer, the system itself is based on assumptions which are unsound. In consequence the system operates in such a way as to frustrate goals achievement.

The faulty assumption must be inferred from existing conditions and behaviors, since it is not explicated or even recognized. The explicated assumption is that teaching is a profession; the ssumption which is identified by analysis is that teaching is a semi-profession. Both sociologically and practically the difference between the two is such as to cause drastic sub-optimization in goal achievement. To change the assumption from that of semi-profession to profession is to cause the entire system to be redeveloped. To fail to do so is to invite the steady deterioration of the educational enterprise and drastic modification in societal commitments.

Hierarchy of Professions

Sociologists identify levels of professions according to the extent to which they fit the criteria for professions. Five levels can be identified: older professions, such as medicine, law, the clerical profession, and the academic profession; newer professions, such as engineering and architecture; emergent professions, such as social work; semi-professions, such as teaching; and occupations that lay unrecognized claims to professional status. Sociologists categorize teaching as a semi-profession. It is difficult to disagree with them regardless of how one might wish it otherwise. Indeed, the more one examines the situation in education the more one confirms the conclusion. Though hypothetically teaching meets the criteria for full profession, in its reality it very closely approximates the criteria for a semi-profession.

More recently this observer has been examining the various parts of the educational system for evidence of conditions which reveal the existence of the semi-profession assumption and reality. It is a revealing exercise. The entire enterprise seems to have been built upon it. More serious perhaps is the existence of evidence that the values of semi-profession have been widely accepted and internalized as well as institutionalized. The writer has likened the situation to that found among people who live in poverty or under oppression. Their perceptions of reality, their hopes and expectations, their self-concepts all have been attuned to their reality. Poverty is a mental as well as a social, physical, and economic condition. It is taught, and it is learned. It can even come to be valued. As schools know

so well, removing the trappings of poverty is much easier than freeing the individual from his/her internalized accommodation to the poverty bondage. So it is with occupational groups whose reality exists far short of their possibilities.

Prediction 3: The remaining years of this century will see pervasive efforts and substantial progress in redesigning the elements of the educational system to be consistent with a professional rather than a semi-professional assumption.

Flag on the Play: Out of failure to recognize and understand or out of protection of vested interests, the major interested and involved groups may obscure the need for radical change by concentrating on trying to improve the inadequate system. Collective negotiations, staff development, inservice education, participative management, teacher centers, and political action are some examples of possible approaches which will not work in the absence of a professional assumption but will give the appearance of action and good intent. Indeed, each could be expected to further entrench the semi-profession reality.

The Profession of Teaching

Prediction 4: The decade of the 1980's and that of the 1990's will see the first real moves toward maturity as a profession.

The stage appears to be set for a dramatic change in the being and the status of the teaching profession. Throughout its past and into its present, teaching has not risen above the level of a semi-profession. Its opportunity is at hand.

Sub-prediction 4a: The strongest contribution to that emergence will be the recognition that a substantial basis for a "professional culture" of teaching exists.

One of the characteristics of a profession is that its individual members and the profession as a whole possess a body of knowledge and a repertoire of behaviors and skills that are needed in the practice of the profession. Anthropologists define culture as what the people have learned over time and have codified and passed on to their children. Professional culture means whatever it is that a profession has developed that the society needs, what the profession knows and can do that the lay members of a society cannot do.

I am sad to say that there is almost no evidence of the existence and acceptance of a professional culture of teaching. A professional culture, to exist, must be possessed by everyone in the profession. By definition, it is passed from present practitioners to new inductees, and this process is repeated time and time again. Since this definition does not apply to teaching, we must say that teaching is a semi-profession.

If we want to be a profession, we have no choice but to develop a professional culture of teaching. However, there is little evidence of this. The studies say that teachers teach in accordance with what they have learned from their own experience. According to the research, teachers say they didn't learn very much from teacher education, that they used their past experience and trial-and-error to learn on the job. They believe that what it was that enabled them to survive in the classroom is what makes a good teacher. This is not to say anything detrimental about teachers. If we send them into the schools without a professional culture, we cannot criticize them for surviving as best they can or for saying they didn't learn much from teacher education. The probability is that many teachers are not aware of how much they did learn, but that is not important. If they don't perceive a professional culture, there isn't one.

The examination of teacher education curricula across the country reveals no common core that professional educators believe is important in the practice of teaching. The last decade has seen a tremendous increase in the amount of research-supported evidence about teacher effectiveness. The basic elements of a professional culture of teaching are rapidly emerging. There's already more in that professional culture than teacher education can pass on.

I am not saying that teaching can be reduced to the sum of a number of acts to be performed in given situations. Teaching is not mechanistic. Rather the expectation is that the teacher will be more effective when possessed of an ample repertoire of insights and options, an effective personalized style, and the capacity to analyze the on going situation and make best choices. That is all any profession gives to its people. It is the absence of certainty about what ought to be done that makes professional decisions so important. Critics of the competency-based movement assume that teachers are looking for pat solutions, but this is not so. We are looking for more insights, more options, more certainty, more professional culture in order that the teacher in the decision-making process is more likely to be right.

The professional need for a professional culture is being reinforced by demand from other sources.

1. The Year of the Child (1979) is generating international demand for respect for children and protection of their rights to dignity, self-esteem, and opportunity. Involved is the demand for proper treatment at the hands of adults, including parents and teachers. (Sweden, for example, has made it illegal to strike a child, and the proscription includes both parents and teachers.) The clear implication for teaching is professional behavior according to established professional ethics, principles, and practice.

2. P.L. 94-142 has provided for handicapped children to be returned to normal conditions of public education to the maximum extent possible. It also has required an individual educational program for each such child. There seems little doubt that the consequences of this law will be that each teacher will require preparation equaling or exceeding that of special education teachers.

The flag on this play could be the development of a large cadre of specialists to provide supplemen: ·y and controlling assistance to teachers with handicapped learners, thus further depressing the role and status of teacher.

3. New developments in the nature of breakthroughs such as brain research promise to make a fully prepared teacher a necessity.

4. The realization of the true nature of the "developmental" as against the "crisis" profession promises to give rise to awareness of the need for highly professionalized services. Professions such as medicine and law deal with crises in the lives of people and families. The developmental professions are the teaching professions, in which the emphasis is not on problem solving but on promoting the development that prevents problems and enables people to live up to their full potential. The recognition of the importance of the self-image and its nourishment has led us closer and closer to insisting on training and expertise at least equal to that of the crisis professions.

5. Court decisions and new legal mandates which test the teacher's competence to the limit have produced conditions within schools which exacerbate the need for the highest level of professional skill.

Sub-prediction 4b: The organized profession will demand teacher preparation adequate in length, substance, and strategies to transmit the existing professional culture. This will result in increasing the length of training to a minimum of five years plus an internship. It will also result in much stronger training processes with emphasis on both theory and practice and rich combinations of classroom, laboratory, clinic, and field-setting approaches. Closely related will be the expectation of greatly expanded research activities. As this objective is achieved, the principal attribute of semi-professional status will diminish.

Sub-prediction 4c: The organized profession, as it achieves its professional culture and its appropriate preparation programs, will insist on departing from the academic hierarchical degree structure of bachelor's, master's, doctorate, and on adopting the professional degree pattern of doctor of teaching (corresponding to M.D.; J.D.; O.D.). Thus there will be no deficit profession and no semi-profession degree status.

Sub-prediction 4d: Possessed of a viable professional culture, the organized profession will win a strong measure of autonomy in the control and management of professional affairs such as certification and licensure of teachers, control of accreditation of teacher education, and professional standards and ethics.

Sub-prediction 4e: Teachers collectively and individually will become active and equal partners with campus-based professionals in the processes of teacher preparation. This development cannot occur, however, in the absence of the recognized professional culture or of the professional degree (T.D.). The present academic and professional difference in degree levels between the campus-and the field-based professionals precludes such a partnership, since the campus professionals (professors with doctorates) and the field-based professionals (teachers with bachelor's or master's degrees and often little

committed to professional culture) are so different in preparation level. Also, such a practice mixes "older profession" and "semi-profession." These distinctions are minimized in the older professions such as medicine and law where practitioners and scholars, each with doctor's degrees, merge theory and clinical practice in the training programs on equal but different footings.

Sub-prediction 4f: Professors in the teacher education programs will be active members of the organizations for teachers, and these organizations will be the main promoters of the interests of teacher education.

The Schools

Nowhere is the semi-profession assumption more pervasive and apparent than in the schools--the teachers' work place. In no other setting is it so damaging.

The school system and the indiv'   , school both are hierarchically organized. Teachers, except where there ... paraprofessionals, are at the bottom level of the organization chart, with chairs or area leaders, vice-principals, principals, supervisors, central office subordinates, and superintendents set in varying levels of influence and authority above them. Conceptually the organization system is suited to dependent workers engaged in repetitive tasks. The assumption is that the authority to make and implement professional decisions flows from above and that accountability is upward through the hierarchy. The fact that the organization is staffed by professionals and that professionals have two sources of authority has not caused the organization to be brought into line with other "modern organizations."

Reinforcing the hierarchical structure is the degree and certification system which undergirds it. Teachers have a bachelor's (or master's) degree and a temporary or permanent certificate which delimits the areas of assignment. Supervisors and principals have master's degrees and special certificates which attest to their competence to aid and/or evaluate teachers, develop curricula, or manage the school. Superintendents have sixth year certificates or doctor's degrees and a certificate to administer. All three of the position, degree, and certification distinctions serve constantly as a reminder of the semi-profession status, not only to the teacher but to students and lay citizens as well.

Prediction 5: The years ahead will see a highly significant remodeling of the structure of school systems in such a way as to accommodate the emerging professional reality of teachers.

Sub-prediction 5a: Fully prepared teachers with doctor of teaching degrees will be the possessors of the professional expertise in the school. As such, they will exercise the authority of the profession in making professional judgments rather than the authority of administrative delegation. Administrators will manage the work place but will not presume expertise equal to that of the teachers.

Sub-prediction 5b: Administrators will be professional educational administrators with skills in management, public relations, facilitation of effective processes, etc. They will not in common practice "come up through the ranks as teachers" but rather will be prepared generally in administration and particularly in administering educational units and in facilitating the work of professional teachers. They will defer to the professional wisdom and judgments of the teaching staffs and organize administratively to facilitate its exercise.

Sub-prediction 5c: Once the teacher's role as a professional is established, education will be able to move in the direction of differentiated staffing. Categories and cadres of paraprofessionals will emerge as they have in other professions. They will not, however, develop as career progressions leading to teacher or administrator roles as many have advocated in the past. The paraprofessional development will occur later rather than earlier, since paraprofessionals tend to threaten the security of the professional until differences in levels of expertise are established through professional culture growth.

Sub-prediction 5d: Inservice education will decline in importance while emphasis on facilitating professional updating grows. Presently inservice education derives primarily from the original deficit preparation of teachers and secondarily from school and district efforts to correct for teacher inadequacies by introducing "gimmick" instructional projects. The very idea of deficit inservice demeans the professional status of the teacher and emphasizes both teacher inadequacy and the subordinate low-level status of the teacher. Once the professional doctorate level of preparation is approached, the need will be to add specialized skills (and perhaps specialization diplomas) and to keep current with the rapidly developing professional culture of teaching. Out of intelligent self-interest, school systems will encourage and assist such efforts.

Teacher Education

Teacher education can appropriately be called the disaster area of education. At the same time it should be recognized as the key to development of the profession. In the professions, the professional school or college is the preparation and development arm of the profession. It has primary responsibility for adding to the professional culture and for effectively transmitting it to inductees to the profession. Being associated with it carries recognition, privilege, and responsibility. Those so selected share both the profession for which the school exists and the academic profession.

Teacher education on the campus enjoys little of this recognition and status, however. Semi-professions have no legitimate place in the campus scheme of things. When present, they tend to be little valued at best and derogated at worst. This writer, with long experience with teacher education on the college campus, does not hesitate to describe it as the Cinderella of the campus, sitting in the ashes and hoping not to be noticed while the academic sisters go to the ball. There are historic and internal political reasons for this. These do not, however, obscure the fact that an occupation which lacks a strong

professional culture with roots in theory and research has a doubtful claim to residence in the halls of academia. The crime against society of the campus is not its misjudging of teacher education. Rather, it is failure to insist upon and assist with its upgrading. Too long has it accepted teacher education because of the academic preparation needed by teachers, and too long has it denied the existence of and need for the professional component of the teacher's preparation.

With every passing year the need for genuinely professional teachers grows. More recently the substance of a professional culture has been developing exponentially. Out of this interaction of needs and potential will come some generally unanticipated and even surprising progress.

Prediction 6: The elements favorable to developments in teacher education will mature in the next two decades. Teacher education will enter the next century strongly entrenched in and well accepted by the academic community as well as the profession.

Flag on the Play: In reality, teacher education has a very tenuous hold on its existence. The marketplace has caused a serious decline in enrollments, which in turn has reduced the huge flow of students into the disciplines (subject specialties), thus making teacher education less attractive economically. The increasing problems of schools and the difficulties teachers face in coping with them have caused many school and community people to question whether the university can train teachers. A common response has been to try to meet the needs through inservice education operated by schools or intermediate units and to eschew the participation of higher education. The federal teacher center movement officially pushed teacher education into the background. And many universities, as part of the renewed emphasis on academic "quality," have once again come to question teacher education priorities.

On the other side there has been a modest renewal of effort to improve professional self-governance. Progress has been made in a number of states. Also, there seems to be national interest in longer preparation for teachers--though many see it as involving primarily the internship and increased work with teachers in the schools.

The flag on the play could be that before the events favorable to teacher education fall into place, those that are unfavorable could occur. As indicated earlier, teacher education by its own self is a lesser actor on the scene and not in significant control of its own destiny.

Sub-prediction 6a: The teaching profession will, as a matter of necessity and self-interest, recognize campus-based teacher education as an essential element in the professional system, accept a large order of responsibility for it, and insist on quality. It will do this in part through the mechanisms at the state and national levels which are developing (State Professional Practices Commissions, N.C.A.T.E.). More importantly, however, it will occur through a genuine desire to bring the parts of the profession together and make them an effective system. These actions will raise the attention level of universities and gain conditions more favorable to teacher education (funding, staffing, facilities, professional school status).

Sub-prediction 6b: In response, teacher education will increase its identification with the professions and its organizations. Teacher educators will become much more active in professional affairs. Teacher education presently chooses to identify with the campus. The hierarchy of professions is one reason. The academic has full-profession status, and teaching has semi-profession status and therefore less prestige. The solution cannot be to remove professors from the campus but rather to raise teachers to the level of the campus in a professional system.

Sub-prediction 6c: By the end of the century, teacher education on campus will be transformed into an operation that seeks to be the living example of the practice of education. It will exemplify what it explicates, as it will be expected to do both by the profession and the university. Its goal will be to model effective practice through its own systems of instruction.

Sub-prediction 6d: The "life space" within which to prepare teachers will have been expanded to a minimum of six years after which the doctor of teaching degree will be awarded.

Sub-prediction 6e: The traditional emphasis on formal classes and student teaching will yield to much more serious and sophisticated preparation. Laboratory, clinic, and field-based experiences will replace, supplement, and reinforce the existing modes. Modeling best practice within the college will be a major training factor as will mentoring.

Sub-prediction 6f: Educators with Ph.D.'s, Ed.D.'s, and T.D.'s will comprise the education and training teams as the profession, the practitioner teachers, and the campus teacher educators join in a symbiotic relationship. Though differing in the nature of their contribution, each will be equal in status and critical to the preparation program.

Sub-prediction 6g: A similar relationship will exist between and among the professional teachers in the schools and those with campus assignments. Mutual respect and joint effort will maximize the training and professional impact.

Sub-prediction 6h: Campus-based professionals will share with school and organization professionals in providing continuing and inservice education opportunities for all members of the teaching profession. The activities will not need to be for credit, since the terminal professional degree already will have been earned.

Sub-prediction 6i: Teacher centers may become common means for meeting the needs of teachers in continuing education. The larger ones would be major operations operating continuously and involving all partners in the educational enterprise.

Sub-prediction 6j: Universities and academics will have a new level of respect for the profession of teaching and will support and encourage its development. In addition, the education colleges will be expected to provide faculty development services on matters of instructional systems and instructional effectiveness within the university itself.

Sub-prediction 6k: Professionals from colleges of education will be involved with their peers in the school systems in collaborative research efforts as well as in trying to make teacher education instruction and learning more effective.

"The Wish Is Father to the Thought"

Surely all who read and hear these predictions will be responding with at least skepticism and at more realistic levels with head shaking over the out-of-touch-with-the-real-world qualities of their author. The writer agrees. On second thought, however, he persists. There is nothing in the predictions that couldn't happen. It is only their probability that hangs us up.

But remember the hypothesis. It was that the educational systems of this country are based on faulty assumptions, on assumptions that could be changed. If the assumptions were changed, a dramatic and different course of action might be expected. Equally dramatic changes in professions have happened before.

If the wish is father to the thought and if the wish should be the ancestor of the act, then it is important to create the desire. Creating the desire, however, depends heavily upon the dominant assumptions which are made by those who are the central actors within the system. It was the beginning hypothesis of this paper that the educational system of this nation is dominated by assumptions about teachers and teaching which are dysfunctional to the educational enterprise and which have us locked into the system that is. Under this circumstance, is there anything wrong with the futurist starting with assumptions and from there projecting changes in those assumptions and the situations which would emerge from the change in the assumptions?

It may be that there is no other place to start.

Conclusion

This paper started with a reference to John Gardner's speech to the Cornell students and faculty in which he fancifully made palatable the prediction of our society destroyed by people who "raged at their institutions." Unloving critics and uncritical lovers both had contributed to their downfall. They didn't know what they wanted, but they did know what they did not like.

What better way to incur the wrath of a society than to build one of its most important institutions on faulty assumptions and permit it to fail to achieve its mission and satisfy societal needs. What better way to frustrate understanding by seeming to be trying but failing to get at or reveal the root cause.

There is in America much concern over schools and the seeming outcomes of our educative processes. It is not fashionable to "rage" about schools, but that does not mean that schools are not vulnerable. All who labor within the system should be seriously concerned about its condition and its future.

Else 300 years hence historians may be trying to reconstruct what happened to America's most notable institution.

18

ORGANIZING FOR CHANGE:
LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE

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I assume that I was invited here partially because I am a sociologist,
but perhaps because I was unleashed onto an unsuspecting world by this insti-
tution. In any event, you are in luck because sociologists like to talk about
other people's problems. And we have a ready answer to every question. In
fact we have several different answers, enough to appeal to almost everyone.

But I feel duty-bound to tell you at the outset that my colleagues have
made a few minor mistakes--like the War on Poverty, the Great Cities Program,
and the Peace Corps. My longtime colleague and friend, Russell Dynes, has
said it all in blank verse:

"In the beginning, the earth was without form and void,
all was darkness and chaos.
And the Lord said, 'Let there be sociology.
Sociologists shall be created in my own image.'
and He counseled them to eat freely of the tree of knowledge.

"To August, thou shalt be positive.
To Karl, thou shalt not make for yourself graven images.
To Emile, thou shalt not commit psychology.
To Max, thou shalt have no other god before science.
All should honor their fathers and mothers.

"And books begat footnotes, and footnotes begat ibid.'s, and ibid.'s, op.
cit.'s and op. cit.'s, loc. cit.'s.
And soon there was a swollen multitude of sociologists
and the world was still in darkness and chaos."

I hesitate to begin on such a humble and pessimistic note, but the truth is
that we know more about the obstacles that defeat new programmatic thrusts than
how to achieve them. At least I have not come here with a list of prescriptions
to sell; I shall spare you that. Nevertheless, the picture is not entirely
bleak. There has been a great deal of experimentation with new programs over
the past two decades, and many reports have been produced about what has happened.
Perhaps by searching through some of these experiences, with all sorts of new
programs in education, we can identify some clues that might serve as guide-
posts for your efforts here at the University of Northern Iowa. And at least
perhaps we will become a little less romantic about change and more sensitive
to some of the pitfalls to avoid. With that possibility in mind, I would like
to simply describe some of the experiences that other people have had in attempt-
ing to introduce new programs in education. And while I shall suggest some
interpretations, I think it will be most productive if each of you will arrive
at your own conclusions.

I will not confine my discussion to experiences with universities because
I am convinced that there are certain patterns--in the problems and perhaps

in strategies for coping with them--which are inherent to the process of intro-
ducing planned change, irrespective of a particular organization involved. And
moreover, it is often easier to remain detached about other organizations. Pro-
posals about which you and I might feel strongly defensive when applied to our
own organizations can appear perfectly valid and reasonable when someone else
has to cope with their consequences. Universities are after all still nests
sheltering most of us from the changes that we hasten to prescribe for <u>others</u>.

Down to Cases

Elementary-Secondary Schools

Let me start with a simple but illuminating case study describing what
unintentionally happened when programmed instruction was introduced into a
public school system. It was found that flexible, programmed instruction
permitted students to learn at their own rates, as was planned. But as a
result, several other problems unexpectedly developed:

· The teachers found it was troublesome to explain the same point
  to students who encountered it at different times.
· It was time-consuming to work with individual students, especially
  since it was at the students' pace rather than at the teacher's
  convenience.
· There were coordination problems: No one knew what to do with the
  students who finished early--except, in this case, to dump them into
  music class.
· It was a burden to develop new materials that would fit into a
  programmed format; the teachers had to learn a new medium (computer
  technology and information systems) that required them to adapt
  their own schedules to the requirements of the program.
· The teachers found the new teaching style uncomfortable to them.
· They complained that they had lost the opportunity to "perform,"
  or in other words to capture and hold the attention of an audience.
· It was difficult to identify "good teaching" practices, so principals
  decided that good teachers walk around the room instead of sitting
  at their desks.
· There were no clear criteria for evaluating the new program; the
  emphasis on evaluating teaching effectiveness placed their own
  colleagues and the administrators in a supervisory relationship,
  which undermined their autonomy and created other tensions.[1]

The case serves to illustrate the point that it is often easier to dream
up new ideas than it is to implement them. Many innovations are judged to be
"ineffective" only because they have never been fully implemented in the first
place.

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[1]Richard O. Carlson, "Unanticipated Consequences in the Use of Programmed
Instruction," <u>Adoption of Educational Innovations</u> (Eugene, Ore.: Center for
the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1965).

Some other obstinate difficulties were encountered by Wacaster in his account
of the life and death of differentiated staffing (DS) at Columbia High School.
Lauded as a relatively new idea in American education, differentiated staffing
was touted by its supporters in the district as the path to the improvement of
the education process, a way to combat the disenchantment of students and the
disillusionment of teachers in the wake of growing student enrollments. It
promised to establish a career ladder that would make better use of teachers
and provide new sources of individualized instruction and guidance leading to
the education of the whole child. However, less than a month after these claims
were announced, staff members of the pilot high school experimenting with differ-
entiated staffing voted to discontinue it. A process that had taken over two
years of planning and training prior to eight months of attempted implementation
had come to an abrupt end.

For over two weeks staff committees met to prepare a set of job descrip-
tions, only to learn that the administrative cabinet rejected them because
positions were not clearly ranked by levels of authority and responsibility.
Rejecting the idea of authority differentiation or anything to do with
hierarchy among teachers, the staff voted to discontinue DS.

In the meantime other problems arose as teachers tried to organize their
interdisciplinary courses. The staff had decided to have an interdisciplinary
curriculum divided into three groups, or "domains," that were to supersede the
customary departmental organization. Since only brief outlines had been pre-
pared at the outset and since there was little time for instructional develop-
ment during the previous summer, teachers had to write their own courses of
study as they went along. This task was complicated by the fact that it had
to be done cooperatively with other team members. Also, some instructional
material ordered for the new course had not arrived, and procedures for taking
attendance in the large group sections had not been devised. A large number of
sophomores were requesting transfers out of the interdisciplinary course,
usually citing the difficulty of work as the reason. And the domains did not
function. Only four poorly attended meetings were held during the fall.[2]

In this case, we can see that a number of factors had been taken for
granted by the school administrators and project managers attempting to
install this new program. First, it was assumed that it was possible to
institute a change intended to drastically alter the roles of teachers and
students without an investigation into what the new roles would entail, that
is, training and a corresponding reorganization of the central office. The
two new administrative positions (project director and district coordinator)
were superimposed on the existing structure. Any time that central office
staff members chose to devote to the project would have to be contributed
over and above their regular duties.

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[2]C. Thomas Wacaster, "The Life and Death of Differentiated Staffing at
Columbia High School," The Process of Planned Change in the School's Instruc-
tional Organization, Monograph No. 25, ed. W. W. Charters, Jr., et al. (Eugene,
Ore.: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1973).

Similarly, members of the DS committee served in that capacity in addition to their regular duties. They did not take the time required to master the complexities of the project, but instead rubber-stamped the project director's decisions. Operating under the chronic pressures of day-to-day duties, the staff gave priority to immediate problems and short-run decisions, many of which were of only marginal relevance to DS.

A fundamental article of faith in the central office was that any problems encountered would "work themselves out" in time. The staff never did agree on a definition of DS, its objectives, or their particular roles in it. Consensus was impeded by routine staff turnover, with the new arrivals unaware of prior decisions and arrangements and uninformed about the initial proposals and other basic documents. Even a deliberate effort to hire some new people interested in the change was defeated by the fact that they often turned out to be "chronic" mavericks who found it difficult to live in any system of rules and procedures, including the new ones.

The decision-making authority for the project was never made entirely clear. The administration accepted without question the popular theory that the participants should be "involved in the decision making." But putting a decentralized decision-making procedure into practice was another matter. Democratic decision making was time-consuming, but more important, the project director was responsible for implementing decisions, and the teachers had a difficult time accepting this status differential when they had been treated as equals in the decision process itself. And moreover, there was no acceptable way for the program director to obtain compliance from the dissenters in this democratic system.

Thus the burden of creating intricate, novel relationships, which were supposed to depart drastically from what everyone was accustomed to, by default fell to the individual staff members. And few individuals had the desire, power, initiative, and skills required to redefine the roles within an ongoing system. But the staff did begin to restructure their perceptions. As they encountered obstacles and frustrations, they redefined the nature of the project to fit what they were actually doing at the moment. Project goals were gradually shifted further into an indefinite future. It was decided that DS was actually a three-step process and that in fact it was only a "concept," not a model after all. In fact, the teachers concluded with some relief, DS really meant that "each teacher does what he does best within a given class and curriculum." So much for differentiated staffing.

Gross and his colleagues reported on still another attempt to institute a major change, this time in an urban elementary school. This innovation was intended to redefine the traditional role of the elementary school teacher. The teacher was to adopt a "catalytic role model" and become a person assisting children to learn according to their interests throughout the day in self-contained classrooms. Emphasis was to be placed on the process, not the content of learning. The classroom was to become an environment where the students would have maximum freedom to choose among activities and materials that might interest them. In this way it was expected that the motivation and academic achievement of low income children would improve.

22

When first informed of this innovation, many teachers were positively predisposed toward it; some were neutral; there was no opposition. They recognized that they were not adequately meeting all of the varied needs of the disadvantaged pupils in their classrooms, and they had some hope that the innovations would improve the situation. Moreover, funding for the project was assured and more than ample to cover its substantial budget. Nonetheless, seven months after it was introduced, the teachers had become thoroughly disillusioned. The change effort was judged an abysmal failure and abandoned.[3]

There seem to have been a number of factors contributing to this failure. Teachers were unclear about their new role; they lacked the skills required to perform it, and no training was provided. Essential instructional materials and professional services were not made available. Adjustments were not made in other aspects of the educational program which were required in order to implement this innovation. Finally, teachers were exposed to "role overload."

The strategy followed by the director of this change effort consisted primarily of explaining the philosophy and objectives of the innovation through several written documents, giving teachers maximum freedom to carry it out, and delegating responsibility for it to an administrative subordinate. No consideration had been given either to the obstacles that the teachers could expect to encounter or to ways to monitor progress in order to chart the dynamics of the innovation and identify the problems. Unaware of the growing irritation and frustration of the teachers, the director attributed their resistance to their poor professional attitude and behavior. His role was to develop the innovation, "sell" it to the administration as a promising project, and obtain funding for it from a government agency. While he was able to get it started, he was less adept at managing its implementation. No one took into account or made provisions for training to provide staff with the necessary skills to change their roles; materials and assistance necessary to implement the innovation; monitoring and feedback procedures; a means of compensating teachers for the overload required of them for additional duty in after-school planning meetings and the like.

Even from largely negative experiences such as these, we can find some positive lessons:

'It is not enough that people subscribe to the general idea of a change effort; they must be fully aware of what it will mean to their daily schedules and responsibilities.
'There must be a few people with the time needed to give full attention to tracking what is happening and with the necessary power to make the adjustments needed to accommodate the change. This includes making desired structural and procedural changes; staying on top of the logistics of getting supplies and people to the right place at the right time; and making modifications in criteria for evaluating job performance and providing new incentives for doing well in the new job.

[3]Neal Gross, Joseph B. Giacquinta, and Marilyn Bernstein, Implementing Organizational Innovations: A Sociological Analysis of Planned Educational Change (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971).

'People involved in a change effort will require some help--new materials,
training for new roles, and o; ortunities to discuss their mutual problems.
'It is unrealistic to expect people to take on new responsibilities or an
overload in addition to their regular duties; budget for a 'great deal of
time and effort, or don't try it.

Higher Education

So far I have been talking only about the lower schools. Universities,
we are told, are on a higher plane. Professors, we like to think, are thought-
ful and rational intellectuals who can surely think clearly enough to develop
and implement a coherent plan of change. But even if that were so, is it
enough? As organizations, universities are far more decentralized than schools,
and perhaps tradition is even more prominent and set in cement in higher educa-
tion. At least, something prompted C.P. Snow to say, "In a society like ours,
academic patterns change more slowly than any other . . . I used to think that
it would be about as hard to change, say the Oxford and Cambridge scholarship
examination as to conduct a major revolution. I now believe that I was over-
optimistic."[4]

Lindquist's account of a change effort at the University of South Carolina
leads one to suspect that Snow is not entirely wrong. In this case a problem
had developed because by the university rules students with a below C average
were allowed to remain in school, but most upper divisions would not admit them
into their programs. When this problem was brought to the attention of the
Dean's Council, a subcommittee was appointed which eventually proposed a general
studies degree similar to ones being adopted by other universities. To give
this idea its proper consideration, another committee was created. Of course,
the members promptly retreated to Myrtle Beach. A week later they emerged with
a recommendation to create an experimental college offering a four-year degree
program for students who found the university unduly impersonal and irrelevant
to their needs. To meet possible objections, the committee sought to identify
the program with several types of students (not just the academically marginal
ones) to avoid its being stigmatized as a dumping ground; provide opportunities
for the program to be reviewed and evaluated for its academic credibility, in
order to pacify those professors who were concerned about academic standards;
and provide guarantees that the program would remain small, so that it would
not threaten the enrollment of existing programs.

But some professors were nonetheless suspicious about the shaky standards
and worried about the added burdens the new college could create for them.
They saw it as another crackpot idea that would result in a lot of work without
any compensation. One faculty member lamented, "Great, I'd love to do that,
but I'm supposed to do that on top of my nine-to-twelve-hour teaching load?
I'd be happy to teach on a one-to-one basis, but I've got fifty students, and
I've got to schedule fifty hours to see each one hour a week, and I've got to
do a little lecturing and community work on the side--is it any wonder that
I'm not enthusiastic about it!"

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[4]C.P. Snow, "Miasma, Darkness, and Torpidity," New Statesman (1961), p. 186.

The provision to provide a separate faculty for this new program was seen
as a raid on existing resources and was eliminated from the proposal. So was
the idea of a separate college for that matter. The program was placed in the
College of General Studies, as a remedial program.

With these alterations, the program lost many of its original supporters.
The proposal was then forwarded to the curriculum committee of the Faculty
Senate, which after only one brief meeting with the proposal's representatives,
felt no ownership over the past two years of work. This committee proceed
minimize aspects of the proposal that might compete for students in existing
programs and to strengthen faculty control over the program. Interest waned.

Then the president and the provost took actions of their own. The dean
of general studies, who was regarded by many as not sufficiently academic to,
be entrusted with a four-year degree, was reassigned. A new proposal was
drafted, again placing the program in the College of General Studies, but this
time also placing all faculty, coordinators, and student credits in the other
colleges in order to eliminate threats that any college might feel to their
staffing and enrollments. It was stressed that since such an institution w ls
attract only a small minority of students, it could not endanger the traditional
system but on the contrary would serve to protect the traditional liberal arts
curriculum at the heart of the University. But a group of faculty members was
still upset because the "experiment" sounded like "weak education" for weak
students. They drafted an alternative program for faculty review procedures
that would ensure academic quality. The program was subsequently adopted by
the Faculty Senate.

By then, the university president had turned his attention to still another
topic--what to do about the freshman year.[5]

All of this only illustrates what I'm sure you already know--the process
of implementing change in a university is by no means easy. In the meantime,
let's see if we can find other lessons in still another study, a study of
New York University in transition. Traditionally NYU welcomed students of
relatively low academic achievement and gave them an opportunity to get an
education if they applied themselves. However, by the early 1960's circum-
stances were forcing a modification in that philosophy. Professors from the
liberal arts and graduate units were objecting to the lower standards, and the
University was loosing students (and tuition) to public universities. At ab ut
this time the Ford Foundation invited NYU to apply for a comprehensive develop-
ment grant, which provided a propitious opportunity for redirection.

In the so-called Ford plan, undergraduate admission policy would be up-
graded, and there would be more stress on graduate and advanced professional
training. A small group of top administrators took the major initiative, over
some strong faculty opposition, relying on several sources of power including
administrative directives, control over the admissions office, budgets, and
personnel appointments. The president was new and still popular, and took
advantage of his "honeymoon" period. There was also some strong internal
support from important segments of the faculty due to a sense of crisis pro-
voked by declining student enrollments. Cross pressures from different
interest groups on either side gave the administration freedom to pursue its
own course.

[5]Jack Lindquist, Strategies for Change (Berkeley: Pacific Soundings
Press, 1973).

Traditionally NYU had been highly decentralized. Individual schools had been founded at various times and (except for the liberal arts college) had their own outside constituencies, which made them highly autonomous and impervious to administrative control. The deans were the prime administrators of the University. The Ford plan changed that by proposing that all academic units should be consolidated into a "liberal studies program." University-wide departments were thus formed from separate departments located in different units, such as the University College, the Main Campus, the Graduate School, the School of Education and Commerce.

The reorganization had the effect of weakening the autonomy of the individual colleges. The deans' authority was undermined by the department heads, whose responsibilities now spanned several colleges. Since the heads reported to the chancellor's office, they gained control over the budgets and lined up with the central administration against the deans.

This new situation then created still other problem.. As deans and department heads wrestled for control, power fell between the cracks. It was never clear who had authority to do what. As departments gained more control, the faculty began to place more stress on specialized research to the neglect of well-rounded undergraduate teaching programs. These problems prompted still another committee review and another reorganization designed to once again centralize power.[6]

What these two cases clearly illustrate is that changes which are billed as routine rational reorganization can in fact prove to be significant political moves. Professors and college administrators are territorial. They assess how a proposal will affect their own status and values: And unlike the schools, power is diffused in universities. People can often deflect threatening proposals before they are off the drawing board. However, universities are not hopeless. There are some positive lessons in still another study reported by Burton Clark, who reviewed the histories of three innovative liberal arts colleges, Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore. He was trying to determine how each institution was able to develop its distinctive "image" and its reputation for being innovative. He concluded that universities become committed to a distinctive mission when there is a coincidence of several propitious events.[7]

First, and of critical importance in each case, was the arrival of a charismatic president at a critical time, such as during an economic crisis. The importance of this element of external crisis probably has not escaped members of this audience. But leadership in a crisis situation was not the entire story. For one thing, even the most effective leader will be defeated if he or she arrives too soon, at a time when his/her talents and vision are not appreciated.

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[6]J. Victor Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University: Research in the Sociology of Complex Organizations (New York: John Wiley, 1971).

[7]Burton R. Clark, The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore (Chicago: The Aldine Publishing Co., 1970).

And for another thing, the faculty plays an important role in any redirection. While the leader is important during the initial phases of a change, the faculty are the ones who must implement the new ideas and defend them against unforeseen contingencies. Their full commitment to the new plan is more important than the commitment of either the trustees or of succeeding presidents. Accordingly, it is important that each of the three colleges selectively recruited and attempted to retain those faculty members who were the most ardent supporters of the change. In each case, faculty members were selected or retained on the grounds of their personal values and personalities as well as their general professional competence. In practice that meant giving priority to "the locals," who were immune to the lures of career mobility. But in giving preference to the faculty who subscribed to the local innovation, the institution paid the price of having a fanatic, determined faculty which was intolerant of dissent about the institutional mission and which proved to be inflexible about making adjustments to unforeseen circumstances.

The academic program was also a factor in each of these three institutions--but not the specific practices, such as work study, community participation, senior thesis, qualifying exams, and the like. What was critical was that these practices became part of a subculture that could be held up as public symbols of the college's commitment to a broader ideology--i.e., commitment to the liberal arts, academic excellence, educational innovation, or the like. In Clark's words, "The program is a set of symbols and rituals. Academic men point to their decorated spears, their village totems, their bracelets signifying honor and beauty as they speak proudly of the courses they have long established, the curricula they have lovingly fashioned by hand, and the trials they have devised for students. . ."[8]

Finally, the student culture was supportive of the change in all three cases. Students have the power to change their majors and by their physical presence in a course, vote for different professors, approaches, courses, programs, and departments. All three colleges broadened the student base by turning from traditional sources and recruiting throughout the nation.

This study underscores the importance of several positive elements: leadership dedicated to change; a pervasive sense of crisis throughout the college; selective recruitment and retention of faculty members and students who support the new ideas; and the creation of an academic program which embodies and symbolizes the philosophy behind the innovation.

Some Implications

We would go on considering many other cases. However, eventually we must try to find some meaning in these diverse experiences. The easy tack would be to turn to the textbooks on administrative science, which are generous in their advice about how to change organizations. However, instead of repeating the textbooks. I have chosen to describe some cases because I believe that together we can find some lessons in the experience of others. Time doesn't permit a

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[8] Ibid., pp. 249-250.

detailed consideration of all of the possible implications of each case, but I
am confident that each of us can come to our own conclusions using our shared
conventional wisdom, or what I like to think of as "street knowledge." Each of
us is after all a member of many different orgainizations, and in the process
of coping with them every day we are all forced to develop our own theories about
how organizations work and when and how they can be changed. The question is,
What do we already know or think we know? What is valid? What is myth?

Although I am convinced that each of us has learned much about planned
change from our personal experience with organizations, I also fear that we are
too ready to jump on every new bandwagon and too easily seduced by a few roman-
tic myths because they are sold in the textbooks and because they express what
we wish were true.

Some Myths About Organizational Change

One romantic myth is that the key to innovation is a new idea. I have
concluded that good ideas are cheap. The hard part is testing and implementing
them. It seems characteristic that the people who create new programs and
approaches concentrate on either the general features of the grand design or
early mobilization steps--e.g., formulating policies, selling the program and
obtaining agreements among concerned parties, recruiting people, securing re-
sources. In the crush of these time-consuming start-up tasks, the critical
steps required to implement the design at a later stage get pushed aside as
mere "technical questions" that will be worked out once the agreements and re-
sources are secured. And yet, it is precisely in the failure to work out the
details of implementation that so many projects fail.

If there is any general lesson to be learned, it is that the design can-
not be separated from the strategy required to implement it.

There is another romantic myth about change to which almost everyone sub-
scribes. I am referring to the so-called ownership principle, or in other
words, the belief that people will not accept an innovation unless they have
"participated" in decisions regarding it. This idea is attractive because it
seems democratic. And undoubtedly it works at times. After all, it seems
only reasonable to assume that an idea that is being pushed from above or from
outside has less chance to succeed than an idea that is shared by all faculty
members.

But "participation" is often a mere guise for selling an idea and co-opting
people. Moreover, this is a more accurate description of how innovations are
invented in the first place than the way in which already established and pack-
aged innovations are disseminated intact from one organization to another. Be-
cause obviously, the more people who are included in the decision process, the
more the original idea will be negotiated away in order to get it accepted by
people with conflicting ideas about what it should be and do and whom it should
serve.

Change is a developmental process. The dilemma is that different arrange-
ments seem to be necessary to get ideas initiated in contrast to getting them

28

implemented. Creative thinking seems to be best promoted in flexible, decen-
tralized organizations like universities, especially those staffed by people
who have specialized knowledge and who participate in the decisions. But the
same arrangements can act as barriers to implementing a reform effort. Imple-
mentation seems to require a well-defined, formalized system of control over
essentially compliant subordinates.

Also, while democratic decision making is an attractive principle, it
is not the only principle of authority which governs universities. It is not
the same thing as collegial authority, which is based on the principle that
control should go with the expertise of persons performing the tasks at hand.
And it conflicts with the bureaucratic principle of authority based on the
premise that people who have administrative authority over particular func-
tions should be responsible for making decisions about them.

In a related myth, the underdog is portrayed as the purveyor of change.
Truly effective innovations are presumed to be introduced into an institution
by subordinates or subordinate units without strong support from the top.
We all root for the little guy who overthrows the yoke of the big bureaucracy.
However, it seems unlikely that any innovation can succeed without firm commit-
ment from the highest administrative levels where the power resides to make
necessary structural adjustments, to secure resources, and to alter reward
systems. For example, quite often fiscal procedures--such as the practice of
counting student "full-time equivalents" as a basis for college budgets--can
stand in the way of a new idea. Even the best designed innovation can be
defeated without the administrative and even political pressure at the top
that is needed to modify such procedures. Too often the sponsors of a new
program turn their backs on it once it is under way. Planned change seems to
require periodic intervention of a powerful sponsor.

Still another myth is that certain heroic individuals can, in single-
handed fashion, force through a change on a reluctant institution. Perhaps
it is true that at certain critical points in the innovation process an
individual can make a difference. However, innovation is a complex process
demanding different personal skills in different stages--planning, initia-
tion, implementation, and institutionalization. What works at one stage may
be dysfunctional for the next stage. Similarly, a leader with the skills and
contacts necessary to promote an idea may not have the skills required to
implement it. In contrast to the heroic image of leadership, the most effec-
tive leaders may only appear to be leading change, when in fact they are
riding the currents of external pressures in a defensive and adaptive posture.

Another myth is that a new program will solve most of an institution's
problems. In order to sell the idea, proponents tend to promise that their
program will indeed do just about everything that needs to be done. And the
people who must implement it get caught up in the euphoria. They want to
believe all of the promises because they want to be compensated for their
efforts. It is hard to admit that at best a new program may simply alleviate
a specific problem and even then, in the process may create still other prob-
lems.

Another vain hope is that an organization like a university can "go it alone" and change itself. It will need help--not only expertise, legitimation, and resources, but also outside pressure aimed at the dubious and the dissenters. Professional associations, sister institutions, accrediting agencies, state political bodies and agencies can all be tapped. Perhaps the most effective step is to form an alliance with another organization that would benefit from reform sufficiently to prod for it. In our study of the Teacher Corps, we found that the schools of education that exhibited the most change were working closely with school districts in which teachers had been most critical of the traditional teacher training program.

The last myth that I will mention is that "real" change is dramatic, that the only change worth the effort is a comprehensive program that will make a "big impact." This is again a heroic conception of change. However, comprehensive programs of change tend to overextend the power, resources, and capabilities of the staff, and it is usually more difficult to measure their consequences. This was seen in one school district which attempted to introduce educational TV throughout the district into all classrooms simultaneously. After three years, only sixty percent of the classrooms had been wired. And yet, most of the major effort during this period went into implementing the physical aspects of the system, thereby drawing resources away from other essential activities, such as training and integrating the programs with formal curriculum.[9]

In contrast to the comprehensive approach, some planners advocate a more narrowly focused, incremental strategy. It seems that limited-scope inventions are more readily accepted than broad-scope inventions. Even the most complex inventions are more readily accepted if they can be broken down into "palatable bits," acceptable in differing degrees by different segments of the organization. Most change efforts are in point of fact mundane and prosaic.

However, there is no guarantee either that the incremental approach will succeed. In theory, perhaps, it should be easier to consolidate support for a restricted-scope innovation before expanding to other activities or subdivisions. However, in practice, it is often not possible to aggregate enough support to expand the innovation beyond its marginal status as an experiment, and this dooms many innovations.

The truth is that most innovations are adopted on a tentative basis. Most of the people involved in the new program realize that it is on a trial basis, that they can renegotiate their commitments later, and that if it doesn't work out, it can always be disbanded. The same democratic process that gives the participants authority to originate, adapt, and implement an idea also gives them the authority to terminate it, either deliberately or by neglect. Hence, most innovations come with a built-in mechanism for abandoning them, which certainly hinders the prospect of their being institutionalized. This abandonment escape hatch may even apply to relatively successful innovations when their time has come. People eventually tire of expending the energy required to maintain them.

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[9]Robert K. Yin, Suzanne K. Quick, Peter M. Bateman, and Ellen L. Marks, Managing Urban Bureaucracies: How New Practices Become Routinized (Palo Alto: Rand Corporation, 1978).

Conclusion

I suspect that we here today hold quite different and contradictory images of how change takes place in a university. I can think of at least three different images. First, many of us like to think that getting people to accept a new idea is largely a matter of "understanding" the problem and hence the advantages of a proposed solution. We approach the change process by inundating everyone with large quantities of information--during faculty meetings, in training sessions, through publicity releases, and the like. We act like an organizational octopus--i.e., "the specialist who lurks in a small office surrounded by technical books and desk calculators fending off predators by spewing out large quantities of murky ink in the form of memos, printouts, reports, copies, charts, drafts, and the like."[10]

Second, many of us also believe that willingness to change is largely a matter of one's personal traits and values. We say that some people are "rigid" while others are "open-minded." If so, the thing to do is get these people together and activate their "feeling of commonness of purpose and spirit"--that is, stress the values that are shared and persuade the deviants to change their minds. We organize retreats complete with outside consultants in order to work on the intractable. This approach, like the first one, is attractive because it allows us to avoid the hard work of changing the university structure in order to accommodate innovation. However, persuasion works only when people agree on the organization's priorities and are dedicated to them and when the sponsors of the innovation enjoy a high degree of trust and esteem. Unfortunately, universities are not known for these features, and the sponsors of new programs often jeopardize whatever trust they might begin with by overselling the advantages of the new program in order to gain support for it.

Finally, those of us who are true cynics believe that planned organizational change is, in essence, a power play. That is, change is a conflict process, and what people are worried about is who gains and who loses power and status as a result of a new program thrust. Innovations after all disrupt conventional relationships among colleagues and administrators, and they also shake up the system in unpredictable ways. Therefore, it follows that the amount of acceptance or resistance to a proposal depends upon one's status security and the degree of risk involved. Resistance will then come from one of three groups: (a) those who have the least to gain; (b) those who have the most to lose; or (c) those who are not sure how it will affect them. Uncertainty can come about either because of disagreement over the desirability of the anticipated outcomes or more importantly because the outcomes cannot be conclusively predicted or even measured.

Much of the risk to status, in other words, comes from the inherent uncertainties involved in the process of implementing an innovation. People often prefer an insured result over one that is not, even if there is some chance that it will lead to some improvement. Willingness to take risks, in turn, is likely to vary between (a) the academic disciplines and the professors in the more applied and practical areas who work more directly with

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[10]Harold Morowitz, Ego Niches: An Ecological View of Organizational Behavior (Woodbridge, Conn.: Oxbow Press, 1977).

practitioners outside of the university and (b) between professors of different academic rank and job security. Given the uncertainty inherent in change, is it any wonder that universities contain so many "sand crabs" who defend their positions by giving the appearance of being constantly busy at their jobs while forever moving sideways?

So the simple fact is that the real costs of change are not economic but social, in the form of lost privileges, influence, skills that were once esteemed and now are obsolete, and the expenditure of time and effort--all for some unknown outcomes and vague rewards because the degree of risk usually cannot be known in advance. These "social costs" are then usually passed on to the very people who must implement the change and who cannot know in advance how much effort they will have to expend or what they might lose in the process.

So the question is, How can you get people to accept a new program under these conditions of uncertain status risk? There seem to be at least two options. One is to obtain enough social as well as financial resources to pay for the hidden social costs, so that they will not have to be absorbed by the individuals implementing the change. But it would take a staggering amount of money to compensate people for the social risks involved in introducing a complex program. The fact is that universities are seldom willing or able to commit even the resources necessary to pay for the financial costs of an innovation, let alone its hidden social costs.

All that is left then is to bargain away aspects of the innovation itself in an effort to make it palatable to all of the parties concerned. The effect of this is usually to blunt whatever hope there might have been for substantial change. The fact that innovations typically must be compromised in order to get people to accept them means that most innovations will be radically transformed and in some sense therefore are doomed to at least partial failure.

What, then, is the answer? One answer is to scale down our often euphoric expectations and change our point of reference from the ideal to a comparison with what now exists. To compare what an innovation has accomplished with what it might have achieved is analogous to an electrical engineer rating a light bulb ineffective because ninety-five percent of the electrical energy is wasted in the form of heat. Changing an organization is at best a complex and exceedingly difficult undertaking. If a few good things really happen, if a new program can improve things by a few percentage points, maybe that is enough. Then the trick is to find lessons from experience that will enable us to do even that!

RETHINKING THE ROLE AND FUNCTION
OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION[1]

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It may seem presumptuous of me to come to the school of education with criticisms, observations, and advice on teacher education. I do so because I believe the university is the logical home for a professional school of education and because in my opinion, the school of education has not yet found its appropriate role and function in serving the teaching profession. In fact, it has not done much more than provide a minimum preparation for beginning teachers. It has an insufficient commitment to the teaching profession, and it does little to serve practitioners in the profession.

Most schools of education are in very poor health, probably somewhere between dying and barely surviving. The majority are very sick. That's a strong indictment so it deserves some substantiation.

Let me give you seven reasons why I characterize schools of education as being in poor health:

1) Most schools of education are not professional schools. Most have neither the faculty, program, autonomy, nor library to qualify. Of 1,280 schools, colleges, and departments of education, only a very small percentage can be called professional schools.

2) Teacher educators are willing to tolerate low standards. National accreditation, for example, is a voluntary activity. Only 560 of the 1,280 schools, colleges, and departments have chosen to seek and/or succeeded in gaining the approval of the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education.[2]

3) During a time of many more teachers than jobs, a favorable time for raising standards, schools of education have been unable and unwilling to be more rigorous in selection, retention, and graduation of teachers. A recent study shows that by far the major reason for the reduction of enrollment at the preservice level has been _choice_ by college students, not action by teacher education institutions.[3]

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[1] This paper does not represent the views and policies of the National Education Association.

[2] National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, _Twenty-Fifth Annual List of Accredited Institutions in Teacher Education_ (Washington, D.C.: NCATE, 1978-79), pp. 39ff.

[3] Lewin and Associates, _The State of Teacher Education_ (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1977).

4) Staff who are assigned to supervise practicum experiences are from the lowest, worst paid, and least prestigious ranks of the faculty. This practice persists, even though the practicum is recognized as the culminating experience of a teacher education program, when the focus is on the practice of teaching, when the induction of neophytes is central.

5) Only a small portion of the four-year program culminating in a license to teach is controlled by the school of education, despite the fact that teacher education is unique in that the entire undergraduate program is critical to professional competence.

6) The per-student cost for preparation as a teacher ranks so low that it is, on average, comparable only to the general studies (liberal arts) program of most colleges. In other words there is no additional increment of expenditure in schools of education for professional training.

7) It is common practice for tuition collected in graduate and continuing education programs to be held out of the school of education budget and used to support other university programs and activities. Tuition for extension courses often never gets into the school of education budget.

These points and others deserve reactions and discussion by school of education faculty and administration. And I hope they will be widely discussed by the profession at large.

Reaction and discussion will, I hope, elicit more than defensiveness and scapegoating. Schools of education are, after all, only one of many institutions today being criticized for inadequacy. Most institutions in American society aren't working well. That's practically a universal complaint about church, school, college, factory, prison, court, hospital, and government agency. Whether an institution serves, produces, manufactures, processes, dispenses, ministers, educates, enlightens, heals, regulates, corrects, or adjudicates, it is too often static in function and role and insufficiently responsive to changes in circumstances and need. Even when original purposes continue to be valid, such things as rul.s, rituals, mode of operation, and reward system often are not.

One of the major problems in institutions is finding ways to stay current and relevant and to function accordingly. The response of institutions to change is most obvious and tangible when the reaction is to developments in technology. More difficult to recognize in some definite way are changes that respond to social and philosophical developments.

Sometimes institutions can respond to developments in technology by making minor changes in production or service to accommodate new conditions. The change is one of detail and is often mechanical. For example, in manufacturing, the production system and the job of the worker changed slightly when the tubes in TV and radio sets were replaced with transistors. In other instances technological developments have required major institutional changes, as

illustrated in the printing industry where typesetting by computer has largely eliminated handsetting of type.

Changes in service or product of an institution, of course, are only part of the problem. The people who perform the service or make the product must also change. With changes in service and products go new procedures. Changes in established ways of doing things alter the relationship of workers to one another as well as the assignment of workers. Real disruption comes when jobs are eliminated and new ones created (as in the printing industry). We hear most often about technology reducing the number of jobs, but it also generates new jobs or different jobs, and the real problem is helping people who have been in one position for a long time to accommodate to new circumstances. Even when people are able to change, there is too often the lingering nostalgia of the "good old days," when work seemed organized and assignments made sense and "my training and experience were fully used."

I have taken the time to illustrate problems of institutional change in business and industry for a couple of reasons: There are some parallels in the human services, and there may be some things we can learn, particularly about the difficulty of people accommodating to new circumstances and procedures. There may be some comfort in realizing that the school of education is not the only institution struggling to find an appropriate role and function in a changing society.

Let me begin to particularize the discussion to the institution we're interested in, the school of education. The fact that we're here suggests we are aware that teacher education institutions are not functioning adequately.

We all know the ostensible reasons for the problems in teacher education:

'Teacher demand is no longer great, and enrollments at the undergraduate level have fallen. In many cases there are more professors than needed to handle undergraduate assignments.

'Colleges are locked into "full-time equivalent" formulas. Changes become difficult or impossible when student-faculty ratios are the only criterion on which faculty positions are supported.

'The separation between preservice teacher education and inservice practice is too great, too abrupt. Astute teacher educators know there must be a bridge between preparation and practice.

'Preservice teacher education will not help much to reform education because there are too few new teachers now to influence established school faculties. Perhaps the notion that neophytes could ever change the system was naive.

'Inservice education may be the major approach to change and improvement in schools because it can deal directly with curriculum and teaching on site and it affects all practitioners.

'Except for formal graduate study, the school of education is not on the inside of the inservice education business. The content and scope of graduate work have been criticized widely by practitioners for the r irrelevance and poor quality.

'Schools of education have not given attention to the collective
needs of school faculties nor considered the community of the
school--that is, students, faculty, and administrators--and how
they're organized, governed, and structured. Almost no effort
has been made to consider how the school of education relates to
the institution of the school.

What of some of the less obvious reasons for problems in teacher
education?

The function of the school of education has been to prepare teachers for
professional service. It has long been assumed that preparation can be
completed in four years. Both of those notions are beginning to be questioned.
In recent years many teacher educators have come to agree that a four-year
baccalaureate program only prepares a teacher to begin to teach and that a
great gap exists in school of-education activity to serve the teacher's con-
tinuing development. It has also become clear that almost no attention has
been given to the induction of new teachers into the profession, that is,
providing a transition period between full-time study as an undergraduate and
full-time practice as a professional. The school culture where a teacher
begins to teach has been a major influence, perhaps the dominant influence, in
what a teacher becomes, but induction has been given practically no attention
in schools of education. Some institutions, in fact, contend that induction
and orientation to the profession are someone else's problems.

The less-recognized problems in teacher education, I believe, begin with
these kinds of issues. If one probes deeper, there are sure to be a host of
others. My hope is to stimulate such probing because we must deal with both
the obvious problems and issues and those that are less recognized.

Let me backtrack for a moment to remind you that college and school
personnel have taken very different tacks as a result of very different
perceptions of the problems of the profession.

As a consequence of dissatisfaction with undergraduate teacher education,
most colleges have added master's degree programs in education. When such
programs were initiated, an important schism began to develop between
professors in colleges and teachers in schools. The professors wanted to
complete the creation of a teacher as they conceived the professional teacher,
and the practitioners wanted to continue study to deal better with teaching
as they found it. The professors sought academic respectability for themselves
and for their students (who were teachers). They wanted to add to the
teacher's competence those scholarly attributes one acquires by doing research
and employing scientific methods. They wanted teachers to write extended
treatises--with proper documentation--to add to the accumulated knowledge in
education. They wanted courses in curriculum development because they
believed that a really professional teacher is not only in charge of curriculum
but is also a developer, the one who creates curriculum that fits each student
in whatever the milieu of the school and society. They wanted all this and
more in a context divorced from the real world of teaching in schools.

The teachers meanwhile joined the faculty of a school. They found Piaget
known as a name but did not find his concepts heeded as a basis for teaching
students. They learned that most subjects have prescribed textbooks and often

prescribed workbooks. They learned that the standard of expectation for
students in schools--even though nebulous--is more or less a single standard;
all students use the same texts, take the same tests, and get evaluated on the
same criteria. Teachers learned that the hours a teacher puts into direct
contact with students leave too little time to do all the things learned in
college. Teachers learned quickly that there is little time to plan lessons
for an entire class--to work out a special approach that incorporates a
current event in social studies, to create a game that might be used in math,
to provide options in science so that individuals or groups can learn the same
concept by different means, or to build evaluation devices that help both the
teacher and the student to know what has been learned.

Teachers learned, too, that a knowledge of resources for teaching is
tremendously important for effective teaching. They discovered that getting
acquainted with more and more resources (developing a repertoire) takes time,
thought, and money. They learned that to remember a particular resource for
future use, they must have some notion of what it might be used for.

Teachers learned that they had to fight to be professional. They had to
assert themselves at the bargaining table and lobby in the state legislature
to get reasonable conditions of work, fair schedules, manageable class size,
adequate resources, and the right to make professional decisions. They learned
to bargain collectively and to take political action to secure professional
prerogatives and more adequate compensation. But teachers still can't live in
the manner to which they are educated, and as a consequence they are prevented
from giving children and the public the quality of education that they have
the potential to deliver.

On both sides--the professors' and the teachers'--there are reasonable
and valid arguments. Most teachers would like to be more scholarly, scholarly
in the best sense of the word, able to find, assimilate, evaluate, and
interpret data; able to apply research methods and use scientific tools; able
to synthesize and report the results of a study. They would like to do those
things in connection with their own teaching. And professors, in most cases,
would probably like to help teachers with both the arguments and the politics
of getting rid of the single textbook, with the development of curriculum for
a particular class, and with many other things teachers need to do.

But the schism between the social systems of the professor and the teacher
has become so great that bringing the two factions together entails a major
rapprochement.[4] To achieve such rapprochement involves facing and dealing
with some complex and difficult issues and practices in both the college and
the school.

I've outlined some of the issues I think are involved in the malfunction-
ing of the school of education. They are not easy problems to deal with. The
school of education has the choice--which won't be there forever--to do what
is needed to design an appropriate role and function for itself as a profes-
sional school. I underscore "for itself" because I think the initiative has
to come from the school of education.

[4]Roy A. Edelfelt, "The School of Education and Inservice Education,"
Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 28, No. 2 (1977), pp. 10-14.

In what follows I suggest that the initiative include both looking inward and looking outward. My proposal for looking inward is based on the belief that most faculties in schools of education are ready to work together.

The need to reconsider role and function could be justified for the seven reasons I cited earlier. More immediately, many schools of education are reviewing their role and function in inservice education because they are getting competition from other agencies and there is a problem of what to do about declining enrollments in graduate programs. In other institutions, conditions are worse in both undergraduate and graduate programs, and the motivation is simply to survive. In any case, for institutions that hope to survive and prosper, the question is to find an appropriate role and function. The question is critical for the school of education; it is also critical for the well-being of the teaching profession.

Looking Inward

I suggest that the effort to look inward encompass at least three years and that the scheme of introspection include (a) making public the assumptions on which role and function will be developed, (b) identifying the issues and questions that will be addressed, and (c) making explicit the procedures that will be followed.

Each school of education needs to develop its own assumptions, issues and questions, and procedures. But for starters I submit some samples. The sample assumptions, which may be helpful to school of education administrators or to a steering committee, provide illustrations of what might be shared with faculty and university administration as the context within which looking inward and outward will take place. Inevitably assumptions must become part of policy and have administration concurrence and support because they involve decision-making prerogatives and program and fiscal commitments, and they reflect the framework within which the school of education will operate within the university and within its service area. Assumptions should, of course, be subject to change when needed. The process for such change is made explicit in the following sample assumptions.

Sample Assumptions

·The school of education is largely autonomous in the university structure. It operates within the community of scholars that is the university but is responsive and responsible mainly to the profession it serves.

·The teaching profession provides the professional and political base that the school of education needs to protect academic freedom, gain pre-eminence in the university, and ensure adequate fiscal support.

·The school of education is committed to working cooperatively with other departments and colleges in the university in devising the general education program for its students and the areas of teaching specialization. It has the prerogative to call on faculty in other disciplines for advice, counsel, and committee service.

'Each faculty member of the school of education has a responsibility
to shape the school's purposes, policies, and programs.

'Procedures and principles to guide faculty involvement in shaping
purposes, policies, and programs are developed through collective
bargaining within the laws and mandates of the university and the
state.

'Provisions for financing and methods for monitoring school of
education self-assessment and improvement are made public.

'Procedures and policies· include mechanisms for protecting minority
opinion and for hearing and adjudicating instances of alleged
violation of policies and procedures.

'Periodically school of education faculty review both the overall
programs of the school and the theoretical and philosophical
position of the school to ensure its relevance, currency, and
effectiveness.

'The school of education has a responsibility to the public schools
of the state in both preservice and inservice education. It also
has a responsibility in both field-based and campus activity to
contribute to the continuing improvement of the public school in
its research, teaching, and consulting services.

'The school of education budget provides for faculty development at
university expense. Such development requires faculty to work
together in planning programs, solving problems, and establishing
new policies and procedures.

'Faculty development is both an institutional and individual
responsibility and is supported by both the university and the
individual faculty member.

'Policy on faculty development and other personnel matters is made
public. It is developed collaboratively by the faculty and
administration through collective bargaining within the laws and
mandates of the university and the state.

'Rewards for faculty reflect the mission and purpose of the school
of education. The reward system is consistent with the stated
purposes of the school of education.

Issues and Questions

The issues and questions identified (possibly developed by a subgroup of
the faculty) should he available to serve as the beginning content for faculty
discussion. There should be opportunity at the first faculty conclave to
modify, add, and delete questions and issues so that in the early stages of
work the faculty and administration make questions and issues their own and
begin to set some priorities.

Preservice Teacher Education

'What can and should be learned at the undergraduate level?

'What should be the content of preservice professional education? What content should be taught when, and how?

'What is common to all the human services? Should all students in the human services have a fairly common core of study?

'What should be the nature and sequence of practicum experiences? How do they best lead to a postgraduate internship?

'What should be the nature of student advising? How should assignment to practicum and internship experiences be related to advising?

Inservice Teacher Education

'What is the school of education's responsibility for inservice education?

'What should inservice education be?

'What are the major purposes of inservice education?

'If one purpose of inservice education is school improvement, what role can or should the school of education take in such an endeavor?

'What possibilities for research does inservice education on site provide?

'How will changes and improvements in inservice education change the teaching profession? the structure and organization of the school?

The Governance of the Teaching Profession

'Does the school of education have a responsibility for assisting in the further professionalization of teaching?

'How is the further professionalization of teaching related to the governance of the teaching profession?

'Does the school of education have sufficient autonomy to be responsive to the teaching profession?

'What relationship should exist between the practitioner in schools and the school of education?

'What role does the legal agency at the state level have in improving the governance of the profession?

'Are new legal mechanisms needed for adequate governance?

'What does governance of the profession include?

Political Issues and the Power Balance in Education

'What positions on teacher education are held by teacher organizations, professional societies, federal and state legal authorities, higher education institutions, regional and national accrediting agencies?

'What responsibility do school of education faculty have to keep abreast of and involved in the political issues of education?

'To what extent must political issues be a part of the content of teacher education?

'What role does the school of education have in training people for positions in teacher organizations, state and federal agencies, other nonschool jobs, or college jobs in education?

The Focus and Nature of Research in Schools of Education

'What varieties of research approaches and designs are needed in education?

'Which of these should be promoted in schools of education?

'What types of research should undergraduates and advanced graduate students be encouraged to undertake?

'How much research activity should faculty be expected to engage in?

'To what extent should research be an integral part of school and college instruction?

'How does the school of education provide the time needed for research? How should it provide time?

'How does the school of education finance research assistantships and fellowships? How should it finance them?

Relationships of the Professional School of Education with Other Units of a University

'Does the school of education have sufficient autonomy to function freely as a professional school?

'How should the school of education negotiate the support services it needs from other disciplines in the university?

'How should the school of education relate to other departments and
professional schools in areas of common interest?

'How can an adequate budget for the school of education be assured?

'What is or should be the relationship between the school of
education in a state-supported institution and other state colleges
in the system?

Parochialism and Provincialism

'How can cultural pluralism be assured in a school of education
that is regional?

'How can and should cultural pluralism, international awareness,
world citizenship be examined and promoted in a school of education?

'How can perspectives be broadened, sensitivity be deepened, cross-
class tolerance be developed, and global thinking be encouraged
in programs of teacher education?

Personal/Professional Development and Fulfillment

'What responsibility does the school of education have for developing
the individual professional?

'What responsibility does the school of education have for helping
individuals develop an adequate self-concept and good mental health?

'What human relations skills ought to be prerequisite to a teaching
credential?

'To what extent can initiative, independence, and self-sufficiency
be required of a prospective professional? How can these qualities
be tested? evaluated?

Procedures

Making procedures of work explicit begins to indicate a style of working
and a basis for that style. The real proof, of course, comes only in actual
performance.

Again the following ideas are illustrative.

The administration of the university and the school of education will
announce that a three-year effort is under way to re-examine the role and
function of the school of education and that the school of education faculty
and the clients of the university will have the major input into this
re-examination. It will be made clear that the re-examination will operate
on certain assumptions.

Procedures will indicate the time to be spent and the university support available for the project. Procedures will also indicate that the project is developmental and that outcomes have not already been determined.

The faculty will begin the re-examination with a (three-day) retreat and continue it with a (one-day) meeting each month. Subgroups will meet more often to prepare for each monthly meeting.

Time in faculty load will be allotted to members who assume major responsibilities in the re-examination.

Procedures will include working with advisory groups from the public schools and the public at large. State department of education personnel and state teacher and administrative organizations will also be involved.

Procedures probably need much more discussion. They need to fit local rules and style, but they should also employ some new approaches to problem solving and decision making.

It may be useful to begin with some notions about the tone and mode of faculty work. For example:

Much of the work will be done in small groups so that everyone has an opportunity to participate and so that special interest groups can meet. There will also be small groups organized to cut across special interests so that the broad issues of the school can be discussed in mixed forums.

Rethinking the school of education's role and function will capitalize on the interests, talents, and experience of the faculty and their different backgrounds and types of sophistication.

Every effort will be made to keep everyone informed on developments. Before changes are made, there will be ample opportunity for discussion and debate.

Faculty will be expected to be heavily involved. The resources of other institutions, people, and agencies will be tapped when necessary for information, background, and perspective.

The three-year undertaking will work, as far as possible, within the social system of the school of education and the university-- but will at the same time try to improve that system and the morale of the school.

Process problems as well as the substance under discussion will receive consideration. The clear intent is to make gains in ways of working as well as to reconsider the role and function of the school of education.

Monitoring and evaluation of work will be an integral part of the re-examination. These activities will be done cooperatively and will encourage the reporting of a variety of perceptions.

43

'All faculty and administrators will consider themselves learners
in the undertaking, even though each participant presumably has a
different status, based on his or her competence, experience, and
power position.

Looking Outward

Looking outward means considering the relationship of the school of
education to the profession at large, more particularly to the immediate
service area. Looking outward also entails developing some new attitudes.
If the school of education is to assume the role of a professional school, it
must see its role first and foremost as service; that is, it must assume a
posture that says to the profession, What can we do for you and with you? Not,
What can we do to you? The posture to date has been more the latter than the
former, and making a change requires some very different behaviors from
university people.

To become sensitive to the behaviors necessary, I suggest, first, that
school of education faculty examine the sociology of public school teachers
and college professors--the differences in status, schedule, freedom, self-
concept, reward systems, etc.[5]

Second, I suggest that the school of education collect data on its clients
and information about its relationships in the service area. The method of
gathering data might be joined with the purpose of developing relationships;
that is, faculty can go into the school districts and communities in the
service area to collect data and at the same time begin to develop rapport
with practitioners.

It might be important first to discover who the clients are. For example:

'How many teachers, administrators, and other school personnel work
in the service area?

'What are the needs in the service area for new personnel?

'How many people want to pursue some form of study in education?

'How many want formal work that involves credit?

'How many have all the required credits and credentials?

'How many want to work on school improvement? personal/professional
development? some other professional purpose?

'Are there prospective clients among such people as school board
members, teacher aids, school bus drivers, cafeteria workers,
custodians?

'What do clients say they want? need?

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[5]See Edelfelt, op. cit.

44

'How can wants and needs be discovered? verified?

'Who should undertake discovering wants and needs?

'Can the answers to all the above questions be gathered through existing relationships and mechanisms? Are some new approaches and avenues needed? Are some new relationships needed?

A second set of questions relates to who is to be served, the kind of service needed, and the role of practitioners in working with a school of education. For example:

'Who will be served? by whom?

'Who has a stake in preservice and inservice teacher education?

'How should those with a stake be involved in planning? governance? action?

'What data are needed to plan preservice and inservice teacher education?

'Who should collect such data?

'On what assumptions does the school of education participate in preservice and inservice teacher education?

'Should assumptions be made public?

'What problems and issues should the school of education address in preservice and inservice teacher education?

'How can those problems be identified? Who should identify them?

'What level of rapport is necessary between the school of education and practitioners to begin to get at problems and issues?

Impediments to Change

I started by admitting that I may be presumptuous in invading your territory and observing, criticizing, and giving advice. You may by now be convinced that I'm also naive, and you may respond that my suggestions will not work in a school of education. You may argue that there are too many high-powered people, big egos, entrenched kingdoms, and vested interests in schools of education to make a collaborative effort possible. Some of those factors may be problems where you work, and there undoubtedly are others. For example, in some places something needs to be done about size. When an institution for professional education gets too big, it can be dehumanizing for students, and there is too often little personalized education. When an institution is too small, it often lacks resources, particularly in faculty.

There are also schools of education where faculty and administration have worked for years to raise the status of education by demonstrating scholarly standards. Often that commitment has caused a fierce allegiance to traditional university scholarly activity and standards--esoteric research and writing, contemplation of education undisturbed by the real world of schools and class-rooms, reliance largely on a didactic approach to teaching, and worst of all, an arrogance, elitism, and independence that essentially deny a concern for public mass education.

In schools of education where the dichotomy is between allegiance to academia and responsiveness to the teaching profession, there obviously are problems that must be thrashed out. Where the commitment to elitism and purely esoteric activity is unyielding, we have another type of institution that may be unready to re-examine its role and function. For the most part, though, I believe that schools of education where the problems are status, commitment, and allegiance are ready to re-examine role and function.

Before leaving the purported conflict between serving the teaching pro-fession and maintaining high academic standards, I want to register the opinion that forcing such a choice creates a false argument. The distinction is more a matter of professional class and academic status--some of it real and some of it a facade. Status ultimately is earned. It might better be earned by school of education faculty for their acknowledged expertise in teaching, for their demonstration in college teaching of the best that is known about teaching and learning, for contemplating the real problems of teachers in schools, or for conducting research on problems of relevance to practitioners.

All of which I hope suggests that I am not unaware of the gigantic and complex problems of changing people and system in a school of education. In fact, it is these very problems that need to be faced. When identified, they become part of the subject matter in the re-examination process. In some institutions, internal problems, whether they be size, faculty intransigence, program, or inadequate resources, will be insurmountable. Certainly an assessment must be made of the feasibility of attempting change. There is often a fine line between making excuses for why change can't take place and admitting that readiness does not exist. When saving the institution is the issue, there is often more freedom and willingness to risk. I hope that schools of education not on the brink of disaster will also be among those with the courage to begin significant service to the teaching profession.

Freedom to move may be a major question. The crux of the problem of change for the school of education has often been a lack of autonomy. Most professional schools in the university have much more autonomy than the school of education, particularly in relation to control of the school's program. Autonomy is also important in budget, staffing, faculty reward systems, and other matters. The school of education's limited freedom to make decisions, to control its destiny, will probably continue until the profession at large gets behind the school of education with professional and political support.

Meanwhile, obviously, institutions cannot wait until all systems are go. Some of the suggestions for movement that I've made can begin now. We have admitted that change is slow, difficult, and taxing. It is also developmental.

Concurrently with school of education action, the teaching profession has a job of building to do. Some building has been under way for a long time-- building to achieve academic excellence, building to achieve reasonable status, building o attain political influence, and building to get and maintain public and fiscal support.

Thus far we have seen a profession divided, professors taking an increas- ingly esoteric direction and teachers forced to deal with the reality of schools serving an ever-increasing percentage of young people.

It's time to get together, time for professors to recognize that their closest professional allies, their best friends, are in the public schools. It's time to join together in finding solutions and remedies to some very difficult educational problems.

My position is obviously that schools of education need to go where the action is, to the marketplace. My persuasion is pragmatic. For example, I believe that the proof of good teacher education is ultimately the quality of our schools. I'm not ready to make a direct equation at this time between the quality of teacher education and the quality of schools because collegiate teacher education hasn't been sufficiently involved with schools at the operational level. But my hunch is that gradually schools of education are going to choose or be forced to work with public schools because the profession, led by the organized profession, is going to demand standards of teacher education that make observable improvements in the quality of the school program.

If school of education faculty and administration want part of the initiative to influence how all this develops, I suggest they've got to make their move soon, certainly within the next ten years. The sooner the better.

47

OPTIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

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For more than forty years it has been my privilege from time to time to address gatherings of public school teachers. On some occasions the audience was captive, e.g., required attendance at a teachers' institute. At other times the talk was a ritual required by the occasion, e.g., a keynote address at the annual meeting.

Thinking back over these forty years, it seems that my talks and those of my colleagues in this business usually began with assuring teachers that education was society's most important enterprise and that they were the most important persons in that enterprise. One then proceeded to scold teachers for not being as imaginative and forward-looking as the speaker would like to have them or as the speaker thought himself/herself to be.

If memory serves me, the response of the audience was a mixture of head nodding by those who approved the speaker's scolding of those co-workers "who deserved it" and cynical remarks such as "He ought to come into my classroom for a week" and/or "That's fine in theory, but . . ."

I suppose the style of talks to teachers has not changed very much nor have the responses to them. Yet scanning the four decades one is struck by the difference in mood toward the public schools and their teachers.

In 1939 the nation had not yet fully emerged from a deep depression. Elementary school teachers in New England rural communities, for example, were getting $900 a year as beginning salary and perhaps $1200 in the towns. Most elementary teachers were unmarried women. In a depression the household tends to become the income unit, and it was widely believed that two wage earners (husband and wife) in the same household was unfair to households with no breadwinners. Of course it didn't always work out that way. Two or three unmarried teachers living at home could help father generate a household income that permitted ownership of a house, an automobile, fur coats, and opportunity for vacation travel. The salary scale for public school teachers tended to approximate a figure that an unmarried woman living at home could accept. This made teaching for men an economically bleak prospect and had no little to do with the difficulties of establishing a single salary schedule for elementary and secondary school teaching.

In addition to being single, the woman teacher's personal conduct outside of school had to conform to the community's concept of a lady, and that could be restrictive. The superintendent was a father figure for both teachers and parents. He was the administrative, intellectual, and moral leader of the school system, who could and often did dominate the school board. When superintendents assembled at their annual meeting in Atlantic City, one could expect them to speak for the schools of the nation. Classroom teachers had little to say about curriculum, choice of texts, class size, hiring and firing, and salaries. So many of them being single, female, and dependent on

-43-

48

his authority no doubt gave the superintendent's ego considerable nourishment.
Whatever their shortcomings, the superintendents by and large nevertheless saw
themselves as leaders and accepted responsibility that went with leadership.

I do not recall that the schools were blamed for the deep depression or
the trouble in Europe. There was, to be sure, a demand for the schools to
train young people for jobs--even when thousands of trained workers could not
find jobs. The economic depression was ended by the preparation for war and
not by the schools.

Despite the troublous times, there was no great pessimism about the future
of teaching. More and more states were requiring three and four years of
collegiate preparation for the certificate. Teachers were enrolling for
advanced study in large numbers, and the study of education was becoming more
firmly established in teachers colleges and university departments of education.
Progress from normal school craft training toward collegiate professional
preparation seemed to be assured. I cannot recall any public outcry against
incompetence of teachers or that teachers were the targets for violence and
hatred. Despite their low status on the economic ladder, they did not regard
themselves as wage earners; their remuneration was stilled called a salary.

A great many changes have occurred since 1939, and many of them, as far
as teachers are concerned, for the better. Yet today, for me at least, it
is more difficult to be optimistic about the future of the public schools and
the status of teaching in them. I shall try to share with you some of my
reasons or conjectures as to what has happened--aside from sheer age--to dampen
the optimism of those days.

Even though the American public exploited its teachers, it cherished them
and the public schools. For one thing, the teacher was regarded as a surrogate
parent, not only in law, but as an echo of Rousseau's romantic attitude toward
children. The parents, especially the middle-class parents, appreciated a
mother or father substitute in the classroom who would be as concerned about
their child as they themselves were or were supposed to be. This appreciation
was transmuted into a pedagogical commandment--that each pupil's needs and
wants are primary imperatives for the school.[1]

Traditionally, the school and the teacher were considered to be surrogate
not only for the family (in loco parentis), but also for the community (its
mores and success routes) and the culture as a whole, its ethos, technology,
arts, and sciences. Formally, the school and teacher represented these refer-
ence groups as agents for formal instruction, but informally they reinforced
their values by attitude, image, and general demeanor. The public school
represented a public.

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[1]It is doubtful that this expectation was ever a realistic one, especially
in the public school, but the rhetoric of the sanctity of individual differences
has endured despite its inherent absurdity, when taken literally. For the
range of such differences is enormous--even in one individual--and given 30
pupils, 7 hours a day for 180 days a year, it is virtually infinite. Indeed,
it is impossible not to have pupils vary in what they receive from instruction,
however uniform one tries to make it. Today the doctrine is being translated
into legal mandates, and trying to carry them out may finally reveal its
absurdity. In the meantime, all conscientious teachers carry a burden of
guilt because they cannot possibly match their practice with the rhetoric.

This way of looking at schools and teaching presupposes an identifiable
family, community, and culture. However, the surrogate is not a replica of
the reference group. The family represented by the school is not the actual
family, but an idealized one; the community the school represents is not the
real community, but a version laundered by due regard for the innocence of the
pupil. As to the culture, the school does not represent it in toto but rather
a selection of the knowledge and skill that can be developed by instruction.
In short, public schooling, free yet compulsory through the early adolescent
years, was a distinctive social contribution to the ideal of a democratic
society. Perhaps, as the historical revisionists insist, this was only a
dream that the working classes were "conned" into believing by the bourgeoisie,
but for a century it was a powerful dream that wave after wave of immigrants
tried to convert into reality. Gunner Myrdal called it the American Creed.

Today there is no typical family or parent for the school to represent
even within the middle class or indeed, in any social class. The variety of
household arrangements makes it impossible to act as their surrogate. Nor is
there a typical community. To be a community, the members have to share some
ideals and standards of behavior. Where, outside of small coteries or isolated
villages, is this commonality to be found? And in an age of narcissism, who
wants commonality? Communion, maybe; community, probably not.

To represent the community, the school would have to exhibit or reinforce
its accepted or professed standards of conduct. But how can it represent what
it cannot identify? When a society reaches this point, it reduces the variety
by suppression or creates "alternatives," as many as are needed to satisfy the
life-styles of the community or at least as many as it cannot afford to ignore.

The consequence of the breakup of the standardized surrogate roles is
a multiplication of new reference groups demanding that the school serve as
their surrogate. Interest groups, local and national, representing taxpayer
revolts, ecological protectors, ethnic and minority enclaves are only a few
that are making demands on the schools. State and federal legislation,
supplemented by court interpretations, also creates new reference groups and
generates demands on the school. Civil rights, human rights, the first and
fourteenth amendments all generate demands to which the school is asked or
ordered to respond. Bilingual education, mainstreaming of the handicapped,
sex equality in sports, not to speak of integration of the races, are all
demands that do not come from a standardized family, community, and culture;
on the contrary, they represent diverse attempts to differentiate them. What-
ever the merits of these developments, it seems clear that there is no one
public that the school serves or represents; there are as many publics as there
are groups vocal enough to make their wants known to the school authorities.
The courts have accelerated this fragmentation. Parents, citizens, and groups
can sue the schools for "freedom" from rules and requirements that promote
uniformity. One of these Monday mornings we can expect the Supreme Court to
sanctify remaining ignorant as one of the fundamental rights of children.

We can explain much of the turmoil in the schools, especially inner city
schools, and no little of the stress on teachers by the breakdown of the
consensus as to the role of the family, the community, and the culture in

society and the surrogate duties for the school with respect to them.[2]

As one example, the rapid divagations in priorities in/the last twenty years have diversified the kinds of teaching expected from the classroom teacher. The drive for subject matter excellence put a premium on heuristic teaching: good science and math taught by questions, discovery, induction, discussion. The press for compassion in the late 1960's demanded the skills of a counselor or group therapist to establish emotional rapport in the classroom and emphasized the teacher's sensitivity, openness, and the like (philetics). The return to the basics with its emphasis on testing virtually restricts teaching to the mechanics of didactics.

Unfortunately, these three types of teaching require different abilities. It is the rare teacher who can achieve equal competence in all three. Yet the demand that every classroom teacher be a triple threat, so to speak, remains, and most of the loss of morale among teachers is due to the guilt aroused by the inability to meet these unrealistic expectations.[3] Heaven help the didactic teacher who lands in a school building or system that is committed to learning by discovery or vice versa! Heaven should give special help to teachers in a school that boasts of its devotion to learning by discovery (heuristics) or human sensitivity (philetics) and then rates the staff by achievement tests for didactics.

The breakup of the consensus not only deprives teacher training institutions of paradigm situations for which reasonable programs of preparation can be planned, but it also changes radically the nature of teaching responsibility. For the more stable the reference groups and the more clear the surrogate roles, the more the school can rely on pupils coming to school ready to learn. Respect for the school, the teacher, reinforcement of school values, etc. will be supplied by the home and reinforced by the community. This leaves the teacher free to devote time and energy to instruction. When these helps are not available or cannot be counted upon, the school and teacher have to provide the readiness to learn as well as the instruction itself, and of the two, the former is more difficult to bring about than the latter and requires knowledge and skill that are only distantly related to instruction. It is important but difficult to put dollar figures on these ancillary costs, but the psychological and pedagogical costs are clear enough.

What does this diversity mean for the preparation of teachers? One solution is a version of computer dating. A college of education might offer programs for teaching in open schools, fundamental schools, magnet schools, storefront schools, inner-city, rural, and others for which there seems to be a market. Give teachers a choice among a variety of teacher education programs, and hope that the one chosen will match up with a hospitable school. Where

[2]The literature of the 1960's is replete with evidence for this breakup. Some of it was directed at the values of the family, community, and the culture, and some against the school for representing these values. The charge that the schools were oppressive, that they represented the values of a WASP culture is illustrative of the point being urged here.

[3]Cf. my "Didactics, Heuristics, and Philetics," Educational Theory, 22:3, Summer, 1972.

the diversity in two sets of variables is large, this may be a practical solution, given computer capability.

Or colleges might provide a variety of programs in the emerging mandated specialties: special education, childhood education, instruction in bilingual modes. Or there could be a combination of a subject matter specialty and one of the mandated specialties, e.g., science for bilingual instruction, mathematics for the handicapped child or for certain minority groups. There is almost no limit to the number of such specialty combinations, and alert teacher training institutions, including community colleges, by keeping an ear open to the vibrations from Washington, could anticipate the demand by instituting programs to meet it. They could do this on both the inservice and preservice levels by constructing modules that are interchangeable for many programs. A teaching module in remedial reading or sex education, for example, would be a welcome and marketable component of almost any program.

This solution many teacher education programs are trying to adopt, and it may be a feasible one, at least for the present. In the longer run, however, ad hoc improvisation may not be sufficient to meet the consequences of virtually unlimited diversity in the demands on the schools and teacher. Among the reasons for this are two pressures that in one sense converge but in another go off in different directions. One is the resistance of taxpayers to increased school costs, especially when school enrollments are declining. The other is the demand for accountability in whicn the school is asked to demonstrate its success in producing the results that it has promised or that have been assigned to it.

These two pressures converge to produce what might be called increased specificity of response. This means that both parties--accountabilists and schools--tend to divide and subdivide their tasks into ever smaller and more easily observable units. The greater the subdivision and the smaller the unit into which the product is subdivided, the easier it is to reduce accountability to counting. Furthermore, as the subdivision continues, the amount of ability and judgment needed to perform the task shrinks to specific, simple rule-governed behaviors. This cuts down the cognitive strain required to perform the task and to acquire the training needed to perform it. In short, the total operation can get along with cheaper help. This is the secret of mass, assembly-line production whether used in factories to make refrigerators or in schools to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. When employed in teacher training, it is called competency-based teacher "education"; when employed in accountability, it is called minimum competency testing. When applied to the curriculum, it is called basics. Inasmuch as nobody in a right mind can object to competency, accountability, and basics, all those who venture to do so are automatically suspected of mental and moral infirmity. (This is an example of what might be called the honorific fallacy.[4])

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[4] I have been accused, and no doubt will be accused, by representatives of the teacher-competency-based movement of setting up a straw person in pushing the logic of competency-based teacher education to its extreme. They say that subdivision of the task will not go "that far" and certain nonobservable aspects of teaching will not be ruled out. But this is a concession to inconsistency and does not validate the principle itself. If the nonobservables are permitted, the principle is wrong or insufficient; if they are excluded, the result, if carried through efficiently, is the ruled-governed paraprofessional.

The hitch is that as the division of labor increases the number of oper-
ations requiring decreased cognitive strain, the burden of coordination re-
quiring cognitive strain increases. Hence supervisors and managers become
more necessary and more numerous. A brain drain from teaching to administra-
tion is set up, and the cost of management goes up.

This being the state of affairs for the foreseeable future, it is not
too farfetched to expect that the current pattern of teacher training, namely,
to produce an all-purpose classroom teacher at the elementary or secondary
level, may be on the way out. According to the critics, the current model is
not delivering the goods, and teacher unions are demanding more money for "in-
competence." At the same time intelligent teachers complain of being treated
as robots. The validity of these claims may be questionable, but not their
influence. One alternative is to produce a genuinely professional classroom
teacher, but that would cost more money than the public is willing to pay
three million of them. A second is to produce lots of paraprofessionals with
more dependable, albeit more finely subdivided, skills who will work at lower
pay. The third is to prepare a small cadre of relatively expensive professionals
to manage a large cadre of relatively inexpensive paraprofessionals.

The last option not only meets the difficulty of finance, but it also grasps
the nettle with respect to the charge of teacher incompetence. Given the con-
ditions obtaining in many schools as a result of the breakdown of the traditional
surrogate roles, traditional all-purpose classroom teachers are probably not as
competent as their predecessors. On the one hand, they complain that their
training in college did not prepare them for the crisis--the jungle-survival
syndrome of the inner-city classroom. They want more rule-governed, precise,
and reliable procedures for coping with their predicaments. On the other hand,
the working conditions, remuneration, and status of classroom teaching do not
warrant an investment of time and money for study comparable to that required
for engineering, accounting, etc. Given the cost and cognitive strain, one
might better go into law, engineering, accounting.

The conventional teacher certification program is neither skill-oriented
enough for a good paraprofessional nor theoretical enough for an adequate
professional. The remedy then would be differentiated paraprofessional and
professional programs with different requirements and different employment
tracks and different salary schedules.

Paraprofessional specialization could be provided in any postsecondary
institution in a relatively short time, depending on the number of competency
module desired.[5] There is nothing wrong with paraprofessionals, provided
they are not mistaken for professionals and that there is a profession to
which they are para. Paramedics, for example, are very useful and reduce the
costs of medical service, but they are not physicians, and the AMA will see
to it that they do not suffer from illusions of grandeur.

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[5]A few years ago the association of automobile mechanics wanted to
certify its members in twenty-eight or so separate operations involved in
auto repair. They found so few who could qualify on the whole list that
they decided to certify them on each operation separately. Competency-
based modules could do the same for teaching.

The professional option is another matter, and a great hurt has been done to schools, teachers, and teacher education by scumbling the difference between the practice of a paraprofessional and a professional. Perhaps this is why one feels that teaching has lost ground. For romanticism aside, there was a fairly rational expectation in the late 1930's, despite the depression, that teachers were on the way to achieving the kind of intellectual authority that would give them a strategic role in curriculum and organizational decisions, as well as standards for entry into the field, i.e., genuinely professional status. They would understand children and society; they would be knowledgeable in content and method. Naturally one looked to the college and university for such teacher education, and teaching would become a profession.

Why is such status so important? What's in a name? Professional, crafts-person, paraprofessional--what is the difference so long as the job gets done? The answer, I think, is to be sought in the developments of the last twenty years, some of which would have been different had there been a layer of personnel whose professional status gave them a decisive voice in the conduct of the schools. "Professional" authority which protects law, medicine, and engineering from wild innovation and from unqualified personnel, which defines correctness of proce- dures, and which prescribes qualifications for admission is absent from education. The administrative echelons from the superintendent through the state department are--and perhaps have to be--more concerned with budgetary maneuvers and public relations than with teaching; professors of education, in order to gain academic respectability and federal grants, are devoting themselves to research and the techniques of proposal writing; and teachers organizations have yet to combine political power with intellectual influence.

The paraprofessional option takes advantage of mass production methods and can probably utilize the newer developments in electronic technology to good advantage. It would lower the cost of teaching services and within a limited range increase efficiency in didactics. Paraprofessionals could be trained for the rule-governed behaviors in any of the specialties--existing or emerging. This option might also develop a craft consensus that would give meaning to "correct procedures" by which the worker judges a performance and wishes to be judged. No such craft consensus for teaching exists. The disadvantages of this option are that the teacher will be limited to rule-governed behavior and to carrying it out routinely. Further, the more complex and subtle aspects of teaching in the heuristic and philetic modes do not lend themselves to the kind of competence analysis that fits didactics so tidily. So there is the likelihood that these modes will be omitted entirely, if left to the paraprofessional. Institutionally, the paraprofessional option poses the problem of securing academic kudos and credibility for faculty members who are training personnel at the craft-apprentice-paraprofessional level. Indeed, many an academic eyebrow will be raised at having it done at all in institutions of higher learning.

The professional option will work if the number of candidates is kept fairly modest, if teachers organizations and administrators at the local and state level collaborate in the fashioning of the program and in providing the needed facilities for internship, clinical teaching, and a suitable salary scale. At a time of alleged teacher surplus, these conditions might be achieved. The disadvantages of this option are that it runs counter to the conventional low-cost accreditation pattern favored by most colleges of education. The

carrots would have to be fairly large to attract the kind of student who would be willing to make a career investment of considerable magnitude. A further disadvantage is the lack of clarity as to the role of the professional teacher within the school system. If not a general classroom teacher, then what? A supervising teacher perhaps in charge of nine or ten paraprofessionals? Or a roving teacher who regularly teaches in a number of classrooms and who utilizes the services of a number of paraprofessionals? Certainly one who, as has been noted, can make curriculum and methodology adaptations, who can interact with both parents and administrators for a number of classrooms. The professional/ paraprofessional option is therefore problematic in many ways, and although analogues from medicine, engineering, architecture could be of help, we can be sure that schoolkeeping will present situations to which no analogue will apply precisely.

The safest option for a college of education is to continue the conventional accreditation program and stress paraprofessional skills while experimenting with a small cadre in the professional one. For this, some institutions are probably ready, and some help from governmental and foundational sources might enable the venture to be undertaken with the minimum of risk and the maximum of chances for determining the potentialities of the scheme.

The conditions for the creation and maintenance of a genuine profession of teaching fall to those governing the contents of the preservice requirements and those determining the fiduciary base for such requirements and practice of the profession.

Curriculum Requirements

A professional curriculum, as it becomes well-established, reflects classes of predicaments encountered by practitioners. If the predicaments can be categorized and some generalizations as to their causes discovered, the way is opened for validating procedures by theory, preferably tested theory. The first requirement for a professional curriculum is the transmutation of major predicaments into problems. A problem is a predicament conceptually trussed up for systematic inquiry.

A derivative of a problem-organized professional curriculum is clinical practice based on standardized problems and supervised by successful professionals in the field. Internship extends the opportunity for applying principles of problem solving to individual predicaments (cases) under reduced supervision. This provides skill training, i.e., rule-governed behavior, and also a test of the understanding of the rationale of the rules themselves--a knowledge and consequent privileges not vouchsafed to the paraprofessional.

However, all the professional schools are now beginning to realize what in teaching was apparent long ago, namely, that the practice of a profession requires another type of knowledge in addition to knowing why (theory) and knowing how (skill). This knowledge is not taught to the client nor used to validate the skill, but rather it is knowledge with which the practice is carried on. It includes tacit knowledge about the client, the society, and the many contexts in which the practice is carried on. Technical skill or even theory-validated procedures are not enough for today's lawyers, physicians,

accountants, and engineers. They have never been enough for teachers. But whereas these other professions are now enlarging the perspectival, context-building knowledge component of their curriculum, teacher education institutions are reducing it and in the trend toward paraprofessionalism, threatening to abolish it altogether. The customary requirements for general education are not an adequate substitute for studies in the academic fields that are oriented to supplying the contexts for distinctly educational problems. The other professions have found that they cannot rely on it for context-building resources, and neither can a genuine professional program of teacher education.

The professional teacher education program, therefore, includes a foundational or perspectival or context-building component which can be analyzed and specified, a discipline component to provide theory that will validate procedures (psychology, for the most part, but also some of the social sciences), clinical practice of the specialty, and internship. Given sixty semester hours of undergraduate work and perhaps a year for internship, there is no reason for not being able to fill these rubrics with content that will challenge the best minds and will produce a teacher who is clearly distinguishable from the current accreditation model or the paraprofessional or the talented amateur.[6]

The Guild Requirement

But there is more to a program for the professional education of teachers than assembling the components of theory, context, and practice. It needs a fiduciary base to give the prospective student, the institutions, and the client confidence in the whole process. A profession's social legitimacy relies not only on truth and competence but also on credibility. And credibility is grounded in a consensus of the guild as to what constitutes good theory and good practice. In education this fiduciary base is virtually nonexistent. In part this is due to the theoretical weakness of the social sciences, despite their efforts to imitate the empirical methods of the hard sciences. But in even greater part it is due to the notion that teaching ought to be a highly individualized transaction that ought to resist standardization. In teaching, being different and individual is regarded as a sign of creativity, the ideal of the talented amateur. So we are stranded between rule-governed routines on one side and freewheeling inspiration on the other. In the well-established professions, creativity and genius strike a few gifted souls who have gone through the accepted paradigms successfully. It is not expected from those who have avoided mastering them.

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[6] I have not spoken much about the talented amateur, but this is a very important group. They are the graduates of Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, etc. who took a major in English and made Phi Beta Kappa and who know very much more about English than any English teacher in high school does. That classification is growing in our population because the college graduate proportion of the population is growing. The talented amateur is an important rival as is the paraprofessional.

I do not know how, apart from the historic development of the concepts
of a discipline, that intellectual guild consensus can be achieved. Hence
any attempt to introduce a genuinely professional program will require either
an eclectic curriculum representing a variety of theoretical positions or
schools that consistently build their program on a distinctive, internally co-
herent position that may or may not be shared by other institutions.

Teachers can aspire to professional authority and a voice in educational
policy, but at a price. The price is both individual and organizational. In-
dividually, it requires an investment in knowledge. The decreasing percentage
of money and time given to instruction, the social factors involved in getting
children ready to learn as distinguished from actual instruction, the politi-
cal contexts of educational reforms, and many other issues are not matters of
technique but of understanding the historical and social contexts of schooling.
It is not enough for a teacher to cope with the predicaments of school-keeping;
they must be understood by the teacher. Nothing relevant to life is wholly
irrelevant to education. If teachers are to make claims for professional
authority, they cannot leave understanding to the administrators, college pro-
fessors, or even to the heads of their organization. Bench and assembly workers
can forego this knowledge individually and rely on others, but not teachers,
certainly not professional teachers.

Another kind of knowledge is a high level of familiarity with problems,
methods, materials, and research in their fields. Expertise in curriculum
design, testing, modes of instruction, and materials distinguish them from
the layperson and from the general administrator. And their expertise in
practice has to come from carefully designed experience in clinical teaching,
laboratory work in courses, and internship--and not be left to whatever arrange-
ments for practice teaching an institution can manage to make. By preservice
or inservice study, this investment in knowledge is essential--but only for
the professional.

These two types of knowledge go behind and beyond apprentice training
and paraprofessional training. It is the body of theory that rationalizes
practice and judgment; it gives the practitioner the right to decide how rules
shall be applied. Without such an investment in knowledge, the case for pro-
fessional authority is hopeless. Much as I sympathize with teachers whose
predicaments make them cry out for survival kits, the long-range solution is
not a survival kit nor preservice training that virtually guarantees that the
teacher will go into the repair shop--inservice training--immediately upon
entry into the job. I believe that the public will support in a style appro-
priate to a profession about ten percent of its teaching force.

The foreseeable future promises little in the way of standardized fami-
lies, communities, and culture, taken in the broad sense, for which the school
can serve as surrogate. However, there remains one part of the culture that
the school can represent, namely, the consensus of the learned as embodied in
the intellectual, moral, and artistic disciplines Here, if anywhere, the
autonomy of the professional has a rational grounding. Taxpayers own the
schools, but they don't own the fields and criteria of knowledge. Good physics
or chemistry or arithmetic or teaching the basics or art, if they are matters
of knowledge, are not decided by referenda. Either there is a professional
guild that determines these matters, or they are left to the whims of everybody
but the teacher, to ad hoc improvisation and mindless, irresponsible experi-
mentation.

57

Whether such a guild will come into being depends on the teachers themselves, for the other participants in the enterprise seem to regard the teacher as an automaton whose intelligence and competence cannot be trusted. They are busy inventing teacher-proof curricula, teacher-proof texts, teacher-proof instructional packages, teacher-proof methods, teacher-proof schools. Until teachers stop tolerating thought-proof techniques and procedures and realize how insulting the efforts to provide them are, there is little ground for optimism for the emergence of the professional teacher.

However, once the distinction between the paraprofessional and professional requirements for teaching are made clear and colleges of education keep it so, there can be hope for a better future for teacher education.

TEACHER EDUCATION: 1984 AND 2001

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Introduction

In 1979, endorsement of traditional programs of teacher education requires about the same ideological and scientific prerequisites, and produces about the same amount of satisfaction, as does membership in the Flat Earth Society. Enrollment in such programs has been drastically reduced, compared to a few years ago, while criticism of the programs and hostility toward teacher educators and colleges of education remain high. An incredibly firm profession-wide consensus testifies to the inadequacies of both long past and more recent efforts in teacher education. Only fools dare defend the efficacy of conventional efforts in the professional education of teachers.

While the chorus condemning conventional teacher education echoes every-where, a host of reformers differ dramatically in their diagnoses of the problem and in their prescriptions for the future. A cacophony of conflicting recommendations reverberates throughout the literature, and those who have selected the practice of teacher education as their domain listen intently for significant clues to new directions, peering nervously toward the professional horizon, hoping for a glimpse of a future that will permit them to function with integrity and effectiveness.

Forecasting the future is risky business. Long-term predictions usually require that the prophet be in the grave before a verdict is delivered. Short-term forecasts are even more dangerous, since one can be proven wrong so much sooner. Having no desire to be dead or wrong (dead wrong?), I claim no gift of prophesy. I do, however, admit to feeling a vested interest in the future of professional education of teachers, expecting as I do to spend at least another quarter of a century participating in the process. While my speculations may, therefore, involve a considerable measure of wishful thinking, I cannot apologize for opting for a future which will allow me to spend the next twenty-five years productively, pleasurably, and professionally. So, disregarding my fears of both short- and long-term forecasting, let me attempt to do both.

Campus-Based Teacher Education in 1984 and 2001: A Scenario

1984

The year is 1984. Two apparently diametrically opposed trends in teacher education have come to dominate the scene in colleges of education across the land. These new directions (in the professional education of teachers) have together been successful in replacing major portions of the admittedly ineffective traditional programs of teacher education which prevailed during three post-World War II decades. While these new programs have been adopted separately in almost every college of education in the land, two universities

have developed programs of such ideological and pedagogical purity that I have chosen to describe aspects of the programs as they exist at these sites.[1]

Competency College of Education has existed, in its reorganized form, since 1968. During the last fifteen years, its program has been continuously refined and expanded, from what has been a small pilot program to a comprehensive system encompassing every aspect of teacher education in the College. During the last decade, over 2,000 visitors came to the Competency campus for a view of the program there. The faculty of Competency, as a result of their experience in the programs there, have published widely and been in constant demand as consultants to other colleges of education.

While there is still considerable disagreement over the origins of the program at Competency and elsewhere, most teacher educators seem willing to admit that the program was a response to increased demands for concrete, replicable, and effective teacher education. It appears that during the late 1960's and 1970's the confluence of two cultural streams brought about a renewed attempt to produce such programs. As the nation emerged from the throes of Watergate and Vietnam, producing what came to be called the accountability movement in education, the profession of education was evidencing a familiarity with behavioral psychology, general systems theory, modularized instruction, and a core of closely related concepts and practices. While this confluence produced different effects in various situations, at Competency College of Education the resulting program became known first as performance-based teacher education (PBTE), then later as competency-based teacher education (CBTE). Although the two terms were often used interchangeably at first, in a few years it became obvious that the change in terms signalled a considerably significant shift in emphasis.

During the early post-reorganization years (1968-1973) at Competency College, enthusiasm, excitement, and energy were high. Faculty members re-examined their priorities in teacher education and engaged in dialogue aimed at clearly defining the roles of the new professionals they would now produce. Newly reworded objectives for the teacher education program were made explicit and public. Great efforts were expended on focusing instruction in the programs on these now explicit and public objectives, with special emphasis on the individualization of instruction through the use of "modules." Students were expected to profit more fully from the resulting individual assessment and feedback and to become more responsible, as a result, for their own learning. All of the resources of computerized systems theory were brought to the problem of managing the complex program. Competency College became a school of incredible order and efficiency--a harbinger of the future, or so it seemed. Unfortunately, during the late 1970's and early 1980's, problems in the implementation of competency-based teacher education began to develop at Competency.

During the late 1960's, at approximately the same time that Competency College reorganized its program, another major though less well-known effort

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[1]The fact that the locations of these colleges are not named in this report should not be interpreted by the reader to imply any lack of pride in their programs.

at redesigning the process of teacher education commenced. Located about 2,000
miles across the country from Competency, Humanistic College of Education was
even further removed in its ideological and pedagogical perspectives on the
program of teacher education.

   Despite radically different approaches, the reorganization process at
Humanistic was similar in some respects to the effort at Competency. That is,
the program at Humanistic also grew partly out of a rejection of traditional
teacher education and in response to the accountability movement. It too began
as a pilot program and later expanded to serve as the model for the preparation
of all classroom teachers. At Humanistic, as well, the program focused on a
re-examination of priorities and roles that professional educators should play
and emphasized the personalization of the instruction and assessment. Student
decision making and assumption of responsibility for learning were both goals
and methods of this program, too. Here, however, the similarities end.

   Humanistic College's teacher education program, as its name suggests,
developed primarily from a commitment to a philosophical model which might
be described as the antithesis of the concepts underlying the model for the
program at Competency College. The staff at Humanistic began with a declara-
tion of their commitment to the uniqueness and dignity of the individual and
to the consequently idiosyncratic nature of both teaching and learning.

   This commitment and its consequence colored every aspect of the program
at Humanistic. The program revolved around the felt needs of the students
rather than predetermined competencies. It attempted to encourage acquisition
of personal meaning rather than specific competencies. It relied on human
judgment and focused on self-evaluation and on students helping each other
identify and explore teaching problems. Courses were entirely replaced by
two years of field experiences, individualized activities, and a continuing
affectively oriented seminar.   )

   In 1984 the level of faculty commitment to the program was extremely high.
Follow-up studies of program graduates were complimentary. Many visitors
studied and attempted to emulate the program, and several books about teacher
education written by Humanistic College faculty sold thousands and thousands of
copies. A sense of mission pervaded the campus. Unfortunately, that sense of
mission seemed confined to the boundaries of the Humanistic campus. Challenges
to various aspects of the program began to gain momentum.

                                2001

   The year is 2001. Thirty years have passed since the emergence of new
programs at both Competency College and Humanistic College of Education.
Observers of the teacher education scene in 1984 had predicted that the
next several decades would witness a professionally divisive and damaging
confrontation between the representatives of the two opposed positions as they
proliferated and polarized in colleges of education across the nation. While
disastrously damaging confrontations did occur, they were of a different
nature than those that had been predicted. More astonishing, however, was the
outcome. Some teacher educators had expected a scientifically established,
competency-based teacher education program to carry the day. Others hoped a

61

humanistically validated, highly personalistic teacher preparation process
would be firmly established by 2001. A few cynics condemned everything save a
return to the all but forgotten liberal arts tradition. The majority, however,
expected what seemed more reasonable: continued progress in both models
leading to a diminution of the differences between them and in effect, a
welding together of both perspectives to form a single, solid, fully function-
ing teacher education program. Only a few were prepared for the actual
outcome: phasing out of undergraduate preservice teacher education programs
at both the Competency and Humanistic campuses. Both have vanished! Campus-
based, undergraduate preservice teacher education was an idea whose time had
come--and gone.

What happened between 1984 and 2001 to produce such a seemingly unlikely
set of events? What replaced campus-based preservice teacher education?
Whatever became of the professors who had staffed the programs of Competency,
Humanistic, and countless other colleges of education which had literally gone
out of business? The answers to such questions, dear reader, comprise the
remainder of this manuscript.

A Critique of Contemporary Reform in Teacher Education

I believe that both contemporary reform movements, the so-called
competency-based and humanistic programs, have contributed enormously to the
improvement of the process of undergraduate preservice teacher education.
Each has recognized the terrible inadequacies of the traditional approach,
and each has served as a check and balance on the other. Each is solidly
based as a conceptual model, and each has its roots in a separate but equally
venerable tradition in American society. It does seem as though each one is
the opposite side of the coin from the other, alter egos equally necessary.
Even taken together, they are insufficient to save contemporary undergraduate
preservice teacher education from its malaise, if indeed that is what one
wishes to do.

While it is true that each reform effort has its own particular strengths
and weaknesses, it is strikingly evident that both reform efforts suffer
commonly from three types of serious inadequacies, two of which, while quite
serious, may be overcome and one which will probably lead to the eventual
disappearance of undergraduate preservice teacher education as it exists today.
Since advocates of each position have already done an outstanding job of
criticizing their opposites, it is these common deficiencies that are the
focus of this critique.

Both reform programs possess serious flaws in the design of the model.
Each has, further, given evidence of formidable problems in the implementation
of the model. Finally, each seems to assume that campus-based, undergraduate
preservice teacher education should continue, and as it continues, it should
maintain its traditional position of supremacy in the programs of colleges of
education.

Since in the short run (the remainder of this century), undergraduate
preservice teacher education programs will continue, teacher educators must
investigate and implement practices which promise to improve our efforts.
Also, both reform movements offer much which can be applied to areas of

teacher education other than undergraduate preservice programs. For these reasons, a more intense analysis of the problems of both systems recommends itself. But because I believe that university teacher educators have a very different professional future ahead than that implied by these reform efforts, a serious critique would be incomplete without some reasoned predictions about the nature of the future many teacher educators will inhabit.

Model Deficiencies in Contemporary Reform Programs

In the interest of efficiency and economy, the following discussions of model deficiencies and implementation problems will be organized somewhat schematically. Listed first, in each instance, will be the ideological or theoretical claims which advocates of the two models commonly make. Following that will be rejoinders which I have fashioned from a study of the literature and from firsthand experience with both models during the last decade in the state of Florida and elsewhere.

Claim: The models are based on a thorough re-examination of the priorities involved in teacher education.

My Response: Both models limit their re-examination largely to the process of teacher education rather than the content of the programs. While re-examination of the process is valuable in and of itself, a complete analysis would necessarily include more attention to what we expect teachers to be learning. An examination of the curriculum of most reform programs with which I have become familiar reveals that the content is almost identical to the content of traditional programs. Reform efforts, claiming to be comprehensive, have apparently presumed that the major problems in teacher education are instructional rather than curricular or situational. CBTE programs seem particularly vulnerable to this charge. In fact, when these programs do attend to curriculum issues, they tend to focus on an incredibly small part of what Donald Medley recently referred to as a taxonomy of teacher competencies.[2] The following figure illustrates Medley's concern. Complete programs for the preparation of teachers do not focus on one small area of the teaching process.

Claim: The models are based on a redefinition and clarification of the meaning of the word "teacher."

My Response: The conception of the teacher's role at the root of each model is damagingly narrow. Bruce Joyce points out that each view has its strengths but that each also tends to ignore the "truths that are embedded in competing philosophies."[3] What is required is an elegant synthesis of these visions of the teacher. Each is separately incomplete; and insofar as an incomplete conception of the role of the teacher serves as the basis for the development

[2] Donald M. Medley, Address to the Seminar on Research on Teacher Effectiveness, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla., May 9, 1979.

[3] Bruce R. Joyce, "Conceptions of Man and Their Implications for Teacher Education," Teacher Education, 74th yearbook of the N.S.S.E., Part II, ed. Kevin Ryan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 111-145.

A Taxonomy of Teacher Competencies

Taxonomy of Teacher Competencies	Pre-Active (Planning)	Interactive (Instruction)	Post-Active (Self-Evaluative)	Extra-Active (Renewal)
Knowledge				
Perceptual Skills				
Decision Skills				
Performance Skills		Most effort focused here.		
Values				

64

of a teacher education program, each leads to the production of teachers who are incapable of performing all the required functions of their complex role.

Claim: The skills being taught to teachers in these preparation programs are essential and/or generic.

My Response: There is an increasing flow of research data which indicate that the skills (competencies) which form the core of these programs are deficient in several ways. First, it appears that many of the competencies, derived either from processes described as task analysis (i.e., ask a college professor) or professional consensus (i.e., ask 500 teachers), are either unable to be correlated to student achievement or they correlate negatively. Our experience in the South (Georgia, Florida) is beginning to look as though these states are in the position of recommending or mandating teacher competencies which, if acted upon in some classrooms by teachers, will be related to lower achievement by students in those classrooms.[4] Research in teacher effectiveness by men such as Nathan Gage, Robert Soar, Jere Brophy, Homer Coker, Barak Rosenshine, David Berliner, Donald Medley, and others seriously questions the notion that competencies derived from the conventional wisdom without extensive study ought to become the core of teacher education programs.

Claim: Teachers prepared by programs designed according to the reform models will be better prepared to cope with the realities of classroom life in the public schools.

My Response: It is possible, even likely, that if these programs successfully induce the idealistic, humanistic orientation they proclaim, the teachers who will receive the most punishing introduction to teaching (and therefore perhaps seek the earliest exit) will be those who emerge from such programs. Further, these programs focus on competencies which are written as if they applied equally in all possible classroom situations. The assumption that there are no interactive effects between competencies and working conditions in the schools is patently absurd. The assessment of such competencies in real classrooms is, as a result, likely to be difficult and consequently ignored.

Claim: These reforms contribute significantly to the resolution of perennial difficulties connected to the assessment of an individual teacher candidate's strengths and weaknesses.

My Response: The claims made by both models are false. While assessment is a crucial variable in both models in the theoretical and conceptual literature, in practice assessment is practically nonexistent in either one. In CBTE programs, few colleges have developed clear performance criteria for assessment purposes; even fewer have any instrumentation to assist in the process; and fewer still have the faculty resources to commit to such a process.[5] Faced

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[4]Homer Coker, "An Empirical Test of the Validity of Teachers' Concepts of Effective Teaching" (A paper presented to the 31st Annual Meeting of The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Chicago, Ill., February 27, 1979).

[5]Richard L. Turner, "Rationale for Competency-Based Teacher Education and Certification," The Power of C.B.T.E.: A Report, ed. Benjamin Rosner (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1972), pp. 3-23.

with this situation, faculty do what most teachers do when given an impossible task--forget about it.

Humanistic programs fare no better when it comes to assessment. Many faculty members in these programs (e.g., my own department) positively loathe the act of evaluation, for philosophical reasons. Assessment and evaluation, done humanistically, require extremely well-informed human judgment, which means large amounts of time. Understaffed, philosophically resistant, and unrewarded faculties faced with such an obligation are extremely likely to seek shortcuts which actually avoid the heart of the process.

An almost obsessive concern with what can be measured is likely to produce a teacher education program that focuses on teacher behaviors which reflect what "are almost certainly the least important goals of education."[6] This would, of course, tend to produce teachers who have short-term, limited effects on pupils, teachers who are good at teaching what pupils are likely to be good at forgetting. Teachers that produce effects which show up only in the long-term or not at all may be eliminated or judged less effective. If this approach could and did work, its effects on public education would be disastrous.

At the other extreme, the humanistic programs shrink from measuring any-thing and are therefore often unable to demonstrate that their students have learned anything about teaching, even the most basic skills of instruction.

Claim: Such programs individualize instruction to a greater degree than traditional programs.

My Response: There is no proof of this whatsoever. While it is true that course work tends initially to be broken up into modules or learning activities, there is no proof that this is individualization to any greater degree than found in a traditional course in any college. There may be a few optional activities and some student-designed sequences for acquiring certain pieces of knowledge, but is this individualized instruction? Hardly.

Based on the research on teacher effectiveness, there is some question that totally individualized instruction is desirable at all. If we are to be modeling the most effective instructional strategies for children in our work with teacher candidates, perhaps we need to let up a bit on the accelerator, which has been going full speed on individualized instruction for the past decade or more. It is even within the realm of possibility that research questioning an absolute acceptance of individualized instruction in basic skills in the early grades may have some relevance for "generic" competencies in teacher education programs.

Claim: These models bring a new clarity and explicitness to the language of teacher education.

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[6]Donald M. Medley, Robert S. Soar, and Ruth Soar, Assessment and Research in Teacher Education: Focus on P.B.T.E. (Washington, D.C.: A.A.C.T.E., 1975), p. 5.

My Response: It seems totally the reverse to me. The most obvious aspect of these new programs is the absolute avalanche of new and incomprehensible words and terms. One is faced with either the "technospeak" of CBTE or the "psycho-babble" of the humanizers. In both cases it seems to take considerably longer to ascertain what is meant than to determine whether there is any value in what is said. That ought not to be so. There are occasions when it seems that this language difficulty is intentional (although not the result of conscious malice), serving to divert one's attention from the lack of substantial reform by terminology which implies but does not accompany real changes.

Claim: These programs are more effective than the traditional programs of teacher education.

My Response: We have very little empirically researched knowledge of the effects of teacher education as an intervention.[7] We do not even have reliable basic descriptive knowledge of what actually happens in teacher education programs, traditional or reformist.[8] Although teacher education has been going on for 2,000 years, scientific research on teacher education is really less than 20 years old.

Implementation Problems in Contemporary Reform Efforts

The following series of claims and responses deals with the difficulties which practitioners have experienced in attempting to implement the reform programs propounded by advocates of CBTE and humanistic teacher education.

Claim: The reforms have sufficient generalizability to be implemented in virtually every teacher education program.

My Response: Contemporary reformers seem amazingly uninformed about the history of innovation in education. Time after time, in decade after decade, reformers who had indeed grasped some fundamental truth or developed elements of a truly exciting program have rushed to extol the virtues of that idea or program and then expected the educational world to beat a path to their door; and sometimes it happened. But even when it did, in time the crowds thinned, and the path became overgrown and eventually all but disappeared, except in the memories of those who had made the journey personally.

Experience raises serious questions about the supposed exportability of contemporary reform efforts in teacher education. Put simply, a proposed reform program which can be implemented effectively only by "the best and the brightest" is no program at all; it is an incident. Programs which require, for their successful implementation, that faculties acquire entire new sets of knowledge and skills and adopt wholly different attitudes toward their students and their craft will not endure. Programs which require much new

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[7] N.C. Gage, Address to the Seminar on Research on Teacher Effectiveness, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla., May 9, 1979.

[8] Francis Fuller and Oliver Brown, "Becoming a Teacher," in Ryan, op. cit., p. 52.

equipment and facilities will not become universal. Programs which require that participants invest vast amounts of previously uninvested time and energy will not survive. Programs which are almost totally incongruent with the university culture into which they are introduced will encounter great amounts of both active and passive resistance.

The law of diminishing returns seems to work in teacher education reform. Successful innovation requires, in addition to all those factors mentioned above, that the implementers have an almost evangelical fire to invigorate their efforts. It seems accurate to observe that often as programs pass from hand to hand, much of the necessary disposition for individuals to sacrifice for the success of the program is lost. The fact that the most evangelical reformers on the scene are the same ones who felt the spirit a decade ago is ample evidence that the crusading spirit enjoys a precarious tenure in teacher education.

<u>Claim:</u> State departments of education support these reforms.

<u>My Response</u>: With friends like these, who needs enemies? Certainly it is not the case everywhere, but in many states politics has a considerable influence on state education policy, especially in states where the chief state school officer's post is elective. Legislatures are not often disposed to wait for long, drawn-out research confirmation. Nor are they prone to honor words like alternative, tentative, or pilot. In some states, reform efforts and the profession have been seriously injured because of premature mandating of programs on a statewide level. Mandating these programs, with the state of the art as it is, would be like having had Herbert Hoover issue the order that Kennedy gave to go to the moon. Hasty implementation will only produce major setbacks.[9]

<u>Claim:</u> Funding implications do not seriously affect these reforms.

<u>My Response</u>: Teacher education is underfunded, has always been underfunded, and always will be underfunded. It is no surprise to discover that funding of new programs in a depressed area like teacher education is disastrously low. Legislatures and university decision makers are less likely than ever before to devote new moneys to improving programs in teacher education. In fact, this is probably the worst of all possible times to seek these funds. Some estimates are that these reform programs, fully funded from start-up costs to maintenance, might require up to 150 percent more money than traditional programs.[10]

<u>Claim:</u> These reform efforts significantly alter the type of instruction offered in college of education programs.

<u>My Response:</u> In many (not all, of course) places, it has been discovered that the type of instruction mandated by these programs conflicts with the preferred style of many of the faculty. Program advocates find themselves in the

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[9]N.L. Gage and Philip H. Winne, "Performance-Based Teacher Education," in Ryan, op. cit., p. 172.

[10]Ibid.

position of arguing that although there are many ways to teach children, there is only one right way to teach teachers. The profession seems to have accepted the argument that no one theory of learning or one method of teaching is adequate for public schools. It is strange that we refuse to recognize the implications for our own instructional efforts.

Professors seem to discover that competencies and learning activities can be organized into groups called courses and that the college can attest to the attainment of the competencies by indicating to the certification agency when candidates have completed the required courses.[11]

Claim: These reform efforts involve significantly greater amounts of field experience.

My Response: In some cases this is true for students in the program. In others modularized instruction makes such extensive use of case studies, simulations, and other on-campus activities that students find themselves spending no more time in real classrooms than they ever did.

Importantly, college of education faculty members do not often find themselves more involved in the schools as a result of these programs. Perhaps it is because of lack of adequate funding for start-up costs. Perhaps it is because professors who regard schools as foreign territory find themselves, not surprisingly, so hard-pressed to complete their on-campus assignments that there is no time left for being in school. For whatever reason, these programs do not often produce the linkage between the college and the school that matches the promises made.

Claim: Through the use of systems technology, great advances in efficiency and economy are being made.

My Response: There is no proof that the systems approach to managing instruction, adequately funded and properly designed, is any better than "using an official school astrologer." One writer describing the use of systems management in education went so far as to say that if you like what systems technology has done for the Pentagon and Post Office and the Penn Central Railroad, then you'll love systems management in education! The issue, as Shugrue points out, is not planning versus the absence of planning.[12] Advocates of systems approaches seem to imply that the only alternative to using a strict systems approach is absolute chaos. The simple arrogance of such an implication makes it immediately suspect.

Claim: The reform programs are directly related to needed reforms in teacher certification; one should follow the other.

My Response: Competency-based certification does not appear to be one of the

[11] David L. Clark and Gerald Marker, "The Institutionalization of Teacher Education," in Ryan, op. cit., p. 84. See also Michael A. Lorber, "From Traditional to C.B.T.E. and Back Again: An Eight-Year Experiment," Phi Delta Kappan, March, 1979, pp. 523-525.

[12] Michael F. Shugrue, P.B.T.E. and the Subject Matter Fields (Washington, D.C. A.A.C.T.E., 1973).

most stable, widely implemented, or long-lasting innovations. In my own state
of Florida, where C.B.T.E. has long been in the sunshine of the S.D.O.E., the
process of certification seems almost completely unchanged. Are there any
states which are significantly different in this regard?

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I am certain that there are many additional issues which need to be
examined, and I admit that each of the above concerns could profit from a more
detailed exchange of views. Be that as it may, to do so under the assumption
that the most important issues were being confronted would be, in my view,
calamitous. It is my belief that these reform movements fail to confront the
most important issue. Both C.B.T.E. and the humanistic alternatives presume
that the reform of the process of undergraduate preservice teacher education
is the most pressing matter in teacher education. Both assume, fail to
contradict the assumption, or admit by implication that the presence of
on-campus undergraduate preservice teacher education will continue to occupy
the position of supremacy in colleges of education that it does today and that
this is as it should be. Contrarily, I believe that by the year 2001, under-
graduate preservice teacher education programs will no longer exist, except a
relatively few anachronistic survivors, performing vestigial functions as
though they still had some major significance in the total program of colleges
of education. Further, I believe that this is as it should be.

There are two basic reasons why I am committed to the demise of under-
graduate preservice programs. I believe that placement of preservice teacher
education in undergraduate colleges has been the tragic flaw of teacher
education from its modern origins. I believe that campus-based teacher
educators have roles to play which, while urgent and of great consequence,
they have been prohibited from playing because of the quicksand-like nature
of the undergraduate preservice program. The concluding portion of this
monograph elaborates on these two basic assumptions.

The Future of Colleges of Education and Their Faculties

Teacher educators cannot serve two masters. While it may be theoretically
possible for a college of education faculty member to be both a disinterested
university scholar and a member of the public-school-based education profession,
'n practice it is nearly impossible. If a century of being held in contempt
by both arts and science university professors and public school educators
does not convince us of the truth of this predicament, perhaps we deserve the
scorn and host'lity heaped upon us. It is my opinion that college of education
faculty are ill-advised by those who, in spite of the insuperable difficulties
involved in straddling this great divide, continue to exhort us to attempt to
do so.

No other single group of educated people can claim to receive from their
co-workers the equal of the almost universal disapprobation we receive from
our university colleagues. Arts and science professors sneer at our attempts
at scholarship, regardless of our maddeningly servile attempts to mimic them.
They refuse to see teacher education as anything other than the most peripheral
concern, in spite of the fact that until recently at least one third of their

students were preparing for public school teaching careers. Now that fewer history majors, let us say, are preparing for teaching, should we expect the attitudes of arts and science professors to be any more amenable to our interests?

University administrators have frequently been of the same mind, tolerating the presence of colleges of education in the past because of the avalanche of dollars which accompanied their existence. It is common knowledge that on many university campuses, teacher education is regarded as a low-prestige, low-cost effort (particularly the supposed heart of the program--field experience), justifiable because of the support it provides for other programs which manage low enrollments but require high costs. Teacher education is "just another major," used historically in my state as a lever to get new state universities started and to maintain other programs once they are under way. How did new universities get started during the last quarter century? Colleges of education were built, and large numbers of these students were moved through majors in the colleges of arts and sciences. Little wonder that those of us who are particularly vulnerable to the low status and consequent low professional self-esteem frequently strive all the more vigorously to achieve membership and acceptance in the university community, passing on the disdain to our colleagues in the public schools as clearly as chickens in a pecking order.

Even in the rare instances in which teacher education is accepted in conventional university department terms, with all the supposed privileges thereof, teacher education faculty encounter additional severe restrictions other departments do not. Although teacher education departments have the burden of responsibility for training teachers, students typically enroll for less than twenty percent of their work in these departments. These undergraduates can, of course, be forgiven for their abysmally low levels of identification with these departments or with the field of education in general. Their historically caustic criticism of useless, "Mickey Mouse" education courses does not, however, follow naturally from the limited amount of time spent in these pursuits.

Our students suffer from the very same curriculum disability, as David Elkind calls it, that we exhort them not to impose on their public school pupils. We give them answers to questions they do not yet have. We conduct experiments in make-believe laboratories in a manner that would cause St. John Dewey to recoil in horror. We deal with the most concrete problems in the most abstract ways. We seem content to talk about doing for the rest of our lives. We are guilty, but by omission rather than commission.

If preservice teacher education remains a part of the undergraduate program as it has traditionally been, what is likely to happen? Our enrollments will continue to decline, and our percentage of the increasingly scarce university dollar will continue to grow smaller. Faculties will grow older, and consequently, the average "distance from the classroom" will increase. Feeling more out of touch with schools, faculty will become increasingly dependent on publishing as the means to professional advancement, resulting in greater and greater control by graduate schools and colleges beyond the teacher education program. Isolation from the real world, estrangement from public school people, and bondage to the university will continue in an ever-tightening vicious circle. Private schools and small state universities will be the first to drop all or large parts of the teacher education program.

Into this vacuum will step an even more vigorous and comprehensive teacher
professional organization. Having developed a unified, single representative
body some years earlier, by 2001 this association will be ready to assume not
o ly control but the actual conduct of almost all preservice and inservice
education. With the teacher center concept firmly in place as a vehicle, the
association will handle all teacher education activities, including the
granting of advanced degrees in collaboration with a dozen or so national
"open universities." Recognizing an opportunity for heretofore undreamed-of
savings, state legislatures will issue vouchers to these open-university-
teacher-center programs, close down the remaining teacher education programs,
furlough the remaining faculty who cannot qualify for early retirements, and
the educational landscape will be strewn with personal and professional
wreckage for decades. Preposterous you say? Unduly pessimistic? Perhaps;
but impossible? Never.

What must college-based teacher educators do to insure that we have an
active role in shaping the professional future?[13] First, we have to realize
that we are alone, without loyal colleagues or a clientele who will support
us in exchange for what we have done for them. We have little or no support,
as a college, in the legislature or the state department of education. Allies
are necessary in any serious effort. We are alone, and this is the first
thing that must be changed.

Second, we must know who our potential allies really are and understand
that we are poorly equipped and ludicrously organized to deliver the services
that will develop the linkages and alliances we need. In order to be able to
deliver the services which will develop lifesaving alliances with public
school educators, we must become politically aware and active. We must work
for legislation which creates and maintains teacher centers with active
university partnership. We must press for conditions which will allow colleges
to sign long-term service contracts with school systems. We must find the
strength to move enlarged and prolonged preservice teacher education programs
to the beginning graduate levels and make them predominantly field-based
regardless of which reform programs we favor. We must turn our advanced
graduate programs increasingly towards becoming research and development centers
which focus on solutions to problems of immediate significant interest to
public school educators and citizens. We must work harder than ever before to
become indispensable to the improvement of elementary and secondary education.

Third, university teacher educators must be willing, if not eager, to see
themselves in new roles and new arrangements during the next twenty years.
Professional activity must shift dramatically from instruction to service and
research. Consequently, teacher educators will find themselves working less
from the status of professorial power and more from a collaborative stance.
The university educator will move from being the boss to being the hired man.
There will be much less traffic to the university and much more to the school
building. There will be less evaluating of students' scholarship and much
more evaluation by others of the relevance of our own work. The university

[13]Special acknowledgment is due to my next-door neighbor, colleague,
mentor, and friend, Professor William H. Drummond, for stimulating or simply
giving many of the ideas which follow.

educator will experience more confrontation but also more honesty, more
disappointment but more integrity. We will feel comfortable with designations
such as adviser, partner, team member, clinical helper, researcher, demon-
strator, needs assessor, outside observer, and school advocate. We may
discover that we feel more weary but more valued, less of an authority but
more authentic.

If we manage to accomplish a sizable portion of the above, I believe that
campus-based teacher educators can avoid what seems to me to be a horrible
alternative. I believe we can produce better beginning teachers and be an
important part of their entire professional lives. I believe that we can
have an important role in helping the American system of education continue
as one of the best in the world. I believe not only that we can but that
we must.