ACADEMIC STAFF IN UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Helen Patrick MA MEd (Aberd)

March 1990

UMI Number: U021848

UMI

Dissertation Publishing

ProQuest

' . . . till lately at least, the bulk of academic opinion has had no real belief in teacher-training and has been half-ashamed of the university's part in it. It has been like a shopkeeper who feels that convention compels him to put in his window some types of article which he would never think of using himself or of recommending to his personal friends or to his most valued customers. The course purports to be a combination of theory and practice. But in university circles it is widely felt that, within the limits of a single session, neither the theory nor the practice can amount to more than a smattering. For universities to deal in smatterings, and on such a basis to attest qualifications, is to debase the intellectual currency and to blunt the intellectual conscience of those who are thus attested . . .

Naturally, they do not talk in this way in public about their Education Departments, but they very commonly do so in private. In any case, their practice reveals their real opinion. Very few teachers at Oxford and Cambridge have themselves undergone such a training, nor have the great majority of the teachers in modern universities. They do not feel themselves to be at a disadvantage through this omission or believe that they have lost anything of value. "Training" in their eyes is not for the aristocracy of the teaching profession. So the universities are in the equivocal position of doctors who prescribe and administer medicines which in no circumstances have they any intention of taking themselves.

"Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." This is a popular adage, and it is invoked a fortiori when teaching is the form of "doing" in question. To teach teaching, seems doubly removed from any practical grappling with reality. There is in the universities a good deal of scarcely concealed doubt as to whether the credentials of the staff of training departments and the quality of their work have the university hall-mark. . . .

Able and ambitious teachers are not attracted into this work because the prospects are poor. Chairs are few and only a small proportion of the staff are likely to get one. The remainder, who join the staff with perhaps five years' teaching experience while still under thirty, must look forward to serving in the lecturing grade for the rest of their active lives, and to being somewhat less fresh and efficient at fifty than at thirty-five, as well as less intimately in touch with the schools. . . .

Finally, it is widely believed that, as a field of study, "Education" resembles Mrs. Harris, and that there is really no such subject. The field which "Education" Departments or Faculties attempt to cover in their original work is often regarded as having no natural coherence but as consisting of a miscellaneous assortment of bits and pieces culled from other Departments which treat them more scientifically. It is supposed to afford a happy hunting-ground for the cloudy, the pretentious and the second-rate.'

(MOBERLY, W. (1949) The Crisis in the University, London, SCM Press, pp. 250 - 2)

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

List of Abbreviations

ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
ATO	Area Training Organisation
AUT	Association of University Teachers
BEd	Bachelor of Education
CAT	College of Advanced Technology
CATE	Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
CID	Conference of Institute Directors
CNAA	Council for National Academic Awards
CPVE	Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education
CVCP	Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals
DES	Department of Education and Science
Dip HE	Diploma in Higher Education
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EPC	Educational Publishers Council
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council (formerly SSRC)
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
INSET	In-Service Education of Teachers
IT-INSET	Initial Training - In-Service Education of Teachers
LEA	Local Education Authority
MA	Master of Arts
MEd	Master of Education
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NAB	National Advisory Body
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OPCS	Office of Population Censuses and Surveys
PE	Physical Education
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate of Education
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SPITE	Structure and Process of Initial Teacher Education
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SRHE	Society for Research in Higher Education
SSRC	Social Science Research Council (now ESRC)
TES	The Times Educational Supplement
THES	The Times Higher Education Supplement
TUC	Trades Union Congress
TVEI	Technical and Vocational Education Initiative
UCET	Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers
UDE	University Department of Education
UFC	Universities' Funding Council
UGC	University Grants Committee
USR	Universities' Statistical Record

CHAPTER ONE

TRACING THE MARGINALITY OF TEACHER EDUCATION TO THE PURSUITS OF

UNIVERSITIES

1. Background to the study

This study arose out of a project entitled 'The Structure and Process of

Initial Teacher Education Within Universities in England and Wales' (the

SPITE project). The project was funded by the Department of Education

and Science (DES) and was directed by Professor Gerald Bernbaum at the

University of Leicester School of Education between 1979 and 1982. The

project took the form of a survey of Postgraduate Certificate of

Education (PGCE) courses in universities in England and Wales, and the

report was submitted to the DES in 1982 (Patrick et al, 1982). One part

of the project, for which the author was responsible, was a survey of the

staff who worked in education departments in universities. A

questionnaire survey was made of staff in the thirty education

departments offering PGCE courses and samples of tutors in seven

departments were interviewed.

In the course of working on the project and reading the literature on

teacher education it became apparent to the author that the place of

teacher education in the universities merited further exploration than

was possible within the confines of the project, and the idea for the

present study was conceived. The project provided the opportunity to

explore the relationship between teacher education and the universities

through the staff survey and interviews and the data from these were then

analysed in detail and set in a wider context for the purposes of the

present study.

There was a considerable body of opinion which suggested that teacher education sat uncomfortably within the university milieu. Teaching teachers was a practical activity which could not claim the academic status of other university pursuits, teacher education was a state controlled activity yet the universities constituted the 'private' sector in higher education, education was not a 'real' academic subject but an amalgam of bits of other subjects, staff in education departments did not possess the kinds of qualifications nor undertake the kinds of research which were afforded recognition by the universities in which they worked. The words of Moberly (1949) quoted at the beginning of this study seemed as true in the 1980s as they had been nearly forty years earlier. The study reported here set out to explore these perceptions and their implications for the tutors who worked in education departments.

Since the data were collected, teacher education has seen many changes and the main developments have been described in the study. Interestingly, however, these have not altered the main thrust of the argument presented in the study and, indeed, have strengthened it in some respects.

2. Teacher education in the universities

It is almost a commonplace in the literature on teacher education in universities in England and Wales to raise the issue of the appropriateness of having teacher education in universities at all. Commentators over the past hundred years and more have promoted, attacked, scorned and defended the role of universities in the education of school teachers. The words of Sir Walter Moberly quoted at the beginning of this study and written just after the Second World War, describe an issue which has not been resolved. Professors of education have made studies of education departments (Taylor, 1965), defended their

existence (Armytage, 1954) and chastised them for their failure to promote and develop their subject (Simon, 1981), but the perceived problem remains. In 1986 Silver (1986) was still asking the question which had apparently been answered by the Robbins Committee in 1963 (Taylor, 1988, p. 49) as to 'whether teacher education really is part of higher education', and he went on to state, 'In the universities teacher educators often feel that they still have little more than a foothold' - and that after nearly a hundred years of educating school teachers in universities. Silver also pointed out that the insecurity of teacher education in universities is not a problem confined to England and Wales. It has also been well documented in the United States (Schaefer, 1967, pp. 15-16, Scheffler, 1968, Judge, 1982, Clark, 1987, p. 95, Lanier and Little, 1986, p. 529, Schneider, 1987).

Why is it, then, that teacher education is not wholly accepted or acceptable as a university pursuit? Surely it cannot be because it is a new activity for universities, because they have been engaged in it for a hundred years. Nor can it be simply because of the practical or vocational aspects of teacher education. The extent to which, and the ways in which, universities should engage in practical and vocational education has long been a matter of much debate (Startup, 1979, pp. 5-6, Goodlad, 1984), but it does not engender insecurity in law faculties and schools of medicine in the way that it does in education departments.

What distinguishes education departments from other university departments is their close links with schools and school teaching. Most staff in education departments have themselves been school teachers. They have moved from school teaching into education departments where their main work is to prepare students to become teachers in schools. Thus, although they have moved into university teaching, staff in

3

education departments retain close links with school teaching. The proposition which is explored in the present study is that it is these very links with school teaching, which are so central to much of the work of education departments, which are the source of the perceived insecurity of education departments in universities (Howe in Judge, 1982, p. viii, Hoyle, 1983, p. 48). It is postulated that it is the differences between school teaching and university teaching which make teacher education marginal to universities. Such are these differences that preparing students to work in school teaching can seem out of place in the university milieu. The study presented here therefore examines how staff in education departments related on the one hand to school teaching, the occupation to which they had once belonged and into which they were sending their students, and on the other hand to university teaching, the occupation to which they currently belonged.

As a basis for exploring these relationships it was necessary to examine the differences between school teaching and university teaching. The literature on occupations, and more specifically on professions, was therefore surveyed with the aim of finding a framework within which to compare and contrast the occupations of school teaching and university teaching. It was then possible to establish where university teachers of education stood in relation to school teaching and to university teaching.

3. The study of occupations

One interesting comparison in the literature on school teaching and on university teaching lies in the way the term 'profession' is used in describing the two occupations. Writers on university teaching, apparently without exception, assume that it is a profession. Perkin (1969) entitles his work on the Association of University Teachers 'Key

4

Profession', Engel (1983) sub-titles his work 'The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth Century Oxford', the Robbins Report (DES, 1963) repeatedly calls university teaching a profession, as do Halsey and Trow (1971), Williams et al (1974), and so on. The term 'profession' has also frequently been applied to school teaching but here quite different assumptions are made. Those writing about university teaching see little need to defend the use of the word 'profession'. Those who use the term when writing about school teaching, in contrast, often put such defence at the centre of their work. Wittlin (1963, p. 745), for example, says, 'The teacher <u>claims</u> to be a professional' (my stress). Leggatt (1970, p. 175), writing about school teaching, says his object is twofold, and his first object is 'to establish more clearly the nature of the professional status of teaching' (1970, p. 175). Parry and Parry (1974, p. 182) conclude, after an examination of the teachers' registration movement, that 'sex, class and religious divisions have been important in preventing the emergence of a unified and self-governing profession'. Etzioni (1969) describes school teaching as no more than a 'semi-profession' and Fenwick and McBride (1981, p. 185) talk of 'the search for professional status'. In other words, school teaching needs to defend its claim to professional status, university teaching does not.

Given this difference in the treatment of school teaching and university teaching, it seemed possible that the literature on professions would shed light on the features which distinguish professions from other occupations, and so on the features which distinguish university teaching from school teaching.

A major recurring theme in the literature is the problem of defining the term 'profession'. Writers such as Cogan (1953, 1955), Greenwood (1957) and Goode (1960) have attempted to pin down the essential elements or

5

traits of professionalism and have reached some measure of agreement in doing so. Indeed Goode (1960, p. 903) writes with certainty that, 'If one extracts from the most commonly cited definitions all the items which characterise a profession, . . . , a commendable unanimity is disclosed: there are no contradictions, and the only differences are those of omission'. He concludes from reading the literature that, 'the two . . . core characteristics are a prolonged specialised training in a body of abstract knowledge, and a collectivity or service orientation' (ibid., p. 903). Another writer, Millerson, appears to have conducted a similar exercise. In his book, 'The Qualifying Associations' (1964a, p. 5) he presents in tabular form the views of 21 writers on the essential attributes of professions. Attributes frequently cited by these writers include:

a) a profession involves a skill based on theoretical knowledge;

b) the skill requires training and education;

c) the professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test;

d) integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct;

e) the service is for the public good;

f) the profession is organised.

In total, however, these writers claimed that 23 different attributes were essentially professional, and Millerson's table shows that no single attribute was common to all the writers. In an article in 'New Society' (1964b, p. 15) Millerson concludes, 'Of the dozens of writers on this subject few seem able to agree on the real determinants of professional status'.

In part the divergence of opinion between Goode and Millerson arises from their having studied somewhat different samples of the literature, though, as Millerson (1964a, p. 3) suggests, many of the writers who have attempted to define the term profession have drawn heavily on the work of

their predecessors, which results in at least a degree of similarity among their definitions. Johnson, who regards the 'trait' approach to the sociology of the professions as 'inadequate in a number of ways' (1972, p. 23) dismisses the literature devoted to definition as follows:

> 'The result has been a confusion so profound that there is even disagreement about the existence of the confusion.' (ibid., p. 22)

Habenstein (1963, p. 298) contends that '"profession" does not have the stature of a sociological category . . . it only indicates that many people, groups and agencies orient attention and behaviour toward the term in different ways'. But the size of the body of literature on professions suggests that many other writers do not share his view. The problem of defining the term has been dealt with in three main ways. Some writers take the definition for granted. They ignore the problem and write about professions as if no-one was in any doubt about what was meant. Thus Lynn (1963, pp. 649 and 651), in his introduction to a special issue of Daedalus devoted to 'The Professions', makes pronouncements such as, 'Everywhere in American life, the professions are triumphant' and 'There are simply not enough professionals to go round' (ibid., p. 651), without ever defining his terms. Barber (1963, p. 672), in the same volume of Daedalus, uses the second strategy for coping with the problem of definition. He asserts that,

> 'Professional behaviour may be defined in terms of four essential attributes: a high degree of generalised and systematic knowledge; primary orientation to the community interest . . . ; a high degree of self-control of behaviour . . . ; and a system of rewards . . . '

Barber thus makes it clear to the reader what he means by profession and the rest of his article can be read in the context of his given definition. Becker (1962, pp. 32-33) believes that the difficulties of defining profession arise from the attempts of social scientists to use

lay terms in a precise or scientific way. He concludes that they should give up the attempt to construct a definition and instead 'take a radically sociological view, regarding professions simply as those occupations which have been fortunate enough in the politics of today's work world to gain and maintain possession of that honorific title'. This third approach to the problem of definition is commonly, if often only implicitly, used by writers in this field - 'Professions define themselves operationally, by their comparative success in attaining the status, security and income which they seek' (Perkin, 1983, p. 15).

The functionalist approach to the theory of professions also relies heavily on attempts to define what is meant by profession. Thus Barber (1963, p. 672) and Langford (1978, p. 46) give definitions of professional behaviour and show the functional relevance for society of the professions. They believe that, because the members of professions possess powerful knowledge, it is essential that their primary orientation should be to the community. The nature of the knowledge they possess is such that only they themselves can fully understand it, and hence they must play the major role in controlling that knowledge. Society, according to Barber, in return for the services of the professions, rewards their members with prestige as well as money income. Rueschemeyer (1964, pp. 28-30) has made detailed criticisms of the functionalist approach on the grounds that it does not differentiate sufficiently between the different types of knowledge applied by members of different professions, that it assumes a high degree of consensus both in society and among the members of a profession and that it fails to take sufficient account of the extent to which professional groups, such as the higher strata of the legal profession in the USA, draw their power and status from their position in society rather than simply from their occupational expertise. Johnson (1972, p. 37) adds a further criticism

of the functionalist approach, namely, that it is ahistorical - 'it neglects a historical explanation which indicates that any given reward structure is the result of arrogation by groups with the power to secure their claims and create their own system of legitimation'.

Elliott (1972, p. 12) suggests that the main point of criticism of the structural functional approach is that it has encouraged the acceptance at face value of professional ideology as advanced by the professions themselves. Susceptibility to this kind of criticism, however, is by no means unique to the structural functional approach. Twenty years earlier Hughes (1951, reprinted 1958, pp. 45-47), in looking back at his own orientations towards the study of occupations, was criticising himself for being blinded by taking at face value the constructions which the professions themselves put on concepts such as 'professional ethics'.

This line of criticism has been developed in what Bennett and Hokenstad (1973, p. 31) call the 'anti-professional perspective'. This perspective has a number of strands. These range from Wright Mills' accusation that in much professional work 'intensive and narrow specialisation has replaced self-cultivation and wide knowledge' (1951, 1953, p. 112), through claims that the power of professionals to control their own work has resulted in monopolies and restrictive work practices (Johnson, 1972, pp. 15 and 26, Larson, 1977, p. 244, Saks, 1983, pp. 5-7), to critiques such as those made by the deschooling movement, which suggest that professionals as traditionally conceived are agents of political control whose work is inimical to, or at best, irrelevant to, the real needs of individuals (Bennett and Hokenstad, 1973, pp. 31-32, Gyarmati, 1975). Roth (1974) goes so far as to suggest that professionalism is a decoy which sociologists have accepted without question and he cites numerous

examples of how the decoy is used as a screen to hide practices which, by almost any definition, would be regarded as 'unprofessional'.

Elliott (1972, p. 4) suggests that the quest for a 'watertight' definition of a profession is 'a quest for an empirical ideal which can only exist in a Platonic heaven', that is, the 'ideal type' profession does not exist, but the formulation of an ideal type allows the sociologist to identify a social phenomenon and to examine the part it plays within the general social structure (see also Toren, 1975, p. 325). In an attempt to operationalise the attributes which characterise the ideal type profession Hickson and Thomas (1969) extracted from the literature 19 characteristics of professions and, using a cumulative scaling procedure, showed that 13 of them produced professionalisation scores which distinguished between 43 professions which possessed qualifying associations. Not surprisingly, since many definitions of professions are derived from the observed attributes of the medical profession, Hickson and Thomas (ibid., p. 46) found that it was four medical bodies which scored highest on their professionalisation scale.

It is clear from this brief outline of some of the issues raised in the literature that sociologists have had limited success in their attempts to define the term 'profession'. It would seem, therefore, that any attempt to classify school teaching and university teaching according to some definition of 'profession' would flounder because of the lack of an agreed definition. Some of the other approaches taken in the literature, however, offer scope for carrying further the comparison between school and university teaching.

Implicit in the work of Hickson and Thomas (1969) just described is the idea of a continuum of professionalisation. This idea has led some

writers to examine the processes through which occupations pass in order to reach the professional end of the continuum. There are numerous historical studies of professions, tracing how they have changed and developed. Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933), for example, in a major work on the professions, trace the history of 26 categories of professions, Reader (1966) looks at the development of professions in nineteenth century England, and the work of Millerson (1964a) on the qualifying associations has a strong historical slant.

Sociologists have used empirical evidence of this kind as a basis for generalising about the process of becoming a profession. Wilensky (1964, pp. 142-146), for example, has outlined five main stages in the process by which occupations in the United States have reached professional status. These are:

1) the work is done on a full-time basis;

2) training schools are established;

3) a professional association is formed;

4) legal protection will be sought for the practitioners' right to do the work;

5) a code of ethics will be drawn up.

Caplow produced a similar list ten years before, though in his the steps are in a different order, with the formation of a professional association coming first (1954, pp. 139-140). Parry and Parry (1974) have applied this kind of model to what they regard as the struggle of school teaching in England and Wales to achieve professional status. Etzioni (1969, pp. vi-vii), however, regards occupations such as teaching as semi-professions. He advises that such occupations should abandon what he regards as their unrealistic aspiration to fully-fledged professional status and acknowledge instead their position as 'middle

status groups'. Portwood and Fielding (1981, p. 760), like Goode (1969, pp. 274-276), question what Goode has called Wilensky's 'Natural History of Professionalisation', but Goode accepts the idea of a process of professionalisation and hazards predictions that certain 'aspiring' occupations will become professions while others will not.

The process of professionalisation is thus seen as an occupational strategy for improving status or achieving other ends (King, 1968, p. 40). Parry and Parry (1974, p. 161) define professionalism as 'a strategy for controlling an occupation in which colleagues, who are in a formal sense equal, set up a system of self-government'. The process, however, is not all one way. Toren (1975), for example, has made an analysis of deprofessionalisation, or the process by which occupations slide towards the non-professional end of the continuum. Ozga and Lawn (1981, pp. 143-144) believe that this process, which they call 'protelarianisation', can be identified in school teaching, as teachers become increasingly responsible for pastoral and administrative duties, become subject to new management structures and are encouraged to use curriculum packages, all of which, in Ozga and Lawn's view, reduce teachers' freedom of action and discount the value of their teaching skills. Similarly, Beyer and Zeichner (1987, pp. 314-315) see an emphasis in teacher education in the 1980s on 'technocratic rationality' which, by emphasising teachers' technical skills, devalues their wider role in guarding or challenging moral, ethical, social and political values.

Studies of the reasons why occupational groups strive to become professions and how they succeed or fail have produced interesting analyses of occupational strategies, though they have had no more success than the 'trait' theorists in defining precisely what it is that these

12

occupations are struggling to become. The difficulty of arriving at any agreed definition of a profession has led many writers to argue that the attempt should be abandoned. Instead, they suggest, sociologists would be better employed studying occupations as a genus rather than professions as a species. Even Greenwood (1957, p. 46), who has attempted to isolate the characteristics of professions, concedes that the attributes he lists are not the exclusive monopoly of the professions. He suggests that:

> 'we must think of the occupations in a society as distributing themselves along a continuum. At one end of this continuum are bunched the well-recognised and undisputed professions . . . the occupations bunched at the professional pole of the continuum possess to a maximum degree the attributes about to be described (ie the attributes of a profession).'

Krause (1971, p. 77), too, claims that it is the 'combination' and 'intensity' of certain characteristics rather than their simple presence or absence which determine where an occupation lies on the continuum.

McKinlay (1973, p. 63) points out that much of the existing literature on the sociology of work assumes that there is a qualitative difference between professions and other occupations, and he contends that there is no logical basis for drawing such a distinction. He argues that in attempting to make the distinction sociologists have uncritically accepted the claims of the professions themselves but have failed to validate them (ibid., pp. 63-66). Klegon (1978, p. 267) advocates 'abandoning the view of professions as isolated entities' and Freidson (1983, pp. 31-32), too, suggests going beyond the 'folk concept of what a profession is', 'forsaking one's preoccupation with professions', and asking instead what the features are which 'distinguish among occupations in general'. Turner and Hodge (1970, p. 33) also conclude that it is

extremely difficult to define what it is that makes professions different from other occupations, what Barber has called the 'differentia specifica' (1963, p. 671). They suggest instead developing a framework for the analysis of occupations, rather than of professional occupations alone (1970, p. 33). Nowhere do they acknowledge, however, the contribution made in this field by Hughes who wrote:

> 'The comparative student of man's work . . . starts with the assumption that all kinds of work belong in the same series, regardless of their places in prestige or ethical ratings. One must find a frame of reference applicable to all cases.' (1958, reprinted 1981, p. 88)

Using a frame of reference designed to encompass all occupations does not preclude drawing on ideas developed in the study of professions. Indeed the literature on professions is a rich source of ideas on the kinds of dimensions which can usefully be employed in comparing and contrasting occupations. Repeated attempts at defining the term 'profession' have given rise to detailed analyses of the supposed characteristics of professions, many of which are also characteristics of occupations in general. Such characteristics include the history and traditions of occupations, the nature of the education, training and other qualifications required for entry to occupations, the rhetoric and ideology espoused by different occupations, the way occupations are organised and controlled and the place which occupations hold in society's power structures and prestige ratings. These various dimensions are interrelated and interdependent, as Brewer (1986) shows in his analysis of the way occupations in Britain are categorised into social classes in the Registrar-General's system. Until 1980 occupations were categorised according to their social standing. In that year the basis of the categorisation was changed to occupational skill. Brewer

(1986, pp. 135-138) contends, however, that despite the conceptual change in the definition, in operational terms there is virtually no difference. Over 90% of cases in a national cohort of nearly 15,000 remain in the same social class category whichever definition is used. In other words, characteristics such as prestige, level of occupational skill and social class are closely associated.

The relationship of different occupations to the class system and their place in the division of labour have been persistent themes in the literature on professions (Ben-David, 1963-1964, p. 297, Johnson, 1977, p. 93). More specifically, there have been numerous analyses of the role of different professions in institutions and bureaucracies. A central concern of such studies is the conflict between the professionals' claims to autonomous control of their specialist knowledge and the institutions' claims as the employers of professionals to control their activities. This is a recurring theme in works on the professions (Vollmer and Mills, 1966, pp. 264-294, Harries-Jenkins, 1970, pp. 51-107, Moore, 1970, pp. 187-206, Rueschemeyer, 1983, pp. 38-58). Closely related to this theme is that of the relationship between professionals and the state, for the state is a significant employer of professionals. Analysis of this relationship has been developed by Johnson (1972, pp. 77-86) who has detailed the various ways in which the state controls its professional employees.

Analyses of this kind need not be restricted to those occupations commonly labelled professions. Relationships of power, prestige and control and the role of the state as an employer are issues of relevance in the study of any occupation. They are particularly pertinent in comparing school teaching and university teaching as occupations. Not only are the members of both occupations ultimately employees of the

state, but their occupational standing can be located by using the Registrar-General's categories. In both 1970 and 1980, despite the different bases for the categorisation, university teachers were in social class I and school teachers were in social class II (OPCS, 1970, p. 100 and 1980, p. 85, Purvis, 1973, p. 45).

A range of analyses may thus be borrowed from the sociology of professions and applied to the study of occupations generally. In the present study the two occupations of school teaching and university teaching will be compared and contrasted using a range of dimensions which, the literature suggests, will be of value in differentiating between these occupations. These dimensions are: the nature of the membership of the occupations, including their education, training, qualifications and social characteristics; the nature of the work they do and the clients for whom they work; the levels of power and autonomy enjoyed by the occupations and how and by whom the occupations themselves are controlled and constrained; the rhetoric and ideologies which characterise and justify the work done by the occupations; and the status or prestige enjoyed by the members of the occupations.

The application of these dimensions to a comparison of school and university teaching will be set out in Chapter Two. First, however, the relationship of teacher education in universities to the two occupations of school and university teaching will be examined further.

4. <u>Teaching education in universities as an occupation</u>

As described in the previous section, many writers have advocated the study of occupations rather than of professions as a special type of occupation. Turner and Hodge (1970) admit, however, that the substitution of occupations for professions as subjects of study creates

its own problems. Not least is the problem of definition. The definition of occupation, unlike the definition of profession, does not imply exclusion, for all kinds of work may be called occupations. The problem, rather, lies in defining the boundaries between occupations. Turner and Hodge (1970, p. 35) say that, 'an occupation may be constitutively defined in terms of similarities of activities carried out within a general scheme of division of labour'. With this kind of definition the number of possible occupational classifications seems endless. It becomes necessary, therefore, to specify the parameters being used to define an occupation. One way suggested by Turner and Hodge (1970, p. 38) is to start with an occupational label and to move from there to map out the activities of the occupation and to relate these to the activities carried out by other groups, networks and associations operating in the same field. In the present study, school teacher, university teacher and education lecturer will be the main labels used. One aim of the study is to map out the activities of university lecturers in education and to relate these to the activities of other groups, namely, school teachers and other university teachers.

The literature on the study of occupations suggests that an approach of this kind can produce a complex picture since any one individual may belong to several occupational groups, networks and associations at once. The result is that the individual's occupation, though it may be identified by a single label, may be defined from a variety of perspectives (Startup, 1976, pp. 11-13). Turner and Hodge (1970, pp. 36-37) give the example of a printer who is promoted into a lower managerial post and who retains his membership in a craft union but joins an enterprise staff association in addition. They continue:

'When the complications of both on and off the job informal contacts are taken into account, this greatly increases the patterns of

association to be investigated. It is precisely the existence of this variety of avenues open for the pursuit of occupational interests which renders the analysis of occupations so tortuous'.

A similar approach is taken by Bucher and Strauss (1961). They question the functionalist approach to professions taken by writers such as Goode (1957) who suggests that each profession is a community because its members share a common identity, values, role, language and so on. Bucher and Strauss (1961, p. 325) take a 'process approach' which, instead of concentrating on the similarities between members of a profession, focuses upon 'diversity and conflict of interest within a profession'. They believe that the various segments within a profession behave in ways analogous to social movements (ibid., pp. 332-333), for example, they are engaged in a power struggle to establish their place within the profession. Segments which are successful in the power struggle may help shape the future of the profession of which they form a part.

Gouldner (1957a and 1957b), too, has shown that members of an occupational group may have different and conflicting orientations which help define the parameters of the work they do. He has developed the idea of the latent social identities of 'locals' and 'cosmopolitans'. Although Bennis et al (1957) found that these categorisations did not easily differentiate between groups of nurses in a hospital out-patients department, Gouldner (1957a, pp. 288-289), in studies of experts employed in companies and of faculty members in a liberal arts college, found that they could be applied in a meaningful way. In his study of the staff of a liberal arts college, he found that 'cosmopolitan' faculty, who were oriented towards reference groups outside the college, namely, other academics in their fields, were more likely than 'locals', whose

reference group orientation was towards the college, to be interested in research and writing, to get their intellectual stimulation from sources outside the college, to be willing to consider leaving the college for another, and so on. Gouldner (1957b, pp. 454-457) was able to show that these different orientations were related to the degree of influence which faculty members had in the administration of the college and concluded that, 'it may be that the study of the relationships between cosmopolitans and locals in modern organisations can provide clues for the analysis of conflict within educational, governmental, hospital and other bureaucracies' (1957b, p. 467).

This type of analysis of conflict can be applied to education departments within universities. Bucher and Strauss (1961, p. 326) point out that physicians may well share common ends - 'When backed to the wall, any physician would probably agree that his long-run objective is better care of the patient', but they go on to assert that not all the ends shared by physicians are distinctive to the medical profession or intimately related to what many physicians do as their work. Similarly, education lecturers might agree that their 'long-run' objective was better teaching in schools, though some might feel unable to agree that they held this objective. Beyond such generalities, however, their interests diverge. How much in common is there, for example, between a philosopher writing academic works and a method tutor selecting schools suitable for sending students to for teaching practice? Yet both these types can be found in the ranks of education lecturers and even, on occasion, embodied in the same person. Often there is a wide gulf between theoreticians and practitioners, and in some universities the difference is built into the structure, with an education faculty split into departments of curriculum studies (mainly practitioners) and departments of educational psychology, history and philosophy of education, and so on, consisting mainly of

theoreticians (Mitchell, 1985, p. 50). Although these divisions are not always so strongly in evidence, it will be argued in this study that they exist to a greater or lesser extent in all university departments of education which have teacher training responsibilities, and that they create tension for education lecturers. It is suggested that these divisions arise out of different orientations, the one group being oriented towards the school and the other towards the university. These orientations may be seen, in Turner and Hodge's terms, as two 'avenues . . . for the pursuit of occupational interests' (1970, pp. 36-37). The central point of the present study is that these two avenues pull members of the occupational group in two different and often conflicting directions.

For a variety of reasons the problem of orientation is particularly acute for education lecturers. First, most of them have come to university teaching from school teaching. They have therefore undergone a period of socialisation into the occupation of school teaching. Numerous studies have been made of socialisation, the process through which new members of an occupation learn not only technical knowledge but are inducted into the rhetoric and ideology of their chosen work (Becker et al, 1961, Lortie, 1959, Hughes, 1963). Having come through what Lortie (1968, p. 252) describes as a 'shared ordeal', members of an occupation become highly committed to it and to its ideals. Although the homogeneity and commonality of purpose implicit in language of this kind have been disputed (Atkinson, 1983), entrants to an occupation such as school teaching go through a period of initiation and induction on training courses and in their first years in the job (Lacey et al, 1973-1974, Lacey, 1977, Lortie, 1975), even if it is no more than what Armytage (1954, p. 11) describes as 'a rather shallow decontaminatory bath'. Those school teachers who become education lecturers move into a new

occupation for which their socialisation into school teaching has not necessarily prepared them. The transition from school teacher to university teacher may be likened to the 'diagonal shift' made by professionals who become administrators of professionals (Moore, 1970, pp. 211-212). Education lecturers, like administrators of professionals, usually cannot enter their new occupation without having proven themselves to some degree in their previous one. By definition, almost, they bring with them an occupational loyalty or identity which they cannot wholly maintain, yet which their new work does not permit them wholly to shed. The development of identification with their new occupation does not come through a period of socialisation such as that described by Becker and Carper (1956a, 1956b), directly aimed at fitting them for their new occupation, but rather has to be reconciled with an existing identification with another occupation.

The problem of orientation is made the more acute by the nature of the new occupation which education lecturers have entered, for university teaching is an occupation which is by no means clearly defined and, like the 'professions in process' described by Bucher and Strauss (1961, p. 326), is marked by 'divergency of enterprise and endeavour'. Startup (1976, 1979) has demonstrated the relative freedom which individual university teachers have to define the nature of their own work. 'Discretion in the control of time and the performance of duties is a remarkable feature of the profession', as Clark (1987, p. 72) puts it. There is thus no clearly definable set of tasks or priorities which education lecturers can adopt. They have considerable freedom in choosing the extent to which they orientate themselves towards school teaching and the preparation of students who are going to become school teachers, and how far they orient themselves towards the academic

pursuits of the university. The two orientations are not mutually exclusive but they may make incompatible and conflicting demands.

It will be argued in the present study that, in Turner and Hodge's terms, university teachers of education have open to them two main 'avenues . . . for the pursuit of occupational interests' (1970, pp. 36-37). One avenue lies in university teaching, the ocupation to which they belong, with its academic ethos and emphasis on research. The other avenue lies in school teaching, the occupation for which they are preparing their students, with its emphasis on the practicalities of the classroom and the needs of pupils (Judge, 1980, p. 341). The occupation of teaching education in universities will be considered in some detail using empirical data and material from the literature on teacher education, with a view to exploring the tensions and conflicts inherent in the occupation. The focus of the argument is that these tensions and conflicts arise mainly from the existence of the two avenues for the pursuit of occupational interests, namely, school teaching and university teaching. The next chapter, therefore, will explore the differences between the occupations of school teaching and university teaching.

CHAPTER TWO

TWO ORIENTATIONS: SCHOOL TEACHING AND UNIVERSITY TEACHING

1.   Introduction

It was argued in Chapter One that, within the framework of the sociology

of occupations, university teachers of education could be said to have

two main orientations, namely, school teaching and university teaching.

It was also suggested that these two orientations could pull university

teachers of education in different and to some extent conflicting

directions.   The   aim   of   the   present   chapter   is   to   outline   the

differences   between   the   two   occupations   of   school   teaching   and

university teaching and hence describe the context for the consideration

of the empirical data presented in later chapters.   It is only through

an examination of the differences between school teaching and university

teaching that it is possible to see how these two orientations generated

tension and conflict for university teachers of education.

Concepts from the literature on the sociology of occupations will be

used as a basis for comparing and contrasting school and university

teaching.   As was apparent in Chapter One, occupations, including the

professions, have been examined from a variety of perspectives (Dreeben,

1970, p. 5, Roth et al, 1973, p. 311).   Since, as Hall (1975, p. 67)

contends, there is no generally accepted typology of occupations, the

procedure adopted here is to select the main dimensions along which, the

literature suggests, occupations may be compared and to use these as the

basis for comparing school teaching and university teaching.   Five

dimensions have been selected: the characteristics of the members of the

two occupations; the nature of the work they do; how and by whom the

occupations and their activities are controlled; the ideologies espoused by the occupations; the relative status of the two occupations, a theme which permeates the other four dimensions. Each of these dimensions will be considered in turn.

2. Characteristics of school and university teachers

In this section the membership of the two occupations of school and university teaching will be examined. In particular, five characteristics will be considered: the number of members; the proportion of women; social origins; age; qualifications, both academic and professional.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between the two occupations lies in the number of members which each has. Leggatt (1970, pp. 161-163) suggests three ways in which an occupational group may be affected by its size. First, to maintain a large occupational group it is necessary to recruit large numbers of members. By definition it is difficult to find large numbers of recruits with good qualifications and a high level of commitment. It is therefore difficult to effect improvements in entry qualifications. Second, sheer cost makes it difficult to maintain high salary levels for a large occupational group. Third, 'size is directly related to modest prestige, since high prestige is in normal times reserved for élites, and this is emphasised by low entry qualifications and low salary'. Leggatt makes these points in discussing the professional status of teachers and they can also be used in comparing school and university teachers.

School teachers have long formed a much bigger occupational group than have university teachers. Both groups grew considerably during the nineteenth century and by the beginning of the twentieth century there

were still under 2,000 university teachers and nearly 150,000 teachers in public elementary schools (Mansbridge, 1923, p. xx, Little, 1963, p. 196, Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 140, Gosden, 1972, p. 2). Expansion continued at varying rates during the twentieth century and was particularly notable during the 1960s, when the university sector expanded considerably more than the school sector (Pyle, 1979, pp. 19-21 and p. 34). Even so, by 1980, when the data for the present study were collected, there were approximately twelve times as many teachers in maintained schools in England and Wales as there were in the universities (USR, 1982, Vol. .1, p. 50, DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 1). Although both occupations were cut in the 1980s, school teachers outnumbered university teachers by a factor of ten to one (USR, 1987, Vol. 1, p. 63, DES, 1988a, Stats. of Schools, p. 126).

The twenty years before the present study was conducted were a period of expansion in education. Education was seen as a 'good thing', as an investment which would stimulate the economy and reduce social inequalities. Education's share of total public expenditure in the UK increased from 9% to 13% between 1950 and 1966. The 1960s saw not only a considerable increase in the number of school teachers but also an improvement in the pupil-teacher ratio, the raising of the school leaving age, the introduction of the BEd degree, the closing of the non-graduate route into teaching and regulations requiring all prospective teachers, with a few exceptions, to take a course of training. Also, teachers' real incomes were actually rising at the very time when the number of teachers was expanding most rapidly (Pyle, 1979, pp. 19 and 22, McNamara and Ross, 1982, p. 2, Gosden, 1972, pp. 309-310). During the same period the numbers of staff and students in universities also rose rapidly and there was much concern about the effect of expansion on quality (Halsey and Trow, 1971, Chapter 11,

Scott, 1988a, pp. 35-38). Although, as Moodie (1988, p. 11) and Silver and Silver (1986) suggest, the idea of 'quality' is singularly ill-defined when applied to British universities, there was much concern that 'more' would mean 'worse'. Williams et al (1974, pp. 51-2, pp. 80-86, p. 102) argue that there was little need for such concern. Expansion opened up places for well qualified students who had previously been denied them, staff-student ratios held up into the 1970s and although the new recruits among the staff were less likely than their older colleagues to have first class degrees, they were more likely to have doctorates. Unlike school teachers, university teachers were unable to command a real increase in salary, a failure which has been attributed to the lack of collective bargaining machinery as well as to government policy on inflation (Williams et al, 1974, p. 143, Ministry of Labour, 1966-1970, Miller, 1969, p. 12, Perkin, 1969, pp. 190-191).

This last point apart, all of these developments would seem to undermine Leggatt's argument. School teaching, in particular, saw improvements in standards in a variety of ways despite being a large and expanding occupation. Yet the essential relationship between the two occupations, which Leggatt's argument would postulate, remained the same. After the expansion the members of the smaller occupational group, the university teachers, were still better qualified and enjoyed better staff-student ratios than did the school teachers, as will be discussed below. Also, although their salaries did not rise in line with those of school teachers, they were still on average more highly paid than school teachers and as their careers advanced their potential earnings were better (Bibby, 1970, p. 9, Department of Employment, 1985, pp. D5 and D13).

On these grounds, too, according to Leggatt's argument, university teachers enjoyed greater prestige, or status, than school teachers. As has already been suggested, the theme of status pervades the literature on the professions. Often the theme is implicit rather than explicit, though there is no doubt that occupations which are commonly labelled professions almost invariably enjoy high status. Most of these groups, as Leggatt suggests, tend to be small, a point also taken up by Jencks and Riesman (1968, p. 204):

> 'It seems to be easier to professionalise groups sufficiently small, powerful, visible or all three, to form an in-group in terms of both communication and policing quackery and trespass. There may simply be too many school teachers in competition with the more manageable numbers of doctors, dentists, lawyers and architects.'

Williams et al (1974, p. 76) make the same points in relation to university teachers and their caution about the expansion of the 1960s:

> 'Yet another possibility is that they (academics) are aware of some of the potential advantages to the profession of remaining small. Thus continual pressure to recruit larger numbers makes restrictions on entry (which may raise status) more difficult to achieve. Substantial salary rises are likely to be more easily achieved if the profession remains relatively small, in that the demands they make on public expenditure will be limited. Professional autonomy may be reduced by the bureaucratisation forced on the universities as a result of larger size, which could serve to reduce professional prestige. Most important of all the élite status of the profession will be more difficult to maintain if it becomes a very large group . . .'

Despite the expansion, in relative terms university teachers remained a small occupational group and maintained the advantages they had always

had in comparison with school teachers, even though the latter were able to raise their occupational standards in a variety of ways.

A second important difference between school and university teaching lies in the number of women which they employ. Even before the 1870 Education Act women outnumbered men in school teaching and still did so when the present study was conducted in 1980 (Tropp, 1957, p. 118, Gosden, 1972, p. 12, DES, no date, Stats of Teachers, 1980, p. 1). In 1987 they outnumbered men by six to four (DES, 1988a, Stats. of Schools, p. 123). In university teaching in contrast, women were virtually non-existent in the nineteenth century. Early in the twentieth century there were about 120 women, mostly in women's colleges, out of a total of about 2,000 university teachers (McWilliams-Tullberg, 1975, p. 143). When the present study was carried out in 1980 only 13.9% of UK academics were women (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 51) and the percentage rose gradually thereafter to 17.1% (USR, 1987, Vol. 1, p. 63).

Teaching, particularly teaching younger children, was seen as suitable work for women even in the nineteenth century. An occupation whose members, in Kay-Shuttleworth's words, were expected to be 'humble, industrious and instructed' (Rich, 1933, p. 69) continued in the twentieth century to be seen to be suitable for women (Tropp, 1957, p. 22, Leggatt, 1970, pp. 163-165, Kelsall et al, 1972, pp. 151-155). Not only was it seen as similar to the parental role and hence socially acceptable and temperamentally suited to women, but it also offered respectable work which, by the standards of most jobs available to women, was comparatively well paid. Until the late 1970s it was relatively easy to qualify as a teacher and the hours and conditions of employment were convenient for women with families. Even when teaching jobs became less easy to find in the late 1970s many of these perceived

advantages for women remained (Walsh et al, 1984, Chapter 4, Saran, 1988, p. 147).

The situation was somewhat different in university teaching. Although the hours, conditions of work and pay might seem attractive to women, it was very difficult for women to obtain the academic qualifications usually required (Williams et al, 1974, p. 375). In the nineteenth century higher education for women was frowned upon and women struggled well into the twentieth century for the right to attend university (Engel, 1983, pp. 5-6, Brittain, 1960, Rogers, 1938, Gosden, 1969, p. 165, Dyhouse, 1984). In 1980, when the data were collected for the present study, fewer than half the graduates of British universities were women, with the result that the pool of women from which university teachers could be recruited was smaller than the pool of men (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, pp. 40-41) and this was still the case in 1987 (USR, 1987, Vol. 1, p. 6). The difference was exaggerated by the preference among academic appointments committees for graduates of Oxford and Cambridge (Halsey and Trow, 1971, pp. 213-235), universities which had fewer than average women graduates (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, pp. 36-37 and 1987, Vol. 1, p.44). It was therefore more difficult for women to obtain the qualifications necessary for university teaching. It has also been disputed whether the comparative freedom of academics to organise their work would be as attractive to women as would appear at first sight given the heavy demands of academic work (Acker, 1980), and Williams et al (1974, pp. 397-398) question whether women are as attracted to the teaching side of the work as might be expected.

Whatever the reasons, it remains the case that there were many more women in school teaching than in university teaching. Like numbers of members, the proportion of women, too, has been associated with the

status of an occupation. Geer (1968, p. 233) suggests that if women teach because it is convenient, they may have relatively little commitment to the occupation. An occupation with a large number of uncommitted members might have little cohesion and hence power, while the nurturant aspects of the teacher's role also reduce the status of the occupation since they require few special skills other than those which any parent might be expected to display (Kelsall and Kelsall, 1969, Chapter 9, Leggatt, 1970, p. 165). In addition, because teaching is relatively well paid compared to other jobs available to women, it has been argued that women teachers are content with their pay and that this reduces the power of the occupation to demand higher salaries (Parry and Parry, 1974, pp. 173-174). Having a higher proportion of women in an occupation, therefore, has been associated with factors such as commitment, power, specialised skills and pay which are all associated with occupational status.

Although the nature of the causal relationship between the proportion of women and the status of an occupation is questionable (Simpson and Simpson, 1969, Purvis, 1973, p. 51, Acker, 1983, Apple, 1987), there is no doubt that the most prestigious occupations have traditionally employed few women. University teaching is one example. Halsey and Trow (1971, p. 203) state that 'in occupational prestige scales based on popular surveys the university teacher always appears alongside the major professions in the topmost groups'. They do not ascribe these findings to the small numbers of women in the occupation, though they do by implication discount female academics almost totally by mentioning them only once (p. 158) in a book of over 500 pages. Etzioni (1969, p. vi) is not so reticent and claims that the 'normative principles and cultural values of professions', the most prestigious occupations, 'and female employment are not compatible'. On these grounds it may be

concluded that the proportions of women in school and university teaching reflect both the status of women and the status of the occupations and constitute a fundamental difference between the two occupations.

Another substantial difference between the members of the two occupations lies in their social origins. With the exception of teachers in public schools and some of the more prestigious secondary schools, most school teachers in the nineteenth century came from working class backgrounds and in the twentieth century this tradition persisted. The large scale survey of the social origins of teachers made by Floud and Scott in the 1950s found that 38.5% of teachers had fathers who had worked in manual occupations (1961, p. 534, Table 6). A later study made in South Yorkshire (Noble and Pymn, 1980, p. 102) found that 44% of a sample of students training to be teachers came from working class backgrounds. After comparing their sample against the population from which it was drawn, Noble and Pymn (1980, p. 107) concluded that there was some evidence that the teaching profession might be assuming a more middle class complexion. Certainly the Registrar-General has regarded it as a middle-class occupation (OPCS, 1970, p. 100 and 1980, p. 85), which suggests that it has been an avenue for social mobility (Taylor, 1968, p. 14, Lortie, 1973, p. 490).

University teaching has a different history. In the nineteenth century university teachers came largely from upper or upper middle class backgrounds. Rothblatt (1968, Chapters 1 and 2) shows that access to education at secondary level and hence to the University of Cambridge was only in exceptional circumstances open to those from working class backgrounds, while Engel (1983, p. 12) states that 'throughout the nineteenth century, the great majority of Oxford dons were from families

of undisputed "gentleman" status, but few possessed independent means'. Most of the provincial universities and university colleges 'were founded by middle-class philanthropists in the great provincial cities for specifically local middle-class education for business and the professions' (Perkin, 1969, p. 18). This general statement is borne out by the detailed study made by Sanderson (1972, Chapter 4) of the origins of the students at the new universities. Sanderson does not say much about the social origins of the professors, who included qualified miners and engineers as well as Oxbridge graduates (1972, p. 100). Gradually, as higher education became more widely available, universities recruited staff from middle and working class backgrounds. Williams et al (1974, p. 28) found that a greater proportion of university teachers than of university students came from working class homes, an indication of the high value which universities placed on achieved characteristics in the form of high academic qualifications when recruiting staff. University teaching, therefore, like school teaching, could be an avenue to social mobility.

It is not possible to make a direct comparison of the social origins of school and university teachers since the data were collected from different samples at different dates and were categorised in different ways. For example, there is a difference of 18% between the figures given by Halsey and Trow (1971) and Perkin (1969) for the proportion of university lecturers who came from working class backgrounds. Despite this problem, the social origins of school teachers tend to be found to be lower than those of university teachers. These findings have implications for the status of the occupations since high status occupations tend to recruit from high status groups in society and the status of the recruits reinforces the status of the occupations (Elliott, 1972, pp. 65-71, Leggatt, 1970, pp. 166-168, Bernbaum et al,

1969, pp. 51-53). On this criterion, too, university teachers enjoy higher status than do school teachers.

The age profiles of the membership of the two occupations also differ. What is of particular interest is the age at which members enter the two occupations. Throughout the twenty years between 1960 and 1980, the proportion of school teachers under 25 was consistently and considerably higher than was the proportion of university teachers who fell into this age group. Table 2.1 gives the figures.

Table 2.1

Percentage of school and university teachers aged under 25 years

Year	University teachers	School teachers
1961	3.3[1]	16.0[4]
1969	2.2[2]	17.9[5]
1980	0.9[3]	8.2[6]
1986/7	0.9[7]	3.3[8]

[1] DES, 1963, Appendix 3, p. 33
[2] DES, 1971, Stats. of Ed., 1969, Vol. 6, p. 84
[3] USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 56
[4] DES, 1962, Stats. of Ed., 1961, Part 1, p. 86
[5] DES, 1971, Stats. of Ed., 1969, Vol. 4, p. 44
[6] DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 2
[7] USR, 1987, Vol. 1, p. 65
[8] DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1986, p. 2 (latest figures available)

Although the proportions under 25 in both groups were lower in 1980 than they had been in 1961, the proportion of school teachers in this category was approximately eight times as great as the proportion of university teachers. By 1987 it was still over three times as great. This difference was directly related to the different recruitment requirements of the two occupations.

It was always possible for school teachers to enter their occupation earlier than university teachers because of the difference in the qualifications normally required of entrants. Although Oxford and Cambridge colleges were criticised in the nineteenth century for employing 'an inferior body of men' (Royal Commission on the University of Oxford, Evidence, p. 169) even after they were reformed, most of their tutors held a BA (Engel, 1983, p. 5, Rothblatt, 1968, p. 181, Ward, 1965, pp. 210-212). The universities and university colleges had only a small body of graduates on which to draw for staff, even if they recruited from Scotland and overseas (Armytage, 1970, pp. 103 and 166, Armytage, 1955, p. 233). In addition, some of the new colleges taught subjects such as engineering and metallurgy in which degrees were not normally available (Sanderson, 1972, Chapter 3, Chapman, 1955, p. 74, Fiddes, 1937, p. 28). As a result, some of their staff were not well-qualified in academic terms (Gosden and Taylor, 1975, pp. 8-9). Even so, evidence in the histories of individual colleges suggests that university teachers were much more likely than school teachers to have a first degree. Very few had higher degrees, other than Oxbridge MAs, since postgraduate studies in their modern form were not pursued to any great extent until the twentieth century (Perkin, 1969, pp. 95-7).

Since there are no national regulations governing the academic or professional qualifications of university teachers, there are no minimum requirements. Indeed, Eustace (1988) argues that it is virtually impossible to deduce what the criteria are for recruitment to university teaching. Data on the academic qualifications of university teachers in post suggest that they were improving in the 1960s and 1970s, with a decrease in the number having no first degree and an increase in the number holding a higher degree (DES, 1963, Appendix 3, pp. 19-20, Williams et al, 1974, pp. 43-44). University teachers are not required

to train specifically for the teaching aspect of their role and although there has been increasing interest in improving teaching standards, training tends to take place after rather than before appointment to the occupation and is voluntary (Ashby, 1969, p. 10, Nisbet and McAleese, 1979, Eustace, 1988, p. 80).

It may be concluded that university teachers have long constituted one of the academically most highly qualified occupational groups but that their professional qualifications as teachers have been largely neglected. School teachers, by comparison, are academically less well qualified but professionally better qualified. Their qualifications in both areas have been the subject of national regulations for well over a hundred years.

In the nineteenth century most elementary teachers trained as pupil-teachers and a small number went on to training colleges to qualify as certificated teachers. It was also possible for practising teachers to become certificated through other routes, including passing an external examination. The great majority of primary teachers, however, remained uncertificated and even those who obtained the qualification had received a limited education (Tropp, 1957, pp. 18-19, p. 61, p. 195, p. 114 and pp. 117-118, Rich, 1933, p. 82, Gosden, 1972, p. 197). Gradually, as teachers tried to raise the status of their occupation, the qualifications of primary teachers improved. The pupil-teacher system and the employment of uncertificated teachers were phased out, entrants to training colleges were expected to have gone through secondary school first and the college course was lengthened to three years (Gosden, 1972, p. 288, Dobson, 1973, pp. 62-64). The BEd degree was inaugurated in the 1960s and from 1980 onwards it became

compulsory for all new teachers to be educated to degree level (DES, 1978a).

For secondary teachers, however, education to degree level had long been an acceptable qualification. In the nineteenth century secondary school teachers formed a small occupational group working in schools catering mainly for the sons of the upper and middle class, though there were also a few secondary schools for girls. The Schools Inquiry Commission of 1868 found that the teachers in the endowed schools, and to a lesser extent in the private schools, were commonly graduates, though most of them had not trained as teachers (Vol. 1, 1968, pp. 233-234, p. 294, Appendix 5, pp. (91)-(125)). Training was seen as narrow and mechanical and its association with low status elementary teachers and with the small group of women who taught in secondary schools combined to make it unpalatable to the more prestigious male secondary teachers (Hughes, 1901, p. 184, Fitch, 1931, p. 271, Gosden, 1972, pp. 215-218). Early in the twentieth century the government began offering financial support for the training of secondary teachers and the numbers undertaking training gradually increased. In 1973, although some exceptions were allowed, it became compulsory (Gosden, 1972, p. 280, DES, 1973a).

By 1980, therefore, when the present study was conducted, entry to teaching was restricted, with few exceptions, to trained graduates, fulfilling an aim expressed over a hundred years before by the secretary of the NUET, later the NUT (Heller, 1878, p. 437). In 1980 66% of teachers in service in maintained schools were still non-graduates, though only 7% had not trained (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, pp. 2 and 5). These proportions decreased to 54% and 5.7% in 1986 (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1986, pp. 1-2) though proposals being made

in 1988 and 1989 for a system of 'licensed' teachers who would learn on the job could alter the picture (TES, 1989a).

Although school teachers became increasingly well qualified, even in the 1970s and 1980s they were academically less well qualified than university teachers. They were less likely to be graduates or to hold higher degrees (Hilsum and Start, 1974, Appendix C, p. 525) and usually began work after a shorter period of education than was usual for university teachers. Since a prolonged and arduous period of preparation is usually associated with occupations ranking high in the hierarchy (Geer, 1968, p. 224, Kelsall and Kelsall, 1969, Chapter 9, Collins, 1971, p. 1041, Johnson, 1984, p. 24), university teaching, on this criterion too, had higher status than school teaching.

It has been established that the membership of the two occupations of school and university teaching differed substantially from each other. University teachers comprised a smaller occupational group, they had fewer women in their ranks, they tended to come from higher social class backgrounds, they entered the occupation at a later age and possessed a higher level of academic qualification. All of these characteristics contributed to the high status they enjoyed compared with those who taught in schools.

3.   The nature of the work done by school and university teachers

The use of the occupational label 'teacher' for those who work in schools and for those who work in universities implies a similarity in the work done by the two groups. Direct comparisons are difficult because studies of the work of school and university teachers have been made at different dates and the data have been categorised in different ways. It is possible, however, to make some general comparisons.

First and foremost both groups teach. Detailed studies made in the 1960s and 1970s suggest that the teaching commitments of school teachers took up far more time than did the teaching commitments of university teachers. Hilsum and Cane (1971, pp. 56 and 94) and Hilsum and Strong (1978, pp. 56-57) found secondary school teachers spent something of the order of 27 hours a week in teaching and preparing for teaching, while for junior school teachers the figure was 30 hours. Studies of university teachers suggest they spent less than half as much time on teaching (DES, 1963, Appendix 3, p. 56, Williams et al, 1974, p. 495, Startup, 1979, p. 25) and the difference is the greater when the relatively short length of the university term is taken into account.

School and university teachers also differ with regard to the nature of the teaching which they do. One obvious difference is that overall there are far fewer university students than there are school pupils. A second is that the university students are usually older. A third difference is that university teachers enjoy better staff-student ratios than do school teachers. In 1980 when the data for the present study were collected the ratio of students to teachers in universities was 9.4 to 1 whereas in maintained schools it was 19.4 to 1 (USR, 1982, Vol. 3, p. 23, DES, 1988a, Stats. of Schools, 1987, p. 126). Since then the ratios in universities have worsened to 11 to 1 and those in schools have improved to 18.4 (Moser, 1988, p. 14, DES, 1988a, Stats of Schools, 1987, p. 126), but there is still a considerable difference. A fourth difference is that university teachers and their students can exercise a degree of choice about who is taught by whom, which school teachers and their pupils, on the whole, are unable to do. The law requires pupils to attend school and although there have been moves to increase choice, most notably in the 1988 Education Reform Act, most parents and pupils can exercise only a limited choice of school, of teachers and of

subjects (Sloman, 1983, Woods, 1984, Leonard, 1988, pp. 44-47). The other side of the coin is that teachers in maintained schools have to accept the pupils who come to them. In the 1970s and 1980s the opportunities for teachers to be selective about the schools they worked in were greatly reduced (Whiteside and Bernbaum, 1979, pp. 99-107, Walsh et al, 1984, Chapter 4), and once in post most teachers have little room for manoeuvre (Woods, 1984, pp. 54-57). Most school teachers, then, cannot be selective and their clients come from a wide range of backgrounds and possess a wide range of abilities. University teachers, in comparison, select their students from applicants who choose to apply for university, are highly qualified academically, tend to come from the higher socio-economic groups and among whom women and ethnic minorities are under-represented (Banks, 1971, pp. 48-60, Kogan and Kogan, 1983, pp. 135-138).

McKinlay (1975, p. 363) suggests that 'the status of any profession may be a function of the status of its clientele, whether that clientele is defined in terms of age, sex, socio-economic status, ethnicity or other factors'. When the clientele of school and university teachers are compared, it emerges that the students taught by university teachers are of higher status than are those taught by school teachers. They are older, academically better qualified, come from higher social class backgrounds and are less likely to belong to low status groups such as women and ethnic minorities. The clients of university teachers form a comparatively small, élite group, while the clients of school teachers, in contrast, undergo virtually no process of selection and form a large group in which pupils from all kinds of backgrounds are represented. On the basis of the clientele whom they teach, then, university teachers can claim higher status than can school teachers (Larson, 1977, p. 221).

The content of their teaching is another source of difference between school and university teachers. Almost by definition what is taught in universities is more specialised and advanced than what is taught in schools. University teachers often specialise in one branch of a subject (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 195, Startup, 1979, p. 156) whereas school teachers, particularly primary teachers, usually teach more than one subject (DES, 1986) and, given the age and ability range of their students, they teach at a more general, lower level than do university teachers. These differences have implications for the status of the two occupations. Occupational prestige is associated with lengthy, specialised education and university teachers have not only gone through such an education themselves, but act as gatekeepers for other high status occupations (Portwood and Fielding, 1981, p. 755, Moore, 1967, p. 318, Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 204, Barber, 1963, p. 674, Bernbaum et al, 1969, p. 54). Jackson (1970, p. 11), discussing teaching at all levels, says:

> 'Prestige is distributed throughout the profession of learning according to the twin qualities of the esoteric value of what is taught and the consequent difficulties in attaining it and the audience to whom it is communicated. Lowest status is thus reserved for teachers in primary schools to which everyone goes to learn what everyone knows.'

It may be concluded, therefore, that the content of their teaching and the kinds of clients whom they teach are a source of higher status for university teachers than they are for school teachers (Young, 1971, p. 36).

Teaching, however, is only one aspect of the work of school and university teachers. Both groups also have pastoral responsibilities.

The evidence available on the pastoral work of university teachers suggests that they recognise that they have responsibilities in this area, but that they do not give them a high priority, nor do they spend much time on them (DES, 1963, Appendix 3, p. 56, Williams et al, 1974, p. 341, Startup, 1979, pp. 132-133). Surveys made in the 1960s and 1970s indicate the situation was similar in schools (Hilsum and Cane, 1971, pp. 91 and 94, Hilsum and Strong, 1978, pp. 56-57). Developments since then suggest that the significance of pastoral care in the school teacher's role has grown and the time devoted to it has increased (Clemett and Pearce, 1986, Chapter 1). In this respect, therefore, the difference between school and university teachers may be greater than it was in the past.

Both occupations, school teaching and university teaching, involve administrative work. The term 'administration' is used here in its widest sense to include a variety of organisational tasks. Studies of the work of school and university teachers show that the former tended to spend more time on it than did the latter and that the nature of the administrative work undertaken by the two groups differed considerably. In both occupations senior staff spent more time on administration. On average, however, school teachers as a group, in both primary and secondary schools, spent approximately half their working day on administration, whereas for university teachers the proportion was around 10%. For school teachers administration included a considerable amount of clerical work and supervision and organisation of pupils, as well as timetabling, resources and consulting colleagues. For university teachers, by comparison, administration tended to mean sitting on committees, conducting interviews and dealing with official correspondence (Hilsum and Cane, 1971, pp. 91 and 124, Hilsum and

Strong, 1978, pp. 57 and 121-126, DES, 1963, Appendix 3, pp. 56-57, Williams et al, 1974, p. 363).

There are several possible explanations for the differences in the administrative tasks undertaken by the two occupations and in the time spent on them. First, the clients with whom school teachers work may, by virtue of their age and their number, simply require more organisation and supervision. Second, schools, unlike universities, do not usually have full-time professional administrators on the staff. Third, it appears that school teachers are required to manage without much clerical or technical support. The evidence suggests that teachers spent a good deal of time on clerical and mechanical tasks. Those researching the work of university teachers have not used such categories, perhaps because for university teachers such tasks are negligible or because they are done by clerical staff.

Ozga and Lawn (1981, p. 140) argue that by undertaking many tasks of a clerical, mechanical and supervisory nature, school teachers have 'diluted their claim to professional expertise and saved the employers considerable sums through the non-employment of auxiliary and ancillary staff'. Teachers have resisted attempts to make the performance of 'non-teaching, extraneous duties' a condition of tenure (Gosden, 1972, pp. 187-191, Saran, 1988, pp. 154-155), but, as the studies cited above show, they spend a good deal of time on them. If much of the work done by school teachers does not require a high level of expertise, any claim which school teachers make to high occupational status is undermined, given the high positive correlation between expertise or 'esoteric knowledge based on specialised training' (Moore, 1967, p. 318) and occupational status. Here again, university teachers, who spend

considerably less time on tasks of an administrative nature, can claim higher occupational status than can school teachers.

The next major areas of work to be considered here are research, publication and private study. Although it is difficult to obtain accurate measures of the time spent on such activities, studies of university teachers in the 1960s and 1970s suggested that on average they spent about a quarter of the working week on research and additional time on private study and attending conferences and seminars (DES, 1963, Appendix 3, p. 86, CVCP, 1972, pp. 9-15). Most academics were involved in research and most had had their work published in one form or another (DES, 1963, Appendix 3, p. 56, Williams et al, 1974, p. 365, Startup, 1979, p. 63). It was common for academics to see it as part of their job to do research and to publish, to feel under pressure to do such work, to want more time for it and to believe that their promotion prospects depended heavily on it (Williams et al, 1974, pp. 361-365, Startup, 1979, pp. 57-61, Halsey and Trow, 1971, pp. 349-351). The research selectivity exercises carried out by the UGC in the 1980s almost certainly increased the pressure on university teachers to be productive in research terms (Scott, 1988a, p. 43).

For school teachers, however, the picture is different. In the studies made in the 1960s and 1970s of the work of school teachers no categories were used for research or publications or private study. The nearest categories were professional reading and attending courses and teachers spent very little time on these activities (Hilsum and Cane, 1971, pp. 94, 98 and 107, Hilsum and Strong, 1978, pp. 57-58, 66, 71-73 and 79).

In a study of promotion and careers in teaching Hilsum and Start (1974, p. 96) found that over 40% of teachers had not attended any courses in the preceding five year period and over 20% had attended only one course. Although most school textbooks were published by working teachers (Educational Publishers Council, 1977, p. 4), the number of teachers involved would appear to have been so small that the activity did not feature in the studies cited of teachers' work. Since these studies were made there has been an increase in the level of in-service education and training (DES, 1978b, DES, 1980, Perry, 1980, p. 145, Sockett, 1983, p. 27). In the mid 1980s resources were allocated to training for specific purposes such as TVEI and GCSE and for government approved schemes (Hewton, 1988, pp. 13-15). Also, the regulations governing teachers' working conditions which were introduced in 1987 made five days available for in-service education (DES, 1988b, p. 10, Hewton, 1988, p. 143). There is also evidence that teachers have become increasingly involved in research (Nixon, 1981, p. 3, Whitehead, 1989). For school teachers, however, unlike their university counterparts, research is not regarded as part of their job, but is something they do over and above their normal work if they are interested (Nixon, 1979, pp. 27-28). Also, research done by school teachers tends to be of a different kind from that done by university teachers. The studies reported of research done by school teachers (e.g. Nixon, 1981) suggest that it is usually aimed at illuminating and developing the teacher's own practice, and although the insights gained may be published, this does not appear to be a major incentive for conducting research. It seems likely that if detailed studies were made of the work of school teachers in the 1980s they would find teachers spending more time, on average, on in-service and on research than was the case ten or twenty years earlier. Even so, the work undertaken in these areas by school

teachers is not directly comparable to the place of activities such as research and publications in the work of university teachers.

Studies of the work of university teachers have also included an additional miscellaneous category which has no equivalent in studies of the work of school teachers. In the Robbins study (DES, 1963, Appendix 3, p. 56) activities included in this category were extra-mural and other teaching outside the teacher's own university, consulting work and committees, while the CVCP (1972, p. 22) also added external examining, writing university-level textbooks, refereeing papers for journals and 'all other work which is related to, and may, in principle at least, contribute to your professional status in the university'.

The lack of an equivalent miscellaneous category in studies of the work of school teachers is partly a function of the more detailed nature of the studies which have been made of school teachers in comparison with studies of university teachers. But it also arises out of the way in which the work of the university teacher is defined. As Startup (1979, p. 8) says, the typical academic has only a limited number of specific detailed commitments. In addition, 'academic work is never really "done"' (Acker, 1980, p. 82). Although there are pressures on academics to do more than the specific detailed commitments require, the extent and kind of the additional work is largely a matter for individual decision (Startup, 1979, pp. 8-10). The work of school teachers, too, might be described as never being really 'done', but for school teachers the number of 'specific detailed commitments' is considerably greater than it is for university teachers. School teachers spend a considerable amount of time on teaching and related activities, as well as on clerical and mechanical tasks, supervision, and so on, which leave them with much less of a margin within which to exercise choice about

their work. There are 'voluntary' aspects of the work which school teachers do, but they are limited in scope and may have been curtailed further by the teachers' contract introduced by government legislation in 1987 (DES, 1988b, pp. 21-23).

The differences outlined here between the work of school teachers and of university teachers are of long-standing. Although for much of the nineteenth century dons were regarded principally as teachers and were not expected to do research (Ashby, 1969, pp. 4-5), the amount of teaching which they actually undertook was often minimal (Rothblatt, 1968, p. 198, Engel, 1983, pp. 3-5). The situation changed as a result of the reform of the ancient universities and was never the case in the new universities and university colleges, whose founders had no intention of providing sinecures. It was in the new universities too that the notion developed that research was the rightful province of the universities. The acceptance of the idea that academics should 'diminish ignorance' (Ashby, 1969, p. 10) by conducting research as well as by teaching students, marked the emergence of a clear distinction between the work of university teachers and the work of school teachers. Although, as Bamford (1973, pp. 32-34) has shown, there might have been many similarities between the dons at Oxbridge and the masters at the great public schools with regard to the ability and the social status of their pupils and the content of their curricula, there was a world of difference between the dons and the elementary school teachers whose pupils were of primary school age, came from working class backgrounds, underwent no selection process and were given only elementary instruction. When the dons at Oxford found, as a result of the reforms, that their teaching commitments had increased to the point of limiting their opportunities for study and scholarship, they saw research activity as offering them at least a degree of freedom from the

'drudgery' of teaching (Engel, 1983, p. 284), and it is this aspect of
the work of academics which most clearly distinguishes them from school
teachers. The freedom, indeed the requirement, to do research is built
into their conditions of work, though there have been moves to change
this (Walford, 1988, p. 58). For school teachers, on the other hand,
although they may have been able to free themselves of extraneous duties
such as taking charge of the local Sunday school (Tropp, 1957, p. 132),
their teaching commitments, compared with those of university teachers,
are comparatively heavy and little allowance is made for them to engage
in study or research activity.

The foregoing comparison of the work of school and university teachers
implies that the latter have considerably more freedom to determine the
nature of their work. Issues of freedom and constraint and control will
be examined further in the next section.

4.   <u>Constraint and control in school and university teaching</u>
Constraints on occupations take a variety of forms. They may be
financial, legal, institutional, administrative, social or moral and
they may be imposed on an occupation by external agencies such as the
state or voluntarily adopted for their own ends by members of the
occupation. Constraints may apply to the occupation as a whole or to
individual members of the occupation. As has been shown above, a high
degree of autonomy has been seen as one of the central features which
distinguish professions from other occupations (Larson, 1977, p. 225,
Freidson, 1971 and 1973, pp. 22-23, Daniels, 1971 and 1973, p. 39,
Moore, 1970, p. 6, Hall, 1975, p. 115, Lacey, 1985a, p. 62). It will be
argued here that university teachers, both as a group and individually,
are considerably freer from constraints than are school teachers and

that the controls which operate on university teachers are more likely to be self-imposed than are those which affect school teachers.

Johnson (1972, pp. 45-46) identifies three forms of occupational control. In the first form, collegiate control, the members of the occupation define the needs of the consumer and the manner in which the needs are catered for. In the second form, patronage, the consumer defines his or her own needs and the manner in which they are met. In the third form, mediative control, a third party, often the state, defines both the needs and the manner in which they are met. In the present context it will be suggested that university teaching and school teaching are subject to both collegiate and mediative control, the latter taking the form of state control, but that in university teaching collegiate control is a comparatively strong force, whereas in school teaching mediative control is dominant. In neither occupation do clients, in the form of pupils and students, exercise much 'patronage'. If the term 'clients' includes society at large, commerce, industry and other groups, which have an interest in the products of schools and universities, then in various ways these agencies can exert influence.

The tradition of collegiate control in English universities dates back to the foundation of Oxford and Cambridge which provided the models for the 'universitas' or community of scholars (Livingstone, 1974, p. 7), whose status as members of corporations made them 'answerable to no-one but themselves' (Perkin, 1969, p. 14). Although some writers (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 67, Ashby, 1963, pp. 8-9, Livingstone, 1974, p. 14) express doubt about the reality of the 'guild' concept (Clark, 1983, p. 28), it has been used in many analyses of where authority resides in universities because it 'symbolises the feeling that in the university authority should derive from learning' (Christopherson, 1973, p. 141).

Of course, power and authority are not equally distributed among university teachers and the power of 'professorial oligarchies' (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 377) may have increased with the expansion of the universities in the 1960s (Fletcher, 1968, p. 34). But the collegial tradition died hard and in the 1970s vice-chancellors were still being described as 'primus inter pares' (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 165, Moodie and Eustace, 1974, pp. 128-129). It is in this context that perceived threats to the 'democratic' management of universities from the UGC, CVCP, and the government in the 1980s excited so much opposition (Buchbinder and Newson, 1988, pp. 153-155 and p. 162).

It is in this context, too, that academic claims to autonomy need to be considered. Staff in the universities and university colleges founded in the nineteenth century had a struggle to assert their independence in the face of the demands of their founders and benefactors (Ashby, 1963, pp. 7-8, Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 149, Moodie and Eustace, 1974, pp. 27-31, Halls, 1985, p. 267) but by the mid twentieth century university teachers exercised a substantial degree of control over their work (Musgrove, 1971, p. 129). They selected their students and designed and taught their courses as they saw fit. They set their own standards for examinations which were monitored by other academics in the form of external examiners. They decided what research to undertake and how much time to spend on it. They were largely responsible for the appointment of new members of staff and for deciding who merited promotion. They had some say in the allocation of resources and they had considerable freedom to shape their own work patterns (Moodie and Eustace, 1974, p. 58, Lindop et al, 1982, pp. 14-28, Elton, 1982, p.117, Startup, 1979, pp. 45-46, Perkin, 1969, pp. 80-81, Wolfenden, 1970, pp. 840-842, Fielden and Lockwood, 1973, p. 21 and pp. 155-185, Blondel, 1963, pp. 33-4).

The holding of academic power by academics has been seen as a sine qua non of academic freedom, 'the basic academic freedom to teach and study one's subject as one sees fit in the light of intellectual truth and moral integrity without any political or other outside interference' (Perkin, 1969, p. 81). Academic freedom was thought to be protected by tenure (Bligh, 1982, p. 122), though it seems likely that tenure did not have the power in law often credited to it (France, 1971, Kloss, 1985, p. 278, Gellert, 1985, p. 289). Arguments over the value of tenure came to a head in 1988 when it was abolished by the Education Reform Act which also included a statement aimed at guaranteeing academic freedom (THES, 1988). Many commentators, most of whom work in universities, argue that changes of this kind have reduced the autonomy and hence threatened the academic freedom of university teachers (Scott, 1988b, p. 141, Walford, 1988, p. 61, Moser, 1988, p. 18).

But even before the abolition of tenure the freedom of university teachers to control their own work was tempered by the demands of other groups in society. One such group were the students. After the unrest of the late 1960s and early 1970s students gained increased representation on university councils and committees (Williams and Blackstone, 1983, pp. 5-6) and Bligh (1982a, p. 127) argues that by the 1980s he could detect among university teachers a greater esteem for students than had been exhibited in the past.

A second group with influence on universities are employers. Only about one in three graduates enter occupations for which their university studies have directly prepared them (Pearson, 1985, p. 195) but the numbers are sufficiently high for the nature of their university studies to be of interest to the members of the occupations in question (Christopherson, 1973, pp. 184-185, Livingstone, 1974, pp. 26-27,

Baxter, 1988, p. 10, Goodlad, 1984, pp. 13-14). The universities have reacted in various ways to the demands of the occupations for which they are preparing their students (Pearson, 1985, p. 197, Berry, 1984, p.10), though Startup (1979, p. 47) found that the university teachers who took part in his study welcomed professional links and did not feel that occupational requirements were irksome. In any case, academics were left with a good deal of freedom in determining course content. This freedom may have been reduced by the pressures in the 1980s to provide vocational, utilitarian courses, though it is also claimed that many employers prefer graduates with a general rather than a specialised education (Scott, 1988a, p. 37, Moser, 1988, pp. 11-13 and p. 16, Halls, 1985, pp. 266-267).

A third group which can exercise influence on university teachers are research sponsors. Although academics are free to decide what research to undertake, their freedom may be constrained by the need for funds for research which cannot be accommodated by the recurrent UGC grant. University teachers seek support for research from a range of agencies - research councils, government departments, industrial and commercial concerns and foundations such as Leverhulme and Nuffield. As a result many research activities are constrained by what these agencies are willing or able to finance (Williams and Blackstone, 1983, p. 64, Maddox, 1985, pp. 185-187, Ashworth, 1985, p. 240). Even here, however, academics have some freedom in that they can reject external funding if they do not like the conditions attached to it and, in the case of the research councils, the decisions on the distribution of research funds are made by academics. But if university teachers become increasingly dependent on commercial and industrial sources of funds for research and on Universities' Funding Council (UFC) contracts for specific projects,

their room for manoeuvre may be curtailed (Maddox, 1985, pp. 184-185, Walford, 1988, p. 61).

Universities are also influenced by other groups. Although lay influence was strong in the founding of many universities and university colleges, commentators in the 1970s saw the power of lay members of university courts and councils as limited and suggested that academic decisions were on the whole made by academics (Moodie and Eustace, 1974, p. 99 and pp. 118-119, Moodie, 1976, pp. 128-129, Livingstone, 1974, pp. 43-44). The 1980s, however, saw an increase in the opportunities for lay influence on the work of universities. The UGC, the CVCP and the DES recommended that academics should spend less time on Senate and committee meetings and that more involvement in the running of universities should pass to administrators and to small management groups with significant inputs from university councils and their lay members (Buchbinder and Newson, 1988, pp. 153-154). At the same time the UFC is to have a number of lay members, in contrast to the largely academic make-up of the UGC (Walford, 1988, pp. 56-57).

There is thus some evidence that university teachers and their work are becoming subject to an increasing degree to outside influences and control. The main source of external control, however, is the state which holds the ultimate power of financial control, 'the leading strings implicit in state finance' (MacCallum Scott, 1971, Introduction). Although in the nineteenth century the universities and university colleges were essentially 'a private enterprise system' (Caine, 1971, p. 2), they had already begun to receive government money (Berdahl, 1959, pp. 49-51). Such support was increased and extended, and formalised in the setting up of the University Grants Committee in 1919. The structure of government funding of universities remained

largely unchanged for sixty years, though in 1964 the UGC was transferred from the aegis of the Treasury to that of the DES (Mountford, 1966, pp. 150-154). By the late 1960s over 90% of the universities' income came from government sources (Halsey and Trow, 1971, pp. 88-89).

When the UGC was founded, Austen Chamberlain said 'It will be an evil day if universities look only to the Government . . .' (quoted in Ferns, 1982, p. 19). Yet for the next sixty years or so, although the universities became increasingly dependent on the government, the UGC system was generally regarded as a success, at least by academic commentators. Although the UGC was accused of increasing its influence over the universities, particularly after the Second World War and again in the 1960s (Fletcher, 1968, p. 11, Moodie, 1983, p. 337, Owen, 1980, pp. 259-260, Berdahl, 1983, pp. 84-92, Kogan, 1971, p. 196, Shattock and Berdahl, 1984a, pp. 474-475), it was generally accepted that, through measures such as quinquennial reviews and block rather than earmarked grants, the UGC acted as a 'buffer' between the universities and the state, allowing the universities to benefit from government money with a minimum of government interference (Fletcher, 1968, pp. 27-28, Blondel, 1963, p. 43). In addition, congruence between universities and government on the purposes of higher education, the predominance of academics on the UGC and the UGC policy of making suggestions rather than giving directions helped preserve the notion of academic freedom even in the allocation and use of public money (Moodie, 1983, pp. 335-336, Ashworth, 1982, p. 176, Owen, 1980, pp. 261-263, Berdahl, 1983, p. 84, Shattock and Berdahl, 1984b). As late as 1965, Williams (1988, p. 60) argues, there was 'virtually no formal public accountability for the recurrent grant received by universities', and

only a limited degree of accountability thereafter. The label 'private' for the university sector of higher education was still appropriate.

But the 'evil day' forecast by Chamberlain eventually came. Inevitably, perhaps, in the 1970s governments began to question the universities' need for a recurrent grant of over £600 millions (Moodie, 1983, pp. 340-341). In a period of high inflation such a level of expenditure could not be maintained (Williams, 1988, pp. 61-63). In 1981 cuts of the order of 15% over a period of three years were made in university grants (Moodie, 1983, p. 338, Walford, 1987, p. 44). Although the cuts were followed by the setting up of a restructuring fund to finance retirements and redundancies, a 'new blood' initiative to pay for the recruitment of young staff and an increase in grant in 1986 (Scott, 1988b, pp. 136-137), the relationship between the government and the universities was radically altered. Or perhaps it was only exposed, in the sense that it had become perfectly clear that university finance was heavily dependent on the government.

Along with the cuts in finance came government demands for accountability, increasingly detailed direction from the UGC, the allocation of a proportion of UGC resources according to research performance, pressure to raise money from non-governmental sources such as the business community and overseas students, and a reduction in the numbers of both staff and students (Tilford, 1985, pp. 302-303, Williams and Blackstone, 1983, p. 14, Shattock and Rigby, 1983, p. 16, Kloss, 1985, p. 276, Sizer, 1987, pp. 564-572, Williams, 1988, p. 63). Not unnaturally, given the relative independence which the universities had previously enjoyed, these developments prompted strong reactions and relations between the universities and the state were unprecedentedly acrimonious (Ashworth, 1982, p. 714). The government was criticised not

only for the cuts but because its demands for accountability were thought to threaten academic freedom, while the UGC in some quarters was seen as a colluder and was blamed not only for not leading the universities in opposition to government policy, but for the selective way in which the cuts were made (Kogan and Kogan, 1983, p. 16, Scott, 1988b, pp. 135-137, Walford, 1987, pp. 41 and 48).

There has been much debate on the effect of these developments on the independence of the universities and on academic freedom. It was perhaps inevitable in a time of contracting resources that decisions on priorities had to be faced in a way that had been avoidable when the university system was expanding (Lindop et al, 1982, p. 33, Scott, 1985, p. 70, Williams and Blackstone, 1983, p. 118). University teachers were perhaps naive to think that 'donnish dominion' had anything other than the appearance of reality, that expansion was the norm or that they could continue to spend public money yet reject pressure for accountability, efficiency or economy (Halsey, 1982, p. 215, Moodie, 1983, p. 346, Scott, 1988b, p. 138). After the cuts of 1981, fears were expressed that in the future government control would become more apparent (Butler, 1982, p. 265, Halls, 1985, p. 268, Gellert, 1985, p. 290). Certainly Scott (1988b, pp. 137-139) argues that the 1985 Green Paper on the development of higher education made it clear that the availability of public finance depended on the acceptance by the universities of a set of reforms, including greater selectivity in the support of research, the restructuring of the academic profession, greater managerial efficiency and increased scrutiny of academic standards. The universities had little choice in the matter and indeed the CVCP set up their own inquiries into some of these issues. Scott concludes that by 1986 the universities had lost their strategic independence - 'Never again will the UGC be able to act on an important

policy question without consulting ministers' (ibid., p. 138). Since Scott wrote these words the UGC was abolished by the 1988 Education Reform Act and replaced by the Universities Funding Council. The intention was to increase university accountability through a contract funding system, though as late as the end of 1988 it was not clear how detailed the UFC's control of university expenditure would be (Walford, 1988, pp. 56-57, THES, 1988).

Moodie argued in 1983 that although the possibilities for external constraints had become increasingly apparent, university teachers still retained a high level of control over their work:

> ' . . . there has been no loss of power over those questions that have traditionally been regarded as crucial: the admission and assessment of students, curricular content, appointment of academic staff, and the choice of research topics (which has always depended on the availability of finance), let alone with respect to "the liberties of thought, of discussion, and of publication" (James, 1967, p. 7) which are the most basic of all.' (1983, p. 344)

Five years later Scott (1988b, p. 138) made the same general point:

> 'This government has made no attempt to manage the universities in the detailed administrative manner in which the polytechnics and colleges have been managed.'

Although the climate within which university teachers work in the late 1980s is very different from what it was ten years before, it can be argued that they still have a good deal of autonomy, albeit within a more limited area and subject to a greater degree of public accountability. It may be true, as Scott (1988b, p. 142) argues, that 'the autonomy of higher education, which institutionalizes intellectual and critical freedoms of the first importance in a democratic society,

has been dangerously eroded'. But the constraints on university teachers are limited in comparison with the constraints on school teachers, as the next part of this section will show.

Several writers on the subject of the occupational freedoms of university teachers have compared their position with that of school teachers (Blondel, 1963, pp. 37-38, Moodie and Eustace, 1974, p. 47, Bligh, 1982, pp. 123-124, Roy, 1983, p. 17) and the comparison is always made to show how little freedom school teachers have.

In the nineteenth century teachers who worked in schools catering for the poorer classes in society came under the control and supervision of a variety of organisations, including religious societies, the local clergy, central government, HM Inspectors, boards of governors and school boards (Edmonds, 1962, Chapters 1 and 2, Tropp, 1957, pp. 26-28 and p. 35, Baron and Howell, 1974, p. 8, Hyndman, 1978, p. 208). Between them these various bodies controlled teachers' pay and employment conditions, their training or lack of it, their professional and to a considerable extent their private lives and the school curriculum (Lawton and Gordon, 1987, pp. 12-13, Rich, 1933, p. 146, Sturt, 1967, p. 260, Horn, 1978, pp. 102-103, Ball, 1983, p. 81, Ellis, 1979, p. 34).

Johnson (1970, p. 117) has described the arrangements for the inspection and management of teachers, pupil-teachers and training colleges in the mid nineteenth century as 'a system of social control' designed to control the education of the working classes through close control of their teachers. Grace (1985, p. 7) argues, however, that despite the efforts of the Board of Education, religious societies and boards of managers to exert control over what was taught and how it was taught,

elementary education had succeeded in developing a dynamic of its own.
He sees the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862, which tied
financial support closely to pupil progress, as a reassertion of
authority over elementary teachers. The teachers responded by
organising themselves into associations and succeeded eventually in
bringing 'payment by results' to an end and in instituting a pension
scheme for teachers (Tropp, 1957, pp. 108-110, Gosden, 1972, p. 6, Horn,
1978, p. 246). But these were comparatively minor successes in the face
of the degree of control exercised over teachers at the end of the
nineteenth century by central government, school boards, school
governors and managers and religious bodies.

These forms of control made their influence felt on various aspects of
the elementary teacher's life and work. The Revised Code was a
disincentive to experiment in both curriculum content and teaching
method (Horn, 1978, pp. 126-127). Teachers had no control over the
public examination of their pupils, which was in the hands of HMI. Nor
did they have any say in selecting their pupils (Horn, 1978, p. 141). A
school's grant depended in part on the number of pupils attending, while
pupils who were put forward for examination had to have a record of a
minimum level of attendance (Hyndman, 1978, p. 37). Nor had teachers
much influence on the requirements for entry to the occupation.
Selection and training were closely controlled by government regulations
and by the inspectorate, a body which elementary teachers were not
allowed to join until 1882, and then only as assistants (Tropp, 1957,
pp. 119-120). In addition, there was nothing to prevent employers
taking on untrained teachers (Horn, 1978, pp. 111-112). Repeated
attempts to establish a register of teachers who, like doctors
registered by the General Medical Council, would enjoy privileges not
open to unregistered teachers, met with failure. The elementary

teachers would not support a register in which they were <u>not</u> included and the secondary teachers would not favour one in which elementary teachers <u>were</u> included (Gosden, 1972, pp. 235-244).

The teachers' registration issue highlighted the divisions, social, educational and institutional, between elementary and secondary teachers (Parry and Parry, 1974, p. 171, Brent, 1959, pp. 85-86), divisions which Perkin (1983, p. 20) gives as the most important reason for what he sees as school teaching's 'poor performance in the game of life'. The nineteenth century saw an increase in the provision of secondary education in private and endowed schools for the children of the middle and upper classes. Teachers in secondary schools were unwilling to associate themselves with teachers in elementary schools because they feared it would undermine their own status (Gosden, 1972, p. 241). Teachers in secondary schools were more likely than their colleagues in elementary schools to be university educated, to adopt a middle class lifestyle and to teach pupils who came from middle and upper class backgrounds. Although teachers in private, public and endowed schools were employees, they were not subject to the kind of detailed government regulations to which elementary teachers had to conform, and their status enabled them to resist government attempts to exercise control over them (Simon, 1965, pp. 103-108, Fitch, 1931, p. 271).

Higher grade, or secondary, education was also offered by some of the school boards supported not only by their own funds but also by grants from the Science and Art Department set up in 1853 to provide 'scientific and artistic instruction to the industrial classes' (Simon, 1965, p. 177). Their right to provide such education, however, was challenged towards the end of the century and the Education Act of 1902 was passed with the aim of straightening out not only this tangle but

also other complications in what Lawrence (1972, Chapter 2) describes as the 'maze' of English education.

Such was the multiplicity of vested interests in education, however, that the 1902 Act had only limited success. County and county borough councils were given responsibility for elementary education and were empowered to provide secondary education. Teachers who worked for school boards now became employees of local councils. Those who worked in voluntary schools were still appointed and dismissed by the managers, subject to local education authority (LEA) approval (Barnard, 1961, pp. 209-211). As LEAs promoted secondary education, by developing former higher grade elementary schools, evening schools and pupil-teacher centres, by aiding endowed grammar schools and by building new schools, many secondary teachers, too, came into the direct or indirect employment of local authorities. The ways in which the work of elementary and secondary teachers was regulated, however, ensured that little headway was made in uniting teaching as an occupation or in increasing teacher autonomy.

Simon (1965, pp. 193-194 and pp. 240-241) and White (1975, p. 24) argue that differences between elementary and secondary education were deliberately designed to 'keep the lid on the intellectual pretensions of the elementary system' (White, 1975, p. 24). Certainly the two systems were governed by different curriculum regulations and the level of fees made secondary education available to working class pupils only if they could obtain a scholarship (White, 1975, p. 23, Bagley and Bagley, 1969, pp. 50-56, Lawrence, 1972, pp. 39-45). Secondary teachers were better paid than elementary teachers (Gosden, 1972, pp. 27-28) and tended to have been educated in universities rather than training colleges (Tropp, 1957, p. 191).

Despite these divisions, which were strengthened by the tripartite system following the Education Act of 1944, teaching as an occupation made progress. National salary scales were instituted, superannuation became universal and job security increased. More graduates entered teaching, more teachers took training courses and fewer uncertificated and supplementary teachers were employed (Gosden, 1972, pp. 139-142, p. 162 and pp. 279-281, Barnard, 1961, pp. 237-238). Much that was gained was the result of pressure from the teachers' associations, but the occupation still had little direct control over its own affairs (Brent, 1959, p. 252). Central and local government and, for voluntary schools, the churches, held the purse strings and local authorities employed the teachers in state schools under laws and regulations made by central government. The teachers and their associations exerted influence rather than control over issues such as entry to the occupation, conditions of work and the nature and organisation of the education system. Essentially, in the course of the twentieth century, this situation remained unchanged. Control remained in hands other than those of teachers themselves.

The 1960s and much of the 1970s have been regarded by many commentators as a golden age for teachers, when their influence was at its height in bodies such as the Schools Council and the examination boards, when there was general agreement that matters of curriculum and paedagogy should be left to teachers, when both employers and teachers were willing to accept flexibility in their contractual relationship, when teachers were becoming increasingly well qualified and when there was a general belief in the value and quality of educational provision (Stenning, 1979, pp. 99-101, Whiteside and Bernbaum, 1979, p. 93, Nuttall, 1984, p. 166, Hunter, 1983, p. 82, Kogan, 1971, p. 173, Evans, 1985, p. 194). Even during this period, however, teacher autonomy was

limited in a variety of ways. Central government exercised financial, legislative and regulatory control over the work of teachers and through HMI and the commissioning of reports also took an advisory role (Hyndman, 1978, pp. 215-217, Fenwick and McBride, 1981, pp. 22-23 and pp. 58-68, Roy, 1983, pp. 20-21, Gosden, 1983, pp. 190-191, Brooksbank and Ackstine, 1984, pp. 8-10). Similarly, at local level financial, regulatory and advisory roles were vested in local education authorities (Fenwick and McBride, 1981, pp. 69-70, Lawrence, 1972, p. 104 and pp.143-149, Roy, 1983, p. 23, Brooksbank and Ackstine, 1984, p. 28, pp.166-168, pp. 208-210). Teachers also came under the influence of religious organisations, school governors, parents, industry and commerce and society at large (Fenwick and McBride, 1981, pp. 7-8, Brooksbank and Ackstine, 1984, p. 226).

Even in the realms of curriculum and paedagogy, areas where teachers in England and Wales have traditionally been held to have a good deal of autonomy, their freedom was hedged about by external pressures. Direct central government regulation of the elementary or primary school curriculum ceased in the 1920s and of the secondary curriculum in 1945 (White, 1975, pp. 22-30) and during the 1960s and 1970s the requirements of secondary school scholarship examinations and of the 11+ gradually receded (Seaborne, 1966, p. 75, Gibson, 1980, p. 88). But other influences remained. The case of the William Tyndale School, where some teachers were ultimately sacked because of objections to the teaching methods used in the school, was perhaps only an extreme example of the influence which parents, governors and LEAs could have (Whiteside and Bernbaum, 1979, pp. 103-104, Gibson, 1980, p. 93, Salter and Tapper, 1981, p. 73). In secondary schools teachers' work was constrained by the demands of external examinations even though the influence of teachers was increasingly apparent in the Schools Council and CSE boards

(Pearce, 1972, Fairbrother, 1980, DES, 1979, Eggleston, 1984, Nuttall, 1984, pp. 166-175, Whitty, 1976, pp. 214-218 and 1983, pp. 166-167). In addition, teachers in both sectors were subject to advice and guidance not only from local and national inspectors but from a steady stream of reports such as Plowden (DES, 1967), Bullock (DES, 1975a) and Cockcroft (DES, 1982a).

It can thus be argued that teacher autonomy was limited in the classroom. It was similarly limited with respect to controlling teaching as an occupation. As Raison (1976, p. 66) baldly put it:

> 'Teachers do not determine membership of their profession. The profession does not have a council or similar body with powers over qualifications and discipline or commitment to the promotion of the profession's objectives; it has been possible to practise it without qualifications; it has not got its own defined code of ethics; it is even arguable whether it is based on a recognisable corpus of learning . . .'

In his view, and indeed in the view of most commentators on the professions, teaching in schools lacked many of the characteristics usually associated with the professions (ibid., p. 66). There was no general teaching council in England and Wales to exert the kind of control which the General Medical Council exerts over doctors (Sockett, 1980, p. 11). Instead, recruitment to the occupation was carried out through training institutions and the DES awarded qualified teacher status, with HMI as the final arbiters of teachers' probation (Roy, 1983, p. 111, Perkin, 1983, p. 22). Promotion and discipline were the responsibility of the employers, namely, the local authorities (Gibson, 1980, p. 93, Roy, 1983, p. 110). Teachers might influence decisions made about their occupation, but they did not control the decision-making process.

The case can thus be made that even in the so-called 'golden age' of the 1960s and 1970s teacher autonomy was limited. Certainly the fragility of any authority or influence which teachers could exercise became apparent in the late 1970s when the freedom of action of teachers was eroded. Central government increased its financial control, not only by imposing cuts on LEAs, but also by using the Manpower Services Commission (MSC, later the Training Agency) as a source of funding for education, by allocating specific grants, for example, for in-service education, and by strategies such as cash limits and rate capping (Gosden, 1983, p. 195, Brooksbank and Ackstine, 1984, pp. 89 and 99, Roy, 1983, p. 21, Fenwick, 1985, p. 135, David, 1988). Government influence on the curriculum was exerted through schemes such as TVEI and through the national criteria for the GCSE, while the teacher-controlled Schools Council was abolished. At the same time there was more emphasis on the powers of school governors and parents, increasing government interest in teacher accountability and new regulations affecting teacher education (Hunter, 1985, pp. 98-99, Nuttall, 1984, pp. 173-175, Evans, 1985, p. 195 and pp. 252-253, Fenwick and McBride, 1981, pp. 138-141 and pp. 227-230, Whiteside and Bernbaum, 1979, p. 107, Grace, 1985, p. 13, Gordon, 1983, p. 9, Lacey, 1985a, pp. 67-70). Teachers' pay declined in real terms, promotion prospects worsened and there was widespread redundancy and redeployment (Perkin, 1983, p. 22, Lacey, 1985a, p. 64, Roy, 1983, pp. 26, 58 and 82, Grace, 1985, p. 4, Evans, 1985, pp. 194-195). The inability of teachers to reverse these trends exposed the real weakness of the occupation. In 1983 Perkin (1983, pp. 18-19) bluntly described teachers as follows:

> 'They suffer from a vicious circle of low status, lack of
> competitive resources, inability to control their own selection,
> training and qualification, from divided and consequently
> ineffective organisation, and a degree of state interference and

control suffered by almost no other profession, all leading back to low bargaining power, low remuneration and low status.'

Since Perkin wrote this passage the weakness of teachers as an occupational group has been even more apparent. A series of measures introduced by central government in the late 1980s has increasingly constrained and controlled teachers and their work. Recruitment and training have been regulated by the requirements of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education and the government proposes to use its control over entry to the occupation to institute a system of 'licensed' teachers who would train in post rather than taking a course first. Although discussions have continued on the possibility of forming a general teaching council (Whitty et al, 1987, pp. 178-179), teaching as an occupation is as far away as it has ever been from controlling its own recruitment. Although schemes such as Grant Related In-Service Training may encourage schools and teachers to define their own needs, they have to do so within a policy framework set out by central government (Hewton, 1988, pp. 13-15). Teachers have lost most of their influence over their pay and conditions since, through legislation in 1987, the government imposed salaries and contractual obligations on them (DES, 1988b). Following the issue of a consultative document proposing a national curriculum (DES and Welsh Office, 1987a) and the publication of the report of the Task Group on Assessment and Testing (DES and Welsh Office, 1987b), the Education Reform Act of 1988 introduced a national curriculum and a national system of assessment for pupils at ages 7, 11 and 14 in addition to the existing GCSE examinations at 16+ (DES and Welsh Office, 1989). Although the assessment system will include teacher assessment, it will also include a major element of externally controlled assessment. Teachers' freedom in the classroom has thus been curtailed. In addition, the Education

Reform Act required LEAs to hand over powers of local financial management to school governing bodies, thus adding to the powers these bodies had gained in 1986 (Leonard, 1988, p. 56, DES, 1988b, p. 46).

Although the impact of these measures will only become apparent when they have been fully implemented, it is clear that they have considerably increased the powers of central government and of school governors and parents, and have imposed significant new constraints on teachers and their work (Leonard, 1988, pp. 207-216). In the context of the present study, therefore, it may be argued that the relative autonomy of school and university teachers has not substantially changed. Recent reforms in education have reduced the autonomy of both school and university teachers but the constraints on school teachers remain considerably greater than do the constraints on university teachers.

5.   Ideologies in school and university teaching

The term ideology, in the context of sociological analysis, has been described as 'vague and even confused' (Banks, 1974, p. 8). Here it is used in a wide sense to represent systems of ideas, views or beliefs, a sense in which many writers on education have used the term (for example, Grace, 1978, p. 4, Hall, 1977, p. 10, Alexander, 1984a, p. 14, Banks, 1974, p. 8).

According to Parsons (1945, reprinted 1964, pp. 266-268), the nature of the relationship between ideas, social structures and cultural patterns is difficult to define. Do ideas give rise to new structures and patterns or do ideas arise from existing structures and patterns? In Parsons' view the latter is generally the case. What is not in doubt, however, is the interdependence of systems of ideas and social

realities. Systems of ideas may represent justifications of the status quo or hopes for the future; they may correspond closely to empirical reality or bear little relation to it. The ideas which people hold about education are inextricably bound up with the ideas they hold about society and about the relationship between education and society (Salter and Tapper, 1981, p. 63). Whether education should perpetuate or threaten traditional social class distinctions, what kind of contribution education should make to a country's economic well-being, what kinds of education should be available and to which groups within society are the kinds of issues round which ideologies have developed.

It is in the nature of education in Britain, though not necessarily in other countries (Hopper, 1968, reprinted 1977, pp. 158-161, Lortie, 1969, pp. 5-6), that it has been built on a wide range of complex systems of ideologies. In the present study it is possible to examine only general views, while recognising that these generalities conceal subtle differentiations (Finn et al, 1977, p. 180). Following Grace (1978, p. 4) and Finn et al (1977, p. 144), it will be assumed here that particular educational ideologies can be located historically and socially. The present study aims to show how an examination of ideologies offers a further dimension along which the occupations of school and university teaching can be explored and differentiated.

It will be argued here that the main source of differentiation in the ideologies associated with school and university teaching arises from the different markets for which the two occupations cater. University education serves an élite, while school education serves a mass market, and the aims of, and justifications for, the education provided in the two sectors differ accordingly.

In nineteenth and twentieth century Britain university education has been for the few. In the 1980s it caters for only around 7% of the age group (Moser, 1988, p. 10). Those who enter universities constitute an élite, not only in numbers but also academically and socially. Candidates for university usually have to demonstrate a high level of academic achievement, a characteristic which is associated with middle and upper class social origins and with relative financial comfort. Those who attend university, in terms of both acquired and ascribed characteristics, are an élite. Those who attend school, in contrast, are the mass of the population. Since the 1870 Education Act came into force almost everybody, whatever their social, economic or academic characteristics, has attended school. The association of university teaching with the education of an élite and of school teaching with the education of the mass of the people has meant that the occupational ideologies of university teachers and school teachers have been related to élite and mass education respectively. Education in both universities and schools is associated with ideologies relating to cognitive, affective, social and economic aims, but these ideologies take on particular colourings according to whether they relate to élite or mass education. The next part of this section will examine the ideologies associated with university teaching.

The literary, classical education traditionally provided in the ancient universities over the centuries, although specialised in the sense that it concentrated on the classics, was justified as a general or liberal education for society's élites (Scott, 1984, pp. 48-49). Liberal education of this kind fulfilled cognitive, affective, social and economic aims.

In the cognitive domain the ideology of liberal education was that it was knowledge studied for the sake of studying, to exercise the faculties and train the mind (Reid and Filby, 1982, p. 93) - 'it aims at mental development for its own sake and not for any ulterior end' (Moberly, 1949, p. 31). The young were to be trained to recognise 'what is intrinsically true, good and beautiful' by being exposed through their classical studies to 'acknowledged masterpieces of human thought and knowledge' (Moberly, 1949, p. 31). Those whose minds were cultivated in this way would be fit to tackle any kind of work (McPherson, 1959, p. 19). The social and affective functions of liberal education were achieved through what Halsey and Trow (1971, pp. 79-82) describe as the 'domesticity' of the academic community. Students lived in close proximity with each other and with their teachers and learned about interpersonal relationships. According to Moberly (1949, p. 35), the teacher in such a situation had 'a responsibility towards his pupils as human beings which extends far beyond his formal obligations as an instructor'. A university education also fulfilled wider social functions. Students were initiated into the religious culture of the established church and the social culture of the upper classes. Moberly (1949, p. 203) describes how the typical Victorian parent sent his son to Oxford or Cambridge 'to acquire manners, savoir-faire, the ability to mix well with his fellows and to pull his weight as a member of the governing classes'. As Tapper and Salter (1978, p. 146) express it, a university education was a means of 'cementing an élite group identity'.

An important feature of the ideology of liberal education was that education should not be instrumental. It should not have, in the words of Moberly quoted above, 'any ulterior end'. As Rothblatt (1976, p. 200) suggests, however, education conceived of in such a way was only possible at a time when positions of power were filled on the basis of

heredity rather than expert knowledge. Even in the context of the Georgian aristocracy, who could afford the luxury of an expensive education which provided no particular expertise, instrumentalism existed in practice even if it was denied in the ideology. A liberal education was one of the trappings of the élite and opened the way to positions of power in politics, the civil service, the church and the law. Tapper and Salter (1978, pp. 147-148) argue that the liberal ideology of education has not only enjoyed high status but has been couched in educational and cultural terms which protect it by observing its potent political function. In Parsons' terms, the ideology justifies the status quo. As a result, the traditional ideology of university education has remained strong into the second half of the twentieth century.

The power of the idea that education should offer the chance to study for the sake of studying, for the sake of enrichment rather than utility was apparent in the Robbins Report:

> 'What is taught should be taught in such a way as to promote the general powers of the mind. The aim should be to produce not mere specialists but rather cultivated men and women.' (DES, 1963, p. 6)

The majority of university graduates still enter jobs for which their education has no direct relevance (Pearson, 1985, p. 195) and employers endorse the idea of recruiting able people irrespective of the subjects they have studied (Kogan, 1985, pp. 102-103, Moser, 1988, p. 12). The value of education or study for its own sake is still recognised.

Rothblatt (1976, pp. 196-202) suggests that the reason the ideals of a liberal education did' not die along with the overarching supremacy of the Georgian aristocracy is that they were adapted and altered to assimilate new developments. He sees one of the meanings of a liberal

education as coming to assume priority over all others in Victorian times, namely, the search for truth. Traditionally the search for truth was prosecuted through the study of the classics in the context of the religious community of the university. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, the search for truth took on new forms.

In the revival following the reform of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1850s, the search for truth increasingly took the form of scholarship and research (Rothblatt, 1976, pp. 196-197). The tradition of scholarship or the advancement of knowledge was strengthened by the example of the continental model of university education (Moberly, 1949, pp. 36-37). It became embodied in the way the universities were funded, with an allowance for research (Williams et al, 1974, p. 351) and in the institution of the doctorate in the 1920s (Perkin, 1969, pp. 95-97). The Robbins Report (DES, 1963, p. 7) reiterated the view that one of the aims of higher education was 'the advancement of learning'. Research and scholarship, as represented in published work, were important determinants of promotion in academic life (Williams et al, 1974, p. 120) and in the 1980s were used by the UGC to help determine how money should be distributed (Shattock, 1986, p. 60). Suggestions that the research and teaching functions of universities should be separated have met with strong protests (Walford, 1988, p. 58). The emphasis on scholarship and research led to increasing specialisation in university studies (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 155), and in the sixth form of secondary school (Butler, 1985, pp. 5-6, Leverhulme Report, 1983, p. 6, DES and Welsh Office, 1988, p. 4).

Specialisation is also evident in the increasing range of subjects studied in universities. The search for truth, as Rothblatt calls it, has spread to fields of knowledge far beyond the classics. There was a

tradition of research in the scientific community which was based among technologists in industry and among amateur scientists with private means (Halsey and Trow, 1971, pp. 49-51). With the growth of the new technologically oriented universities in the later nineteenth century the search for truth in the scientific domain as well as in the humanities gradually became an established feature of the intellectual life of the universities. Although the new universities may have aspired to provide the kind of liberal education offered by Oxbridge (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 55, Tapper and Salter, 1978, p. 148), the scientific and technological orientation has remained strong and has received particular support from the government in the 1980s (Walford, 1987, p. 41).

Although it may be argued that both university education and the A level courses which precede it have become specialised rather than general, that research is regarded in universities as at least as important as teaching and that the sciences as well as the arts are accepted fields of study, one feature of university life has remained constant, namely, that intellectual activity, whatever form it takes, has remained central to the work of universities.

The ideology of the liberal education provided by the universities in the early nineteenth century was that such education was not 'useful', though in practice it was useful as a confirmation that a man possessed the right characteristics for entry into a range of élite occupations. It was not until the later nineteenth century that the idea that university education should have useful or instrumental purposes began to gain ground, particularly in the new universities and university colleges. Usefulness had two main facets. The first was that the studies which students undertook should be of direct use to them in the

work they did after leaving university. The second was that original research carried out in universities should have direct applications in industry and commerce. As the nineteenth century progressed there were signs that the headstart which Britain had gained through early industrialisation was being eroded in the face of competition from abroad (Sturt, 1967, p. 358, Reeder, 1979, p. 121). It was argued that more scientific and technical education was required to reverse the decline (Sanderson, 1972, p. 9). It proved difficult, however, to make headway in introducing 'useful' or 'modern' subjects such as applied mathematics and science in the more prestigious schools and universities (Reader, 1966, Chapters 7 and 9) where they were regarded with 'distrust and disdain' (Rothblatt, 1976, p. 185). Developments in industry which required high levels of training often meant that British workers had to seek education abroad or that firms had to import foreign workers. It was such developments which stimulated British industrialists to sponsor new universities and university colleges to provide the experts they required (Sanderson, 1972, Chapters 3 and 4), and which prompted increasing government support for the universities (Berdahl, 1959, pp. 49 - 51).

Gradually the ideology of 'usefulness' gained ground. Rashdall showed that historically the universities had always been involved in vocational education of one kind or another. Even Oxbridge could not ignore the pressures of the outside world and Rothblatt (1976, p. 186) argues that the exigencies of the First World War helped blur the distinction between pure and applied research. Gradually the universities took an increasingly vocational role, not only in the fields of science and technology but also in the provision of professional courses for other occupations. The nineteenth century view that Britain required more highly trained manpower was repeatedly

expressed in the twentieth century (Tapper and Salter, 1978, p. 149, Fowler, 1979, p. 78) and the UGC regularly made statements on the universities' responsibilities in this respect (Berdahl, 1983). According to the Robbins Report (DES, 1963, p. 6), it was one of the functions of universities to provide trained manpower through 'instruction in skills suitable to play a part in the general division of labour', a view which was embodied in the granting of university status in the 1960s to nine colleges of advanced technology (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 58). In the Ruskin speech which inaugurated the Great Debate in 1976, Mr Callaghan, the Prime Minister, argued that 'there is no virtue in (education) producing socially well adjusted members of society who are unemployed because they do not have the skills' (quoted in Salter and Tapper, 1981, p. 205). Subsequently there was pressure on universities to promote 'useful' education by increasing the ratio of students studying science and technology and by directing research resources into these areas (Kogan and Kogan, 1983, p. 115, Maddox, 1985, p. 184).

Although Tapper and Salter (1978, Chapter 7) see the instrumental or economic argument as competing with the liberal ideology, Rothblatt (1976, pp. 200-201) suggests that, while liberal education may have become more openly instrumental, instrumental or vocational education has become increasingly liberal or broad, with the development of courses in general science and an increasingly theoretical orientation towards scientific and technological studies. In other words, academic or intellectual aims have permeated what might superficially appear to be 'useful' studies (Scott, 1984, pp. 62-3). Bernbaum (1976, p. 12) argues that in the mid twentieth century the two ideologies became conflated in that 'the release of talent was no longer a personal matter but was seen to relate centrally to the nature of advanced industrial

societies, their economies, their occupational systems, and above all, their futures'.

Whether the economic ideology is viewed as a competitor to the liberal ideology or as an adaptation of it, there can be little doubt that the 'search for truth' in universities has taken on a range of new forms. Although Robbins (DES, 1963, p. 7) talked of universities providing 'that background of culture and social habit upon which a healthy society depends', as the range of university studies has broadened, there is no longer only one kind of culture into which students are initiated (Scott, 1984, p. 68). Specialisation has replaced general education. The teaching of classics no longer dominates university education. Nor, since the reform of Oxford and Cambridge in the mid nineteenth century, does university education inculcate the young into the established religion. The universities have been opened to students of any religious belief, to women and to students from any social background. The incorporation of the college system into some of the new universities founded in the 1960s was an attempt to foster the values of community or communal life (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 80), but there has been an increasing emphasis on the teaching and research role of dons and on the vocational relevance of the education they provide at the expense of their nurturing and socialising role (Tapper and Salter, 1978, p. 174).

In the course of these changes, however, it may be argued that one central concern has come to permeate university teaching. The dominant ideology in universities embraces academic or cognitive aims, whether in the form of 'academicism', as Scott (1984, p. 83) calls it, or in 'the search for truth', as Rothblatt (1976, pp. 196-197) calls it, through 'the exercise of the free intelligence or the critical intelligence'

75

(ibid., p. 197). The main business of universities is claimed to be the promotion of knowledge through research and teaching (Startup, 1979, p. 19), or, as Shils (1983, p. 3) puts it, 'the discovery and transmission of truth is the distinctive task of the academic profession'. In Shils' view (ibid., p. 4) university teachers' responsibilities to their students, to the economy and to society exist only as secondary objectives alongside the primary aim of 'discovering and teaching the truth as scrupulously and methodically as they can'. Shils argues that academics should resist compromising this aim for the sake of other goals such as 'being useful to society' (ibid., pp. 74 and 79). Moser (1988, p. 18), in contrast, accepts 'the important role the universities have in serving the community' but he, too, claims that 'academic excellence depends on the freedom of inquiring minds to follow wherever learning may take them'. Universities are seen as communities of academics whose chief work is teaching and research. Though they may recognise the validity of claims that they should contribute to society in a variety of ways, many academics claim that they contribute by being true to their intellectual ideals.

Universities also perform a social or economic function in their role as gatekeepers for élite positions in society. This is a more powerful role in the later twentieth century than it was in the early nineteenth, when university attendance was possible only for those who already belonged to a social élite. Today, in contrast, university attendance is a means of gaining admittance to an élite. Universities cater for a relatively small number of students and have remained high status institutions (Giddens, 1973, pp. 263-264). A university education is a means of entering some of society's most prestigious occupations (Rothblatt, 1976, pp. 200-201) and university graduates find it easier to gain employment than do their counterparts from other sectors of

higher education (Kogan, 1985, pp. 101-102). The criteria for admission to the élite via the universities are, in Startup's words, '"objective" criteria concerned mainly with the academic achievements of students' (1979, p. 6). The dominant ideology of the universities is that they promote intellectual achievement and in pursuit of this ideology they select and grade their students according to their academic achievements. A by-product of this system may be that universities act as selection mechanisms for élite positions in society, but the ideology is that what the universities are producing is an academic élite defined according to academic criteria. Scott (1984, p. 74) argues that the modern university's role in the production of élites is not very different from its predecessor's role in the reproduction of élites. The élite may be larger and may be selected according to academic merit, but it is still an élite. As Tapper and Salter (1978, pp. 203-204) show, the élite is still largely a social élite since university entrants are predominantly middle class. But although the reality may be that the social base from which universities draw their students has not widened very far, the ideology is that entry is primarily a matter of achieved academic status rather than ascribed social status (Halsey and Trow, 1971, p. 35).

Ideologies associated with school teaching, like those associated with university teaching, may be categorised broadly as cognitive, affective, social or economic. In the context of school teaching, however, these ideologies take on different colourings and different emphases. Education for the masses is not justified in the same way as education for the élite.

It was argued above that the dominant ideology in universities has come to be the pursuit of knowledge through the study and transmission of

existing knowledge and the uncovering of new knowledge. Such activities may have benefits for the individual, for society and for the economy, but the pursuit of knowledge is justified as an end in itself. While it may be possible to justify education for élites in these terms, it has not been acceptable to justify education for the masses on such grounds (Tapper and Salter, 1978, p. 147). It will be argued here that, while academic aims play a part in the ideologies of school teaching, they do not predominate and indeed may be seen as secondary to other kinds of aims.

In so far as the school system feeds into higher education, it too values the academic ideology of education. Academic education, or study for the sake of study, has always had a high social value and been much sought after. In the nineteenth century academic education, initially in the form of classical education, formed the core of the curriculum in private secondary schools, including the great 'public' schools (Simon, 1965, pp. 111-112). Through the mechanism of what Pratt and Burgess call 'academic drift' (Burgess, 1977, pp. 31-32), and through the public examination system, which not only offered a route into university but which was heavily influenced by the universities, the academic curriculum spread (Salter and Tapper, 1981, pp. 161-163, Young, 1971, p. 22). When state secondary schools were set up after the 1902 Education Act, their curricula reflected the academic tradition (Smith, 1980, p. 166), which in turn was passed on to grammar schools and comprehensive schools, particularly for sixth form pupils (Reid and Filby, 1982, Chapters 7 and 10, Burke, 1985, pp. 138-139). There have also been calls for more subject specialisation at primary school level (Pollard, 1985, p. 3).

The academic curriculum in schools, like its counterpart in the universities, has evolved and changed. Ancient Greek has virtually disappeared and science and social science subjects have gained status (Salter and Tapper, 1981, pp. 162-163). As in the universities, the curriculum has come under attack for being too highly specialised (Butler, 1985, pp. 5-6, Leverhulme Report, 1983, p. 6, DES and Welsh Office, 1988, p. 4). Despite changes and criticisms the academic curriculum, because of its status, as Goodson (1983, p. 29) argues, has retained its hold on the upper end of secondary education and is a prerequisite for university entry (ibid., p. 36). As in the universities, the academic curriculum is associated with an élite. When opportunities were made available after 1902 for academically able pupils from any background to study at secondary school level, such opportunities were open to only small numbers (Goodson, 1983, p. 17). Although the élite was broadened, it remained an élite. The leisure to study for the sake of studying was a luxury made available only to the few. Justification of education for the mass of the people had to be found in other sources.

One of the earliest justifications for mass education in England and Wales was that it would promote social stability. In this view education should aim to turn out socially responsible adults. In the face of popular unrest, in the form of Luddism, Chartism and other protests arising from the effects of industrialisation, the idea gained ground that education would be a means of civilising the populace and teaching them the virtues of peaceable behaviour (Sutherland, 1971, pp. 9-10). The discipline of school life would produce morally upright hard-working people with no desire to resort to crime or civil disturbance (Sturt, 1967, pp. 100-101). The study of particular subjects would have beneficial effects. Religious education would teach

Christian precepts and morality, reading good literature could help build character, the study of history would inculcate the values of good citizenship, physical drill could teach obedience and conformity (Sutherland, 1971, p. 9, Mathieson, 1975, pp. 48-55, Elliott, 1975, p. 8, Hurt, 1977, p. 169). It was claimed that factory children who spent half their time in school were more docile than those who did not attend school (Silver, 1977, pp. 144-145). According to the philosopher, James Mill, men who had learned to read could be persuaded to accept their place in life and not strive to overturn the existing order of society (Hyndman, 1978, p. 5). In pursuit of this kind of ideology teachers were required to set a good example to their pupils in their moral, religious and social beliefs and behaviour (Grace, 1978, p. 22, Tropp, 1957, p. 37). Primary teachers in the twentieth century continued to see it as part of their job to instil moral values and to teach children how they should behave (Ashton et al, 1975, p. 61). In secondary schools, too, social education entered the curriculum, and pastoral care may be viewed, from one perspective at least, as a device for reconciling children to the requirements of existing social norms (Grace, 1978, pp. 75-76, pp. 196-197 and p. 247). Education for the masses has thus been justified in instrumental terms as a form of social control.

Another form of instrumental justification for educating the mass of the people has been the vocational or economic argument. Vocational education would not only enable people to find work but would also contribute to national prosperity. Reeder (1979, pp. 116-119) traces the argument for useful knowledge as the basis of the school curriculum back to nineteenth century debates associated with the rise of the factory system. There was much support for the view that what was taught in schools, whether it took the form of a specialised training or

a general preparation, should be directly relevant to the work which pupils would do upon leaving school. Early educational reformers such as Brougham argued that education was a means of national efficiency (Sutherland, 1971, p. 15) and the effects of industrial and economic competition from abroad gave strength to this argument (Sturt, 1967, p. 358, Reeder, 1979, p. 121). As the nineteenth century progressed, education with a vocational bent was increasingly available in the higher grades of elementary schools, in some secondary schools and in a range of evening schools and other technical schools and colleges (Sturt, 1967, p. 358).

Although it may be difficult to assess the extent to which any sector of education has been directly geared to employment and economic needs, the idea that schools should be so geared has been regularly expressed in the twentieth century too, by both government and industry (Reeder, 1979, pp. 123-124, Board of Education, 1927, p. 84 and 1938, p. 161, Salter and Tapper, 1981, p. 206). Similar ideas came to the fore in the later 1970s in the Great Debate and Reeder (1979, p. 127) suggests that many of the earlier arguments can be seen as rehearsals for the discussions which constituted the Great Debate. Certainly neither the kinds of arguments which emerged in the Great Debate nor the ostensible stimuli for these arguments were new (Reeder, 1979, pp. 115-116, Salter and Tapper, 1981, pp. 206-207) and the conjunction of the DES's promotion of these arguments with a period of economic difficulty gave the economic ideology a particular strength in the 1980s (Salter and Tapper, 1981, p. 220). A variety of educational initiatives such as TVEI, CPVE and the emphasis on science and technology in the National Curriculum have been justified in terms of their potential value to the economy (Brooksbank and Ackstine, 1984, pp. 315-317, Leonard, 1988, pp. 31-32) and those who question the economic ideology have found it

difficult to resist as a justification for state investment in education for the mass of the population (Salter and Tapper, 1981, p. 211).

The academic ideology, the social control ideology and the economic ideology all see education as the servant of society, either by initiating the young into the academic world of society's élite groups or by preparing them to be economically useful in society or by teaching them the established social mores. All three, however, may be looked at from the opposite perspective, namely, that of the individual. The academic ideology may be seen as promoting a training for the mind which will open to the individual a range of ideas and pursuits. Similarly, the economic ideology advocates providing the individual with a range of skills which will enable him or her to earn a living, while the social stability ideology aims to produce a socially well-adjusted individual able to cope with any personal or social situation which he or she may face. From this perspective these ideologies focus on the value of education for the individual rather than on the value of education for society.

Educational ideologies which focus on the needs and potential of the individual are often described as child-centred, progressive or paedagogical theories (Goodson, 1983, pp. 30-31) and are usually traced back to the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In the later nineteenth century such ideas were developed and spread by the Froebel Society and by writers such as Dewey (Mathieson, 1975, pp. 57-58). In the twentieth century they have been reiterated in official literature such as the Hadow Report of 1931 (Board of Education, 1931) and the Plowden Report of 1967 (DES, 1967). The essence of child-centred ideologies is that the pupil is seen as an active participant in the educational process rather than as a passive recipient to be moulded by the teacher

(Goodson, 1983, p. 30, Evetts, 1973, pp. 49-50). According to such ideologies, the requirements of the academic tradition, economic efficiency and social stability are subordinate to the needs and interests of the child. The language of child-centred ideologies talks of 'activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored' (Board of Education, 1931, p. 93), of teaching 'children, not subjects', of pupils learning rather than of teachers teaching. The natural 'ebb and flow' of the learning experience must not be interrupted by the artificial barriers of differentiations between subjects, the teacher's authority, classroom walls, timetables or the age and ability of the children (Alexander, 1984a, pp. 15-19). Such ideologies are therefore associated with the integrated day, open plan schools, family grouping and mixed ability teaching. Adelman (1984, p. 86) distinguishes between learning through work and learning through play. The former is rooted in the premise that children's minds are like a tabula rasa and the teacher is the fount of knowledge, definition and convention. Learning through play, by contrast, is rooted in the progressive ideology in which children are seen as agents of their own development, both intellectual and moral, with the teacher in the role of mediator.

Progressive ideologies have been particularly associated with the education of younger children. Alexander (1984a, p. 14) suggests that since claims to subject expertise are difficult to reconcile with the class teacher system of organisation dominant in primary schools, primary teachers have looked to child-centred ideologies to form the justification for their claims to professional expertise. But progressive ideologies have also been applied in secondary education, particularly in working class urban schools where the traditional cultural transmission model of education may be seem inappropriate

(Grace, 1978, p. 76 ff.). There is little evidence, however, that student-centred ideologies have made much headway in higher education. Williams and Blackstone (1983, pp. 41-44, p. 74) suggest that the matching of teaching methods to student aptitudes and interests will become increasingly important but that aspects of the progressive approach such as subject integration, even in public sector institutions of higher education, which they describe as less rigid than universities, have only a low profile.

In the foregoing sketches of the major types of educational ideologies it has been suggested that influences from all of the ideologies described can be seen at work in various sectors of education. Particular ideologies, however, are strongly associated with particular sectors of education. The academic ideology is strong in higher education and to a lesser extent in secondary schools. The economic ideology is associated with further education and with secondary education, particularly for pupils wishing to leave school at sixteen. The view that education should be a socialising agent is possibly at its strongest among primary teachers, though it is apparent in all sectors, while the child-centred ideology has clearly been dominant in the education of younger children (Evetts, 1973, p. 52, Williams and Blackstone, 1983, pp. 41-44, Reeder, 1979, p. 136 ff., Alexander, 1984a, p. 54).

The different ideologies and the educational activities with which they are associated enjoy different levels of status. According to Goodson (1983, pp. 33-34), the academic ideology enjoys high status. Subjects which can claim to be academic are particularly associated with the education of the most able students at the top end of secondary school or in higher education, students whose studies are valued by the more

powerful classes in society and are comparatively well financed. The economic, social stability and paedagogical ideologies, by contrast, are associated with the education of younger children, the less able and the working classes, and their low status is reinforced by relatively low levels of finance. Burgess (1984), for example, shows how so-called 'Newsom' courses, designed to provide vocational and personal education for pupils designated as non-academic, were seen to be of low status by staff and pupils alike. Similarly, Measor (1984) on the basis of data on pupils' views of the curriculum, has postulated a hierarchy of school subjects. The less academic the subjects were, according to her findings, the less seriously they were taken by pupils. Music, art and design and home economics were variously described by pupils as 'not very important', 'a waste of time' and 'rubbish'.

It may be concluded from this discussion that school and university teaching in general terms are characterised by different emphases in their occupational ideologies. Universities, though they may have a range of aims, are the embodiment of the view that education should consist in the discovery and transmission of academic knowledge. Schools also value the academic ideology, but are often more concerned with education that is directly instrumental, in social and economic terms, in its aims. Child-centred ideologies are associated with work in schools that is generally accorded low status - teaching the young, the less able and children from working class backgrounds.

6.   The status of school and university teaching
This chapter has charted the major differences between the occupations of school and university teaching. School teachers comprise a much larger occupational group than do university teachers. A much higher proportion of school teachers are women and, although entry to both

85

occupations is largely a matter of merit, the evidence available suggests that school teachers are more likely to be of lower social class origins than are university teachers. School teachers are less well paid on average than are university teachers and, because as a group they tend to be academically less well-qualified, usually enter the occupation at a younger age than do university teachers. Most school teachers, however, unlike their university counterparts, take a teacher education course before entering the occupation.

When the work done by school and university teachers is examined, again substantial differences emerge. Although both groups may be labelled 'teachers', school teachers devote a considerably higher proportion of their time to teaching and related activities such as preparation and marking. School teachers teach younger students from a range of backgrounds and possessing a range of abilities, and have little choice about whom they teach. The staff-student ratios in school are not as good as in universities and the content of the work is less specialised. School teachers spend more time on what may broadly be called administration, particularly on clerical and technical tasks, and on the general supervision of their students, for example, during lunch breaks. By contrast, they spend much less time than do university teachers on research, publication, study and professional development generally. Overall, school teachers have a heavier load of specific commitments and less freedom to order and arrange their work than do university teachers.

The two occupations also differ with regard to the degree of control which their members are able to exercise over their occupation. University teachers hold the main responsibility for recruiting and promoting members of their occupation. They select their students and

design, teach and assess their courses as they see fit. School teachers, on the other hand, have limited and largely indirect influence over the recruitment and promotion of the members of their occupation. They are subject to control by both central and local government, by parents, governors and examination boards. Since they provide mass education, they have to teach everyone who attends school.

Finally, the ideologies used to justify the work of school and university teachers are given different emphases in the two sectors. Although all teachers may be considered to have responsibilities for the intellectual, social and vocational development of their students, for the benefit both of society and of the individual, different priorities have traditionally been maintained by school and university teachers. At the extremes of opinion, a teacher working in an infant school might justify her work as child-centred and aimed at the growth of the 'whole' child, while a university teacher might aim at applying rigorous standards to the in-depth study of a specialised subject. The gulf between the two may be gauged by attempting to apply the infant teacher's philosophy to the university teacher and vice versa.

Differences between school and university teaching as occupations have been mapped out in this chapter in terms of the characteristics of their members, the nature of their work, the degree of control they exercise over their work and the ideologies associated with the occupations. At various points in the preceding analysis of the differences between the occupations a fifth dimension, namely, that of status or prestige, has been noted. Along all four of the dimensions already described university teaching emerges as enjoying a higher level of status than does school teaching. University teachers as a group possess characteristics generally associated with high status, powerful élites

in society. The great majority are men who possess a high level of academic qualification and who tend to come from middle rather than working class backgrounds. The earnings of university teachers are above average and they enjoy a high level of freedom in managing their own work. Their clients are an academically and, to a lesser extent, socially, select group. University teachers, through the specialised content of their work, are in a powerful position as gatekeepers to the better paid, more prestigious occupations in society. They act as guardians of society's intellectual heritage and as pioneers at the frontiers of knowledge. In these roles they claim a high level of freedom from external, particularly political, control. Characteristics of this kind are normally associated with occupations enjoying high status and with occupations often categorised as professions (Krause, 1971, pp. 68-71). Although school teaching, as described above, has aspired to high status and pursued it in a variety of ways, on the basis of the characteristics described here it cannot claim the status of university teaching. One commentator has encapsulated the difference between aspiration and reality by describing school teaching in an inherently contradictory phrase as a 'low-status profession' (Mathieson, 1975, p. 191).

7. Conclusion

An analysis of the differences between school and university teaching as occupations supplies a context within which to study university lecturers in education as an occupational group. Education lecturers have moved from the occupation of school teaching into the occupation of university teaching but, because they have become lecturers in education, the move cannot constitute in any sense a complete break with what went before. The move involves not only coming to terms with the new occupation but also a continuing association, in a variety of ways,

with the old. For education lecturers, therefore, at least two major 'avenues . . . for the pursuit of occupational interests' (Turner and Hodge, 1970, pp. 36-37) are apparent. The difficulty for education lecturers is that such are the differences between school and university teaching that the two avenues in many respects make conflicting demands. The empirical work reported in this study charts how education lecturers as an occupational group are located in a variety of respects between school and university teachers and how their work is defined by the dual orientation.

As much of the material presented in this chapter has shown, most of the differences between school teachers and university teachers which have been described are long-standing. Ever since teacher education was first established in the universities, it has steered an uneasy course between the requirements of the schools on the one hand and the demands of the universities on the other. The next chapter explores the history of teacher education in the universities and shows how it has long been caught between conflicting educational traditions.

CHAPTER THREE

TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE UNIVERSITIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES: THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1. Introduction

Two main traditions can be traced in the history of teacher education in England and Wales. The first tradition, and the one which is of longest standing, was rooted in the universities. For centuries the universities provided higher education for teachers, as they did for prospective members of other occupations such as medicine, the law and the church. The second tradition, of much more recent origin, was rooted in the training colleges, later the colleges of education, which began training teachers for elementary schools in the nineteenth century.

These two traditions differed from each other not only in their antiquity and their institutional roots, but also in respect of their relationships with the state, in the social and educational backgrounds of their students, in the teaching market for which their students were destined, and in the rhetoric and ideologies espoused by the advocates of the two traditions. Broadly speaking, the universities provided 'education' while the colleges provided 'training'. This distinction, combined with the social, political and institutional differences, has made the two traditions difficult, some would say impossible, to reconcile. This chapter will trace the history of the two traditions and the resulting ambivalent relationship between the universities and the training of teachers.

2. The university tradition

'For good or for evil, and whether the academics of to-day like it
or not, Universities have always been associated with the production
of teachers.' (Adams, in Hill, 1921, p. 267)

John Adams, professor of education at the London Day Training College,
later the London Institute of Education, carefully uses the word
'production' in this quotation rather than the more common term
'training' for, as he goes on to explain, although universities
'produced' teachers long before the day training colleges were
established towards the end of the nineteenth century, they cannot in any
sense have been said to have 'trained' teachers. From the Middle Ages
onwards what the universities did was to provide a general liberal
education in the form of an arts degree whose main ingredient was the
study of the classics. Graduates could then further their studies for a
specific profession such as the church, medicine or the law, or, if they
wished to become school teachers, seek a licence to teach from the
Church. Although the possession of a degree as such was not a licence to
teach, the acquisition of such a licence depended, not on any further
study or training, but on the candidate's religious qualifications or
beliefs (Charlton, 1973, p. 23). With the foundation of many secular
grammar schools, particularly after the Reformation, and the increasing
influence of laymen on the foundation and administration of schools,
education gradually became less directly linked to the established
church, though it was not until the late seventeenth century that school
masters were permitted to teach in grammar schools without a licence from
a bishop (Seaborne, 1966, p. 38). Even so, most educational institutions
worked under the aegis of the established church and many school masters
were ordained clergymen. The possession of a university degree continued
to be regarded as an appropriate qualification for secondary school

teachers (eg Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 1, 1868, pp. 233-234, p. 294, Appendix 5, pp. (91)-(125)), and until the foundation of new universities in the nineteenth century entry to degree courses in England and Wales was restricted to Anglicans.

In the nineteenth century the most prestigious group of secondary teachers were the masters in the public schools. Most of them came from middle or upper class families and had been educated at public schools or grammar schools. Almost all were Oxbridge graduates. Appointments to teaching posts were often made via the 'old boy network' and the schools in their turn provided many of the undergraduates for the universities (Bamford, 1973, pp. 29-32). These teachers were well paid and Bamford describes the style of life of headmasters as approaching that of the gentry (ibid., p. 37). The status of headmasters may also be gauged by the number from the most prestigious schools who went into high office in the church and in the universities (ibid., p. 40). Of course, by no means all public school masters could aspire to such social heights, but they and many of the masters in the grammar and private secondary schools had a common heritage in the classical education which they had received at Oxbridge under the aegis of the Anglican Church. The possession of a degree conferred élite status and these masters taught pupils who were in varying degrees selected either by academic ability or by social class or both (Seaborne, 1966, pp. 59-60).

Very few secondary school teachers, however, undertook any kind of study specifically designed to equip them to teach. The possession of a degree was evidence of a comparatively high level of education in the subjects commonly taught in grammar and public schools and the university tradition in the 'production' of teachers assumed that this was all that the teacher needed (Fitch, 1931, p. 141, Tibble, 1971, p. 56). But the

degrees were not specifically designed for teachers (Hendy, 1920, p. 8, Rothblatt, 1976, p. 12). The universities' role in the 'production' of teachers was only indirect and incidental. Adams describes the process as follows:

> 'There was an ingrained habit of sending forth graduates who drifted into schools and there picked up, at the expense of their first half dozen classes, a certain mastery of their craft'. (op. cit., 1921, p.267)

This 'habit' died hard, partly at least because, despite the development of a state system of education and teacher training in England and Wales, the state adopted a laissez-faire attitude toward the right of a graduate with no further qualification to take up a teaching post, even in the maintained sector. Not until 1973 was it made compulsory for graduates wishing to teach in state schools to take a course of training and even then some exceptions were allowed (DES, 1973a). Bamford likens the position of nineteenth century public school teachers to that of the 'generalist' or 'cultured amateur' in the civil service (1973, p. 46). This was consistent with the Victorian view of the 'gentleman' (Reader, 1966, p. 74). Normally 'gentlemen' did not have to earn a living, but if they did they could maintain their gentlemanly status only if they picked their occupation carefully (Engel, 1983, p. 12). Similarly, the status associated with attending university was not compromised by the provision of courses with direct vocational aims. When the new universities began to provide such courses they were regarded with 'distrust and disdain' (Rothblatt, 1976, p. 185), and it was not until Rashdall, in his study of the origins of the universities, showed that they had always been engaged in professional education, that the impropriety of providing vocational education in universities began to be questioned in its traditional strongholds (ibid., pp. 190-191).

To sum up, the teachers who were educated in the university tradition played an important role in the maintenance of the establishment. They helped socialise the sons of the ruling classes, preparing them in their turn to take their places in the higher echelons of the ruling Anglican establishment (Simon, 1965, pp. 108-112). The teachers themselves were a part and a product of that establishment and its traditions. They had a high level of education but, like many members of the establishment, no specific training for their occupation.

3.   The training college tradition

The training college tradition in the 'production' of teachers had quite different origins from the university tradition. Its beginnings can be traced in the various endeavours to further the cause of popular education which became increasingly common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the form of Sunday schools, dame schools, charity schools, ragged schools and other kinds of private and church schools.

A major problem faced by such schools was the provision of teachers who were both willing and able to teach the rudiments of education to young children from the lower classes of society. Although the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was founded in 1699 and which ran charity schools, made some attempts to induct its new teachers into their occupation (Dent, 1977, pp. 1-2), it was not until the nineteenth century that systematic efforts were made to train elementary teachers.

One answer to the problem of the shortage of teachers, able or otherwise, for the poor, was the monitorial system under which older pupils taught younger ones. This was not a new idea but it was applied systematically in the early nineteenth century by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell.

Their ideas were taken up by two religious bodies, the non-denominational British and Foreign School Society and the Anglican National Society, respectively. To run the monitorial system, both the monitors and the teachers who superintended them required training, and the two societies set up schools to do this, though the courses of training were very short and in the early years at least paid little attention to the personal academic education of the students (Ogren, 1953, p. 29).

The development of popular education in the early nineteenth century was largely the province of various religious organisations and private benefactors, but in 1833 the government began to play a part. The enthusiasm of some members of the reformed parliament for the elementary education of the labouring classes, 'that blessing, which can alone preserve the virtues of a populous, commercial and luxurious empire' (Lord Brougham, quoted in Sutherland, 1971, p. 15), resulted in the first government grant for education in 1833. Since the government had no machinery for administering education, the money was given to the National Society and British and Foreign School Society for the furtherance of their work in building schools (Sturt, 1967, p. 69). When this became an annual grant, it was necessary for the government to have some means of overseeing its expenditure and in 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council on Education was appointed and an inspectorate set up. Schools and, later, colleges which wished to receive government grants had to submit to inspection. The Committee's early decision to establish a state Normal School for the training of elementary school teachers was met by a storm of protest at the proposed arrangements for both Anglican and non-conformist religious instruction in the school. But the secretary of the Committee, Dr James Kay, later Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, succeeded in obtaining grants for providing training colleges. This resulted in the opening of a number of colleges and in

1840 Kay-Shuttleworth himself opened a college at Battersea. Here he furthered the experiments, which he had begun as a Poor Law Commissioner, in the use of pupil-teachers (Ogren, 1953, pp. 39-40) and worked out the system which was launched nationally by the Committee of Council in 1846.

Selected elementary school pupils aged 13 or over would have the chance to become pupil-teachers. They would be apprenticed to a headteacher for five years during which time they would be paid by the Committee and examined annually by the inspectorate. The headteacher would be paid for supervising the pupil-teachers and for furthering their personal or academic education. At the end of five years pupil-teachers could sit an examination, success in which would qualify them for a place at a training college and a maintenance grant. After spending one, two or three years at college, though two years became the norm, the new teachers could sit an examination for a certificate and take up teaching posts at salaries which depended in part on the length of their college training. Those who failed to obtain entry to a college could take a post as an uncertificated teacher (Dent, 1977, pp. 19-21) and, after new regulations were issued in the early 1850s, could sit for certification after they had taught for three years (Rich, 1933, pp. 129-130).

Basically this system, which suffered contraction as a result of the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862, but was expanded after the Education Act of 1870, was to provide most of the trained elementary teachers in England and Wales for the rest of the nineteenth century (Gosden, 1972, pp. 196-197). Many elementary school teachers, however, remained untrained and uncertificated. Many were unable to qualify for college places or pass the external certificate examinations (Dent, 1977, p. 26). In any case, especially after 1870, there were too few college places to go round and very few for those who wished to attend a

non-denominational college (Gosden, 1972, p. 198) or a Roman Catholic college (McClelland, 1975, pp. 18-19). The Committee of Council, which later became the Board of Education, was concerned about the cost of elementary education, and in its efforts to obtain value for money made no systematic attempt to discourage school managers from employing untrained and uncertificated teachers who were cheaper to pay (Sturt, 1967, p. 269). Although inspectors acknowledged the superiority of trained teachers (Rich, 1933, p. 170), the permitting of so many teachers to take their certificate without training, the frequent lowering of the standard of the certificate and the employment of so many teachers who had neither training nor certificate undoubtedly undermined the value and status of the training (Tropp, 1957, p. 114).

The training college tradition in the 'production' of teachers was of a very different order from the earlier university tradition described above. The training colleges were nearly all residential and most were run by religious organisations. They were small, closed, monotechnic institutions. The students had to work long hours and their activities, academic and social, were closely controlled (Walker, 1983, pp. 130-133). Although the work was not of a very high standard since most students had not undergone full-time secondary education before entering college, a wide range of subjects was studied (Ellis, 1979, p. 28). Life was often spartan, part of a deliberate policy of preparing the students for 'a life of humility and self-denial' (Sturt, 1967, p. 233), a policy which was not universally successful. The teachers, like their pupils, were usually of humble social origins, but becoming a teacher was a means of rising to lower middle class, white collar respectability (Sutherland, 1971, p. 21). Their education was by and large limited to what was required for teaching in elementary schools. There was little support for providing the 'general culture' which the universities aimed to

provide (Sturt, 1967, p. 228) and teacher educators such as the Reverend

Derwent Coleridge, who considered that it was part of the work of a

training college deliberately to raise the students above their station,

were strongly criticised. It was not only thought deplorable that the

teachers of the working classes might be 'educated' rather than

'trained', but it was doubly deplorable that this should be done at the

state's expense (Rich, 1933, p. 95). It was considered even more

reprehensible that some teachers used their training as a route into

occupations other than teaching. It was also believed in some quarters

that training made teachers arrogant and inattentive to their main task

(Tropp, 1957, p. 60), a task described as follows by Robert Lowe,

principal author of the Revised Code:

> 'We do not profess to give these children an education that will
>
> raise them above their station and business in life: that is not
>
> our object, but to give them an education that may fit them for that
>
> business.' (quoted in Tropp, 1957, p. 89)

The education of the poor, like that of the rich, was designed to fit

them for their place in society. Not only were the poor to be prevented

from rising above their station, but, at a time of social unrest, most

notably Chartist agitation, it was hoped that education would serve as a

means of repression:

> 'To restore the working classes to their former state of incurious
>
> and contented apathy is impossible, if it were desirable. If they
>
> are to have knowledge, surely it is the part of a wise and virtuous
>
> Government to do all in its power to secure them useful knowledge,
>
> and to guard them against pernicious opinions.' (Kay-Shuttleworth,
>
> quoted in Sturt, 1967, p. 101)

These views explain the establishment policy regarding elementary teacher

training. The teachers of the poor were seen as missionaries among their

own kind. They were drawn from among the poor, trained in isolation and only to a limited extent, and sent back to work among the poor. Teachers were assessed for their religious and moral character, their ability to keep order and their ability to get their pupils through the annual inspections (Grace, 1984, pp. 104-105). For both teacher and pupils education was seen not as a spur to social advancement, but as a device to keep them in their place and maintain social order (Hurt, 1972, p. 114). It was frequently argued that it was cheaper than police and prisons (Sturt, 1967, p. 101). Although there is evidence that towards the end of the century the colleges were able to recruit a better class of candidate, both educationally and socially (Widdowson, 1980, p. 78), and to introduce more liberal regimes (Sturt, 1967, p. 399), change was slow and inhibited by the traditions of elementary education and the Codes which governed it (Widdowson, 1980, p. 73, Sturt, 1967, pp. 347-356).

4.   The traditions meet

The different traditions of university and training college education for teachers represent only one aspect of wider divisions in education and illustrate Lawson and Silver's contention that,

> 'Working-class and middle-class education in the nineteenth century had clear identities. They were separated by different curricula, length of school life, attendance rates and cultural and social objectives.' (1973, p. 270)

But the university tradition and the college tradition, although distinctive and distinct from each other, were not entirely segregated.

One important link took the form of the men who administered and inspected the training of the elementary school teachers and the schools in which they taught. Most of the members of the Committee of Council on

Education, most of the civil servants who serviced it and of the inspectors who reported back to it, most of the training college principals and vice-principals were themselves the products of the university tradition, as were some of the members of the School Boards set up in 1870 (Sturt, 1967, pp. 99, 219, 314, Ogren, 1953, p. 50, Tropp, 1957, p. 120, Rich, 1933, p. 177, Lawton and Gordon, 1987, p. 10). Such a situation only served to emphasise the low status of the elementary school teachers who, for most of the nineteenth century, had little or no prospect of filling any of these positions themselves.

It was a matter of particular complaint among elementary school teachers that they were not allowed to become inspectors. After 1862 they could become assistant inspectors but they still had no chance of promotion to the full inspectorate. This was not changed until the closing years of the nineteenth century. Similarly, in the training colleges usually only the more junior positions were filled by elementary school teachers (Rich, 1933, pp. 155-156). Ex-pupil-teachers were able to use their educational qualifications to enter the lower ranks of government service, much to the indignation of middle class parents (Tropp, 1957, p. 21), but it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that any elementary school teachers entered Parliament (ibid., p. 142). At the local level teachers were employed by committees of management which were usually, particularly in the case of Anglican foundations, dominated by the local clergy (ibid., p. 35). When the secular School Boards were set up in 1870 many teachers still found it hard to exert much influence over their own conditions of work for they were prohibited from standing for election for their own School Boards (Sturt, 1967, p. 341). It is not surprising that teachers turned to trade unionism as a means of exerting their influence on education for they had very few other means of doing so. The most prestigious and powerful posts in the state system of

elementary education were held by men who belonged to the university tradition. Most of these men, however, as has been shown, saw no need and, indeed, felt it might be dangerous, to introduce elements of the university tradition into the college tradition. For example, T H Huxley, as late as 1893, remarked that there were still people who believed that, 'elementary teaching might be properly carried out by teachers provided with only elementary knowledge' (quoted in Ellis, 1979, p. 28). Thus, apart from a few enlightened exceptions, these links between the university and college traditions were links of personnel rather than of ideas or ethos.

A second type of link between the university and the college traditions took the form of courses and classes which universities began to provide for teachers in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of these were directed at secondary teachers who, within the university tradition, did not normally take any course of training. But by the end of the nineteenth century there was an increasing need for secondary school teachers because of expansion in the provision of secondary education of various kinds. In addition to the prestigious public and grammar schools, there were 'the ubiquitous private secondary schools', the technical schools, evening continuation classes and the higher grades of the elementary schools. A variety of agencies were involved in the provision of secondary education - the School Boards supervised by the Department of Education, the County Councils, the Charity Commissioners, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Science and Art and numerous private agencies (Sturt, 1967, pp. 388-391). There was little provision for training teachers for secondary schools, though some women, to whom university degrees were not widely available in the nineteenth century, and small numbers of men did take an interest in such training. For women there were only three secondary training colleges (Tomlinson,

1968, p. 295), though these were well established. Despite the efforts of the College of Preceptors, however, attempts to increase the number of trained male secondary teachers, such as the short-lived Finsbury Training College, were largely unsuccessful (Dent, 1977, pp. 36-37).

But those who felt that secondary teachers could benefit from some kind of special preparation did make headway, and here the universities played a small part. In 1879 a group of enthusiastic academics at Cambridge University, led by Oscar Browning, set up the Teachers' Training Syndicate. This body organised lectures given by scholars from Cambridge and elsewhere on the 'theory, history and practice of education'. It also instituted examinations in educational theory and practice and found a ready supply of candidates from the women's secondary training institutions who saw the Cambridge certificates as much needed validation for their students (Fitch, 1931, p. 163, Searby, 1982, pp. 9-11). In 1883 London University, too, instituted a diploma in education. Both the Cambridge and the London diplomas were open only to graduates or holders of equivalent qualifications. In various ways, therefore, the idea was spreading, by the end of the nineteenth century, that secondary teachers, who in the past had been educated mainly in the university tradition, might benefit from direct vocational education, and the universities were beginning to play a part in this.

In addition, several universities and university colleges provided classes for elementary teachers. At Oxford the Reverend S A Barnett organised vacation courses on an unofficial basis for elementary teachers in the 1880s (Tomlinson, 1968, pp. 292-293). Among the new universities and university colleges Owens College, Manchester, seems to have been the first to take an interest in teacher training by providing evening classes for working school teachers as early as 1852 (Thomas, 1978,

p. 250). A suggestion that the college should incorporate a teacher training college, however, was rejected by Senate on the grounds that it would introduce a number of young men of a 'somewhat miscellaneous description' (quoted in Fiddes, 1937, p. 170), and one historian saw the rejection of the scheme as a happy escape - 'The Union of a Training School with the College would have brought down the latter to the level of the former' (quoted in Sadler, 1911, p. 24). Other colleges which were involved in teacher education were Aberystwyth which began Saturday morning classes for teachers in 1877 and Nottingham which set up evening classes in 1885 (Thomas, 1978, pp. 250-251). The University of Leeds also played a substantial part. In 1875 Saturday classes were established and in 1884 three year training courses for assistant elementary teachers, who were preparing for the Government Certificate, were set up (Gosden and Taylor, 1975, pp. 251-252). In addition to attending courses of this kind, a small number of elementary teachers studied for degrees while attending training college. Only the most ambitious, however, attempted to combine teacher training and degree studies within a two or three year period (Dent, 1977, p. 32).

Thus in the later nineteenth century the universities and university colleges had begun tentatively to provide vocational education for teachers. Although these developments were not always welcomed wholeheartedly by the institutions in which they took place (Searby, 1982, p. 9), they did indicate that the universities might play a larger part than they had hitherto done in the direct preparation of teachers.

A major development in the provision of teacher education in the universities took place in 1890 as a result of the report of the Cross Commission. The Commission, which was set up in 1886 to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, presented its final Report in

1888. On the question of teacher training the Commission, 'as it was on practically every issue' (Browne, 1970, p. 133), was divided. The majority Report recommended a limited experiment with day training colleges, while the minority Report was much more wholeheartedly in favour of such a scheme (Dent, 1977, pp. 31-32). In 1890 the Education Department issued regulations permitting universities and university colleges to establish day training colleges for elementary teachers. Although the initiative was limited to only 200 students at first, this constraint was removed a year later and by 1900 there were well over a thousand students in eighteen day training colleges (Thomas, 1978, pp. 254-255).

From the Education Department's point of view, the scheme enabled them to increase the number of training places without giving new powers to the School Boards, whose days by this time were numbered (Tuck, 1973a, p. 76). In addition, the scheme had the great merit of being cheap. Although there would be student grants and fees to pay, no new buildings would be required (Thomas, 1978, p. 254). The universities, too, had a financial motive. As Dent points out, the speed with which they moved into teacher training was not due entirely to zeal for education, but rather to zeal for 'a regular supply of students paid for out of public funds' (1977, p. 33). Armytage (1954, p. 10) goes so far as to suggest that the influx of grant-aided students who came to train as teachers 'saved the younger universities from remaining glorified technical colleges' by stimulating nascent arts and pure science departments to enable teacher training students to study the subjects they needed (Fitch, 1931, pp. 334-337, Crouch, 1969, p. 9).

The entry of universities and university colleges into teacher education on a large scale coincided with, and to some extent stimulated,

developments in training colleges. Towards the end of the nineteenth century colleges began to liberalise their regimes, employ better qualified staff and improve their facilities (Gosden, 1972, pp. 199-200, Dent, 1977, p. 57, Lewis, 1980, p. 16). With the spread of secondary education and the decline of the pupil-teacher system in the early 1900s, prospective college students were better qualified. After 1904 LEAs were permitted to open non-denominational, non-residential colleges; from 1908 the religious requirements for students in denominational colleges were relaxed and regulations were introduced requiring minimum qualifications for college staff (Dent, 1977, Chapters 9 and 10).

But the universities and university colleges were able from the beginning to depart from many of the traditions which characterised nineteenth century training colleges. Indeed, Lofthouse (1982, p. 88) suggests that the Board of Education, which replaced the Education Department in 1900, fostered distinctions between training colleges and universities and saw them as catering for different types of students. Applicants for places at university day training colleges were not required to pass religious tests or fulfil residence requirements. Some university departments of education, or UDEs (as the day training colleges soon came to be called), demanded high academic entry qualifications (Thomas, 1978, p. 257). In the universities, 'glorified technical colleges' though some of them may have been, teacher education students were permitted to follow courses other than those prescribed in the Board's syllabuses, and to study some subjects alongside students preparing for other occupations (Shakoor, 1964, p. 98, Crouch, 1969, p. 9, University of Reading, 1949, p. 11). Assessment, first of academic and later of professional subjects, though still subject to the Board's validation, was handed over to university staff (Tuck, 1973a, pp. 77 and 91). In 1891 new regulations allowed selected students to remain for a third year and have a chance of taking

a degree. This also applied to students in residential colleges and led to co-operation between colleges and universities, though few students were able to pass both professional and degree examinations within three years (Tuck, 1973a, pp. 78 and 81-82, Ogren, 1953, p. 67). In 1911 UDEs were allowed to provide four year courses, with three years for degree studies and a fourth year for professional education. Students were awarded grants for four years on condition that they signed a 'pledge' promising to teach after qualifying (Dent, 1977, pp. 69-70). Although three year concurrent courses continued in universities and training colleges, students who could gain university entrance qualifications could now take both a degree and a teaching qualification.

A further difference between the university day training colleges and the other training colleges was that very soon the universities began to train secondary as well as elementary teachers. After the Education Act of 1902 the number of secondary schools increased considerably. In 1908 the Board of Education recognised a limited number of institutions for training students with degrees or equivalent qualifications as secondary teachers. Half the institutions which obtained grants in the first year were UDEs (Dent, 1977, pp. 72-73). In 1918 it became possible for suitably qualified elementary students who had taken the 'pledge' to transfer to secondary training, and universities began to concentrate on training postgraduate secondary teachers. Although the last two year elementary course in the universities did not close until 1951, most disappeared during the 1920s (Jones, 1924, p. 103, Brock, 1978, p. 223, Lawson, 1965, p. 18).

The UDEs could also be distinguished from the training colleges by the role they played in the development of the study of education. Chairs of education were established in the 1890s and important contributions to

the study of education were made by historians and psychologists such as John Adamson, Foster Watson, John Adams, Michael Sadler, Godfrey Thomson and Percy Nunn (Thomas, 1978, p.259, Thomas, 1979, p. 29, Simon, 1983, pp. 4-5, Tibble, 1966, pp. 11 and 20, Fiddes, 1937, p. 174, Tyson and Tuck, 1971, p. 69). In addition, most departments began to offer higher degrees in education.

By the early 1920s, therefore, teacher education in the universities was taking on a quite different complexion from teacher education in the colleges. But contemporary opinion was divided on the value or desirability of training teachers in universities. Some believed that the status of teacher education and of elementary teachers could be enhanced by association with the universities (Laurie, 1892, pp. 11-12, Shakoor, 1964, pp. 324-331). Thus, one HMI wrote:

> 'I am heartily glad that the new day training colleges are with us. The time is long overdue when the wretched system of "cram" and "routine" pursued by the denominational colleges is challenged by the kind of wide, gentlemanly culture that only the universities can provide.' (quoted in Lofthouse, 1982, p. 88)

Other HMIs, themselves the products of university education, also favoured the university connection and made this clear in their evidence to the Cross Commission (Tuck, 1973a, p. 72). Representatives of the universities and university colleges emphasised the quality of the courses which they could provide, while representatives of School Boards favoured teacher education students having non-denominational education alongside other students. The teachers, as represented by the NUT, thought that training elementary teachers in universities would 'raise the teachers' status and efficiency, break down the barrier between

elementary and secondary teachers and loose the stranglehold of the government on the profession' (Tropp, 1957, p. 71).

But not all opinion was so favourable. Training college representatives pointed out the dangers of non-residential courses and suggested that the teaching abilities of university professors were not all that they might be. Some HMIs were sceptical of the value of any university contribution, while early HMI Reports on day training colleges criticised them for being too academic and neglecting school experience (Rich, 1933, pp. 224-228). In addition, the Board was unhappy about the universities' assertions of independence (Fitch, 1931, pp. 344-346). When some day training college students, having obtained degrees, went into occupations other than teaching, the universities defended themselves by attacking the Board's close control over teacher education (Lofthouse, 1982, pp. 101-103). Many teachers whose own qualifications were limited to teacher's certificates or less anticipated that the products of the universities would come to monopolise the occupation's more powerful positions (Tropp, 1957, p. 171).

Nor were the universities unanimous in their enthusiasm for their education departments. University interest in the day training college at Oxford was described by a visiting HMI as 'tepid' and the university contributed nothing to defray the college's expenses (Tomlinson, 1968, p. 295). Not only did the universities dislike the Board of Education's regulatory role, but they questioned whether teacher education was of university standard. Staff at Reading and at King's College were concerned about the academic ability of education students and the low level of work done in day training colleges (Thomas, 1978, p. 254). Education students at Newcastle found that other students 'regarded them as somewhat inferior' (Tyson and Tuck, 1971, p. 30), while the

authorities at the University of London hesitated to assign the title of professor to the head of the day training college because 'too close an association with a training college was not entirely compatible with the dignity that should hedge a professor' (Goodings, 1958, p. 6). This view also prevailed elsewhere. It was not until 1938 that Cambridge established a chair in education, while Oxford did not appoint its first professor until 1989 (Gordon, 1980, Vol. 1, p. xi, THES, 1989). Because training for undergraduates and non-graduates was often concurrent with academic studies, day training colleges' demands on students could be seen as a nuisance by other university staff (University of Reading, 1949, p. 18) and the conscription of students who had taken the 'pledge', along with the acceptance in some education departments of unmatriculated students, did nothing for the reputation of education (Armytage, 1954, p. 11, Lofthouse, 1982, p. 84). Even after four year courses became the norm, tensions remained. Students who wished to enter degree courses with Board of Education grants had to satisfy the requirements of the education department as well as of other departments in their chosen university, a situation which gave education departments a strong and sometimes unwelcome influence upon university admissions (Tyson and Tuck, 1971, p. 62).

As will be apparent from the foregoing description, the early development of teacher education in the universities was a haphazard and piecemeal process. The Board of Education issued regulations to meet circumstances as they arose and no clear line of policy emerged. The universities for their part took advantage of regulations which suited them, for example, after the First World War they were quick to apply regulations permitting them to do their own examining in professional as well as in academic subjects (Tuck, 1973a, p. 91), and where the regulations allowed they gave up activities which might compromise their status. Gradually they

began to concentrate on four year students and postgraduates and, in particular, on training prospective secondary rather than elementary teachers (Brock, 1978, p. 223). One historian of Reading University, which received its Charter in 1926, describes this process as follows:

'The University had successfully sloughed off one of the multifarious functions it had inherited from the College. It was no longer trying to serve as a training college . . . Henceforth the teachers it trained were graduates.' (Holt, 1977, p. 50)

By the mid 1920s, therefore, the foundations of the distinction between two year college training for elementary teachers and four year university education and training for secondary teachers had been firmly laid. It was at this point that the Board of Education began proceedings which were to bring the universities into a new relationship with the training colleges.

5. The Joint Board period

In 1925 the Departmental Committee on the training of elementary teachers presented its Report. The Committee had been set up in 1923 as a direct response to the crisis which had arisen over the funding of the local education authority training colleges, but its brief went wider. Its terms of reference were:

'To review the arrangements for the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools, and to consider what changes, if any, in the organisation or finance of the existing system are desirable in order that a supply of well qualified teachers adjustable to the demands of the schools may be secured, regard being had to

(a) the economy of public funds;

(b) the attractions offered to young persons by the teaching profession as compared with other professions and occupations;

> (c) the facilities offered by Secondary Schools and
>   Universities for acquiring academic qualifications.'
>   (Board of Education, 1925, p. 9)

It is notable that the Committee's deliberations were limited, as the Committee itself complained (ibid., pp. 152-153), to elementary teachers, and that the Committee had to take into account 'the economy of public funds'.

The Committee consisted of representatives of the training colleges, the universities, the local authorities, the teachers, the Board of Education and the Treasury (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 16-17). Like the Cross Commission before it, it was divided in its recommendations. Although there was agreement on a move towards ending the recognition of uncertificated teachers, abandoning the pupil-teacher system and sharing out more equitably the responsibility for financing the local education authority colleges (Humphreys, 1965, pp. 14-17), the Committee could not agree on the relationship between the academic and professional aspects of the training of teachers. By 1922 the pupil-teacher system was dying out and most intending teachers went to secondary school. The responsibility which training colleges had taken for the academic education of their students had largely been taken over by the secondary schools and although the raising of the school leaving age made greater demands on the academic abilities of elementary teachers, the improved general education of the training college students brought into question the need for colleges to continue to provide academic education. Could the two year course not be reduced to one year of intensive professional training? Such a solution, which was suggested in the minority Report, would be a quick and cheap way to increase the supply of trained teachers (Humphreys, 1965, p. 6).

The evidence collected by the Departmental Committee was part of the wider debate taking place in this period about the education and training of teachers. A pamphlet published by the Labour Party and the TUC in 1922 advocated university education followed by professional training for teachers (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 24). The NUT, concerned about the status of teaching, continued to press for university education for teachers in the hope that teaching would come to rank alongside the occupations of law, medicine and divinity (Gosden, 1972, p. 271, Brent, 1959, p. 184). The training colleges, too, saw closer connections with universities as a means of improving standards and status, and their Council of Principals passed a resolution to this effect in 1919 (Goss, 1950, p. 49). The issues were also discussed at the Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire in 1921, where it was suggested that the universities could not absorb large numbers of teacher training students and that the students for their part might prefer a college life of their own rather than the doubtful status of hangers-on at universities (Hill, 1921, p. 267 ff.).

In the course of its deliberations, the Committee examined the connections which existed between universities and training colleges, details of which had been set out by Jones in his study of the training of teachers in 1924. Some colleges prepared students for the external degrees of London University, others ran four year courses in conjunction with a university, whereby students spent three years as undergraduates at the university and the fourth year taking a professional course at the college. A number of lecturers in these colleges were recognised as teachers of the associated university. A few colleges in the north-west had their examinations conducted by the University of Liverpool instead of the Board of Education. As Jones points out, many colleges were too geographically remote to make it possible to establish meaningful links

with a university, although others which were situated in university towns had no such links anyway. In any case, the number of students actually involved in these links was very small (Jones, 1924, pp. 360-363).

Historians commenting on the work of the Departmental Committee have tended to see it in two quite different lights. Dobson, for example, as perhaps befits a former training college principal, sees its aim as the maintenance of the policy of keeping the training colleges in a subordinate or inferior position. He says:

> 'Any lingering hopes for the enhancement of the status of the training colleges were dashed by the Report of the Departmental Committee . . .' (1973, p. 56)

Humphreys, on the other hand, who was Professor of Education at the University of Bristol, takes a somewhat different view:

> 'What did more than anything else, however, to ensure that the training colleges would be kept in the main stream of higher education was the proposal for bringing about a closer association between the Training Colleges and the Universities.' (1965, p. 12)

It is easy enough to find evidence for both points of view in the Departmental Committee's Report, but taken as a whole the Report, on the face of it, does not uphold either perspective. Like many reports of its kind it was a compromise. Whatever the underlying motives were of the various members of the Committee, they were surely right to believe, although they favoured 'a much larger number of graduate teachers in Elementary Schools' (Board of Education, 1925, p. 77), that incorporating teacher training into the university system was not at that time a practical proposition. If they had accepted that all teachers were to be graduates, this would have meant in effect doubling the length of time

spent on higher education for the majority of teachers from two years to four. In the economic climate of the 1920s a suggestion that teacher training should be more time-consuming and costly would almost certainly have been rejected by the government. In any case, there was no certainty that the universities wanted to take over teacher training. Indeed, at least one precedent suggested the opposite to be the case. In 1921 when the British and Foreign School Society was threatening to close its colleges because it could no longer afford to maintain them, it suggested that its London colleges might be taken under the wing of London University. But the University made it clear that it was not interested in 'the prospect of taking over two academically suspect colleges in ramshackle condition' (Lofthouse, 1982, pp. 290-291). As has been suggested above, there is also evidence that the education students already in the universities were not universally regarded with favour. The Departmental Committee was surely right to believe that the universities would see a large increase in student numbers as incompatible with 'preserving what are now regarded as university standards' and that they might feel that their freedom was under attack if they played too great a part in 'a state-controlled activity' like teacher training (Board of Education, 1925, pp. 76-80). It would have made little sense for the Committee to make a recommendation which would certainly not have been implemented.

In the eyes of its critics, however, the Departmental Committee did not only fail to encourage hopes that teaching might become an all-graduate profession, but positively discouraged such aspirations. It is true that the Committee felt that the two and three year courses which combined degree and professional study were not 'defensible' but it did so in the light of the existence of the four year courses which some colleges ran in conjunction with universities and in the light of the problems which

had always attended such courses. Its views on the four year courses are indicative of the Committee's attempts to sit on the fence on the question of teacher training and the universities:

'Such arrangements, provided that they are not developed unfairly at the expense of ordinary Two Year students, for whom we think the Elementary Schools will for many years, and perhaps always, have a place, seem to us worthy of encouragement as a step towards giving the universities a further responsibility for the higher education of Elementary School teachers . . . We can commend the arrangement as, in our view, a valuable experiment . . .' (Board of Education, 1925, pp. 105-106)

Although it is true that the Committee recommended that the training college course should become more professional (ibid., p. 93), it rejected, in the majority Report at least, the idea of reducing the course to one year (ibid., p. 86) and proposed, 'in order that the claims of scholarship may be in no danger of being ignored or forgotten, and that definite opportunity may be provided for developing the habit of study which it is very desirable . . . for all teachers to have', that students should study at least one subject to a high level (ibid., p. 94). The Committee also suggested that three year college courses, though not degree courses, should become more common (ibid., p. 100). In addition, the Committee agreed that Joint Boards consisting of representatives of colleges and universities should be set up with the aim of taking over from the Board the responsibility for conducting the final qualifying examinations for certificated teachers. Further, the Committee put forward suggestions for other kinds of links between universities and colleges, for example, three year college students might spend their third year at a university, university and college lecturers

might give courses in each other's institutions and universities might be represented on training college governing bodies (ibid., pp. 108-110).

One is drawn to conclude that the Departmental Committee was negotiating a mine field, afraid on the one hand of undermining the colleges' and the unions' claims to higher status for teaching, and on the other of foiling the Board's attempts at economy and of offloading on to the universities responsibilities which they might be reluctant to accept. All of these parties were represented on the Committee and gave evidence to the Committee and it is not surprising that the Report, in its efforts to accommodate as many points of view as possible, failed to please anyone.

Criticisms of the Report should be seen in the light of the action which succeeded its publication. The Board of Education was enthusiastic, for reasons of economy, about the minority suggestion that the college course should be reduced to one year for students who had passed a Second School Examination, though students who passed the First School Examination should still take a two year course. But Circular 1377, which announced the acceptance of this proposal, was greeted by such an outcry that the Board backed off and eventually proposed that decisions on the length of the course should be left to the Joint Boards (Browne, 1979, p. 16). In effect this meant the continuation of the two year course, for neither the college nor the university representatives on the Joint Boards would agree to reducing the length of the course (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 35-36).

The Board, which had already given the universities the responsibility for most of the examining of their own teacher training students, was keen to dispense with the administratively expensive work of examining in the colleges. It therefore welcomed, in Circular 1372, the proposed

Joint Board scheme. Before any such scheme could be implemented, however, the universities had to be consulted, since, as the Committee reported, although they had heard university evidence, they had not discussed with the university representatives the extent to which they would be prepared to co-operate in such a scheme (Board of Education, 1925, p. 109). The universities were therefore approached, first by the colleges and then by the Board. A conference of representatives from the universities, the colleges, the local education authorities and the Board was held in March, 1926. The colleges, although they feared that they might simply be exchanging one master, the Board, for another, the universities, welcomed the university association (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 40-44). The LEAs were cautious about the university connection, while Dr Barker, Principal of King's College London, said of the universities that they 'were ready to co-operate perhaps rather from a sense of public duty than from a feeling that they had anything to gain from such co-operation, providing that it would not involve them in additional expense' (ibid., p. 45) - hardly an expression of enthusiasm. As a result of the conference, a committee was set up, chaired by R G Mayor, who had just retired from a senior post in the Board of Education. The committee drew up plans for Joint Boards consisting of representatives from universities and colleges in eleven geographical regions. Oxford University was a notable absentee from the scheme, while Cambridge was associated with only one college, Homerton. The two ancient universities claimed, on the basis of their national reputation, that it would be unsuitable for them to enter into purely regional arrangements.

One issue which the Joint Board scheme raised was that of standardisation between eleven different examination boards. This was a thorny question for the universities who felt that the establishment of a central

regulatory body might infringe their autonomy. The universities agreed, however, that the Central Advisory Committee, on which the universities were strongly represented, should 'maintain a general survey over the examinations instituted under Circular 1372 and . . . advise the Board upon questions arising therefrom' (Mayor Report, 1928, quoted in Niblett et al, 1975, p. 50). In practice, as it turned out, the universities need have had no fears for the Committee concentrated mainly on administrative matters (ibid., p. 57), though the Board of Education retained ultimate control over the system and HMI kept a close watch on it (Lawton and Gordon, 1987, pp. 76-77).

By 1930 the Joint Boards were in operation. They were responsible for determining syllabuses and conducting the examinations on them, while the Board continued to examine practical teaching, physical education and other practical subjects when required. This system continued in operation until after the Second World War. The Departmental Committee had recommended that association between colleges and universities should go further than just the conduct of examinations and in some cases such developments had occurred (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 63, Crouch, 1969, p. 9), but generally very little by way of closer links was achieved. Dobson, indeed, describes the university connection as 'illusory' (1973, p. 59). The Joint Boards themselves symbolised the difference between teacher training in the colleges and teacher training in the universities, for the Boards were responsible for examining only college students. Teacher training students in the universities were still examined by the universities, with HMI moderation for practical teaching. Further, when the Boards were set up, so anxious was the Board of Education to get them to take on its examination responsibilities that there was no time to develop other kinds of structural or institutional links between the universities and the colleges (Niblett et al, 1975,

p. 53). These were left largely to chance. Although the colleges by all accounts welcomed the university connection they seem to have been unable to strengthen the relationship in any significant way, perhaps because, as Dobson suggests (1973, p. 60), their staffs were so encumbered by their teaching and supervisory duties that they had little time to consider wider issues such as their relationships with the universities. The universities for their part evinced no more enthusiasm for relationships with the colleges during the Joint Board period than they had done at its outset. When the Board of Education considered the progress of the Joint Boards in 1932, an internal discussion paper was drawn up, which was littered with phrases such as 'the Manchester Vice-Chancellor is not greatly interested', and 'at Birmingham the part played by the University is very small' (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 60-63). There seems to be general agreement that the Boards did not, as had been hoped, promote substantial development in the colleges. The resulting dissatisfaction was such that, had it not been for the outbreak of the Second World War, the inquiry which was to take the form of the McNair Committee might have been instigated some years before it was (ibid., pp. 79-80).

The universities' lack of enthusiasm for teacher training in the colleges was matched by their lack of enthusiasm for teacher training within their own institutions. Yet by the time of the McNair Report in 1944 the departments of education had come a long way from the day training colleges of the 1890s. They were responsible for their own examining, except for HMI moderation of the practical teaching of a sample of students (Board of Education 1944, p. 16). They had developed postgraduate courses, largely for secondary teachers (Tuck, 1973a, p. 90), and they had begun to establish education as a field of academic study. By the 1930s most departments offered higher degrees in education (Tuck,

119

1973b, p. 107). The prestige of education was enhanced by a number of eminent people who were associated with university departments of education. Michael Sadler, for example, who was Professor of Education at Manchester, resigned in 1911 to become Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds (Fiddes, 1937, p. 174). Godfrey Thomson, the pioneer of the Moray House tests, went to Edinburgh from the Chair of Education at Newcastle in 1925 (Tyson and Tuck, 1971, p. 69). Other distinguished psychologists such as Percy Nunn, Cyril Burt and Susan Isaacs, and historians such as J W Adamson and M W Keatinge were on the staffs of education departments in the inter-war period.

At the end of the First World War Sir Fred Clarke, later to become Director of the London Institute of Education, was drawn to bemoan the fact that those concerned with the study of education in universities 'had failed to advance the subject as it deserved' (Simon, 1983, p. 2), and, despite the developments described above, the McNair Report, published twenty-five years later, noted 'the poor regard in which Education has in the past been held by some universities' (Board of Education, 1944, p. 14). Simon (1983, pp. 5-6) describes the inter-war years as 'in many respects, a period of stagnation' in which the content of student courses changed little and the demands of teacher training left little time for educational research.

Other writers, too, have commented on the heavy workload in education departments (Wood, 1953, p. 72). Jones, giving figures for 1912-1913, shows a staff-student ratio of 1 to over 30 (1924, p. 449). According to Tuck (1973a, p. 89) 'the records of a few sample departments suggest that all the departments remained desperately poorly staffed, one or two senior people carrying an enormous burden of teaching and administration'. At Newcastle, for example, in the late 1920s the number

of four year students rose from 288 to 320 but the number of established staff remained at five (Tyson and Tuck, 1971, p. 73). Armytage describes the staff of education departments between the wars as 'hard-working, and alas, often too earnest' (1954, p. 11).

Overwork, however, may not have been the only reason for the 'stagnation' which Simon sees as characteristic of the period. There is also evidence that some of the staff in education departments, as well as being too 'earnest', were also too limited in their own abilities and horizons to push out the frontiers of educational knowledge. Just before the First World War 20% of the teachers in education departments were non-graduates (Jones, 1924, p. 449). At Bristol HMI reported in 1919 that the staff were not good enough for a university department which was teaching a considerable proportion of graduates and that the salaries were not high enough to attract more able staff. It was this bombshell which finally prompted the university to appoint its first professor of education, Helen Wodehouse (Humphreys, 1976, p. 6). Professor Henderson, who held the first chair of education at Nottingham, is said to have 'made his mark by character rather than by scholarship', while his successor in 1923, H A S Wortley, who later became Principal of University College Nottingham, is described as 'a shrewd judge of men' but 'not quite so well equipped to lead an academic institution in the field of pure scholarship' (Wood, 1953, pp. 73 and 118). Many sources which describe the people who staffed the education departments at this time say little or nothing about their academic or intellectual qualities, an omission which suggests perhaps the absence of anything positive to say. Thus, although it is possible to give instances of eminent people who were working in education departments, it may be that many of the teaching staff could not compete intellectually with their colleagues in other subjects.

Other factors also contributed to the difficulties which education departments faced in establishing their position in the universities. The 'conscript draft' of students who had taken the pledge expressed their frustrations by criticising the staff in the education departments and the training they received there (Armytage, 1954, p. 11), while the continued existence of two year non-graduate courses in some education departments 'deflected attention which should be devoted to activities of more purely academic standards' (Wood, 1953, p. 112). In addition, the failure in many universities to establish education as an undergraduate study not only set education apart from most other university subjects, but also undermined the status of education as a subject for postgraduate study (Tuck, 1973b, pp. 102 and 107, Wiseman, 1953, pp. 56-57).

Sir Walter Moberly, writing after the Second World War, made a number of telling observations about the study of education in universities. He suggested, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this study, that academics, themselves untrained, were sceptical about the value of teaching students how to teach and that they doubted whether the quality of the staff of education departments and of their courses merited 'the university hall-mark'. As a result, 'till lately at least, the bulk of academic opinion has had no real belief in teacher-training and has been half-ashamed of the university's part in it' (1949, pp. 250-251). Although, as Hyndman (1978, p. 182) suggests, the university departments of education might have 'shed their day training college image' and 'achieved a decisive separation from the training colleges', they had failed to gain 'parity of esteem'.

The next developments to affect teacher education in the universities resulted from the recommendations of the McNair Committee (Board of Education, 1944).

6. The McNair Report

The McNair Committee's terms of reference were:

> 'To investigate the present sources of supply and the methods of
> recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders and to report
> what principles should guide the Board in these matters in the
> future.' (Board of Education, 1944, p. 5)

The Committee's diagnosis of the problems which beset the colleges was
that,

> 'the trait of cheapness, . . . , which has dogged the elementary
> schools has also cast its spell over the training colleges which
> prepare teachers for them. What is chiefly wrong with the majority
> of the training colleges is their poverty and all that flows from
> it.' (ibid., p. 13)

Whatever the problems of status which beset the education departments in
the universities, McNair concluded that poverty had not affected them as
it had the colleges. One of the Committee's prescriptions for curing the
problems of the colleges was closer association with the universities.
Unfortunately the Committee could not agree on what form the association
should take. A third major inquiry on teacher education was divided.

One of the schemes for closer association between the universities and
the colleges, scheme A as it was called, proposed that university Schools
of Education should be set up. These would be run by a delegacy subject
to university control and consisting of representatives of the
universities, the training colleges and the local education authorities.
The Schools would be responsible for the training of all the teachers in
their area and all the teacher training institutions, including the
university education departments, would be integral parts of the Schools.
The Schools of Education would take over the examining responsibilities
from the Joint Boards, offer a common professional qualification to all

teacher training students, foster educational research, provide in-service courses and generally act as the focus of teacher education in the localities (Gosden, 1972, p. 291). The alternative scheme B proposed in the McNair Report was a revised version of the Joint Board scheme. It suggested that the Joint Boards should be independent bodies which would not themselves undertake any teacher training, but which would be responsible for all the teacher training in their areas in both training colleges and universities. They would be responsible for examining and for establishing links, such as the exchange of tutors, between different teacher training institutions (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 103-104).

There were two main differences between the schemes. First, scheme A would put teacher training under the wing of the universities, whereas scheme B would put it under an independent body. Second, scheme A would build in a much greater degree of integration between the universities and other teacher training institutions, namely an 'organic federation' (Board of Education, 1944, p. 143), than would scheme B. Despite strenuous efforts the McNair Committee, unanimous though it was on all other aspects of its Report, could not reach agreement on the role the universities should play in the education and training of teachers. Many of the arguments which had been current at the time of the Departmental Committee Report in 1925 were resurrected in the discussion which accompanied the preparation and publication of the McNair Report, and need not be reiterated here (Browne, 1979, Chapter 6, Niblett et al, 1975, Chapter 4).

Generally speaking the universities did not welcome the proposal in scheme A, which was strongly supported by the Board of Education, that they 'ought to undertake the training of teachers and do it properly' (S H Wood, quoted in Niblett et al, 1975, p. 110). Indeed McNair

himself, who was Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University, could not accept the creation of a constitutional relationship between the colleges and the universities (ibid., p. 101). The problems of the colleges, which the analysis of the McNair Report had brought into such stark relief (Board of Education, 1944, pp. 13-15), were the very problems which made the universities look askance at them. One much quoted Vice-Chancellor described them as 'an unlovely lot to ask the universities to take an interest in' (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 152). Niblett et al (1975, p. 153) sum up the views of the universities as follows: 'On grounds of principle and prejudice alike many universities recoiled from taking responsibility for the training colleges'. Unfortunately for the universities, little as they liked scheme A, scheme B was even less acceptable to most of them for they feared that it would 'create an external body with the power of invading the proper autonomy of the universities' (Sir F Sibly, quoted in Niblett et al, 1975, p. 106). Given this unthinkable consequence, the universities tended to prefer scheme A as the lesser of the two evils. After the publication of the McNair Report, however, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors put forward its own proposal. Under scheme C, as it was known, the colleges would not become part of the university Schools of Education but would collaborate to a greater or lesser extent with the universities and the local education authorities under the aegis of Institutes of Education. The Institutes would be independent bodies, but, unlike the Joint Boards proposed in scheme B, would not be responsible for examining. The universities and the colleges would each examine their own students, though the colleges might do so jointly, using the Institutes for administrative purposes (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 129).

Such was the difficulty, both inside and outside the Ministry of Education (as the Board had now become), in reaching agreement on what to

do about the McNair proposals that it was not until more than two years later that the Ministry issued Circular 112 which in effect agreed to let interested parties disagree. Uniformity would not be imposed on the universities and each scheme would be a matter of negotiation. By 1951 sixteen Area Training Organisations, often known as Institutes of Education, had been founded. Most of them were modified versions of scheme A. By 1955 only Cambridge University operated a different arrangement which was based on scheme B. Although the universities had disliked scheme A, most of them had accepted watered-down versions of it. There were several reasons for this. Not only was it seen as a lesser evil than scheme B, but when the details came to be worked out it emerged that some of the universities' fears, for example, that they would be swamped by training college students, had been unjustified. Also, scheme C, which the universities themselves had proposed, proved to be difficult to operate and was soon abandoned by Liverpool and Reading. The universities were also influenced by the views of the Ministry, the local education authorities and the colleges. They generally supported scheme A, and no scheme could be finalised without their support. In addition, the late 1940s saw the retirement of many members of the older generation of Vice-Chancellors and professors of education and their replacement by younger people with less traditional views (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 151-157). For a variety of reasons, then, the universities were persuaded to adopt greater responsibility for teacher training.

But this was not achieved without questions being raised about university autonomy. In one respect the universities gained greater autonomy because the Ministry of Education accepted McNair's recommendations that it should hand over to the Area Training Organisations, whatever form they took, all responsibility for the final assessment of the work of students. As in 1925, this raised the question of comparability of

standards in different Area Training Organisations. McNair catered for this in two ways. The first was by the inclusion of an element of external examining, a strategy with which the universities were already familiar. The second was by HMI inspection - 'It is clear to us that in the future the professional course of the graduate, however provided, and the arrangements for the assessments of his achievement in the course must be open to inspection and report by HM Inspectors' (Board of Education, 1944, p. 89). This statement was no more than a confirmation of what was already the case with regard to HMI inspection of education departments. But in practice inspection 'had been carried out intermittently and with a velvet glove' (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 117, Lawton and Gordon, 1987, pp. 80-81). Newcastle, for example, was never inspected after 1911 (Tyson and Tuck, 1971, p. 47). Most universities, though they might not like to be reminded of the Board's rights, accepted the status quo, believing that inspection would be a matter of individual arrangement. The University of London, however, regarded this as a fundamental issue (Worsley, 1952, pp. 224-225). The result was that the universities and the Ministry entered into a series of discussions in an attempt to clarify the issue. Eventually, in the summer of 1947, after a period of 'acute controversy' between the University of London and the Ministry (Jeffery, 1955, p. 72), they agreed that inspection would be by agreement and that the inspectors would not report on the work of any individual lecturer (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 177-181). This agreement formed the basis of a concordat made in 1960 between the Ministry and the heads of university education departments on the question of inspection (Taylor, 1985, pp. 242-243). There the question of the role of HMI in university education departments rested until 1982.

Most writers agree that the Institutes of Education succeeded to a considerable extent in fulfilling the hopes which the McNair Committee

had entertained for them (eg Gosden, 1972, p. 293, Lawson, 1965, pp. 23-24, Tuck, 1973b, pp. 109-110, Browne, 1979, p. 73). In the same period the status of the teaching profession and of teacher training was raised by measures such as the abolition of the pledge, the end of the recognition of new uncertificated teachers and the lengthening of the training college course to three years (Gosden, 1972, pp. 288-299).

But the 'organic federation' recommended by some members of the McNair Committee was not achieved and the status of teacher education remained uncertain. In 1965 Lord Robbins said, '. . . when you visit the colleges you have the feeling that you are dealing with people who feel themselves to be second class academic citizens' (quoted in Niblett et al, 1975, p. 222). The universities regarded the Institutes as marginal (Niblett, 1972, p. 7, Browne, 1979, p. 107). In 1963 the Director of the London Institute of Education was quoted as saying of UDEs that 'until quite recent years they had been barely tolerated in universities' (David, 1963, p. 179). In 1966 Tibble wrote 'the position of education as a subject in the curricula of British universities is ambiguous and peripheral' (1966, p. 1), while Simon (1981, p. 144) suggests that it was symptomatic of the status of education that the Franks Report of 1966 which examined studies at Oxford ignored education altogether. The 1960s, however, saw further moves to strengthen the relationship between the universities and teacher education.

7.   The Robbins Report and the James Report

In 1961 the Robbins Committee was appointed, 'to review the pattern of full-time higher education in Great Britain and in the light of national needs and resources to advise Her Majesty's Government on what principles its long-term development should be based' (DES, 1963, p. 1). Although the training colleges as such were not represented on the Committee

(Browne, 1979, pp. 110-111), they had come so far in the previous twenty years as to be part of the subject matter of a report on higher education rather than of a separate inquiry on teacher education, and the Robbins Report, which was published in 1963, made a number of recommendations on the subject of teacher education.

The Report noted that 'the link between the universities and the training colleges had not proved as beneficial to the colleges as might have been hoped' (DES, 1963, p. 118) and proposed that the Institutes of Education should become Schools of Education, on the lines of McNair's scheme A, with closer financial and administrative links. In addition, the colleges, which should in future be known as colleges of education and have independent governing bodies, should provide, for selected students, courses for which the associated university would award a degree, the BEd (ibid., pp. 112-119). Robbins, like McNair, believed that the way forward for the colleges was in closer association with the universities (ibid., p. 119).

The government took the side of the LEAs in rejecting closer administrative and financial links between colleges and universities, though it set up the Weaver study group to inquire into the administration and control of the colleges of education (Hyndman, 1978, pp. 156-157). But the government approved of closer academic ties. It agreed to a four year college course leading to a BEd, and discussion on this began. There were difficulties to be faced. Some universities were worried about the inclusion in a degree course of practical subjects such as domestic science and PE which played a large part in the college curricula. Some were unwilling to offer honours degrees. There were problems of how and when to select the students for the BEd (Dent, 1977, p. 144) and over the recognition of members of college staffs as

legitimate teachers of the BEd (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 270). Further problems arose in 1969 when the BEd was made available to serving certificated teachers with over five years' experience. They had to complete a period of part-time study, followed by a year's full-time study. Some universities had no provision for part-time degrees or for allowing other qualifications such as the teacher's certificate to count towards the degrees they awarded (Bradley, 1984, p. 88). Although the part-time BEd proved popular, the full-time BEd was not. Many of the certificate students who qualified for a fourth year did not take up the option, particularly where selection for the BEd was left until after the results of the certificate examinations were known. In such circumstances, not surprisingly, many students preferred to take a job rather than risk the consequences of failing to get a BEd place (Dent, 1977, p. 145). Thus, although the universities were offering degrees to college students, their reluctance to so do was evident in arrangements such as these. Despite such difficulties, by 1969 all twenty-one universities which had Schools of Education had made BEd awards.

Although Niblett et al (1975, p. 231) describe the universities' response to the School of Education proposals in Robbins as 'lukewarm', most accepted the proposals in principle. In practice, when the Schools were set up, as with the Institutes, a variety of arrangements were made. Most universities kept control of examining through faculties or boards of education and the extent to which university education departments were merged into the Schools varied considerably (Niblett et at, 1975, pp. 249-250).

As a result of the implementation of these aspects of the Robbins proposals the universities and the colleges of education were drawn closer together. But the 1960s and early 1970s saw a number of

developments which brought into question the assumption that the future of the colleges lay in association with the universities.

One development was the expansion in higher education provision which followed the publication of Robbins. The setting up of the polytechnics and the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) offered an alternative to the universities in the country's system of higher education (Bradley, 1984, p. 86). Teacher training courses were established in polytechnic public sector institutions. At first these were validated by the university Schools of Education. In 1972, however, the CNAA began validating BEd degrees and in 1974 the UGC and CNAA announced the setting up of a new type of BEd degree. Students were to be selected on the same basis as other undergraduates at the beginning of the four year course. The new BEd could be validated by both universities and the CNAA. The universities' hold on teacher education, unenthusiastic as it had been, was broken (Dent, 1977, pp. 145-146).

A second development was the unprecedented expansion in the number of college of education places in the 1960s to provide teachers for the greatly increased number of pupils. This was followed, however, by a significant decline in the birth rate in the late 1960s (Pyle, 1979, pp. 18-19), which raised the question of contraction in teacher education. It had long been a criticism of the colleges that they were monotechnic institutions which segregated prospective teachers from the rest of the student population. The 1970s saw the virtual disappearance of the monotechnic college of education. But this development took place for demographic and economic reasons rather than for education reasons. In Circular 7/73 (DES, 1973b) the DES announced the changes in further and higher education which resulted from the White Paper 'A Framework for Expansion' (DES, 1972a) and the James Report of 1972. The James Report

(DES, 1972b) suggested a scheme of three 'cycles'. The first cycle would cover the prospective teacher's personal education, either in a three year degree course or a two year Dip HE. The second cycle, lasting two years, would include professional training and a probationary year of teaching. The third cycle would cover the long-term in-service training of serving teachers. In the White Paper the government basically accepted the James recommendations for the first and third cycles, but rejected the second cycle partly on the grounds that it allowed insufficient time for teaching practice. The 'expansion' of the title was the expansion of higher education, but by the 1970s this no longer included the expansion of teacher education and training. It was clear by this time that for some years to come fewer teachers would be needed. The White Paper suggested that the necessary reduction in teacher training could release facilities to serve the planned increase in public sector places in higher education (DES, 1972a, p. 44). The logical consequence was to associate the colleges more closely with the public sector which was to expand more than the universities. Circular 7/73 stated that between 1971 and 1981 the number of full-time students in initial teacher training would be reduced from about 114,000 to 60,000-70,000, 'and corresponding higher education provision will have to be made for this number of students by diversifying the roles of the colleges of education' (DES, 1973b, para. 3). Some colleges were integrated with universities. Many became integral parts of polytechnics, some amalgamated with further education colleges, and some with other colleges of education (Shaw, 1984, Lynch, 1984). Many, particularly small, isolated establishments, were closed.

The James Report, in addition to its much publicised 'three cycles', also made recommendations regarding the ATOs. The Report suggested that 'the colleges have grown up and should be encouraged to move forward to a new

degree of independence' and that 'although it would be folly to dissociate the universities from teacher education and training the time has now come for major modifications of the present relationship' (DES, 1972b, p. 49). It therefore proposed the abolition of the ATOs and their replacement by independent regional councils financed directly by the DES, on which all institutions of higher education in a region should be represented. Although the new machinery was not set up immediately, the ATOs were in effect abolished in 1975 (Lynch, 1979, p. 139, Gosden, 1984, pp. 40-41).

Despite such far-reaching changes, the universities still retained a major influence on teacher education. They helped staff the CNAA and some continued to validate courses in their own right. They trained about half of the PGCE students in England and Wales and offered a variety of in-service provision. But the end of their higher education monopoly meant that they were no longer the only or even the obvious institutions to take major responsibilities for teacher education. It is ironic that just at the point where the universities had begun to take on such responsibilities, the colleges no longer needed them. In 1980 teacher education was integrated with the rest of the country's system of higher education, the teacher's certificate course was disappearing (McNamara and Ross, 1982, p. 5), and graduates, with the exception of teachers of mathematics and science, had to take a course of training before being allowed to teach in state schools (Taylor, 1984, p. 17). Thus many of the aspirations of those in teacher education, described in this chapter, had been fulfilled.

At the same time major changes were taking place in the development of education as a subject of academic study. The 1960s saw the rise of the academic 'disciplines' of education, with the universities at the

forefront in producing specialists in the philosophy, psychology, history and sociology of education. Higher degrees in education became increasingly available and attracted growing numbers of students, offering a measure of academic respectability to university departments of education (Simon, 1983, pp. 8-9). Even so, the PGCE remained central to the work of most education departments and attempts to make education more respectable academically were seen as being to some extent at odds with the needs of PGCE students (ibid., pp. 10-11, Mitchell, 1985, p. 49). The tension between the academic ethos of the university and the practical ethos of teacher education had been an issue, as this chapter has described, ever since the universities had become involved in teacher education in a major way. Developments in the 1980s were to make this tension even more apparent.

8.   The Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education

The far-reaching changes which took place in teacher education in the 1970s and in higher education generally altered the relationship between the universities and the rest of the teacher education world, but they had relatively little effect on teacher education within the universities themselves. The university PGCE courses continued to train about 5,000 students a year (Bradley, 1984, p. 96) and, although there was pressure to change and develop the courses (see Chapters Seven and Eight), the PGCE was not subject to any major structural or institutional changes. The 1980s, however, saw further changes in the organisation of teacher education in England and Wales and this time the universities did not escape untouched.

In the early 1980s the government was expressing two main concerns about teacher education. The first was quantitative and the second qualitative. There was much debate about the numbers of students

entering higher education generally and through the UGC and the NAB central government exercised considerable control. The severe cutbacks which had taken place in teacher education in the public sector in the 1970s, but which had not affected the universities, meant that the universities' share of teacher education was much greater than it had traditionally been (Bruce, 1985, p. 170, Eggleston, 1983, Taylor, 1979) and could no longer be ignored in any attempt to control numbers. In 1982 negotiations between DES, HMI, the Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) and the UGC Education Committee resulted in a national allocation of PGCE student numbers (UCET, 1983, pp. 3-4, Eggleston, 1983) and teacher education within the universities thus became subject to quantitative control.

At the same time, however, there was concern about quality. Gone were the days of the 1960s when numbers were all (Bruce, 1985, p. 165). A range of DES and HMI publications pointed to government concern about the quality of teacher education (eg DES, 1982b, 1982c, 1982d, 1983a). At the same time there was pressure on university departments of education to strengthen their links with HMI (DES, 1982a, p. 215, Kogan and Kogan, 1983, p. 40) for they constituted the only sector of teacher education which was not subject to any direct quality control through HMI. There was no clear evidence that teacher education in the universities was very different from teacher education in the public sector and some UDEs were sufficiently confident of the quality of their work to make a point of inviting HMI to visit them (Eggleston, 1983). Under the concordat of 1960 described above HMI did not claim the right to visit, but had to wait for an invitation. In addition, they did not usually report on UDEs and their staff in the way that they did on teacher education elsewhere. Such was the climate of accountability, however, that UCET soon began expressing concern about the attitude of HMI, about the difference

between visits and inspections and about infringements of university autonomy (UCET, 1982, p. 7, 1983, p. 7).

The government's concern about the quality of teacher education culminated in the White Paper 'Teaching Quality' (DES, 1983b) which set out criteria for the accreditation of initial teacher education courses. The following year Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) announced the setting up of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE). All teacher education courses in future had to seek accreditation, otherwise their students would not be eligible for qualified teacher status, without which they would not be able to teach in state schools. Through a number of mechanisms, including HMI visits, information was to be collected about teacher education courses to see if they met a range of criteria relating to course length, links with schools, the selection and assessment of students, the school teaching experience of staff and the content of both subject and professional studies (DES, 1984). Despite much opposition in the teacher education community to both the principle and the practice of accreditation (Mills, 1985, Shaw, 1985, Rudduck, 1986, THES, 1986a, Lacey, 1985b, The Guardian, 1986), CATE began work in 1985 under the chairmanship of Professor William Taylor, formerly of the London Institute of Education. Eight of the first nine institutions which it scrutinised failed to meet the criteria (TES, 1985) and a series of CATE Notes was issued to describe the Council's approach to accreditation and to clarify the nature of the criteria (CATE, 1985-1986). Four years later 53 out of the 93 undergraduate and postgraduate initial teacher training courses had been approved (TES, 1989b). Concern about teacher education did not abate, however, and HMI continued to publish reports on the quality of teaching and of teacher education (DES, 1987, DES, 1988c), including an overview of teacher education in the universities (DES, 1988d).

The work of CATE had many parallels with the close control over teacher education which was exercised by central government in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. From the universities' perspective, however, where it differed was in the treatment of the universities. When the universities first began training teachers they were allowed exemption from some of the controls to which the rest of teacher education was subject, and over the years they were increasingly able to assert their autonomy. With the advent of CATE university teacher education courses had to submit to control like all other teacher education courses. The only concession was that university courses were to be inspected 'by invitation' (DES, 1984), rather than of right, as in the public sector. These were largely empty words in any case since teacher education in the universities, unless it was to go out of business, had to accept accreditation and all that went with it. The tension between the academic and the practical in teacher education in the universities which has been outlined in this chapter was accentuated by the requirements of CATE, which, although acknowledging the value of a high level of subject knowledge, also stressed the practical aspects of a teacher's education. The nature of this tension will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

Interestingly, government policy on teacher education seemed to have come full circle in the late 1980s. Not only was there close control over teacher education courses, but there were also plans to increase the supply of teachers through allowing people to work in schools without first having undergone a course of training. Such people would instead be trained on the job, with the practical aspects very much to the forefront. These proposals, like CATE, were much criticised by teachers and teacher educators, but were put forward by the government as a means of ensuring an adequate supply of teachers to provide the National

Curriculum which was being put in place as a result of the 1988 Education Reform Act (TES, 1989a).

9.   Conclusion

The history of teacher education in England and Wales is a comparatively short one. Education specifically designed for teachers grew alongside the provision of publicly funded schools in the nineteenth century and in their search for status teachers sought to make training compulsory and to encourage the universities to become involved in it. When the data were collected for the study reported here all entrants to teaching had to have a degree or equivalent qualification and had to have followed a course of training.

Throughout the twentieth century the universities played a major role in teacher education, either directly in their own departments of education, or indirectly in validating courses run by other institutions, and it can be argued that this involvement helped teaching to attain the status its members desired. From the university perspective, however, involvement in teacher education was by no means an unmixed blessing. Although it brought money and students, it also threatened the universities' status and autonomy. Educating teachers was a low status state-controlled activity, as exemplified in the nineteenth century training colleges for the teachers of the poor, and even when it took place in universities which were protective of their high levels of status and autonomy, the education of teachers could not quite succeed in shaking off its nineteenth century image. The history of the universities and teacher education is a history of an uneasy relationship. The study reported here aimed to explore the nature and implications of that relationship in 1980, ninety years after the universities began to train teachers on a large scale. Chapter Four gives details of how the data for the study

were collected and subsequent chapters present the findings of the study, setting them in the context of the history of teacher education in the universities.

CHAPTER FOUR

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES

1.   The Structure and Process of Initial Teacher Education

As described in Chapter One, the data on university teachers of education

used in the present study were collected as part of a larger project,

'The Structure and Process of Initial Teacher Education Within

Universities in England and Wales' (the SPITE project), whose purpose was

to make a survey of the Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) in

universities in England and Wales.   The project, which had its origins in

the committees of the Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers

(UCET), was based at the University of Leicester School of Education and

was funded by the Department of Education and Science.   The project began

in 1979 and finished in 1982 and the findings are published in Patrick et

al (1982).

One part of the project, which was the responsibility of the present

author, was to conduct a study, by questionnaire and interview, of the

staff in university departments of education which offered PGCE courses.

The data were collected in 1980 and form the central part of this study.

2.   The population

The population from which the data were collected consisted of all

teaching staff in the thirty departments of education offering PGCE

courses in universities in England and Wales.   The SPITE project team

liaised with a member of staff in each department who provided a list of

current teaching staff in the academic year 1979-1980.   As far as

possible research and other academic related staff were excluded, but a

small number of staff from other departments, who also taught in education departments, were included. In all, 1,255 members of staff from thirty departments were invited to take part in the survey.

It should be noted that in 1979-1980 a PGCE course was also available in one other university but it was excluded from the survey because it had only just been set up and the project team did not wish to impose an extra burden on the staff while they were developing a new course.

3. Procedures

a) The questionnaire survey

The main part of the survey was carried out by means of a lengthy questionnaire which was sent to all 1,255 staff in the thirty departments of education included in the SPITE project. A postal questionnaire was used as the most efficient way of collecting information from a large number of people. One problem with using postal questionnaires is that response rates can be low, making the results of doubtful value (Cohen and Manion, 1985, pp. 108-111). In the present study, however, the project team did not anticipate serious difficulties in this respect because the study was supported by UCET and had been well publicised in university education departments. In the event, as described below, a good response was received.

The pilot study was carried out in February 1980. Since the questionnaire was to be sent to the total population of university teachers in thirty education departments offering PGCE courses, there was no suitable group with whom to pilot it apart from those who would ultimately take part in the survey. The pilot study, therefore, consisted of two parts. First, the staff of one department were invited to complete the pilot questionnaire on the understanding that their help

would be requested again when the final version was ready. This yielded 30 out of a possible 37 responses. Second, comments were invited from the members of staff with whom the SPITE project was liaising in each of the other departments, and 26 of them responded.

As a result of the pilot study several amendments were made and the final version of the questionnaire was sent out early in May, 1980. A first reminder was sent early in June, 1980, and a second, along with another copy of the questionnaire, in September, towards the end of the summer vacation. The final version of the questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 1. The questionnaires were individually numbered so that reminders need not be sent to staff who had already responded. It was possible for staff to remove the numbers and so make themselves anonymous, but only a small number did so.

The questionnaire was designed to be as comprehensive as possible and was consequently somewhat lengthy. It was divided into four parts. The first section asked staff about their social and educational backgrounds and included questions about their school teaching experience. The next section sought their opinions on a range of aspects of the PGCE, including the length and organisation of the course, the aims of the course and the selection and assessment of the students. The third section asked staff about their work, about their contributions to the PGCE and to other courses and about their research and publications. The last section was for method tutors and asked about their responsibilities for method work and about the context of their method courses.

As far as possible closed questions were used so that tutors could complete them quickly by ticking boxes. Many questions, however, were open-ended to allow the maximum of flexibility and variety in response.

All except three of the open-ended questions were subsequently coded for computer analysis. The three questions which were not coded in this way invited tutors to make lengthy, discursive responses which were not amenable to coding, but were analysed manually like the interview responses.

The data from the returned questionnaires were transferred to coding sheets and punched on cards for computer use. Each case consisted of seven cards. When a computer file had been made it was checked for coding errors and corrections were made. The data were analysed using SPSS and SPSS-X (Nie et al, 1975, SPSS Inc, 1983). In addition to various descriptive statistics, the X^2 test of significance and discriminant analysis were used. The X^2 tests were used mainly as indicators of the variables which could most usefully be included in the discriminant analysis. X^2 results were accepted as significant only if they reached the 1% level of significance, ie the probability was < 0.001 that the groups were not signigicantly different. In the discriminant analysis the stepwise method was used. This is described in the SPSS manual as follows:

'The stepwise procedure begins by selecting the single best-discriminating variable according to a user-determined criterion. A second discriminating variable is selected as the variable best able to improve the value of the discrimination criterion in combination with the first variable. The third and subsequent variables are similarly selected according to their ability to contribute to further discrimination. At each step, variables already selected may be removed if they are found to reduce discrimination when combined with more recently selected variables. Eventually, either all variables will have been selected

or it will be found that the remaining variables are no longer able to contribute to further discrimination.' (Nie et al, 1975, p. 436)

The criterion for inclusion in the analysis was the overall multivariate F ratio for the test of differences between the group centroids. The minimum value of F, below which variables would not be included in the analysis, was set at 1.0. The tolerance level, which limits the inclusion of variables which are highly correlated, was set at 0.7 in the first instance. The analyses were then computed again with different tolerance levels to check whether the findings held up with the application of different parameters.

In the course of the analysis the data were categorised in various ways. The education departments were categorised in three different ways: first, geographically; second, by size, that is, the number of PGCE students in 1980; third, by the type of university in which the departments were located. The allocation of departments to categories is presented in Figure 4.1. In most of the analyses staff with the title of 'Reader' were combined with 'Senior Lecturers' because their numbers were so small. Although respondents were asked to give their age in years as at 1st April 1980, for the purposes of most of the analysis age was categorised as 'Under 40', '40-44', '45-49', '50-54' and '55 and over'. This categorisation gave broadly similar numbers of staff in each group and corresponded to the categorisations for 40 and upwards used in UGC figures, so that comparisons could be made. Responses to the item on father's or guardian's occupation were categorised according to the Registrar-General's 'Classification of Occupations' (OPCS, 1970). Other major items in the questionnaire which required recoding into groups were subjects. These included subjects which tutors had taught in schools and further education, subjects in which they held qualifications and method

subjects which they were teaching on the PGCE. For most of the analysis these were divided into seven groups, Languages, Arts, Social Sciences, Sciences, Physical Education, Primary/Middle and Other. The details are presented in Figure 4.2.

The last main area of categorisation was of the topics and courses tutors taught on the non-method parts of the PGCE. As far as possible the categorisation was based on the labels used by the tutors in their responses. This approach resulted in numerous separate categories, though some of them, for example, psychology of education, language, the curriculum, sociology of education, history of education, special education, multicultural education, assessment and philosophy of education, were cited relatively frequently and gave some pattern to the data. In addition, with the help of documentation provided by PGCE tutors, it was possible to combine course titles which were used to denote general courses on educational issues, for example, 'Principles and Practice of Education', 'Current Issues in Education', 'Schools, Teachers and Children', 'Background Studies', 'Principles of Teaching', 'Education Studies'.

Categorisation of this kind simplified the analysis of the data and made it possible to see broad trends and patterns. Because the data were collected at a much greater level of detail, however, it was also possible to select individual departments and subjects for in-depth analysis. Thus, for example, it was comparatively common for education tutors to hold higher degrees in education and for some analyses education was treated as a separate subject instead of being included with other Social Science subjects. It was also possible to make calculations such as the mean age of staff.

b)   The interviews

The interviews were carried out in the Autumn term of 1980. 47 members of staff from 7 departments took part. The 7 departments were selected because they were the subject of more detailed inquiries in the SPITE project than were the remaining 23 departments. Given the diversity of PGCE courses it was not possible to choose a subsample of departments which represented all the possible dimensions which might have been desirable. The sample also had to be limited to some extent geographically because of the cost of travelling to distant departments. Even with these limitations, however, the 7 selected departments ranged in size from a fairly small PGCE course to one of the largest and included a Welsh department and an Oxbridge department. Old and new civic universities and an ex-CAT were also included.

Almost all the staff who were invited to participate in the interviews agreed to do so. Only five refused, two for health reasons, because they wanted to avoid any extra commitments and one because he had to go abroad. Two tutors did not give reasons for their refusals.

The interviews had two main aims. First, it was hoped that they would illustrate and enlarge upon aspects which could be dealt with only briefly in the questionnaire. Second, they investigated aspects which were not included in the questionnaire.

An interview schedule was drawn up to act as a guideline while the interviews were being conducted. It is reproduced in Appendix 2. The schedule gave some uniformity of structure to the interviews, although the questions were deliberately designed to be open-ended and tutors were invited to range as widely as they wished over a variety of aspects of their work. Tutors were asked about the length, content, organisation

146

and aims of the PGCE course, about the recruitment of students, about their workload and the resources available to them and about promotion prospects in education departments. Most of the issues covered were a matter of common debate in teacher education and tutors spoke readily about them.

The interviews were scheduled to last for approximately an hour, though some continued beyond this. The interviews were conducted in the offices of the interviewees and were occasionally interrupted by telephone calls and visitors. During all the interviews notes were taken. In addition, all except two of the tutors interviewed agreed that the interviews should be tape-recorded. All the interviews were written up as soon as possible, usually within two or three days, and when all were completed, a content analysis was carried out. The element of uniformity which arose from the use of the semi-structured interview schedule made it possible to undertake some quantitative analysis of the responses, but for the most part the numbers involved were too small to merit it. What the interviews were most valuable for was eliciting a range of responses, though some patterns also emerged.

4.   The respondents

a)   The questionnaire survey

Of the 1,255 staff to whom questionnaires were sent, 879 or 70.0% replied. From these, 762, or 60.7% of the questionnaires, were usable. Most of those which could not be used had not been completed usually because the staff involved had few or no PGCE responsibilities and believed that they should not participate in the survey, even though they were invited to do so in the letter which accompanied the questionnaire.

The 762 respondents were checked for representativeness in a number of respects. Each of the thirty departments was represented among the respondents. The response rate was over 50% for all except four departments. In addition, there were 14 anonymous respondents whose departments were unknown (see Table 4.1). The respondents matched the total population almost exactly with regard to sex and seniority as given in the lists provided by each department (see Table 4.1). When compared with the UGC figures for academic staff in education departments (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 56), the respondents were found also to be representative in terms of age (see Table 4.2). With regard to qualifications, a check was made from departmental lists and from the Commonwealth Universities' Yearbook for 1980 (Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1980) on the number who possessed a doctorate. In this respect, staff possessing a doctorate were very slightly over-represented among the respondents to the present survey (Table 4.3).

b)   The interviews

The composition of the interview survey was determined in part by the nature of the student subsample used in the SPITE project. So that direct comparisons could be made between staff and students, the group of staff interviewed came from the same 7 departments as the student subsample, and, as far as possible, included the method tutors who had taught the students in the subsample. Thus 33 of the 47 staff interviewed were the method tutors of the subsample students. The remaining 14 interviewees consisted of 6 additional method tutors and 8 non-method tutors, all of whom had some PGCE teaching responsibility. The inclusion of so many method tutors meant that the interview group included a higher proportion of tutors at the lecturer grade and a higher proportion under 40 years of age than did the total population. Also, women were over-represented in the interview sample (Table 4.4). The

interview sample, therefore, should be regarded as illustrative rather than representative.

5.   Additional sources of data

The data on university teachers of education used in this study were drawn mainly from the questionnaires and interviews described above.   In addition, however, explanatory and supportive material was obtained from documentation supplied by departments, from interviews conducted at the beginning of the project with the members of staff who were liaising with SPITE (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979) and from evidence given by the students involved in the SPITE project (Patrick et al, 1982).

6.   Data presentation

In conclusion, a point needs to be made about the presentation of data in this study.   It is in the nature of a questionnaire survey that not all respondents will answer all the questions.   As a result, the total number answering any individual item on the questionnaire varies.   In subsequent chapters, unless otherwise stated, the percentages reported are based on the number of respondents who answered the questionnaire and not on the number who answered any individual question.   Non-respondents are therefore included as a separate group in the tables.

Figure 4.1
Categorisation of university departments of education

By number of PGCE students in 1980

Over 250	London Institute, Leicester, Leeds
200 - 250	Cardiff, Nottingham, Oxford, Cambridge
150 - 200	Bristol, Sheffield, Durham, Liverpool, Aberystwyth, Exeter, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle
100 - 150	Bangor, Southampton, King's College, Hull, Loughborough, Reading, Swansea, Sussex
Under 100	Keele, Bath, York, Chelsea College, Brunel, Warwick

By geograhpical region

Wales	Cardiff, Bangor, Aberystwyth, Swansea
London	King's College, Chelsea College, London Institute
North	Sheffield, Durham, Liverpool, York, Hull, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle
Midlands	Keele, Leicester, Birmingham, Loughborough, Nottingham, Warwick
South Midlands	Oxford, Cambridge
South	Bristol, Southampton, Bath, Brunel, Exeter, Reading, Sussex

By type of university *

Wales	Cardiff, Bangor, Aberystwyth, Swansea
London	King's College, Chelsea College, London Institute
Oxbridge	Oxford, Cambridge
Old civic	Birmingham, Bristol, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield
New civic	Hull, Keele, Leicester, Nottingham, Reading, Southampton, Exeter
New	Sussex, York, Warwick
Former CATs	Bath, Brunel, Loughborough

* This categorisation is based on Halsey and Trow (1974, pp. 140-144), except that Keele is categorised as a new civic rather than a new university because of its relatively early foundation.

Figure 4.2
Categorisation of subjects

Languages
Any modern language, including French, Spanish, German, Russian, Italian, Welsh, also English as a second or foreign language and Latin

Arts
English, History, Economic History, Geography, Philosophy, Classical Studies, Religious Studies, Drama

Social Sciences
Sociology, Psychology, Educational Psychology, Politics, Economics, Social Science, Humanities, Social Studies, Liberal Studies, Communication Studies

Sciences
Biology, Biological Science, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, General Science, Geology, Computer Science, Engineering Science, Technology

PE
PE, Games, Outdoor Pursuits, Athletics

Primary/Middle
Primary, Nursery, Infant, Middle

Other
Art, Music, Home Economics, Remedial Education, General Studies, Craft, Design

Table 4.1
Questionnaire respondents by department, sex and seniority

Dept	N Staff	M	F	Prof	R&SL	Lect	Other	Total Return	Usable Return	Usable Return % of N Staff
1	44	36	8	3	7	32	2	32	31	70.4
2	45	34	11	3	9	33	0	32	26	57.7
3	32	26	6	3	6	21	2	27	26	81.2
4	28	21	7	1	3	22	2	21	19	67.8
5	20	18	2	1	4	15	0	13	12	60.0
6	47	42	5	1	4	42	0	38	36	76.6
7	23	18	5	2	8	13	0	20	19	82.6
8	16	15	1	2	2	12	0	12	12	75.0
9	37	33	4	3	11	23	0	31	31	83.8
10	14	9	5	2	2	10	0	12	12	85.7
11	35	26	9	2	7	26	0	15	14	40.0
12	23	22	1	1	4	9	9	18	16	69.8
13	27	22	5	1	4	22	0	18	17	63.0
14	25	19	6	3	6	16	0	18	18	72.0
15	21	19	2	2	4	15	0	14	14	66.6
16	56	49	7	5	11	40	0	42	35	62.5
17	10	9	1	1	3	6	0	8	7	70.0
18	91	86	5	4	8	79	0	61	54	59.3
19	70	59	11	4	13	50	3	49	37	52.8
20	159	114	45	18	38	102	1	89	73	45.9
21	36	31	5	2	3	16	15	24	21	58.3
22	53	46	7	3	11	34	5	39	29	54.7
23	56	43	13	2	9	45	0	35	26	46.4
24	46	43	3	3	15	28	0	34	29	63.0
25	32	28	4	2	5	25	0	26	21	65.6
26	24	22	2	2	7	15	0	19	16	66.6
27	32	27	5	3	7	16	6	19	18	56.2
28	20	17	3	0	3	7	10	16	14	70.0
29	21	17	4	1	2	2	15	10	7	33.3
30	112	85	27	4	19	89	0	73	58	51.7
NA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	14	0
Total	1255	1036	219	84	235	866	70	879	762	60.7
%	100.0	82.6	17.4	6.8	18.7	69.0	5.5	70.0	60.7	

152

Table 4.2
Questionnaire respondents by age - compared with UGC figures on university teachers of education

	Respondents		UGC figures*	
	N	%	N	%
Up to 40	178	23.4	408	25.7
40 and over	570	74.8	1181	74.3
Non responses	14	1.8	0	0
Total	762	100.0	1589	100.0

* USR (1982) Vol 1, p. 56 (includes staff in education departments which had no PGCE courses)

Table 4.3
Questionnaire respondents by possession of a doctorate - compared with total population

	Respondents		Total population*	
	N	%	N	%
Staff with doctorate	203	26.6	286	22.8
Staff without doctorate	559	73.4	969	77.2
Total	762	100.0	1255	100.0

* Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1980

Table 4.4
Interview sample

	Interview sample		Total population	
	N	%	N	%
Position				
Professor	3	6.4	84	6.8
Reader/Senior Lecturer	8	17.0	235	18.7
Lecturer	36	76.6	866	69.0
Other	0	0	70	5.5
Sex				
Men	37	78.7	1036	82.6
Women	10	21.3	219	17.4
Age				
Up to 40	15	31.9	408	25.7*
40 and over	32	68.1	1181	74.3
Possession of doctorate				
Yes	13	27.7	286	22.8
No	34	72.3	969	77.2

* USR (1982) Vol 1, p. 56 (includes staff in education departments which had no PGCE courses)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF UNIVERSITY

TEACHERS OF EDUCATION

1.   Introduction

It was argued in Chapter One that university teachers of education had

two main reference groups, school teachers and university teachers.

Because most university teachers of education had themselves been school

teachers and were preparing their students to become school teachers,

they had close links with school teaching as an occupation. At the same

time, they had moved into universities and had therefore taken on a new

occupation, namely, university teaching. In Chapter Two a range of

evidence was drawn upon to support the contention that school and

university teachers, as occupational groups, differed considerably in a

variety of ways. In this chapter data from the present study will be

used to explore the nature of the characteristics of university teachers

of education and to examine how they compared, as an occupational group,

with school teachers on the one hand and university teachers on the

other.

2.   Sex, age, parental occupation and schooling

a)   Sex

The first characteristic of university teachers of education to be

considered here is sex. In the present study 16.8% of the questionnaire

respondents were women (Table 5.1). The proportion differs only slightly

from that given in official statistics for 1980, the year when the data

were collected for the present study. According to the UGC figures in

1980 19.9% of academic staff in all university departments of education

154

in England and Wales were women (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 51). Evidence
from Taylor (1965), from UGC figures (DES, 1974 and 1969, Stats. of Ed.
1972, Vol. 6, p. 63 and 1966, Vol. 6, pp. 110-111), and from the present
study indicates that in the early 1970s there was a slight fall in the
proportion of women being recruited to, or working in, education
departments. This was very small, however, and was later reversed.

Further analysis of the data from the present study showed that women in
education departments were unlikely to hold senior posts, with only 5.5%
of chairs and 11.8% of readerships and senior lectureships being held by
women. The women were just as likely as their male colleagues to be
method tutors, but among the method tutors they were more likely to teach
physical education, primary subjects or arts subjects than were their
male colleagues.

The next step was to examine how the position of women in education
departments compared with the position of women in the two main reference
groups under consideration in this study, namely, school teachers and
other university teachers. When compared with the proportion of women in
school teaching, the proportion in university departments of education
was relatively small. In England and Wales in 1980 59% of teachers in
maintained schools were women (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980,
p. 1). It is true that university teachers of education tended to be
recruited from the ranks of secondary school teaching, where women were
traditionally less dominant than in other sectors of school teaching, but
even here the proportion of women had reached 40% before 1970 (DES, 1971,
Stats. of Ed., 1969, Vol. 4, p. 17) and had reached 45% in 1980 (DES, no
date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 6). When compared with university
teaching generally, however, education departments had a relatively high
proportion of women. According to UGC figures, only 14% of academics at

English and Welsh universities in 1980 were women (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 51).

The overall proportions apart, however, the role of women in education departments was in many respects similar to their role in both school teaching and university teaching. The association of women with certain subject areas was common to both sectors. Education departments were similar to other arts and social science departments in universities in recruiting higher proportions of women than was commonly the case in other university subjects (Williams et al, 1974, p. 25). Similarly, the preponderance of women among the primary method tutors in education departments was a reflection of the large numbers of women to be found in the ranks of primary teachers in schools (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 6). Also, the dearth of women in senior posts in education departments was paralleled in both school and university teaching. Only 4.2% of female school teachers in maintained schools in England and Wales were headteachers, whereas 9.8% of male school teachers had reached this level in 1980 (ibid., p. 1). In university teaching in England and Wales 2.1% of women were professors, while 11.8% of men held chairs (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 51).

In some ways these comparisons suggest that the position of women in education departments in universities was very similar to their position in school teaching and university teaching. In all three occupational groups they were associated with particular subject areas and were much more likely than were their male colleagues to occupy the more junior posts. Women were also much more predominant in school teaching than in the higher status occupation of university teaching. Hilsum and Start (1974, pp. 289-290) and Williams et al (1974, p. 402) denied that women were discriminated against since they obtained posts in the proportions

in which they applied for them. Since these studies were published, there has been considerable interest in the issues surrounding the position of women in education (for example, Acker and Warren Piper, 1984, NUT, 1980, Sutherland, 1985), much of it attempting to support the kind of explanation put forward by Williams et al (1974, p. 402), that the process of socialisation which women experience inhibits them from trying to obtain promotion or to enter high status occupations such as university teaching. What is of concern here is the contention described in Chapter Two that the status of an occupation is directly related to the number of women among its members. On this criterion, as has been seen, university teaching was of much higher status than school teaching. The data presented above put university teachers of education somewhere between the two, with a higher proportion of women than in universities generally, but with a considerably smaller proportion than in school teaching.

b)   Age

The age profile of university teachers of education also differed from that of both school teachers and other university teachers. The figures are given in Table 5.2.

The average age of staff in education departments, both men and women, was 45 years and 9 months. The men tended to cluster round the middle range, while the women tended to be found in either the younger or older age groups, perhaps because of the apparent drop in the recruitment of women in the early 1970s. The proportion of education lecturers aged 40 or over was nearly 75% and nearly a third had passed their fiftieth birthday. According to the comparable UGC figures, in 1980 74.3% of education staff in all departments in Great Britain were aged 40 years or

over and 34.5% had passed their fiftieth birthday (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 56).

Older staff were more likely to hold senior posts and to have been in their present department for longer than their younger colleagues. There were few differences between the different types of university, though staff at the new universities and at the former CATs tended to be younger. Method and non-method tutors did not differ by age, but among the method tutors the social science and physical education staff tended to be younger than their colleagues while the primary tutors tended to be under 35 or over 50, a pattern reflecting the sex differences between the subject groups.

University teachers of education were considerably older than their colleagues in other subjects. Only 57% of all academics in Great Britain were aged 40 or over in 1980 compared with 74% of education staff (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 56). Williams et al (1974, p. 24), on the basis of a survey made in 1969, described the academic profession as 'a young one'. The high levels of recruitment to university teaching in the 1960s, however, were not maintained in the 1970s, and official figures show that from about 1970 the academic profession as a body was becoming steadily older (DES, 1971 and 1974, Stats. of Ed., 1969, Vol. 6, p. 84 and 1972, Vol. 6, p. 62). Staff in education departments have always been older than those in most other departments (Taylor, 1965, p. 195). This results from the requirement that they should acquire substantial school teaching experience before entering an education department. According to tutors interviewed in the initial stages of the SPITE project, such experience was expected in all departments which trained teachers (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979), and, indeed, the present study shows that over 90% of education staff had teaching experience, and that

two out of three had taught in schools or further education for five years or longer. They tended, therefore, to be older than their colleagues when they entered university teaching. Only two in a hundred education lecturers were under thirty, while in universities generally the figure was nearly 8% (USR, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 56).

The requirement to have school teaching experience before joining an education department meant that education lecturers tended also to be older than their former colleagues in the schools. In 1980 only 42% of teachers were aged 40 or over, while for secondary teachers alone the figure was 36.5% (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 22). On average, university teachers of education joined their department at the age of 35. Many had therefore moved from school teaching into university teaching at an age when they had had time to establish themselves in schools but were considerably older than most lecturers were at the outset of their university careers. Most education lecturers were thus at a disadvantage in their new occupation because they were late starters. The nature of the disadvantage will be considered further in subsequent chapters.

c)   Parental occupation

The next characteristic of university teachers of education to be examined was their social class origins. It was found that university teachers of education came from backgrounds very similar to those of their university colleagues, but were less likely to come from working class homes than were school teachers as a group.

Nearly a third of university teachers of education had fathers whose major lifetime occupation was manual work (Registrar-General's categories IIIM, IV and V) (Table 5.3). This proportion might have been higher were

it not for the number of women in education departments, who were more likely than the men to be of middle class origins. 64% of men were from middle class backgrounds compared with 78% of women. Professors of education, few of whom were women, were slightly more likely than their colleagues to be of working class origins. Education staff at Oxbridge and London were less likely to have come from working class homes, while those at the former CATs, the Welsh colleges and the new civic universities were more likely to have done so. Just over 10% of staff in education departments had fathers who worked in education. It should be noted that no evidence was collected on maternal occupation, which might have resulted in a different picture.

Comparison of these findings with those of other studies of both school and university teachers is problematic. A variety of questions has been asked about parental occupation, the results have been categorised in a variety of ways and the data have been collected at different dates.

No large-scale survey of the social origins of school teachers has been made since the work of Floud and Scott carried out in the 1950s. They found that the proportion of teachers from working class homes was just over 40% for men and 35% for women (1961, p. 534). When teachers in maintained grammar schools alone were considered, however, this proportion fell to 32% for men and 19% for women (ibid., p. 540). University teachers of education are perhaps best compared with grammar school teachers since both groups consisted largely of graduates and many education lecturers had at some stage in their careers been grammar school teachers. It would appear that university teachers of education were of slightly more humble social origins, but the grammar school teachers included a higher proportion of women and when the sexes are

considered separately the difference between grammar school teachers and university teachers of education almost disappears.

The work of Floud and Scott was conducted many years before the present survey, which makes meaningful comparison difficult. More recently, however, there have been studies of graduate employment and of teacher training students which merit comparison. Several of these, for example, Robbins (DES, 1963, Appendix 2(B), p. 71), Entwistle et al (1971, p. 9), Lomax (1970, p. 36), Noble and Pymn (1980, pp. 99 and 101), Kelsall et al (1972, p. 178), showed that less than half of college of education students came from working class backgrounds, but that less than 30% of university entrants or graduates came from such backgrounds. The social class origins of PGCE students were very similar to those of graduates (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 17, Lacey et al, 1973-74, pp. 4.3-4.4). Although working class male graduates were more likely than their peers to aspire to teaching as a career, female graduates of all classes tended to find teaching more attractive than did male graduates (Kelsall et al, 1972, p. 142). The work of Noble and Pymn (1980, p. 101), based on a study made in the South Yorkshire LEA, suggests that among PGCE students, since Kelsall et al made their study in the early 1960s, the middle and working class proportions had remained approximately stable, though within the middle class there was a tendency for the lower white collar group to gain at the expense of the professional and managerial groups. These findings must be treated with caution, however, since the figures provided by Kelsall et al were for intended rather than actual occupation. It appears that university teachers of education were less likely to be of working class origins than were college of education students, but perhaps slightly more likely to be of working class origins than their own PGCE students, though the difference in age between staff and students may provide a partial explanation for this difference.

Studies of the social origins of university teachers have made widely differing findings. Halsey and Trow (1971, p. 216), whose work was based on a survey carried out in 1964, found that 38% of university teachers came from working class origins, Perkin (1969, p. 262), who made a survey in 1968, found that only 20% came from such origins, while Williams et al (1974, p. 28) found in 1969 that 33% of university teachers' fathers were manual workers at the time when the respondents started secondary education. It is unclear whether this range arises out of different samples or is related to the different categories used or to the dates when the studies were carried out, but whatever the reasons for a range of nearly 20%, the findings of the present study on the staff of university departments of education fall within it.

Lecturers in education followed the patterns found for other university staff, with women being more likely than men to come from middle or upper class backgrounds, staff at Oxbridge and London being more likely to come from middle or upper class families and staff at the Welsh colleges and the former CATs being less likely to do so. Professors of education, however, unlike their colleagues in other subjects, were slightly more likely than non-professorial staff in education departments to be of working class origins. In this respect professors of education resembled headteachers, who were more likely than their graduate colleagues in schools to come from working class backgrounds (Bernbaum, 1974, pp. 231-234).

Given that varied findings make comparisons suspect, perhaps the main conclusion to be drawn from this brief survey of social origins is that, by comparison with other professional occupations, teaching at all levels, since it recruited on the basis of achieved characteristics, more readily attracted recruits from working class backgrounds. University

education departments were no exception. Leggatt (1970, p. 168) argues that an occupational group which recruits heavily from the lower social classes, thereby providing an avenue for social mobility, can have no more than 'intermediate standing' itself. This was not true of university teaching, perhaps because of its relatively exclusive nature, and because, as far as can be ascertained, it recruited less heavily from the working classes than did school teaching as a whole. The social origins of education lecturers did not appear to differ substantially, in so far as comparison is possible, from those of lecturers in other subjects, but their status might have been less high because of their association with the 'intermediate standing' of school teachers.

d)   Schooling

As might be expected given the age and social class profile of university teachers of education, three-quarters of them had received the major part of their secondary education at a grammar school and a further 15% had attended independent schools. Only a small number had been to comprehensive or secondary modern schools, while a few had been educated abroad. Table 5.4 gives the details. Staff at Oxbridge were more likely to have attended independent schools, while those at the Welsh colleges, the new universities and the former CATs were more likely than their colleagues elsewhere to have gone to a grammar school. To some extent, this reflects the class differences discussed above. There were no differences of any size when the type of school attended was crosstabulated by age, sex and seniority. Non-method tutors were slightly less likely than method tutors to have attended a grammar school since a small number of them had attended school abroad. PE and social science method tutors were slightly more likely than method tutors in other subjects to have attended a grammar school and primary method tutors were slightly more likely to have attended an independent school.

163

These differences were very small, however, and should not detract from the predominance of the grammar and independent school backgrounds among all groups of staff.

Various studies have shown that the types of schools attended by both school and university teachers were very similar. Hilsum and Start (1974, Appendix C, p. 522) found that 71.5% of teachers had attended grammar schools and 14.9% had attended direct grant or independent schools. In five university departments of education Lacey et al (1973-1974, p. 4.8) found that between 75% and 90% of the PGCE students had been to a grammar school, and up to 17% in some departments had been to an independent school. Lomax (1970, p. 41) found that nearly 90% of students in a college of education had been to a grammar school and Robbins (DES, 1963, Appendix 2(B), p. 73) reported that over 80% of students on three year courses of teacher training had been to a grammar school (either maintained or direct grant) and that 11% had attended an independent school.

For university teachers, the proportion attending grammar schools has generally been found to be slightly lower since more attended independent or public schools. Halsey and Trow (1971, p. 216) found that 65% and 21% attended grammar or direct grant and independent schools respectively. Perkin (1969, p. 259) found that 75.7% attended grammar or direct grant schools (including day public schools) and 14.3% attended boarding schools, while Williams et al (1974, pp. 32-34) found that 70% had been to grammar schools and 17% to independent schools. Staff at Oxbridge and London were more likely to have attended public school, while those at the Welsh colleges, old civic universities and former CATs were more likely to have gone to a grammar school.

A comparison of the findings of Halsey and Trow with those of Williams et al shows that during the 1960s a small reduction took place in the proportion of university teachers who had been educated at a public school. In the absence of a more recent study of university teachers as a group it is unclear whether the slight difference between the findings of the present study and those of Williams et al is indicative of a further reduction in the dominance of the public schools or simply shows a difference between education lecturers and academics in other subjects. In any case, the difference is small.

The schooling of teachers at all levels shows a similar pattern, with the predominance of grammar school attendance reflecting the type of secondary education available for the most able pupils when most teachers were of school age.

3. Higher education

In the questionnaire survey conducted for the present study, university teachers of education were asked a number of questions about their higher education. An overview of their qualifications is given in Table 5.5.

81% of university teachers of education had one first degree (including Scottish MAs) and a further 8% had two. 69% of those with a first degree had a single subject degree. The subject areas (single or first subject named) in which staff held degrees broadly represented the subjects which they were training students to teach, though social science subjects were over-represented since many of those with a social science degree did not teach method work. 40% of those with a first degree had studied arts subjects, nearly 30% science subjects, 14% social sciences (including 46 with degrees in psychology), 11% had a degree in languages and the remainder held degrees in a variety of subjects such as law, music, PE

and education. 21.5% had a first class honours degree, 35.7% an upper second and 27.8% a lower or unclassified second. 8% gave no classification, and the remaining 7% had thirds or general degrees.

More staff (23.0%) obtained their first degree from Oxbridge than from any other category of university. The next largest group (22.0%) had studied at old civic universities, 17.6% had been to London University, 8.3% had been to the University of Wales, while 7.9% had obtained their degrees from new civic universities. Not surprisingly, nearly 60% had obtained their first degree before 1960.

Staff with first degrees in languages and arts subjects were more likely than their colleagues to have studied at Oxbridge, social scientists were more likely to have studied at London University and scientists were more likely to have studied at an old civic university. Reflecting in part national patterns of degree awards, first class degrees were more common among the linguists and scientists and upper seconds among the social scientists.

Those with degrees in arts subjects and in languages tended to have obtained them earlier than had their colleagues, whereas nearly two-thirds of the social scientists had obtained theirs after 1960. This, of course, related to the comparative youth of the social scientists.

Of the 11% of staff who did not possess a first degree, most held a master's degree or doctorate or both. Only 3.5% held no degree at all but instead held qualifications such as diplomas or certificates.

45.7% of staff in education departments held a master's degree and a further 4.7% had two (Oxbridge and Scottish MAs are excluded). More staff (26.6% of those with a master's degree) held a master's degree in education than in any other single subject and, in addition, 18.5% had studied an educationally-related topic such as the curriculum, special education, the history of education, and so on. 12.5% had studied psychology. The remainder were fairly evenly distributed among languages, arts, social science and science subjects, with a few having studied other subjects such as music or PE. Nearly a third of those with a master's degree had obtained it from an old civic university, 20% had studied at London, 15.6% at new civic universities, 8.1% overseas, 7% at the University of Wales and 6% at the new universities. Over half had obtained their master's degree since 1970, and over half had studied for it on a part-time basis.

Those with a master's degree in education, psychology, science or other subjects such as PE and music were more likely than their colleagues to have studied at an old civic university. Those who had studied educationally-related topics and arts subjects tended to have been to London University, while linguists were more likely to have studied at a new civic university. Those with master's degrees in arts and science subjects tended to have obtained them earlier, while the majority of those with master's degrees in languages, social science, education and topics related to education had obtained them since 1970. Staff who had studied education, topics related to education, psychology and social science subjects were more likely to have studied on a part-time basis.

26.1% of staff in education departments held a doctorate and a further 0.5% had two. About one-fifth of those with a doctorate held it in a science subject and about one-fifth in psychology. About a third had

studied education or a topic related to education, and 10% had studied an arts subject. Just over 25% of those with a doctorate had obtained it from an old civic university and just over 20% from the University of London. 11% had obtained a doctorate from a Welsh college, 11% from a new civic university and 10% from Oxbridge. 60% had obtained their doctorate since 1970 and 60% had studied for it on a part-time basis.

Those with a doctorate in languages were more likely than their colleagues to have obtained it from Oxbridge or overseas, those who had doctorates in arts subjects were more likely to have studied at London, while those who had studied education or a related area were more likely to have done so at the University of London or at an old civic university. Those who had studied a science, psychology or another social science were more likely to have obtained their doctorate from an old civic university. Those who had studied science subjects tended to have obtained their doctorates before their colleagues in other subjects with two-thirds of them having done so before 1970. Those with doctorates in education and topics related to education tended to have obtained theirs more recently, more than half having done so after 1975. Staff with doctorates in science and social science (other than education or psychology) were more likely to have studied for them on a full-time basis.

Overall, 35.2% of education staff held no higher degree, 38.2% had a master's degree only, 14.4% had a doctorate only and 12.2% had both.

Nearly 80% of education lecturers had trained as teachers. Over three-quarters of these had a PGCE from a British university and nearly 60% completed their training before 1960. 45% held a variety of other qualifications such as advanced diplomas in education, certificates in

music and drama, and so on. 20% of staff were studying to improve their qualifications, with 13% registered for PhDs and 5.5% for a master's degree.

Within this overall picture there were a number of differences in qualifications between different groups of staff. Female staff tended to be less well qualified than their male colleagues in that they were significantly less likely to hold a first degree and slightly less likely to hold a higher degree or other qualifications or to have trained as teachers. These differences were partly related to the subjects in which they specialised. In the past degrees in PE and primary education were not so widely available as they are today. Younger staff were more likely to have doctorates and older staff were more likely to have non-degree qualifications and first class honours degrees. All the professors of education who took part in the present survey held a first degree. They were more likely than their colleagues to have a first class honours degree, significantly more likely to have a doctorate and slightly more likely to possess non-degree qualifications. Fewer professors, however, had trained as teachers. The more recently staff had joined their present department the more likely they were to hold a master's degree or a doctorate, but the less likely they were to have a first class honours degree.

Staff at the former CATs and at the old civic universities were less likely to hold first degrees, but those at the former CATs were more likely to hold master's degrees and to have trained as teachers. Greater proportions of staff at the Welsh colleges, at the University of London and at Oxbridge than elsewhere had doctorates, while those at Oxbridge and the Welsh colleges were more likely than staff elsewhere to have first class honours degrees.

A smaller proportion of method tutors than non-method tutors had PhDs but a greater proportion had trained as teachers. Within the group of method tutors the PE specialists, primary tutors and tutors of other subjects such as art and music were less likely to have a first degree or a doctorate, but were more likely to have non-degree and teacher training qualifications. Over 90% of the method tutors held a first degree or equivalent qualification in their method subject or in a closely related subject, for example, a biology tutor might have a degree in zoology or an EFL tutor a degree in French or English. The languages and science method tutors, as might be expected from the pattern for all staff, were more likely to hold first class honours degrees.

When compared with their former colleagues in schools, university teachers of education were relatively highly qualified. While the proportion of graduates in school teaching had been rising steadily, in 1980 it was still just over a third in maintained schools, though in secondary schools alone it had reached just over 50% (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 7). Even when allowance is made for those university tutors who obtained their first degree after leaving school teaching, it is still the case that over 80% of them were graduates while they were teaching in schools. By comparison with their PGCE students, education staff were more likely to hold first class degrees. The SPITE survey found that 3.7% of PGCE students in 1979-1980 had firsts (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 27), while Lacey et al (1973-1974, p. 4.10) found that between 3% and 7% of students in five departments had firsts.

Similarly, a much higher proportion of education lecturers than of teachers held a higher degree. Less than 3% of the teachers in Hilsum and Start's sample held a higher degree (1974, Appendix C, p. 525) although for secondary teachers alone the figure was 5.3% (ibid.,

p. 525). According to the SPITE survey of the 1979-1980 university PGCE students, 3.5% possessed a master's degree and a further 1.4% a doctorate (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 29). Many education lecturers obtained their higher degrees after leaving teaching, but 19% held a master's degree and 5% a doctorate while they were still school teachers. According to Hilsum and Start, 9.7% of teachers held advanced diplomas or certificates and 3.5% held other postgraduate qualifications. For secondary teachers only, the figures were 12.7% and 5.6% respectively (1974, Appendix C, p. 525). The SPITE survey found that about 9% of PGCE students in universities held similar advanced qualifications (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 29). By comparison, nearly a quarter of education lecturers held non-degree qualifications while they were still teachers.

With regard to teacher training, however, education lecturers were less well qualified. In 1980 93% of teachers in post had trained, and although only 86% of graduate teachers had trained (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, pp. 4-5), this was still higher than the proportion of education lecturers who had taken a course of training.

The pattern of the distribution of qualifications among education lecturers was similar to that among school teachers. The men were more likely than the women to be graduates, though the women in teaching were more likely to have trained, teachers in secondary schools were more likely to be graduates than were their colleagues in primary schools, and teachers in promoted posts were more likely to be graduates, particularly in the secondary schools. The older staff were less likely to have degrees. Overall, university teachers of education were academically better qualified than were school teachers, but a smaller proportion had taken a course of teacher training.

When compared with their university colleagues, staff in education departments were academically less well qualified. Williams et al (1974, p. 43) found that only 4% of all university staff had no first degree. Since the equivalent figure for education staff was 11%, this represents a substantial difference. Further, education staff who held first degrees were considerably less likely to have a first class degree. Only 21.5% did so, compared with 37% of all academics, though a greater proportion of education staff had upper seconds, 35.7% compared with 22% of all academics (Williams et al, 1974, p.43). With regard to the types of university at which staff had graduated, the pattern for education staff was similar to that for all university staff, the main differences being that a greater proportion of education staff had been awarded degrees by the University of Wales and by the civic universities, but a smaller proportion had graduated overseas or from a Scottish university. The differences are relatively small and the lack of Scottish graduates results, in part, from the omission of Scottish universities from the present study. The pattern of subject of degree crosstabulated by the type of university attended was also similar for both education staff and university staff generally, except that those education staff with degrees in arts or languages were more likely to have attended civic universities, and those with social science degrees were more likely to have been to London University (Williams et al, 1974, pp. 35-38).

Education staff were more than twice as likely as their university colleagues to have a master's degree, but about half as likely to hold a doctorate. Approximately the same proportion of education staff as of all academics had no higher degree. No detailed figures are given by Williams et al (1974, p. 44) on qualifications other than degrees held by academics except that 18% held postgraduate diplomas. It seems reasonable to assume that staff in education departments were more likely

than their university colleagues to have trained as teachers, either as postgraduates or as non-graduates, and that they were perhaps more likely to have non-degree qualifications, including postgraduate diplomas, since over 40% of them did so.

The pattern of the distribution of qualifications among education staff was similar to that found among university staff generally. The women tended to be less well qualified and the professors and the staff at Oxbridge tended to be more highly qualified. Education departments, like other departments, attracted the graduates of their own university or of universities of the same type. Although only 5% of education staff worked in the university in which they had studied as undergraduates, 23.3% were at a university of the same type. The link was stronger with regard to higher degrees, with 28.4% of those with a master's degree and 34% of those with a doctorate having been awarded them by the university in which they currently worked. Williams et al (1974, pp. 38-40) report similar findings for academics generally.

Education staff differed from other academics with regard to the relationship between age and qualifications. Williams et al (1974) found that among university teachers as a whole the older staff were the better qualified (pp. 43-45). In education the younger staff were the better qualified in that they were more likely to have a higher degree. There are two possible explanations for this difference. It may be that since Williams et al collected their data, the slowing down in recruitment to university teaching had made it possible to appoint only the most highly qualified. Alternatively, education departments were endeavouring to catch up with their colleagues in terms of qualifications. This process appeared to have been underway for some time. In the 1960s Taylor (1965, p. 197) found that only 18% of education staff had a PhD. In 1980 the

figure was 27% with a further 13% registered for a doctorate. It is difficult to judge which explanation is the correct one, however, since Williams et al (1974, p. 44) found that university teachers as a body were improving their qualifications in the 1960s with regard to the possession of a PhD and Startup (1979, p. 20) suggests that a greater proportion of staff had higher degrees than was found to be the case by Williams et al. Although Startup's data came from one Welsh university college, and may not be typical, it may be that the increasing proportion of education staff with doctorates was only a reflection of what was happening elsewhere among university teachers.

These comparisons suggest that as a group staff in education departments were less well qualified than were their colleagues in other subjects in universities. In line with the argument propounded in this study it may be suggested that the differences between education staff and staff in other subjects arose out of the former's close links with school teaching.

Those education lecturers who were among the least well qualified academically tended to be those who, as school teachers, taught primary subjects or subjects such as PE which were seldom studied in universities and in which degrees were not so readily available in the past as they are today. Most of these tutors had compensated for this by taking a master's degree, and a few had doctorates. Further, during the 1970s the cutbacks in teacher training in the public sector involved the amalgamation of a few education departments with local colleges of education whose staff were academically less well qualified. Thirdly, as described above, education staff were almost invariably required to have some school teaching experience. To some extent this was equivalent to the time spent by other university teachers in studying for higher

degrees. Education staff who had not taught in schools or further
education were more likely than their colleagues to have a doctorate,
though less likely to have a master's degree, and the longer staff had
taught, the less likely they were to have a doctorate. Over half of
those with a master's degree had obtained it before leaving teaching, but
only 20% of those with a PhD had done so. Thus the requirement to have
school teaching experience made it difficult for education tutors to
compete on academic terms with their colleagues in the universities.
Yet, while they were school teachers, education lecturers were among the
most highly qualified in terms of academic achievement. An examination
of their record as school teachers indicates that they were also in the
top rank in other respects.

4.   Teaching experience in schools and further education
The substantial experience which education lecturers had of teaching in
schools or further education distinguished them from most of their
university colleagues. It is evident, however, that their experience of
teaching in schools was different in many respects from that of most
school teachers.

The vast majority (92.4%) of lecturers in education had taught in schools
or further education (Table 5.6) and nearly a third of these had been
full-time teachers in 1970 or more recently. Predominantly they had
taught pupils of secondary age (11-18), but 20% had taught the primary
age ranges and 6% had taught adults. Given their age it is not
surprising to find that nearly 60% of lecturers with teaching experience
had worked in grammar schools, 18% had taught in independent schools, 31%
in comprehensive schools, a quarter in other types of secondary school,
18% in primary schools, 15% in further education, while 17% had other
teaching experience, eg overseas, in the armed forces, in special schools

and so on. Most lecturers had taught in only one or two types of school, but one in five of those with teaching experience had worked in three or more types of school. 70% of those who had taught in schools or further education had done so for five years or more and the average length of teaching experience was nearly nine years. These findings are broadly similar to those made by Taylor (1965) in his 1964 survey.

The subjects which staff taught in schools closely reflected those in which they held first degrees and which many of them currently taught in method work. As their main or first teaching subject 40% of staff had taught an arts subject, 28% a science, 10% a language, approximately 6% primary subjects and 6% PE, 3% social science and the remainder other subjects such as art, music or remedial education. Many staff, however, had taught more than one subject. Overall nearly three-quarters had some experience of teaching arts subjects, over 60% had taught science, over 20% languages, 12% PE, about 9% primary and 9% social sciences, and over a quarter a variety of other subjects.

In so far as promotion is a measure of success, the majority of education lecturers with teaching experience appear to have been successful teachers. Only 18.6% of those who had taught had not been promoted at all. Nearly 18% had been promoted to a level lower than head of department, over half had been heads of department, 3.1% had been deputy heads, 3.7% headteachers, and 3.1% had held other promoted posts such as head of unit, head of faculty, year teacher and so on.

Female staff were more likely than their male colleagues to have last taught in schools or further education before 1960 or after 1975. A greater proportion of them had taught children of primary school age and had taught in primary schools. They were less likely than the men to

have taught science subjects, but more likely to have taught PE or primary subjects. Compared with the men, relatively few of them had held promoted posts as school or further education teachers. Professors were less likely than other staff to have taught, and of those who had taught, very few had done so since 1965, and their teaching experience tended to be relatively brief. They were more likely to have taught the primary age range and less likely to have been promoted. Not surprisingly, the younger staff tended to have taught more recently than had the older staff. They were less likely to have taught in grammar or independent schools but more likely to have taught in comprehensive schools. They were more likely to have taught social science subjects and slightly less likely to have taught arts or science subjects. Staff who were under 35 or over 60 were less likely than their colleagues to have held a promoted post.

There were also differences with regard to teaching experience between staff in different types of university. Staff at London University were slightly less likely than their colleagues elsewhere to have taught in schools or in further education. Those at Oxbridge, Wales and the former CATs tended to have more recent teaching experience. Education staff at the former CATs were among those most likely to have experience of teaching in grammar schools while those at Oxbridge were more likely than their colleagues elsewhere to have taught in independent schools and those at the new universities in comprehensive schools. Differences in the subjects taught by staff in different departments reflected the different method subjects offered on the PGCE course, for example, neither of the Oxbridge departments offered a main method course in a social science and none of the Oxbridge staff included in the present study had taught a social science in schools.

Only a handful of method tutors lacked full-time school or further education teaching experience, though they may have had part-time experience, whereas 13% of non-method tutors had not taught. The method tutors tended to have more recent and longer teaching experience than did their non-method colleagues and proportionately more of them had taught the secondary age range. They were more likely to have taught languages or science subjects and less likely to have taught primary subjects. A higher percentage of method tutors than of non-method tutors held a promoted post in schools or in further education colleges.

Among the method tutors the social scientists tended to have more recent teaching experience and, along with the PE tutors, to have the shortest teaching experience. Over 90% of method tutors had taught pupils in the age range in which they were now training students to teach, and over 90% had taught their main method subject or, in a small number of cases, a closely related subject, for example, a former geography teacher might teach method in environmental studies. Apart from the primary tutors, it was the PE tutors, social science tutors and tutors of other subjects such as art and music who were more likely to have experience of teaching in primary schools. The last two of these groups were also more likely than their colleagues to have taught in further education. The majority of method tutors in all subject areas except social science and primary education had been promoted to head of department while teaching. This reflects the different career structures in primary schools and further education as well as the comparative youthfulness of the social scientists. Primary tutors were more likely than their colleagues to have been headteachers or deputy headteachers.

When compared with their former colleagues in schools, it is clear that education lecturers were among the more successful and prestigious groups

of teachers. A study by Bernbaum et al (1969, pp. 54-55) suggests that grammar school teachers, by virtue of their sex, academic qualifications, the age of their pupils and the relatively specialised nature of their teaching, occupied a position of high status within the teaching profession. Though many education lecturers had also taught younger pupils, over 90% of those with teaching experience had taught pupils of secondary school age. Nearly 60% had taught in grammar schools and 18% in independent schools. In 1980 only 55% of teachers in the maintained sector taught in secondary schools with only 3.4% of those in grammar schools (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 6). In 1960, before the decline in the number of grammar schools, 46% of teachers taught in secondary schools and fewer than 30% of secondary teachers or 13% of all teachers taught in grammar schools at that date (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 6). Education tutors, then, were considerably more likely than most teachers to have taught older children in selective schools.

Education tutors were also more likely to have held promoted posts than were most school teachers. In 1980 approximately 69% of teachers in maintained primary schools, and 75% in secondary schools, held a scale 2 post or higher (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 23). The proportion of teachers with promotion was rising during the 1970s. Hilsum and Start (1974, pp. 63-64) found that in the early 1970s only 57% of teachers were promoted, though 71% of secondary teachers, compared with only 44% of primary teachers, held a graded post. Whichever figures are used for comparison, education tutors, over 80% of whom had been promoted, appear to have been highly successful teachers in terms of promotion achieved. This conclusion is reinforced when age is taken into account. On average, education tutors left teaching at the age of 31 or 32 years. In 1980 only 53% of teachers under 35 held anything other than

a scale 1 post (DES, no date, Stats. of Teachers, 1980, p. 23) and in 1973 (the earliest figures published in the Statistics of Education) the figure was 41% (DES, 1975b, Stats. of Ed., 1973, Vol. 4, p. 45). Thus education staff achieved their promotion in school teaching at a relatively early age. Their success as teachers is not surprising in the light of the findings of Hilsum and Start (1974, pp. 289-290) since so many of them were male graduates, a group which had particularly good promotion prospects in teaching.

By comparison with university lecturers as a group, education tutors were much more likely to have taught in schools. Williams et al (1974, p. 47) found that 16% of university lecturers had taught in schools, and it may be assumed that many of these were education lecturers, though no separate figures are given. If this is so, however, the difference between education lecturers and other lecturers was the greater in this respect.

In conclusion, many university teachers of education had been highly successful school teachers. They were well qualified in comparison with school teachers generally, they had worked in the more prestigious types of school and over 80% of them had held a promoted post at some level. In these respects they could be distinguished as a group from many of their former colleagues in schools. To have school teaching experience at all set them apart from the great majority of other university lecturers.

5. Teaching experience in higher education
The questionnaire also asked respondents about their previous experience of teaching in higher education. Just over 60% of university teachers of education had taught in higher education before joining their present

180

department. Of these, the greatest proportion, 59.4%, had taught in a college of education, 38.5% had worked in a university, 7% in a polytechnic, and relatively small numbers in other institutions such as colleges of higher education and colleges of art. The figures are given in Table 5.7. It should be remembered that in the years prior to the collection of these data there had been substantial reduction and reorganisation in the provision of teacher education, with the result that some education tutors had come to their present departments from institutions which had been closed or merged. In a small number of universities the education department in its current structure was the result of such a merger.

There were no significant differences between the sexes with regard to previous experience of teaching in higher education, but older and more senior staff were more likely to have such experience. Only 10% of professors had not taught in higher education except in their present department. Professors were more likely than their colleagues to have previously taught in a university, but less likely to have taught in a college of education. There were few differences between staff in different types of university, though staff at Oxbridge were slightly less likely to have taught in higher education outside their present department. Method tutors were less likely than their non-method colleagues to have taught elsewhere in higher education, a finding related at least in part to the longer school teaching experience of method tutors.

No meaningful comparison can be made between education lecturers and school teachers in terms of their experience of teaching in higher education since the latter were unlikely to have such experience. Indeed, the majority had no experience of work other than school teaching

(see below). In this respect education lecturers resembled more closely their university colleagues, 40% of whom, according to Williams et al (1974, p. 175), had taught in more than one university. For education lecturers, however, only 23.8% had taught in more than one university, but they were more likely than their academic colleagues to have worked in other sectors of higher education. Williams et al (1974, p.176) found that only 19% of academics had worked elsewhere in education and this figure included those who had worked in schools. Among education lecturers, 42.4% had worked in higher education outside the universities.

Again, it is clear that education lecturers differed from school teachers, yet, in respect of their experience of teaching in higher education, they also differed from their university colleagues. The latter difference relates to their experience as school teachers since, instead of teaching in universities, they had taught in schools and a substantial proportion had taught in colleges of education.

6.   Employment other than teaching

Given the proportion of education lecturers who had taught in schools and in higher education before joining their present department, it is perhaps surprising to find that four out of ten also had experience of employment other than teaching, particularly since the question relating to this matter specifically excluded national service. The data which follow relate to the first type of work listed by staff. Only 41 respondents gave more than one type of job.

The jobs done by education staff were mostly white collar, with only 6% of those staff who had worked having done so in manual occupations. Many had had employment of a type directly relevant to their present post: 7.3% had worked in educational research and 20.1% in other types of

research, including 6.6% who had been employed in industrial or scientific research; 9.6% had been psychologists; 6.6% had been in educational administration or had worked as advisers or as HMIs. Small numbers had worked in a variety of other jobs - civil service/local government, armed forces, banking/insurance/finance, engineering, management/personnel, clerical work, television/journalism and sales/retailing (Table 5.8).

Women were just as likely as men to have experience of work outside teaching, but the more senior and older staff were more likely than other staff to have such experience. There were some departmental differences, with staff at Oxbridge and London being more likely than their colleagues to have worked outside teaching. This finding was in part related to the age of staff in these departments. Those staff who had worked elsewhere in higher education before joining their present department were less likely than their colleagues to have worked other than in teaching, and, similarly, method staff were less likely than non-method staff to have had any kind of work other than teaching, partly because they had longer school teaching experience. Among the method tutors, the primary tutors and those teaching other subjects such as art and music were more likely than their colleagues in languages, arts, social science and science to have worked outside teaching.

There were some differences in the kinds of work undertaken by different groups of staff, though these findings must be treated with caution since the numbers in any single type of work were relatively small. Higher proportions of staff at London and Oxbridge than at other types of university had worked in research, while the University of Wales and the civic universities (both old and young) had on their staffs comparatively high proportions of those who had worked as psychologists. London

University and the old civic universities were more likely than other types to have staff who had worked in the civil service or in local government. Staff at the new universities and at the former CATs were more likely than their colleagues elsewhere to have worked in banking, insurance or finance, while staff at the latter, not unexpectedly, were among those most likely to have been engineers or technologists. Women and younger staff tended to have worked in research, while relatively high proportions of older and more senior staff had worked in the civil service or as psychologists. Those who lacked school teaching experience or who had taught for five years or less were more likely than their colleagues to have worked in research, as were non-method tutors who were also more likely to have worked as psychologists. This last finding is, of course, linked to the relative seniority of non-method tutors and to their comparatively brief experience of teaching in schools.

Many school teachers had also had experience of work other than teaching. According to Atkinson (1976, p. 273), by 1971 19.1% of all men and 17% of all women were over 25 on entrance to teacher training. The SPITE survey (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 14) found that 18% of university PGCE entrants in 1979 were over 25. Hilsum and Start (1974, Appendix C, p. 520) took 35 as the minimum age for their category of late entrants to teaching, and 5.5% of their sample fell into this category. In the SPITE survey (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 14) the equivalent proportion was 4.8%. Late entry to teaching did not necessarily mean that an individual had been employed on other work. He or she might have been raising a family, studying for other qualifications or unemployed. But many had undertaken a variety of types of work. Over 40% of the SPITE sample had had some type of work experience before beginning their training courses, though only 14.5% had worked for three years or longer (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 34). Of those who had work experience, nearly a third had worked in

education or the social services - teaching in independent schools, teaching abroad or as uncertificated mathematics or science teachers, or working with young people in youth and community service, the probation service or in a variety of other ways (ibid., p. 15). Teaching has always attracted a certain number of mature entrants, but, in the past, as Beresford (1973, p. 11) points out, this may have been because taking a course of teacher training was almost the only way for many people to obtain any higher education. This would not, of course, be true of PGCE students, and, indeed, the work of Altman (1967, p. 932) suggests that mature college of education students also had other reasons for training. He reports that mature entrants coming from middle class, comparatively well-paid work, made the career change in the expectation that teaching would provide greater opportunities than their previous occupations to use their aptitudes and abilities, to work with people and to be helpful to others. In a follow-up study (1973, p. 565) he found that these mature teachers did experience a reasonable level of job satisfaction but not as high a level as they had hoped for while still students. Whatever their reasons for entering teaching relatively late, mature entrants often brought to the occupation at least a brief experience of other work, and, like education lecturers, many had experience of work which was directly relevant to their new careers.

It was also relatively common for university lecturers as a group to have had other work experience before beginning their university careers, though their reasons for changing careers do not appear to have been closely studied. Perhaps the desirability of university work is taken for granted. The Robbins inquiry (DES, 1963) found that 39% of all recruits to university posts (all grades) took up these posts five years or more after graduation. During this period many would have been studying for postgraduate qualifications, but those in medicine, applied

science and social studies were particularly likely to be late entrants, indicating that a substantial proportion had worked in other types of post (DES, 1963, Appendix III, p. 27). Robbins also found that 13% of all university teachers had held posts outside the universities since taking up their first university appointment (ibid., p. 44). When Williams et al (1974) made their study in the late 1960s, they found that 62% of university teachers had worked for at least six months in some other occupation. As with education lecturers, the younger staff were less likely than their colleagues to have worked outside the universities, and staff at London University were more likely to have done so. Williams et al also found that the women were less likely than the men to have such work experience. Like school teachers and education lecturers, those university lecturers who had worked outside the universities tended to have done so in fields related to their university work - the scientists had worked in industry and commerce, the medical staff in the National Health Service, and so on (1974, pp. 46-47).

It emerges, therefore, that substantial proportions of those entering teaching at both school and university level brought with them experience of work outside teaching and that such work was often relevant to their new jobs as teachers. In this respect education lecturers did not differ substantially as a group from their colleagues in schools and universities.

7. <u>Conclusion</u>

There were many similarities among teachers at all levels. They tended, for example, to be of middle class origins and to be highly educated by comparison with the general population. Within teaching, however, there were substantial differences between the various groups. Much of the foregoing discussion has charted the differences between school and

university teachers and has shown that in many respects education
lecturers as a group occupied an intermediate position between school and
university teachers. Academically, for example, education lecturers were
more highly qualified than school teachers, yet less well qualified than
university teachers. But education lecturers were part of the larger
body of university teachers, and it is the aim of the last section of
this chapter to show that those education lecturers who were overtly the
most successful as university teachers were those who, in terms of their
personal and educational characteristics and experiences, were most like
university teachers and least like school teachers. The most overtly
successful university teachers were those who had been promoted to the
position of professor. As has already been described, it was clear from
crosstabulations that professors of education differed in many respects
from their colleagues in education departments. On the basis of these
crosstabulations, variables were selected for inclusion in discriminant
analyses, with a view to showing which characteristics discriminated most
clearly between professors of education and their colleagues at the
levels of reader, senior lecturer or lecturer. Highly significant
results were obtained from the application of discriminant analysis.

Three separate analyses were run, discriminating between professors and
senior lecturers (including readers), between professors and lecturers,
and between professors and the other two grades combined. Initially, as
a result of an inspection of the crosstabulations, 14 variables were
selected for inclusion in the discriminant analysis, but 3 of these were
ultimately excluded because they failed either to satisfy the inclusion
criterion or to reach the required level of tolerance (described in
Chapter Four). The 11 variables were - sex, age, social class, length of
school teaching experience, whether staff had taught in a university
other than in their present department, whether they had trained as

teachers, class of first degree, type of institution at which their first degree was obtained, whether they had a doctorate and whether they had any additional qualifications. Subsequent analyses were run applying different levels of tolerance. These did not affect the order in which the variables were entered into the analysis, with the result that the outcome was the same whichever level of tolerance was applied between 0.7 and 0.001. Only one set of results are therefore presented in Tables 5.9 to 5.11.

In the first discriminant analyses which were run all 11 variables were included and three different types of information were obtained. The first derived from the stepwise selection method. In the stepwise method the process begins with the selection of the one variable which, according to the selection criterion, discriminates more than any other single variable between the groups. In the second step this variable is paired with the variable which, in combination with it, gives the best discrimination. This process is continued until all the variables have been included or until the addition of any of the remaining variables gives less than the minimum level of improvement in the discrimination as measured by the selection criterion. The second type of information was provided by the standardised discriminant function coefficients. Since only two groups were included in each analysis, only one discriminant function could be derived from each analysis. The standardised discriminant function coefficients represent the relative contribution of each variable to the discriminant function. The third type of information comes from the classification of cases. In the present analyses group membership was already known, and the adequacy of the derived discriminant functions was tested by comparing predicted and actual group membership. In later analyses the MAXSTEPS procedure was used to stop analysis after three steps. This made it possible to see

how much of the discrimination was due to the first three variables selected in the stepwise procedure.

Table 5.9 shows the results of the analysis discriminating between professors and lecturers. The single variable which discriminated most between these two groups was experience of teaching in a university other than that in which the individual currently worked. This was then combined with age, the possession of a doctorate, class of first degree, social class, length of school teaching experience, and so on. It was not surprising to find, as has already been described, that professors were older than their junior colleagues. In this respect university teachers of education, whatever their grade, differed from both school teachers and other university teachers. Similarly, any deductions which might be drawn from the inclusion of social class at the fifth step in the procedure are limited because of the varying findings of studies of the social origins of teachers at various levels. With regard to the other items introduced in the early steps of the analysis, however, it is clear that the characteristics which most clearly distinguished professors of education from lecturers were also characteristics which, the literature would suggest, enabled professors of education to be identified much more closely with other university teachers than with school teachers. Experience of working in another university, possessing a doctorate, possessing a first class degree and having relatively short teaching experience gave professors of education much more in common with university teachers as an occupational group than with school teachers.

Further information about the strength of the discrimination may be derived from examining the standardised discriminant function coefficients and classification of cases. The order in which variables are introduced into the analysis when the stepwise procedure is used is

affected by the degree of correlation between variables since the procedure involves looking for the best combination of variables and, where a variable correlates highly with one which has already been included in the combination, its inclusion is unlikely to add much to the discrimination. The discriminant function coefficients, however, show the relative contribution made by each variable to the discrimination. Again, experience of teaching in another university, age and possessing a doctorate made the greatest contributions.

When the discriminant analysis was used to classify cases, as can be seen from Table 5.9 a highly accurate classification was achieved. Only 17 lecturers and 13 professors out of 520 cases were incorrectly classified. The importance of experience of teaching in another university, age and possessing a doctorate in determining classification was shown by the results obtained from stopping the analysis after only these three variables had been included. At this stage the proportion of cases correctly classified was 93.83%. This indicated that the remaining eight variables contributed relatively little to the discrimination. The comparative accuracy of the classification suggests that there were clear and predictable differences between those members of university education departments who had succeeded, in the university's terms, by becoming professors, and those who had not.

Similar conclusions may be drawn from an examination of analyses discriminating between professors and senior lecturers (including readers). Table 5.10 shows that again experience of teaching in another university was the single variable which discriminated most between the two groups. As might be expected, age did not appear high on the list, but, as in the previous analysis, the possession of a doctorate did. After this, however, the order in which variables were introduced into

the analysis differed substantially from the order shown in Table 5.9. Senior lecturers were more likely than professors to be female, more likely to have trained as teachers, less likely to have studied for their first degree at Oxbridge or London, and more likely to have considerable school teaching experience. The values of the standardised discriminant function coefficients followed almost exactly the same pattern. The accuracy of the predicted group membership shown at the bottom of Table 5.10 is high, with only 12 professors and 16 senior lecturers out of 213 cases being incorrectly classified. It is perhaps not surprising that this classification is slightly less accurate than the previous one since it might be expected that it would be more difficult to discriminate between professors and senior lecturers than between professors and lecturers. The analysis was repeated with the number of steps being limited. When only the first three variables, teaching in another university, possessing a doctorate, and sex, were included, the proportion of cases classified was 80.09%, showing that the remaining variables made a comparatively small contribution.

As has been shown above, to some extent the variables which contributed most to the discrimination between professors and lecturers differed from those which contributed most to the discrimination between professors and senior lecturers. Thus, when a discriminant analysis was made between professors and the other two grades combined, a less clear picture emerged than had been the case in the two earlier analyses. Table 5.11 shows that, once again, experience of teaching in another university was the variable which, on its own, contributed most to the discrimination. The variables subsequently introduced in the stepwise procedure were age, possessing a doctorate, sex, class of first degree, social class, length of school teaching experience and having trained as a teacher. When the discriminant function coefficients are examined, they show that the same

eight variables made the greatest contributions to the discrimination, though in a slightly different rank order. Although nearly 93% of cases were correctly classified, this is not particularly high since 92.2% of the subjects belonged to one group anyway. Over 40% of the professors, though only 4% of the members of the other grades, were incorrectly classified. When the stepwise procedure was stopped after the inclusion of only the first three variables, experience of teaching in another university, age, and possessing a doctorate, a slightly better classification was achieved. Just over 93% of cases were correctly classified, though in this case over 60% of professors were incorrectly classified.

These findings suggest that the characteristics and experiences which enabled lecturers in education to reach the rank of professor differed in certain respects from those which enabled lecturers to become senior lecturers or readers. This is not an unexpected conclusion in the light of the work of Williams et al (1974) on university teachers. They reported, for example, that possession of a first class honours degree almost doubled an individual's chances of being a professor, but had virtually no effect on his or her chances of being a senior lecturer, while mobility between universities also increased the chance of obtaining a chair but might actually lessen the chance of becoming a senior lecturer (1974, pp. 119-120). Such differences help explain the somewhat muddied picture which emerges from the third analysis in the present study to discriminate between professors and the two other grades combined.

Nevertheless, the application of the technique of discriminant analysis in the present study suggests that there were clear differences between professors and their less senior colleagues. An examination of these

differences confirms that professors of education differed from senior lecturers and lecturers in education on precisely those characteristics which differentiated university teachers of education as a group from their colleagues teaching other subjects in universities and from their colleagues teaching in schools. Professors of education who, in university terms, had been successful, resembled closely their university colleagues in other subjects with respect to their qualifications and experience. Lecturers, and to a lesser extent, senior lecturers in education, who, in university terms, had been less successful than their professorial colleagues, resembled closely their colleagues in schools. It may be deduced that the kinds of qualifications and experience which were valued in universities were, to some degree at least, different from those which were valued in schools. As suggested in earlier chapters, those who taught education in the universities were at the centre of the conflict which existed between the two sets of values. This can be demonstrated not only by looking at the experience and qualifications of university teachers of education, but also by examining the kinds of work which they did. The details are set out in Chapter Six.

Table 5.1   Sex of university teachers of education

		Male	Female	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	634	128	0	762
	%	83.2	16.8	0	100.0
Professors	N	52	3	0	55
	%	94.5	5.5	0	7.2
Readers and	N	142	19	0	161
senior lecturers	%	88.2	11.8	0	21.1
Lecturers	N	416	93	0	509
	%	81.7	18.3	0	66.8
Other	N	24	13	0	37
	%	64.9	35.1	0	4.9
Method staff	N	355	73	0	428
	%	82.9	17.1	0	58.3
Non-method staff	N	255	51	0	306
	%	83.3	16.7	0	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 5.2   Age of university teachers of education

		39 & under	40-44	45-49	50-54	55 & over	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	178	176	148	120	126	14	762
	%	23.4	23.1	19.4	15.8	16.5	1.8	100.0
Professors	N	2	10	8	13	20	2	55
	%	3.6	18.2	14.5	23.6	36.4	3.6	7.2
Readers and	N	10	22	37	45	46	1	161
sen lects	%	6.2	13.7	23.0	28.0	28.6	0.6	21.1
Lecturers	N	157	140	94	56	51	11	509
	%	30.8	27.5	18.5	11.0	10.0	2.2	66.8
Other	N	9	4	9	6	9	0	37
	%	24.3	10.8	24.3	16.2	24.3	0	4.9
Method staff	N	96	101	90	68	65	8	428
	%	22.4	23.6	21.0	15.9	15.2	1.9	58.3
Non-method	N	77	71	52	48	54	4	306
staff	%	25.2	23.2	17.0	15.7	17.7	1.3	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 5.3   Social origins (father's occupation) of university teachers
of education

| | | Registrar General's Categories | | | | | | | |
		I	II	IIIN	IIIM	IV	V	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	118	187	165	196	29	15	52	762
	%	15.5	24.5	21.7	25.7	3.8	2.0	6.8	100.0
Professors	N	7	10	16	19	2	0	1	55
	%	12.7	18.2	29.1	34.6	3.6	0	1.8	7.2
Readers and	N	22	44	31	42	7	1	14	161
sen lects	%	13.7	27.3	19.3	26.1	4.4	0.6	8.7	21.1
Lecturers	N	81	127	109	129	17	13	33	509
	%	15.9	25.0	21.4	25.3	3.3	2.6	6.5	66.8
Other	N	8	6	9	6	3	1	4	37
	%	21.6	16.2	24.3	16.2	8.1	2.7	10.8	4.9
Method staff	N	66	105	93	112	15	6	31	428
	%	15.4	24.5	21.7	26.2	3.5	1.4	7.2	58.3
Non-method	N	47	75	64	82	12	8	18	306
staff	%	15.4	24.5	20.9	26.8	3.9	2.6	5.9	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 5.4   Type of school in which university teachers of education
            spent the major part of their secondary education

		Gram	Indep	Sec mod	Comp	Over- seas	Other	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	572	113	9	4	18	38	8	762
	%	75.1	14.8	1.2	0.5	2.4	5.0	1.0	100.0
Professors	N	42	7	1	0	2	2	1	55
	%	76.4	12.7	1.8	0	3.6	3.6	1.8	7.2
Readers and	N	120	27	0	1	4	8	1	161
sen lects	%	74.5	16.8	0	0.6	2.5	5.0	0.6	21.1
Lecturers	N	381	74	7	2	12	27	6	509
	%	74.9	14.5	1.4	0.4	2.4	5.3	1.2	66.8
Other	N	29	5	1	1	0	1	0	37
	%	78.4	13.5	2.7	2.7	0	2.7	0	4.9
Method staff	N	330	64	5	0	4	22	3	428
	%	77.1	15.0	1.2	0	0.9	5.1	0.7	58.3
Non-method	N	220	47	4	4	12	14	5	306
staff	%	71.9	15.4	1.3	1.3	3.9	4.6	1.6	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 5.5   Higher education qualifications of university teachers of
            education

		First degree	Master's degree	PhD	Teacher training	Other	
All staff	N	678	384	203	593	341	
	%	89.0	50.4	26.6	77.8	44.8	(N=762)
Professors	N	55	26	34	40	29	
	%	100.0	47.3	61.8	72.7	52.7	(N=55)
Readers and	N	150	70	51	119	74	
senior lecturers	%	93.2	43.5	31.7	73.9	46.0	(N=161)
Lecturers	N	442	272	111	402	221	
	%	86.8	53.4	21.8	79.0	43.4	(N=509)
Other	N	31	16	7	32	17	
	%	83.8	43.2	18.9	86.5	46.0	(N=37)
Method staff	N	377	219	86	360	175	
	%	88.1	51.2	20.1	84.1	40.9	(N=428)
Non-method staff	N	278	151	107	213	150	
	%	90.9	49.4	35.0	69.6	49.0	(N=306)

Table 5.6   Teaching experience in schools and further education of
             university teachers of education

		Number of years					
		None or non response	5 or fewer	6-10	11-15	Over 15	Total
All staff	N	58	204	299	131	70	762
	%	7.6	26.8	39.2	17.2	9.2	100.0
Professors	N	11	20	18	4	2	55
	%	20.0	36.4	32.7	7.3	3.6	7.2
Readers and senior lecturers	N	14	35	73	23	16	161
	%	8.7	21.7	45.3	14.3	9.9	21.1
Lecturers	N	31	140	199	95	44	509
	%	6.1	27.5	39.1	18.7	8.6	66.8
Other	N	2	9	9	9	8	37
	%	5.4	24.3	24.3	24.3	21.6	4.9
Method staff	N	11	103	184	87	43	428
	%	2.6	24.1	43.0	20.3	10.0	58.3
Non-method staff	N	43	92	109	39	23	306
	%	14.1	30.1	35.6	12.7	7.5	41.7

Missing cases - 28

197

Table 5.7　Previous teaching experience in higher education of university teachers of education

		Univ	Coll of Ed	Poly	Coll of HE	CAT	Other	None or non response	
All staff	N	181	279	32	15	8	23	292	
	%	23.8	36.6	4.2	2.0	1.0	3.0	38.3	(N=762)
Professors	N	47	14	2	0	0	0	5	
	%	85.5	25.5	3.6	0	0	0	9.1	(N=55)
Readers and sen lects	N	35	49	3	1	2	8	66	
	%	21.7	30.4	1.9	0.6	1.2	5.0	41.0	(N=161)
Lecturers	N	92	203	26	14	6	13	201	
	%	18.1	39.9	5.1	2.8	1.2	2.6	39.5	(N=509)
Other	N	7	13	1	0	0	2	20	
	%	18.9	35.1	2.7	0	0	5.4	54.1	(N=37)
Method staff	N	68	160	14	11	1	14	196	
	%	15.9	37.4	3.3	2.6	0.2	3.3	45.8	(N=428)
Non-method staff	N	107	109	16	4	7	7	88	
	%	35.0	35.6	5.2	1.3	2.3	2.3	28.8	(N=306)

Missing cases - 28

Percentages may total more than 100 because many staff taught in more than one type of institution

Table 5.8　Employment other than teaching of university teachers of education　(N=303)

	N	%
Educational research	22	7.3
Other research	61	20.1
Psychology	29	9.6
Educational administration / advisory service / HMI	20	6.6
Civil service / local government	25	8.3
Armed forces (excluding National Service)	19	6.3
Banking / insurance / finance	21	6.9
Engineering	17	5.6
Management / personnel	15	4.9
Clerical work	16	5.3
Television / journalism	10	3.3
Sales / retailing	11	3.6

Table 5.9   Discriminant Analysis - between professors and lecturers

VARIABLE	ORDER IN WHICH VARIABLE INTRODUCED IN STEPWISE PROCEDURE	STANDARDISED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENT
Teaching in university other than present one	1	.76372
Possessing doctorate	3	.36024
Sex	9	-.12496
Having trained as teacher	7	.15880
Institution where first degree obtained	11	-.10552
Length of school teaching experience	6	-.21769
Age	2	.60660
Class of first degree	4	-.15438
Social class	5	.18040
Teaching in higher education other than in present department	8	.16095
Other qualifications	10	.13588

Classification of cases

ACTUAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP			PREDICTED GROUP MEMBERSHIP		
			LECTURERS	PROFESSORS	
LECTURERS	N	468	451	17	% of grouped cases correctly classified - 94.23
	%	90.0	96.4	3.6	
PROFESSORS	N	52	13	39	
	%	10.0	25.0	75.0	
TOTAL		520			

Missing cases - 45

Table 5.10　Discriminant Analysis - between professors and senior lecturers (including readers)

VARIABLE	ORDER IN WHICH VARIABLE INTRODUCED IN STEPWISE PROCEDURE	STANDARDISED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENT
Teaching in university other than present one	1	.86275
Possessing doctorate	2	.44519
Sex	3	-.34019
Having trained as teacher	4	.25718
Institution where first degree obtained	5	-.17398
Length of school teaching experience	6	-.18174
Age	7	.15256
Class of first degree	8	-.12147
Social class	Variables	-
Teaching in higher education other than in present department	not included because F	-
Other qualifications	ratio too low	-

Classification of cases

ACTUAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP　　　　PREDICTED GROUP MEMBERSHIP

ACTUAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP			SENIOR LECTURERS AND READERS	PROFESSORS	
SENIOR LECTURERS AND READERS	N	160	144	16	% of grouped cases correctly classified - 86.85
	%	75.1	90.0	10.0	
PROFESSORS	N	53	12	41	
	%	24.9	22.6	77.4	
TOTAL		213			

Missing cases - 3

Table 5.11   Discriminant Analysis - between professors and other grades

VARIABLE	ORDER IN WHICH VARIABLE INTRODUCED IN STEPWISE PROCEDURE	STANDARDISED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENT
Teaching in university other than present one	1	.78175
Possessing doctorate	3	.37116
Sex	4	-.15728
Having trained as teacher	8	.17305
Institution where first degree obtained	9	-.12888
Length of school teaching experience	7	-.18357
Age	2	.45667
Class of first degree	5	-.13740
Social class	6	.13782
Teaching in higher education other than in present department	11	.09740
Other qualifications	10	.12337

Classification of cases

ACTUAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP			PREDICTED GROUP MEMBERSHIP		
			OTHER GRADES	PROFESSORS	
OTHER GRADES	N	614	590	24	% of grouped
	%	92.2	96.1	3.9	cases correctly classified -
PROFESSORS	N	52	23	29	92.94
	%	7.8	44.2	55.8	
TOTAL		666			

Missing cases - 96 (staff in grades other than professors, senior lecturers, readers and lecturers were excluded from the analysis)

CHAPTER SIX

THE WORK OF UNIVERSITY TEACHERS OF EDUCATION

1.   Introduction

In Chapter Five an attempt was made to show that, with regard to their

personal and educational backgrounds, university teachers of education

differed substantially from their teaching colleagues in both schools and

universities. It was concluded that in many respects they stood

somewhere between these two reference groups and that the more closely

they resembled school teachers the less likely it was that they would be

successful in university terms, that is, by reaching the level of

professorship. The present chapter seeks to show that for many education

tutors there was a similar conflict with respect to the work which they

did. It appeared that the more closely they were involved in the

practical, school-related aspects of teacher education, the less likely

they were to achieve success as measured by the kinds of university

criteria identified in Chapter Two.

Clearly it is not possible to split the work of education tutors into

school-related and non-school-related segments, but some aspects of their

work, for example, supervising students on teaching practice, were

ostensibly more likely to involve close links with schools than were

others, for example, the supervision of higher degree students. In this

chapter data from the questionnaire survey are used to describe the work

of university teachers of education. The chapter begins with the more

obviously school-related aspects and moves on to areas of work which

appeared to have more in common with the work of university teachers in

other subjects.

2. Teaching in schools

The activity which most closely linked education tutors to their colleagues in schools was that of teaching in schools. 7.5% of the respondents in the present survey claimed that in their present post they taught on a regular basis in schools, and a further 31.2% said that they did so occasionally (Table 6.1).

Slightly higher proportions of women than of men taught both regularly and occasionally in schools, though the differences between the sexes did not reach statistical significance. Older and more senior staff were less likely than their colleagues to be involved in school teaching, probably because they were less likely to be involved in method work. About half of all method tutors still did some teaching and nearly 10% did so on a regular basis. For non-method tutors the respective figures were 25% and 6%. Among the method tutors there were only small differences between tutors in different subject areas, except that the primary tutors were considerably more likely than other groups to undertake some school teaching. Tutors with more recent and longer full-time school teaching experience tended to be more likely still to teach in schools, since these tutors were also more likely than their colleagues to be method tutors. There were considerable departmental differences with respect to school teaching, with as many as 85% of tutors in two departments and as few as 16% in a third claiming to do no school teaching. Staff in the young civic universities, the new universities and in the former CATs were more likely than their colleagues elsewhere to have school teaching commitments. To some extent the proportion of tutors in a department who still taught in schools was related to the proportion who taught method work.

3. Further activities closely linked to schools and school teaching

Apart from actually teaching in schools, most education staff had other responsibilities which took them into schools, involved them in close professional relationships with school teachers or drew heavily upon their knowledge and experience of schools and school teaching. Perhaps the most obviously school-based activity in which staff were involved was that of supervising students on teaching practice.

a) Supervision of students on teaching practice

Nearly two-thirds of the staff who took part in the present survey were involved in the supervision of students on teaching practice in schools (Table 6.2). Most of those who helped with supervision were responsible for one group of students, though over a hundred tutors had two groups and a few had three. Most groups contained between 6 and 15 students. Each tutor visited an average of 11 or 12 students 5 or 6 times over the whole academic year. The range was very wide since some tutors were responsible for only 1 or 2 students while others shared the visiting of over 30 students. Most tutors visited students in their method group and/or students in their subject and/or students for whom they were responsible as personal tutor. A small number of tutors, particularly in rural areas where schools were remote, visited all the students, teaching any subject, in certain schools or zones. Such tutors usually also visited their own method students. Some tutors, often non-method tutors, helped out colleagues who were responsible for large numbers of students, visited students in subjects related to their own, took over when colleagues were on study leave or acted as moderators for borderline students. Approximately 30% of those tutors with responsibilities for supervision were also involved in the administrative side of arranging teaching practice placements, though evidence from the interviews

suggests that many more would have spent a good deal of time in building up personal contacts with the teachers in teaching practice schools.

As with teaching in schools, it was the senior staff who were least likely to participate in teaching practice supervision. Only 31% of professors, compared with 62% of senior lecturers and readers and 68% of lecturers, had any responsibility for supervising students on teaching practice. Those professors who did participate in teaching practice supervision tended to have fewer students and to visit them less often than did their more junior colleagues. This seemed to be a function of seniority rather than of age since those staff aged fifty and over were only slightly less likely to visit students on teaching practice than were their younger colleagues. Relatively high proportions of staff at the University of Wales and at the young civic universities had teaching practice supervision responsibilities. Differences between groups of staff with regard to teaching practice supervision in the main reflected the method/non-method split. Just under 30% of non-method tutors visited students on teaching practice, whereas over 90% of method tutors did so. Among those method tutors who did not supervise students in the schools, some were tutors of subsidiary subjects whose students would be visited by their main method tutors, while some, mostly PE staff, only contributed to a method course run by another member of staff and therefore were not responsible for supervision. Some tutors were on study leave when the present survey was conducted, and one group of outdoor education tutors did not have to visit their students specially, since they went with them on teaching practice to a residential outdoor centre.

Method tutors as a group had a heavier burden of supervision than did those of their non-method colleagues who were involved in it. Method

tutors tended to visit more students and to visit them oftener. Among the method tutors there were differences between those in different subjects. The science and social science method tutors tended to have fewer students to visit, while modern languages and arts tutors tended to have more students to visit than did their colleagues. The social scientists made fewest visits per student and the primary tutors made most. When visits were multiplied by students to give the overall load, the primary and modern languages tutors had the heaviest burden of visits and the social science tutors the lightest.

Even allowing for exaggeration or inaccurate reporting, the load of teaching practice visits seemed relatively high, especially given that tutors reported that over half the students for whom they were responsible had a teacher tutor or other specially designated teacher giving them support in the schools. The tutors' responses were largely confirmed by the findings of the student survey conducted during the same academic year, 1979-1980. The students reported receiving an average of nearly five visits from tutors during teaching practice (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 58).

For many education tutors, then, teaching practice supervision, involving them in frequent visits to schools, was a major part of their work.

b) **Method work**

Method work was another area of the work of education tutors which brought them into close contact with schools and teaching. Just over half (56.2%) of the respondents in the present survey ran, or helped run, method classes (Table 6.3). 88% of these tutors were also responsible for selecting the students who were recruited to their method courses. This could be time consuming since it usually involved interviewing

206

applicants (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979). As with teaching in schools and supervising students on teaching practice, running a method group was an activity for which less senior, though not necessarily younger, staff tended to be responsible. Other differences between method and non-method staff have been described in detail in Chapter Five and may be briefly summarised here. Method tutors were less well qualified academically than their non-method colleagues in so far as a smaller proportion possessed a doctorate. With regard to their professional or teaching expertise, however, method tutors were the better qualified group. Compared with non-method staff, they were more likely to have trained as teachers, their teaching experience was longer and more recent and a higher proportion of them had gained promotion as school teachers.

Over 90% of method tutors were teaching for their main method a subject which they had previously taught in schools or further education or, in a few cases, a closely related subject, for example, a former French teacher might now be teaching method in EFL. Similarly, over 90% were training students to teach the same age range of pupils which they themselves had taught. Just over 30% of method tutors were training students to teach an arts subject, just under 30% were training students in a science subject, 11.7% in languages, 7.0% in PE, 5.8% in a social science, 3.5% in primary/middle subjects and 7.7% in other subjects such as art, music and remedial education.

For most method tutors, method classes involved them in a heavy teaching commitment. Most were responsible for one or two method groups, though a few had more. The average main and subsidiary method group contained 14 or 15 students. Tutors in social science, science and other subjects such as art, music and remedial education tended to have smaller main

method groups than did their colleagues in other subjects, while tutors in PE and languages tended to have larger groups. For subsidiary method work languages groups tended to be smaller than the average and PE groups larger. Each tutor met his or her main method group, on average, for just over 6 hours per week, for an average of 16 or 17 weeks. As might be expected, less time was spent with second or subsidiary method groups. On average, tutors met them for just over 3 hours per week for an average of 12 or 13 weeks.

It appeared that in some departments and in some subjects a short course was compensated for by meeting for a greater number of hours per week. To obtain an overall picture of the differing lengths of time devoted by tutors to method work, the number of hours for which a tutor met his or her group was multiplied by the number of weeks per year. The average total number of hours in the year for which tutors met main method groups was just over 100, while for subsidiary method groups it was nearly 38 hours. These averages hid large differences. Meeting times for main method courses ranged in total from under 50 to over 150 hours, while for subsidiary method courses they ranged from under 10 to over 100 hours. Overall, main method tutors in PE tended to see their groups for longer, while primary tutors tended to see theirs for less than the average time. For subsidiary method, PE tutors also spent longer than average with their groups, while tutors of subjects such as art, music and remedial education, and tutors of social sciences, tended to see their groups for relatively few hours.

There were many reasons for this diversity. In a few departments some method groups were shared by two or more tutors. This was particularly true of primary groups. Their tutors tended to see them for a relatively short time compared with tutors in other subjects, but it was clear from

prospectuses and course outlines that these groups were often shared. The diverse nature of the primary school curriculum meant that specialists in fields such as art, music and reading might spend a considerable amount of time with a primary group which 'belonged' to another tutor. There was evidence from the SPITE student survey (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 48) that primary students tended to spend more days in schools than students in other subject areas, thus cutting down the time available for method classes, and, as shown above, primary tutors had a relatively high burden of teaching practice visits. Also, there appeared to be some subjects which simply required more time. PE, including games, athletics and outdoor activities, seemed to need a great deal of time. One outdoor activities course, for example, met at weekends as well as for most of the Easter vacation. Differences in the length of PGCE courses were also caused by variations in the length of the academic year in the universities. This ranged from 24 weeks to over 30 weeks and the total amount of time available for method work, to some extent, varied accordingly. The amount of time spent on method work also depended on what was included in it. In one department, for example, the 'core' method course lasted for more than two days per week and extended outwards to embrace areas such as children's learning and the structure of the education system, topics which in many departments were treated to some extent separately in other parts of the course. Similarly, in some departments time spent in schools, other than block teaching practice, was organised as part of method work, while in others it was a separate part of the course.

This diversity must be borne in mind when examining the workloads of method tutors. They averaged nearly two method groups each. None of the social science tutors taking part in the present study had more than two groups, while those most likely to have more than three groups were the

science and PE tutors. There were also departmental differences. In one department, for example, all method tutors had two groups, while in another two departments, one of which specialised in science education and the other in PE, more tutors had three groups than was the case in any other department. The average contact time for all method work per tutor was just over 9 hours per week for an average of 26 to 27 weeks, with each tutor being responsible for an average of 27 or 28 method students. On average, the total number of hours which each tutor spent on method work was just over 141. In all subjects tutors' total method commitment ranged from under 80 to over 200 hours per year (excluding teaching practice). Tutors in social science and in other subjects such as music, art and remedial education were more likely than their colleagues to have lower than average commitments, while those in PE were more likely to have higher commitments.

Differences in the workloads of method tutors in different subjects to some extent reflected differences in the timetables of the departments offering the subject and the varying emphases put by departments on each aspect of the course. Thus, in one department which put a good deal of emphasis on the time students spent in schools, but arranged for supervision to be largely the schools' responsibility, none of the method tutors spent more than 80 hours over the year teaching method classes. In another department, by comparison, students also spent a great deal of time in schools, but much of it was regarded as method time and on the whole their tutors were expected to be with them. In this department no method tutor spent less than 130 hours on method work.

It may be concluded, therefore, that, for most method tutors, running a method class was their main and most time-consuming activity.

c) Other school-related activities

Teaching in schools, supervising students on teaching practice and running method classes were major aspects of the work of university teachers of education and clearly involved tutors in close links with schools and teachers. Other areas of work which could draw heavily on tutors' own school teaching experience and involve the maintenance of links with schools were selecting and assessing PGCE students, teaching on the non-method components of the PGCE course and on other training courses such as BEd and in-service and induction courses, working on school examination boards, writing school textbooks or preparing materials for use in schools, and working for the Schools Council.

Approximately half of all those participating in the present survey helped interview prospective PGCE students during 1980 (Table 6.4). Some staff in every department were involved in interviewing PGCE applicants. Nearly 90% of these tutors were method tutors and three-quarters were on the lecturer grade. According to the linkmen who were interviewed at the beginning of the SPITE project (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979), almost all students were interviewed before being accepted on the PGCE course and tutors also made use of references. In the selection and assessment of students and in helping to place them in teaching posts at the end of the PGCE course, tutors drew on their own experience of teaching and made use of their contacts within schools. It was clear from the interview data that tutors felt a responsibility to their former colleagues in schools as well as to their students to do what they could to weed out students whom they felt were unsuited to teaching. Issues of this kind will be explored in more detail in later chapters. For the present it should be noted that the selection and assessment of students were areas of their work which, in the view of the tutors themselves, required close links with the world of school teaching.

Just under two-thirds of respondents to the present survey taught on the non-method components of the PGCE course (Table 6.5). A slightly higher proportion of professors than of other staff taught on these components, though their contribution was usually small. Method tutors were more likely than were non-method tutors to teach on such courses and overall they made a larger contribution than did their non-method colleagues. Among the method tutors it was the social scientists, not surprisingly, who were most likely to participate in the teaching of the more theoretical parts of the PGCE course - 84% of them did so, compared with just over three-quarters of all method staff. There were wide differences between departments in the proportion of staff teaching on the non-method components of the PGCE. These differences were related to the size of the department, to the way in which the courses were structured and to departmental policy. In a small department contributions from almost all the staff were needed if students were to have a range of topics open to them. In some large departments (over 200 PGCE students), if courses included a good deal of small group discussion, again almost all staff might be called on to lead the groups. Further, it was clear that in some universities it was departmental policy that all tutors should contribute to the PGCE. Thus, for example, in three departments every tutor who participated in the present survey had PGCE teaching responsibilities, but in five other departments 40% or more of the tutors had no such responsibilities.

Just under half of the education tutors taught on undergraduate courses of various kinds, and in fourteen departments these were training courses. Just over half of the tutors taught on in-service courses, just over 40% helped in the organisation of in-service courses, and fewer than 10% taught on induction courses (Table 6.6). There were no differences of any size between different groups of staff with regard to these

responsibilities, except that professors were less likely than their colleagues to teach undergraduates or to be involved in the organisation of in-service courses. But there were wide variations by department. In departments offering BEd courses, other undergraduate teacher training courses or first degrees in education almost all staff taught undergraduates, whereas in some other departments hardly anyone did so. Similarly, the proportion of staff in any department teaching on induction or in-service courses varied according to the extent of the department's responsibilities in these areas.

Over a quarter of all respondents had published one or more school textbooks (Table 6.7). Readers and senior lecturers were less likely than either professors or lecturers to have published in this field, but method tutors, and particularly the modern linguists, were considerably more likely than non-method tutors to have done so. To a great extent departmental differences with regard to the proportion of staff who had published school textbooks reflected differences in the proportion of staff in each department who had method work responsibilities. Just under 5% of staff, in response to an open-ended question about other activities, said that they worked for GCE or CSE examination boards, and 2.6% said they were involved in Schools Council work. Almost all of these staff were method tutors on the lecturer grade.

Activities of the kind just described all had direct relevance to schools and school teaching. Thus, although staff in education departments were no longer school teachers themselves, in a variety of ways they maintained close links with school teaching. But this was only one aspect of their work. At the same time they were also university lecturers and, as such, had responsibilities which, while not necessarily divorced from the work of schools, tended to be more distant from it and

to resemble more closely the work of university lecturers in other subjects.

4. Other responsibilities of education lecturers

a) Teaching (on courses other than training courses) and supervision of higher degree students

In the context of supervising higher degree students and teaching on courses other than in-service, induction and initial training courses, tutors' links with schools seemed, superficially at least, to have less direct relevance than they did in the context of the various activities described in the early part of this chapter. As will be shown in this section, one corollary of this was that supervising higher degree students and teaching on courses other than training courses was, in part at least, undertaken by different groups of tutors from those who had the main responsibility for in-service, induction and initial training courses, including the PGCE.

As noted above, just under half of the education tutors taught on undergraduate courses. If the fourteen departments offering undergraduate teacher training courses are excluded, the proportion in the remaining departments drops to just over 20%. The undergraduate teaching responsibilities of education tutors, other than in training courses, took a variety of forms. In some departments tutors taught education as an academic subject to undergraduates. Many staff who taught undergraduates were PE specialists who in some cases were not members of the education department but belonged to a separate department. A small number of staff had joint appointments which gave them responsibilities in another subject, while in some universities staff were encouraged to spread their teaching across departments if they had a specialism which could be used outside the department to which they

were originally appointed. There were few differences between education staff who taught undergraduates and those who did not, except that the former were more likely to be on the lecturer grade than on the higher grades.

Nearly two-thirds (63.5%) of education tutors taught on master's courses, and just over a third on advanced diploma courses. 71% supervised higher degree students at the time of the present survey (Table 6.8). Female staff, junior staff (though not necessarily younger staff) and method tutors were less likely than were their colleagues to teach on master's courses. There were no differences in this respect between method tutors in different subjects, except that comparatively few PE tutors taught on master's courses. A similar pattern was found with regard to staff responsibilities for teaching on advanced diploma courses and supervising higher degree students, though with regard to the latter, method staff in primary/middle subjects joined their PE colleagues in being unlikely to have such a responsibility.

There was considerable variation between departments with regard to staff responsibilities in the areas of higher degree and advanced diploma work. In three departments over 90% of staff taught on master's courses, while in six other departments fewer than half the staff did so. Similarly, in three departments all staff taking part in the present survey supervised higher degree students, while in another two departments fewer than half the staff did so. In four departments none of the staff taught on advanced diploma courses, but in three departments over 70% of staff did so. These differences reflected the differences in the range of courses offered by different departments. Staff in the University of London and in the young civic universities were more likely than their colleagues elsewhere to teach on master's and advanced diploma courses and to

215

supervise higher degree students. There was some evidence that staff in the smallest departments (100 or fewer PGCE students) were less likely than were their colleagues in larger departments to have responsibilities in these areas.

In conclusion, it can be shown that the staff who were mainly responsible for supervising higher degree students and teaching on courses other than training courses were to some extent a different group from those who were mainly responsible for initial training, induction and in-service courses. In the case of supervising higher degree students and teaching on courses other training courses, with the exception of undergraduate teaching, senior staff were considerably more likely than junior staff and non-method staff were considerably more likely than method staff to have such responsibilities. It appears, therefore, that senior staff tended to be involved in activities which were to a great extent removed from the concerns of schools and teachers, while junior staff tended to be involved in activities which were closely linked to the concerns of schools and teachers. As will be shown below, a similar conclusion may be drawn with regard to staff involvement in research and publications.

b) Research and publications

Two-thirds of all staff participating in the present survey were currently engaged in research (other than work being prepared for a higher degree) (Table 6.9). The most common subjects of their research were in the areas of science and science education, psychology, language, comparative education, history of education, the curriculum, and assessment. 19.3% of staff, or 29% of those engaged in research, had external funding from bodies such as the Social Science Research Council (SSRC, later the ESRC) and the Nuffield Foundation (Table 6.10). The more senior staff, though not necessarily the older staff, were

considerably more likely than their colleagues to be engaged in research. 90% of professors, compared with fewer than two-thirds of lecturers, were engaged in research. The more senior staff were also more likely to have external funding for their research. Men were more likely than women to be engaged in research, but no more likely to have external funding, while method tutors were less likely than their non-method colleagues to be engaged in research and less likely to have external funding for their work. Among the method tutors the scientists were most likely and the primary tutors least likely to be doing research. The level of staff involvement in research also varied by department. In two departments all staff claimed to be doing research, while in a third department only half the staff had such commitments. In some departments over half the staff had funding for their research while in others no-one had. Staff at Oxbridge were more likely than staff in other types of university to be engaged in research and to have funding for it, and the same pattern was true for the larger departments. It should be remembered that full-time research staff were specifically excluded from the present study.

Closely allied to staff involvement in research was the extent of their published work. Most staff, just over 80%, said that they were engaged in work which they expected to lead to publication (Table 6.11). Senior staff and male staff were more likely than their colleagues to be so engaged. In six departments all staff had plans for publication, while in four departments fewer than 75% of the staff had such plans. Staff at London University, at Oxbridge, and in the larger departments were more likely than their colleagues elsewhere to be engaged in work for publication, perhaps because of their greater involvement in funded research. Method tutors, and particularly the primary tutors, were less likely than non-method tutors to be so engaged, but among the method

tutors the scientists and the arts tutors were most likely to be working on something intended for publication.

The pattern was similar with regard to work which staff had already published. 87% of staff already had publications of some kind. 80% had published at least one article in a journal, 27.4%, as noted above, had published at least one school textbook, 14% had published one or more university textbooks, 33.1% had published one or more academic books, 40.1% had published one or more reports, and 43.6% had published one or more contributions to academic books (Tables 6.12 to 6.16). There were differences between the various groups of staff with regard to the kind and the extent of their publications. The more senior staff, and to a lesser extent the older staff, had published more of most kinds of works, while women tended to have published fewer than men, though in some cases the differences were small. In some departments everybody had published something, while in other departments as many as 30% of staff had published nothing. Staff in the London departments and at Oxbridge, and staff in larger departments were more likely than their colleagues elsewhere to have a considerable number of publications. Except in the area of school textbooks, method staff had fewer publications of all kinds than did their non-method colleagues. Within the group of method tutors, social science tutors overall had the most publications and primary tutors the fewest. Reflecting their research interests, scientists were most likely to have published reports and, reflecting the content of their method courses, modern languages tutors were most likely to have published school textbooks.

The majority of staff, as has been described above, were engaged in research and in work intended for publication, and the majority had already had work published. Within this overall picture, however, it was

clear that those most likely to be engaged in such activities were the senior staff, particularly the professorial staff. Of the professors who answered the relevant questions in the present survey, all were engaged in work which they expected would lead to publication, all had already had work published, all but four were currently engaged in research, and over half of them had funding for their research.

c) <u>Administrative responsibilities</u>

Most education lecturers were also responsible for a variety of administrative and more general duties. Some of these, the organisation of school placements, the organisation of in-service courses, and the interviewing of prospective PGCE students, have already been described. This section covers additional administrative responsibilities.

About two-thirds of tutors participated in departmental committees, over half in university committees and nearly 40% in national committees (Table 6.17). As might be expected, older and more senior staff were more likely than their colleagues to have committee responsibilities at all levels. Men were more likely than women to sit on education department committees and method staff were less likely than their colleagues to sit on university committees. Among the method tutors it was the science tutors who were more likely than tutors in other subjects to sit on committees at all levels, though a comparatively high proportion of primary/middle tutors sat on national committees. In all but three departments over half the staff participated in departmental committee work, though the proportions of staff in the largest departments who did so were comparatively low. There was considerable variation with regard to the proportions of staff in each department who participated in university committee work. In seven departments, three of which were in the University of London, over 80% of staff did so,

while in three other departments, all in the University of Wales, under 40% did so. Similar variation was found with regard to participation in national committee work. In three departments over 60% of the staff who responded to the present survey sat on national committees, while in six other departments under 30% of the staff did so. Participation in national committees was partly determined by geography, with 65% of staff in the University of London sitting on national committees and only 48% of staff from the northern universities doing so. A comparatively low proportion of education tutors from the new universities sat on national committees, a finding relating to the age of education staff in this type of university. The picture was different, however, with regard to staff from the former CATs. They too tended to be younger than their colleagues in other departments, but they were more likely than were staff in any other type of department to work on national committees.

Just over 60% of tutors had responsibility for interviewing prospective students other than PGCE applicants (Table 6.18). There was no difference with regard to this responsibility between senior staff and their colleagues, but female staff, younger staff and method tutors were less likely than were other staff to be involved. Here, too, there were considerable departmental variations. In three departments under 40% of the staff participating in the present survey had such responsibilities, while in another three departments the proportion rose to over 80%. These proportions depended in part on the range of courses offered by departments and on the individual arrangements made within each department for selecting students.

Staff were asked whether they had overall administrative responsibility for a course within their department (Table 6.19). Just over half did so, and listed various different kinds of courses or responsibilities.

These were coded into nine categories, though for only two categories did the number of respondents reach three figures. These two categories were, first, being responsible for all courses in a subject or an area, for example, 'all modern languages courses in the department', 'all audio-visual courses and facilities', and, second, being responsible for courses other than PGCE courses, for example, 'all higher degree work', 'the in-service BEd', 'the PhD programme'. 28% and 50.6% respectively of staff who had such responsibilities were involved in these two types of work. Only small numbers of staff were responsible for each of the other types of courses noted in response to this question. These included individual aspects of the PGCE course, the whole PGCE course, timetabling all courses, pastoral care and counselling services, and responsibility for sections of more than one course, for example, 'MEd history and PGCE method course'.

Professors were less likely than their colleagues to have responsibility for running courses or aspects of courses. Only 23.6% did so, compared with 60.2% of senior lecturers and readers, and 53.6% of lecturers. Respondents from Oxbridge were most likely to have these responsibilities, a finding related perhaps to the fact that respondents from these departments included comparatively few tutors on the professorial or on the lecturer grade. Among the staff who did have such responsibilities, the female staff and the method staff were more likely than their colleagues to be responsible for courses other than PGCE courses.

Just under 12% of staff had administrative responsibilities other than those already described in this chapter. These included running the department, being responsible for departmental finance, safety, appointments, admissions or examinations, being a deputy head of

department or a dean, and, finally, a miscellaneous category including items such as 'organising a teacher tutor scheme' and being 'academic director of the colleges division'. The first and last of these categories attracted most responses, 30% and 42.2% respectively of those who had additional responsibilities. 40% of professors, compared with only 16.1% of readers and senior lecturers, and 7.3% of lecturers, had such responsibilities, and almost all of these professors were responsible for running their departments. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that male staff, older staff and non-method tutors were more likely than their colleagues to have such responsibilities. The numbers involved, however, were too small to make departmental comparisons meaningful.

The majority of staff, then, had a variety of administrative responsibilities. The more senior staff seemed to carry the heaviest burden of administration, except, as described in previous sections, in the areas of PGCE and in-service administrative tasks, where method staff in particular were heavily involved.

5. An overview

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that much of the work undertaken by university teachers of education involved them in close links with schools and teachers. These links arose out of the professional nature of many of the courses on which education lecturers taught, particularly the PGCE course, which was a major part of the work of the departments included in the present study. The findings confirm those of other studies which suggest that the pattern of work of education lecturers differed substantially from the pattern of work of university lecturers in other subjects.

Taylor (1965, p. 198) found that fewer people in education departments than in other university departments were involved in research, and he attributed this to the heavier teaching load which they carried. Taylor does not provide any evidence on the teaching load of education tutors, except to suggest that staffing ratios were poor in education departments (ibid., p. 193). Teaching load is difficult to measure. It is defined in a variety of ways - timetabled teaching hours, actual student contact hours, or all the time used in preparation, marking and so on may be included. A further complication is that it is difficult to estimate, except over a period of time, since it does not appear to be easy to define a typical working week for an academic. A comparison of the findings of the present study with those of some of the other studies, however, does suggest that the teaching load in education was indeed above average for university teachers. Startup (1979, p. 25) found that nearly two-thirds of the university staff in his survey had 10 hours or less timetabled teaching per week, and in an earlier study the Robbins committee found that during term-time the average number of teaching contact hours per week was 7.6 (DES, 1963, Appendix 3, p. 56). Williams et al (1974, p. 495) found that over 70% of academics spent 10 hours or less per week on formal undergraduate student contact hours and 70% spent 2 hours or less on teaching postgraduates. In the present study it was found that PGCE method tutors averaged just over 9 hours contact time per week on method work alone during those weeks when their students were not on teaching practice. None of these other studies gives separate figures for education lecturers, but comparing their findings with those on method tutors does suggest that the teaching load in education was relatively high.

But this conclusion is not borne out by the survey published by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals in 1972. Their study showed

that, on average, education lecturers spent less time than their colleagues in other subjects on undergraduate teaching, on work related to graduate research and on personal research, but spent more time on graduate course work, external professional work and unallocable internal work (ie reading, study, discussion and conferences which may contribute both to teaching and to research and therefore cannot be allocated to one or the other) (CVCP, 1972, pp. 13-14). Clearly, time spent by education tutors on graduate course work would be heavily influenced by the PGCE, and to a lesser extent by the number of taught master's courses which were available in education. The high proportion of unallocable internal work would arise out of the interconnections between various aspects of the work of education tutors which would make it difficult to pigeonhole much of what they do into self-contained categories.

Another important difference between education and other subjects which was highlighted by the CVCP study was the amount of time spent on external professional work. Apart from lecturers in clinical medicine and dentistry, education lecturers spent more time per week than lecturers in any other subject area on this category of work, namely, 8 hours per week, or 17% of their time. According to the CVCP definition, this category included activities such as consultancy, external examining, committee work outside the university and refereeing papers for journals (1972, p. 22). For many education lecturers, no doubt, it also included liaison with schools, teaching in schools, visiting students on teaching practice and organising teaching practice placements.

To return to teaching loads, however, when the two CVCP categories, undergraduate time and graduate course-work time, are combined, the average total number of hours spent on these by education lecturers was

18.5, while for all lecturers it was 21. It is possible that the unallocable internal time explains part of the difference, but education lecturers spent only 3 more hours on this than did all lecturers, so that it seems that education lecturers actually spent less time or about the same amount of time on teaching. In the CVCP study, however, time spent on teaching included activities such as preparation, marking, examining and so on, and it may be that education lecturers spent a higher proportion of this time in student contact and a lower proportion on these other teaching-related activities than did their colleagues in other subjects. The study, however, does not provide separate figures for these two categories.

Although the evidence on teaching loads seems to be inconclusive, Taylor's findings about involvement in research are confirmed by other evidence. In the present study two-thirds of the participants were engaged in research other than for a higher degree, and a further 8.4% were engaged in research for a higher degree. By comparison, the Robbins Report (1963, Appendix 3, p. 56) found that 82% of academics were engaged in research during the sample fortnight used in their investigation, while Startup (1979, p. 55) found only 4 academics out of 190 who had no research experience. Williams et al (1974, p. 485) did not ask about the extent of research activity, but fewer than 5% of their respondents made a 'Not applicable' response to their interview questions about research. Halsey and Trow (1971, p. 278), taking publication as a measure of research activity, found only 7% of their sample had not published any academic articles. In the present study the comparable figure was 19.8%, and 13% of education tutors had no publications of any kind.

Whether or not their workloads were particularly heavy, the education tutors who were interviewed certainly perceived that they were so, and

suggested that this was the explanation for their lower participation rates, compared with those of other university teachers, in research and publication. The issue of workload will be followed up in Chapter Ten. For the present, however, the perception expressed in the interviews that staff lacked time for research and publication was supported by responses to an item in the questionnaire on this issue. 82.2% of staff participating in the survey said that they would like more time for personal research and for writing. Williams et al (1974, p. 495) asked a similar question, but in their study only 61% of academics wanted more time for research.

The picture which emerges from the evidence presented above is one of education lecturers who felt, justifiably or not, that they had a heavy workload and that they were unable to devote as much time as they would wish to research and writing. The pattern of their work, however, was more complex than this description would suggest. The present study shows that certain responsibilities undertaken by education tutors were linked to each other in so far as they tended to appear together in the workloads of the same tutors. They were also linked in the sense that certain types of responsibilities were undertaken by certain types of tutors.

Two main groups of activities may be distinguished. First, it was common to find that tutors who ran method groups were also those who were most likely to be involved in the organisation and supervision of teaching practice, to teach in schools, to teach on and organise in-service courses, to teach on the PGCE other than in method classes and to have published school textbooks. Second, there was a strong connection in the workloads of other tutors between activities such as research, writing, teaching and supervising higher degree students, and being involved in

certain kinds of administrative work. The two patterns of work were by no means mutually exclusive, but the strength of the pattern was reinforced by data other than those which have already been presented.

Tutors were asked which course took up most of their time, timetabled or otherwise. Of the 762 tutors taking part in the present survey, 42.5% nominated the PGCE course in response to the question. These tutors were almost all responsible for running a method group and for visiting students on teaching practice, and over half helped organise teaching practice school placements. 49.4% taught either occasionally or regularly in schools, 46% helped organise in-service courses and over half taught on them. Just over 80% taught on the non-method parts of the PGCE course and nearly 40% had published school textbooks. In response to a question about whether the balance of their work lay in teaching or in research, 59.9% of these tutors said that it lay in teaching and a further 34.3% said that it lay in both but with a leaning towards teaching. The comparable figures for all staff were 49.7% and 33.3% (Table 6.20). Although just over 80% were involved in work which they expected would lead to publication, only 63.3%, compared with 66.5% of all staff, were engaged in research.

These data present a picture, then, of tutors who were heavily involved in most aspects of the PGCE course and in other activities such as in-service training and writing school textbooks which involved them in links with schools and teachers. A corollary of this was that they felt that the balance of their work lay in teaching rather than in research. By contrast, 23.4% of those participating in the present survey said that the teaching responsibilities on which they spent most time were either master's courses or supervising higher degree students. Nearly three-quarters of these tutors had no PGCE method work responsibilities,

nearly 60% did no teaching practice supervision, over three-quarters did no teaching in schools and, though 73% did some teaching on the non-method parts of the PGCE, 70% of this group did 50 hours or less over the whole academic year. Over half of these tutors taught on in-service courses but only a third of them helped organise in-service courses. When asked about the balance of their work, 25.8% of these tutors said that it lay in research or in both teaching and research with a leaning towards research. The comparable figure for all tutors was only 10.1% (Table 6.20). 86.5% of these tutors were engaged in research and 97.2% were engaged in work which they expected would lead to publication. Further, this group of tutors had already published more of all kinds of publications, except school textbooks, than had other tutors. They were also more likely than other tutors to be engaged in various kinds of committee work and to be responsible for interviewing prospective students other than PGCE students.

The evidence just presented suggests that for this second group of tutors the main focus of their work lay in research and publication, in teaching and supervising higher degree students and in various kinds of committee work. Although many of them were involved in aspects of the PGCE course, for most of them the PGCE was not a major part of their work, and a corollary of this was that they were less likely than their colleagues to be involved in teaching in schools, teaching practice supervision or other activities requiring close links with schools and teachers.

The two groups of tutors just described represent extremes on the continuum, presented earlier in this chapter, which ran from school-related activities to activities which might require little or no liaison with schools or teachers. The two areas of work at each end of the continuum were not mutually exclusive, but the degree of

distinctiveness of each can be reinforced by an examination of the status of the staff found to be heavily engaged in each. Table 6.21 gives the details. The first column shows that a comparatively high proportion of lecturers and of staff in 'Other' grades spent more time on the PGCE than on any other course. Just over a third of the senior lecturers said that they spent most time on the PGCE, but only 12.7% of professors did so. In the second column the positions are reversed. Professors were much more likely than staff in any of the other grades to say that they spent most time on teaching and supervising higher degree students. Over two-thirds of method staff, compared with fewer than 10% of non-method staff, said the course on which they spent most time was the PGCE. The figures suggest that aspects of an education tutor's work which were closely linked to schools, for example, initial training, were not valued highly by universities, for the most senior education staff who had achieved the rank of professor in their universities tended to have little involvement in initial training, but spent most time instead on higher degree work, research and administration of various kinds. The distinctive nature of the work of professors of education, compared with that of their colleagues, can be further clarified by the application of discriminant analysis. The results are presented below.

6. Conclusion

To reinforce the points which have already been made in this chapter about the differences between the work of professors of education and the work of their less senior colleagues, three discriminant analyses were carried out. The first analysis discriminated between professors and lecturers, the second between professors and senior lecturers (including readers) and the third between professors and the other two groups combined. As in the analyses described in Chapter Five, the stepwise method was used. As a result of examining the contingency tables in

which rank was set against responsibilities, 25 variables were selected
for inclusion in the discriminant analyses, but, as Tables 6.22, 6.23 and
6.24 show, only 16 variables finally met the requirements for inclusion
in any of the analyses (see Chapter Four). The discriminant analyses
were repeated with different levels of tolerance. At the level of
tolerance of 0.2 the variables were entered into two of the analyses in a
slightly different order from when the level was 0.7, but otherwise there
were no differences whichever level of tolerance was applied between 0.7
and 0.001. The small changes in the classifications which resulted from
the application of different levels of tolerance are reported in Tables
6.22 and 6.23.

The results of the first analysis, between professors and lecturers, are
presented in Table 6.22. The first variable entered in the analysis was
the number of published contributions tutors had made to academic books.
This was followed by additional administrative responsibilities, running
a method group or groups on the PGCE course, involvement in university
committee work and whether the balance of work lay in teaching or in
research. The professors were more likely than their colleagues to have
made contributions to academic books and to have additional
administrative responsibilities, but were less likely to run a method
group. They were more likely to be involved in university committee work
and more likely to see the balance of their work as lying in research.
These five variables also made the largest individual contributions to
the discrimination. A further eight variables, which mostly related to
publications, research and administrative commitments, also fulfilled the
inclusion criterion and did not fall below the minimum tolerance level.
It may be noted here that variables such as teaching in schools and
visiting students on teaching practice failed to qualify for inclusion
because they correlated so highly with running a method group. The total

of 13 variables which were included produced a very high level of discrimination between professors and lecturers, and 96.06% of cases were correctly classified. Even when the number of variables included was limited to the first three by the MAXSTEPS procedure, the proportion of cases correctly classified was 95.04%. This leaves no doubt that professors of education could be distinguished from their colleagues on the lecturer grade by an examination of the types of work which they undertook.

A high level of discrimination was also achieved when professors were set against senior lecturers (including readers). The same variables as in the previous analysis were included in the first four steps of the analysis but these were in a slightly different order and were immediately followed by a different group of variables from those which were included at this stage in the analysis between professors and lecturers. The results are presented in Table 6.23. This suggests that the type of work done by senior lecturers differed from that of lecturers, though it could still be clearly distinguished from that of professors. The professors were more likely than the senior lecturers to have published a large number of contributions to academic books, and articles in journals. They were less likely to run a method group or to have much non-method PGCE teaching, but more likely to be involved in additional administrative responsibilities, university committee work, education department committee work and interviewing prospective students other than PGCE students. A high level of discrimination between professors and senior lecturers was achieved without the inclusion of the variables relating to research commitments and some of those relating to publications. 88.52% of cases were correctly classified, and when the number of steps was limited to three, it still reached 85.17%. The three variables were the same ones which were included in the previous

analysis, though the order of inclusion was different. A strong degree of discrimination was possible, therefore, on the basis of published contributions to academic books, additional administrative responsibilities, and responsibility for running a method group.

Not surprisingly, when professors were compared with the other two groups combined these same three variables were the first to be included in the analysis, and were followed by university committee work, the balance between teaching and research, national committee work, and number of academic books published (Table 6.24). These variables also made the largest individual contributions to the values of the discriminant functions. When the analysis stopped after the inclusion of 11 variables, 95.5% of cases were correctly classified. When the MAXSTEPS procedure was applied and only three variables were included, this proportion dropped only to 93.98%.

The application of discriminant analysis to the data on the work of university teachers of education showed that a clear discrimination could be made between professors and other staff. Professors were more likely than their colleagues to be engaged in research, writing and administration, including various kinds of committee work, while staff in the other grades were more likely to be involved in initial training and in a variety of links with schools. It may be concluded, therefore, that in university education departments those who became professors did not only have different backgrounds and qualifications from their colleagues in education, but also associated themselves in their work with activities which traditionally were seen as central to the concerns of universities, namely, research and writing, rather than with activities which might be seen as more relevant to the concerns of schools, namely, initial training, and, in particular, the PGCE.

Table 6.1   Do you undertake any school teaching in your present post?

		No	Occasionally	On a regular basis	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	421	238	57	46	762
	%	55.2	31.2	7.5	6.0	100.0
Professors	N	43	8	2	2	55
	%	78.2	14.5	3.6	3.6	7.2
Readers and	N	92	50	7	12	161
senior lecturers	%	57.1	31.1	4.3	7.5	21.1
Lecturers	N	267	172	42	28	509
	%	52.5	33.8	8.3	5.5	66.8
Other	N	19	8	6	4	37
	%	51.4	21.6	16.2	10.8	4.9
Method staff	N	202	174	40	12	428
	%	47.2	40.7	9.3	2.8	58.3
Non-method staff	N	216	61	17	12	306
	%	70.6	19.9	5.6	3.9	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.2   Are you supervising (visiting) any students on teaching practice this academic year?

		Yes	No	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	488	246	28	762
	%	64.0	32.3	3.7	100.0
Professors	N	17	38	0	55
	%	30.9	69.1	0	7.2
Readers and	N	100	52	9	161
senior lecturers	%	62.1	32.3	5.6	21.1
Lecturers	N	344	147	18	509
	%	67.6	28.9	3.5	66.8
Other	N	27	9	1	37
	%	73.0	24.3	2.7	4.9
Method staff	N	396	32	0	428
	%	92.5	7.5	0	58.3
Non-method staff	N	90	212	4	306
	%	29.4	69.3	1.3	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.3   Are you running a method/teaching subject group(s) on the
             PGCE course this academic year?

		Yes	No	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	428	306	28	762
	%	56.2	40.2	3.7	100.0
Professors	N	3	52	0	55
	%	5.5	94.5	0	7.2
Readers and	N	86	68	7	161
senior lecturers	%	53.4	42.2	4.3	21.1
Lecturers	N	316	173	20	509
	%	73.8	34.0	3.9	66.8
Other	N	23	13	1	37
	%	62.2	35.1	2.7	4.9

Table 6.4   University teachers of education involved in interviewing
             prospective PGCE students

		Yes	No or non response	
All staff	N	383	379	
	%	50.3	49.7	(N=762)
Professors	N	5	50	
	%	9.1	90.9	(N=55)
Readers and	N	76	85	
senior lecturers	%	47.2	52.8	(N=161)
Lecturers	N	287	222	
	%	56.4	43.6	(N=509)
Other	N	15	22	
	%	40.5	59.5	(N=37)
Method staff	N	344	84	
	%	80.4	19.6	(N=428)
Non-method staff	N	36	270	
	%	11.8	88.2	(N=306)

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.5   Involvement of university teachers of education in teaching
             on the PGCE (other than method work and supervising students
             on teaching practice)

		Yes	No	Non responses	Total
All staff	**N**	493	221	48	762
	%	64.7	29.0	6.3	100.0
Professors	**N**	42	12	1	55
	%	76.4	21.8	1.8	7.2
Readers and	**N**	97	50	14	161
senior lecturers	**%**	60.3	31.1	8.7	21.1
Lecturers	**N**	338	141	30	509
	%	66.4	27.7	5.9	66.8
Other	**N**	16	18	3	37
	%	43.2	48.7	8.1	4.9
Method staff	**N**	313	103	12	428
	%	73.1	24.1	2.8	58.3
Non-method staff	**N**	176	115	15	306
	%	57.5	37.6	4.9	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.6   Involvement of university teachers of education in teaching
on undergraduate, induction and in-servce courses

		Undergraduate	Induction	In-service	
All staff	N	355	67	401	
	%	46.6	8.8	52.6	(N=762)
Professors	N	27	5	31	
	%	49.1	9.1	56.4	(N=55)
Readers and	N	63	17	86	
senior lecturers	%	39.1	10.6	53.4	(N=161)
Lecturers	N	260	43	267	
	%	51.1	8.5	52.5	(N=509)
Other	N	5	2	17	
	%	13.5	5.4	46.0	(N=37)
Method staff	N	193	34	236	
	%	45.1	7.9	55.1	(N=428)
Non-method staff	N	153	32	162	
	%	50.0	10.5	52.9	(N=306)

Missing cases - 28

Percentages do not total to 100 because many staff taught on more than one course

236

Table 6.7   Publications of university teachers of education: school textbooks

		None or non response	5 or under	Over 5	Total
All staff	N	553	161	48	762
	%	72.6	21.1	6.3	100.0
Professors	N	41	12	2	55
	%	74.6	21.8	3.6	7.2
Readers and senior lecturers	N	98	44	19	161
	%	60.9	27.3	11.8	21.1
Lecturers	N	381	101	27	509
	%	74.9	19.8	5.3	66.8
Other	N	33	4	0	37
	%	89.2	10.8	0	4.9
Method staff	N	266	125	37	428
	%	62.2	29.2	8.6	58.3
Non-method staff	N	259	36	11	306
	%	84.6	11.8	3.6	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.8 Involvement of university teachers of education in supervising higher degree students and teaching on master's and advanced diploma courses

		Supervising higher degree students	Master's courses	Advanced diploma courses	
All staff	N	541	484	277	
	%	71.0	63.5	36.4	(N=762)
Professors	N	53	49	22	
	%	96.4	89.1	40.0	(N=55)
Readers and senior lecturers	N	129	108	66	
	%	80.1	67.1	41.0	(N=161)
Lecturers	N	347	314	177	
	%	68.2	61.7	34.8	(N=509)
Other	N	12	13	12	
	%	32.4	35.1	32.4	(N=37)
Method staff	N	293	252	136	
	%	68.5	58.9	31.8	(N=428)
Non-method staff	N	242	225	136	
	%	79.1	73.5	44.4	(N=306)

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.9 Are you engaged in research?

		Yes	No or non response	Total
All staff	N	507	255	762
	%	66.5	33.5	100.0
Professors	N	49	6	55
	%	89.1	10.9	7.2
Readers and senior lecturers	N	117	44	161
	%	72.7	27.3	21.1
Lecturers	N	323	186	509
	%	63.5	36.5	66.8
Other	N	18	19	37
	%	48.7	51.3	4.9
Method staff	N	270	158	428
	%	63.1	36.9	58.3
Non-method staff	N	229	77	306
	%	74.8	25.2	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.10   Is any of your research funded?

		Yes	No or non response	Total
All staff	N	147	615	762
	%	19.3	80.7	100.0
Professors	N	27	28	55
	%	49.1	43.6	7.3
Readers and	N	39	122	161
senior lecturers	%	24.2	75.8	21.1
Lecturers	N	74	435	509
	%	14.5	85.5	66.8
Other	N	7	30	37
	%	19.0	81.0	4.9
Method staff	N	58	370	428
	%	13.6	86.4	58.3
Non-method staff	N	88	218	306
	%	28.8	71.2	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.11   Are you engaged in any work which you expect to lead to publication?

		Yes	No	Non response	Total
All staff	N	634	91	37	762
	%	83.2	11.9	4.9	100.0
Professors	N	54	0	1	55
	%	98.2	0	1.8	7.2
Readers and	N	140	15	6	161
senior lecturers	%	87.0	9.3	3.7	21.1
Lecturers	N	418	63	28	509
	%	82.1	12.4	5.5	66.8
Other	N	22	13	2	37
	%	59.5	35.1	5.4	4.9
Method staff	N	355	61	12	428
	%	82.9	14.3	2.8	58.3
Non-method staff	N	269	28	9	306
	%	87.9	9.2	2.9	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.12   Publications of university teachers of education: articles
              in journals

		None or non response	5 or under	Over 5	Total
All staff	N	151	254	357	762
	%	19.8	33.3	46.9	100.0
Professors	N	1	0	54	55
	%	1.8	0	98.2	7.2
Readers and	N	18	35	108	161
senior lecturers	%	11.2	21.7	67.1	21.1
Lecturers	N	119	' 204	186	509
	%	23.4	40.1	36.5	66.8
Other	N	13	15	9	37
	%	35.1	40.5	24.3	4.9
Method staff	N	88	169	171	428
	%	20.6	39.5	40.0	58.3
Non-method staff	N	43	83	180	306
	%	14.1	27.1	58.8	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.13   Publications of university teachers of education: university
              textbooks

		None or non response	5 or under	Over 5	Total
All staff	N	655	96	11	762
	%	86.0	12.6	1.4	100.0
Professors	N	35	15	5	55
	%	63.6	27.3	9.1	7.2
Readers and	N	127	32	2	161
senior lecturers	%	78.9	19.9	1.2	21.1
Lecturers	N	457	48	4	509
	%	89.8	9.4	0.8	66.8
Other	N	36	1	0	37
	%	97.3	2.7	0	4.9
Method staff	N	380	45	3	428
	%	88.8	10.5	0.7	58.3
Non-method staff	N	247	51	8	306
	%	80.7	16.7	2.6	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.14   Publications of university teachers of education: academic
              books

		None or non response	5 or under	Over 5	Total
All staff	N	510	227	25	762
	%	66.9	29.8	3.3	100.0
Professors	N	10	33	12	55
	%	18.2	60.0	21.8	7.2
Readers and	N	82	74	5	161
senior lecturers	%	50.9	46.0	3.1	21.1
Lecturers	N	390	114	5	509
	%	76.6	22.4	1.0	66.8
Other	N	28	6	3	37
	%	75.7	16.2	8.1	4.9
Method staff	N	313	110	5	428
	%	73.1	25.7	1.2	58.3
Non-method staff	N	170	116	20	306
	%	55.6	37.9	6.5	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.15   Publications of university teachers of education: reports

		None or non response	5 or under	Over 5	Total
All staff	N	456	251	55	762
	%	59.8	32.9	7.2	100.0
Professors	N	18	25	12	55
	%	32.7	45.5	21.8	7.2
Readers and	N	80	63	18	161
senior lecturers	%	49.7	39.1	11.2	21.1
Lecturers	N	334	154	21	509
	%	65.6	30.3	4.1	66.8
Other	N	24	9	4	37
	%	64.9	24.3	10.8	4.9
Method staff	N	278	125	25	428
	%	65.0	29.2	5.8	58.3
Non-method staff	N	152	124	30	306
	%	49.7	40.5	9.8	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.16   Publications of university teachers of education:
              contributions to academic books

		None or non response	5 or under	Over 5	Total
All staff	N	430	266	66	762
	%	56.4	34.9	8.7	100.0
Professors	N	1	21	33	55
	%	1.8	38.2	60.0	7.2
Readers and senior lecturers	N	71	77	13	161
	%	44.1	47.8	8.1	21.1
Lecturers	N	331	163	15	509
	%	65.0	32.0	3.0	66.8
Other	N	27	5	5	37
	%	73.0	13.5	13.5	4.9
Method staff	N	265	146	17	428
	%	61.9	34.1	4.0	58.3
Non-method staff	N	142	115	49	306
	%	46.4	37.6	16.0	41.7

Missing cases - 28

242

Table 6.17   Committee responsibilities of university teachers of education

		Departmental committees	University committees	National committees	
All staff	N	494	420	300	
	%	64.8	55.1	39.4	(N=762)
Professors	N	48	52	41	
	%	87.3	94.6	74.6	(N=55)
Readers and senior lecturers	N	119	118	76	
	%	73.9	73.3	47.2	(N=161)
Lecturers	N	314	239	170	
	%	61.7	47.0	33.4	(N=509)
Other	N	13	11	13	
	%	35.1	29.7	35.1	(N=37)
Method staff	N	289	230	175	
	%	67.5	53.7	40.9	(N=428)
Non-method staff	N	199	183	122	
	%	65.0	59.8	39.9	(N=306)

Missing cases - 28

Percentages do not total to 100 because many responsents sat on more than one type of committee

Table 6.18   University teachers of education involved in interviewing
              prospective students for courses other than the PGCE

		Yes	No or non response	Total
All staff	N	467	295	762
	%	61.3	38.7	100.0
Professors	N	33	22	55
	%	60.0	40.0	7.2
Readers and	N	109	52	161
senior lecturers	%	67.7	32.3	21.1
Lecturers	N	312	197	509
	%	61.3	38.7	66.8
Other	N	13	24	37
	%	35.1	64.9	4.9
Method staff	N	237	191	428
	%	55.4	44.6	58.3
Non-method staff	N	222	84	306
	%	72.5	27.5	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.19   University teachers of education with overall administrative
              responsibility for a course or courses within their
              department

		Yes	No or non response	Total
All staff	N	393	369	762
	%	51.6	48.4	100.0
Professors	N	13	42	55
	%	23.6	76.4	7.2
Readers and	N	97	64	161
senior lecturers	%	60.2	39.8	21.1
Lecturers	N	273	236	509
	%	53.6	46.4	66.8
Other	N	10	27	37
	%	27.0	73.0	4.9
Method staff	N	222	206	428
	%	51.9	48.1	58.3
Non-method staff	N	166	140	306
	%	54.2	45.8	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.20   The balance of staff work: teaching and research

		In teaching	In both, leaning towards teaching	In both, leaning towards research	In research	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	379	254	62	15	52	762
	%	49.7	33.3	8.1	2.0	6.8	100.0
Professors	N	8	17	18	5	7	55
	%	14.5	31.0	32.7	9.1	12.7	7.2
Readers and sen lects	N	62	59	18	6	16	161
	%	38.5	36.6	11.2	3.7	9.9	21.1
Lecturers	N	286	171	26	2	24	509
	%	56.2	33.6	5.1	0.4	4.7	66.8
Other	N	23	7	0	2	5	37
	%	62.2	19.0	0	5.4	13.5	4.9
Method staff	N	257	140	11	3	17	428
	%	60.0	32.7	2.6	0.7	4.0	58.3
Non-method staff	N	115	110	50	12	19	306
	%	37.6	35.9	16.3	3.9	6.2	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.21   Courses on which staff spent most time

		PGCE	Supervising and teaching higher degree students	Other courses	Non responses	Total
All staff	N	324	178	198	62	762
	%	42.5	23.4	26.0	8.1	100.0
Professors	N	7	35	8	5	55
	%	12.7	63.6	14.6	9.1	7.2
Readers and senior lecturers	N	57	49	38	17	161
	%	35.4	30.4	23.6	10.6	21.1
Lecturers	N	243	88	143	35	509
	%	47.7	17.3	28.1	6.9	66.8
Other	N	17	6	9	5	37
	%	46.0	16.2	24.3	13.5	4.9
Method staff	N	294	44	70	20	428
	%	68.7	10.3	16.4	4.7	58.3
Non-method staff	N	29	131	120	26	306
	%	9.5	42.8	39.2	8.5	41.7

Missing cases - 28

Table 6.22   Discriminant analysis - between professors and lecturers

VARIABLE	ORDER IN WHICH VARIABLE INTRODUCED IN STEPWISE PROCEDURE	STANDARDISED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENT
Number of published contributions to academic books	1	.51754
Additional administrative responsibilities	2	-.40199
Running method group(s)	3	.32857
University committee work	4	-.23388
Balance between teaching and research	5	.21589
Number of academic books published	6	.20551
National committee work	7	-.10560
Organising teaching practice school placements	8	.12104
Engaged in research	9	.13427
Education department committee work	10	-.10538
Organising in-service courses	11	.10706
Number of reports published	12	.08970
Number of university textbooks published	13	.08278
Number of articles published in journals	-	-
Interviewing other prospective students	-	-
Amount of non-method PGCE teaching	-	-

Classification of cases

ACTUAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP			PREDICTED GROUP MEMBERSHIP		
			LECTURERS	PROFESSORS	
LECTURERS	N	461	449	12	Level of tolerance = 0.7,
	%	90.93	97.4	2.6	% of grouped cases correctly
PROFESSORS	N	46	8	38	classified - 96.06
	%	9.07	17.4	82.6	Level of tolerance = 0.2
TOTAL		507			or less, % of grouped cases correctly classified - 96.25

Missing cases - 57

Table 6.23   Discriminant analysis - between professors and senior
              lecturers (including readers)

VARIABLE	ORDER IN WHICH VARIABLE INTRODUCED IN STEPWISE PROCEDURE	STANDARDISED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENT
Number of published contributions to academic books	1	.61229
Additional administrative responsibilities	3	-.37297
Running method group(s)	2	.55446
University committee work	4	-.25653
Balance between teaching and research	-	-
Number of academic books published	-	-
National committee work	-	-
Organising teaching practice school placements	-	-
Engaged in research	-	-
Education department committee work	7	-.23764
Organising in-service courses	-	-
Number of reports published	-	-
Number of university textbooks published	-	-
Number of articles published in journals	5	.24128
Interviewing other prospective students	6	-.22633
Amount of non-method PGCE teaching	8	.14027

Classification of cases

ACTUAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP			PREDICTED GROUP MEMBERSHIP		
			SENIOR LECTURERS AND READERS	PROFESSORS	
SENIOR LECTURERS & READERS	N	154	144	10	Level of tolerance = 0.7,
	%	73.7	93.5	6.5	% of grouped cases correctly classified - 88.52
PROFESSORS	N	55	14	41	
	%	26.3	25.5	74.5	Level of tolerance = 0.2 or less, % of grouped cases correctly classified - 87.56
TOTAL		209			

Missing cases - 7

Table 6.24 Discriminant analysis - between professors and othergrades

VARIABLE	ORDER IN WHICH VARIABLE INTRODUCED IN STEPWISE PROCEDURE	STANDARDISED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENT
Number of published contributions to academic books	1	.57069
Additional administrative responsibilities	3	-.39041
Running method group(s)	2	.37725
University committee work	4	-.19076
Balance between teaching and research	5	.15211
Number of academic books published	7	.14524
National committee work	6	-.11410
Organising teaching practice school placements	10	.09793
Engaged in research	9	.10742
Education department committee work	11	-.09461
Organising in-service courses	-	-
Number of reports published	-	-
Number of university textbooks published	-	-
Number of articles published in journals	-	-
Interviewing other prospective students	8	-.10649
Amount of non-method PGCE teaching	-	-

Classification of cases

ACTUAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP			PREDICTED GROUP MEMBERSHIP		
			OTHER GRADES	PROFESSORS	
OTHER GRADES	N	598	582	16	
	%	92.9	97.3	2.7	% of grouped cases correctly classified - 95.50
PROFESSORS	N	46	13	33	
	%	7.1	28.3	71.7	
TOTAL		644			

Missing cases - 89 (staff in grades other than professors, senior lecturers, readers and lecturers were excluded from the analysis)

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONSTRAINT AND CONTROL IN UNIVERSITY TEACHER EDUCATION

1.   Introduction

The provision of education in Britain is divided between the so-called

'private' and 'public' sectors.   In higher education the private sector

is almost as heavily dependent on public money as is the public sector,

but the use of the label 'private' for the university sector implies a

degree of freedom from the kinds of constraints and controls within which

the public sector has to operate.   Although this picture is changing as a

result of government legislation in the 1980s, historically it has been

the case that the universities have enjoyed a 'tradition of academic

freedom and administrative self-determination' (Taylor, 1969, p. 89).

The nature of the 'freedom' enjoyed by university teachers was described

in some detail in Chapter Two and contrasted with the constraints and

controls exercised by local and central government, and by other

agencies, over school teachers in the maintained or public sector.   In

Johnson's terms (1972, pp. 41-47), university teachers have been able to

exercise a considerable level of collegiate or professional control over

their occupation, while school teachers have been subject to the

mediative control of the state.   It is indicative of the way in which

school teachers have been controlled that they have never been able to

exercise any real power over the ways in which the members of their

occupation have been educated and trained.

From the time that the first training colleges were opened in the 1840s

to provide trained teachers for publicly funded schools, teacher

education was subject to close control by central government.   It was

also constrained and controlled by the religious bodies which ran the colleges and, after 1902, by the local education authorities (Taylor, 1969, p. 64, Fenwick and McBride, 1981, p. 178). As a result of the Education Act of 1902, teacher education was firmly placed in the public sector alongside state schools and there it remained despite the efforts of the teachers, the colleges and various public inquiries to free it from the constrictions imposed by public control. During the same period, however, as was described in Chapter Three, the role of the universities in teacher education grew and developed, and the grafting together in university departments of education of the two traditions of close regulation over teacher education and relative autonomy for universities has exposed rather than mitigated tensions and conflicts between the two. In the late 1980s both teacher education and the universities have come under closer government control but the latter still enjoy considerably more autonomy than the former.

This chapter will begin by examining the ways in which teacher education generally has been controlled in England and Wales. It will then consider more specifically how this control has affected teacher education in the universities. Finally, it will present empirical data collected in the course of the present study on university PGCE tutors' views of how various constraints and controls affected them and their work.

2. Constraint and control in teacher education

Throughout the nineteenth century teacher education was closely controlled by central government. As was described the Chapter Three, specific vocational training was very rare for secondary teachers. Most teachers who had any training worked in elementary schools and their training developed out of the elementary school system which was closely

regulated by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education and the Education Department. When the government began to make grants available for teacher education, both in the colleges and through the pupil-teacher system, it also introduced detailed rules through which it controlled teacher education. Every stage in the elementary school teacher's preparation was regulated and inspected. As Tropp (1957, p. 19) points out, central government did not employ the teachers, but it controlled teacher supply through setting the standard of entry.

Minutes issued by the Committee of the Privy Council in 1846 laid down conditions under which the government would provide grants for pupil-teachers to serve their apprenticeship and, if they passed the Queen's scholarship examinations at a high enough level, to take a two year training college course. The content of the courses taken by pupil-teachers and college students was laid down by the Education Department, which also administered the examinations. At each stage government inspectors ensured that the regulations were obeyed and standards maintained (Lawton and Gordon, 1987, p. 75). Through financial and curricular regulation, the supply of trained teachers and the nature of their training was closely controlled from the centre.

A further source of control over teacher education lay in the religious bodies which founded and ran the training colleges and many of the elementary schools. Although the curricula and examinations were controlled by the Education Department, the social and moral lives of trainee teachers were subject to constraints imposed by their religious masters (Johnson, 1970, p. 115). Entry to teaching depended not only on academic or paedagogical ability, but on moral rectitude and social acceptability. To counteract the possibility that the children of the poor would use their education as teachers to further their personal

ambition, every effort was made by school governing bodies, by college authorities and by HMI, in Tropp's words (1957, p. 22), to fill prospective teachers 'with missionary zeal and with a deep sense of personal humility'. To this end the lives of pupil-teachers and college students were filled with duties and responsibilities and very few rights or privileges. A return to the Newcastle Commission, for example, claimed that the duties of a pupil-teacher to her family as well as in her role as a pupil-teacher would take up nearly eight hours a day six days a week. Her duties might include not only teaching and studying, but cleaning the school, inquiring after absent pupils and helping with the school accounts (Rich, 1933, pp. 142-144). Pupil-teachers who succeeded in obtaining a place at college found no let up in their duties. They were required not only to work through a heavy curriculum, but also, particularly in the case of female students, to undertake the domestic work of the college, and little time or provision was available for recreation (Dent, 1977, p. 30). Johnson (1970, p. 119) sees the elementary teacher's training in the nineteenth century as part of a larger system of social control over the working classes. Careful control over the teachers, in Johnson's view, was aimed at determining the 'patterns of thought, sentiment and behaviour of the working class'.

In 1902 a new source of control was introduced into teacher education. The Education Act of that year authorised local education authorities to finance teacher education through opening training colleges. Despite the contribution of the LEAs, the financing and work of the new municipal colleges, like those of the existing colleges, were closely controlled by central government (Dent, 1977, Chapter 10). During the same period the Board of Education, as the Education Department had become, issued new regulations concerning pupil-teachers. Now that a maintained secondary education system had been set up, it was possible to begin to use the

secondary schools to provide academic education for pupil-teachers. Regulations issued from 1903 and onwards gradually altered the arrangements for the pre-college education of elementary teachers until it became possible for intending teachers to attend secondary school until they went to college at the age of eighteen. At the same time the Board was issuing new regulations on the academic qualifications of prospective teachers and of the staff of the training colleges, and on the religious tests which denominational colleges required of their entrants (Gosden, 1972, pp. 205-209). Although, as will be described below, concessions were made to the universities which had begun to play a new role in teacher education in the 1890s, in general central government retained its hold on all aspects of teacher education and training.

In the 1920s the training college system obtained yet another new master, this time in the shape of the universities. A dispute between central and local government, which arose out of the 1918 Education Act, over who should finance the municipal colleges, resulted in the setting up in 1923 of the Departmental Committee to inquire into the training of teachers for elementary schools (Gosden, 1972, pp. 266-268). One of the recommendations of the Departmental Committee which the Board of Education implemented was that the work of conducting training college examinations should be handed over to regional Joint Boards on which universities and training colleges were represented. When the Joint Boards were set up, most also had LEA representation and Board meetings were attended by HMI. Although the arrangement appeared to promise greater freedom for the colleges, some college representatives feared that the universities would replace the Board of Education as their master (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 43). In reality, although the Joint Boards were responsible for determining syllabuses as well as for

conducting the examinations, the whole system remained ultimately within the Board of Education's control. At a time of financial constraint the Board of Education was happy to relinquish the expensive business of administering the examinations (Lofthouse, 1982, p. 300), but the Board retained the responsibility for issuing the teacher's certificate, and the syllabuses and examination were still subject to the Board's regulations, general though these were. The Board remained responsible for the examination of practical teaching and for examinations in some practical subjects. The system was still monitored by HMI, and Niblett et al (1975, p. 59) conclude that 'the Board had every intention of keeping a close, though diplomatically unobtrusive, watch over every stage of the new examining procedure'. Lofthouse (1982, p. 307) describes the Joint Board system as 'a sop to union aspirations while real powers were circumspectly retained where they had been for some time, in the hands of the permanent officials at the Board of Education'. Although the Board had divested itself of most of the day-to-day work, it had not given up any of its powers over the training college system. The Board's control was still apparent in its regulation of college entry and hence finance. In an attempt to save money it cut student numbers in the 1930s and some colleges had to be closed. At the same time, however, the Board allowed large numbers of uncertificated teachers to be employed. As Browne (1979, pp. 29-34) concludes, the 'vulnerability' of the colleges was apparent, and not only at the hands of the Board. By the 1930s teacher education in the colleges was subject to constraint and control by local government, universities and religious bodies as well as by central government.

After the McNair Report of 1944 (Board of Education, 1944) the trappings of the system of control over teacher education were changed again. The reality of control remained, though it was increasingly muted and

unobtrusive. After a protracted period of negotiation following the publication of McNair, a system of Area Training Organisations, commonly known as Institutes of Education, was set up. The Institutes, on which the universities, training colleges and LEAs were represented, were responsible for supervising all the teacher education, both initial and in-service, in their areas and were accountable to the universities for their academic work. The Ministry of Education, which had replaced the Board, had moved further into the wings and, according to Dent (1977, p. 120) was increasingly susceptible to the influence of the Conference of Institute Directors (CID). Even so, as Dent recognises (op. cit.), important though its influence might be, the CID could not exercise power over the system. This, as ever, remained ultimately with central government. Although the Ministry of Education did not exercise all of its powers, neither did it relinquish the control it had always held over the supply and education of teachers, and the award of qualified teacher status was still at the disposal of the Ministry. Institutes of Education might experience little difficulty in running teacher education as they wished to, but ultimately they did so only as the agents of the Ministry. The training colleges were still subject to HMI inspection and representatives of the Ministry and of HMI attended Institute meetings as assessors (Dent, 1977, Chapter 19, Lynch, 1979, p. 13). The Ministry still controlled teacher supply and demonstrated its power to do so through the post-war emergency training scheme and the pressure it put on the colleges in the late 1950s and early 1960s to adopt expedients such as 'Box and Cox' and the four term year to increase the numbers of trained teachers coming on to the market (Browne, 1979, Chapter 7).

The training colleges and the teachers' organisations had long campaigned for greater freedom from their various masters, advocating, for example, a teaching council along the lines of the General Medical Council

(Gosden, 1972, Chapter 11). But although the influence of teachers and teacher trainers on the recruitment and education of teachers had increased over the years, their powers had not. The two issues of the status and autonomy of the training colleges were raised again in the Robbins Report of 1963 on higher education (DES, 1963, Chapter 9). Robbins made two main recommendations concerning the training colleges. The first was of an academic nature and advocated the establishment of the BEd degree to be taught in the colleges and validated by the universities. As evidence of the new academic status of the colleges they were to be known as colleges of education. The other major recommendation concerned the administration of the colleges. Robbins proposed that the Institutes of Education should be replaced by Schools of Education which would have administrative and financial as well as academic responsibility for the colleges. The colleges would be funded by central government grants to the universities in the way that other university activities were funded. Such a move would have meant the virtual integration of the colleges into the university system. Although the colleges would have been subject to university control, they would have become part of the autonomous, independent 'private' sector of higher education. The colleges' numerous masters, however, were unwilling to relinquish their powers and, although the academic proposals made by Robbins were implemented, the administrative and financial ones were not. After Robbins the Weaver study group was set up to review the arrangements for the internal government of the colleges. The result was the Weaver Report of 1966 whose recommendations on setting up college governing bodies were implemented in 1967. Colleges were given greater freedom in areas such as managing their finances and appointing staff, but even so were ultimately responsible to the DES, as the Ministry had become, and to the LEAs or religious bodies for financial and

administrative aspects of their work, as well as to the universities for the academic side of their work (Collier, 1973).

The 1960s and 1970s were a period of considerable change for the colleges of education. Massive expansion to meet the demand for teachers was followed, after the James Report (DES, 1972b) and the White Paper ironically entitled 'Education: A Framework for Expansion' (DES, 1972a), by sharp cutbacks, closures and mergers, both with universities and with colleges of higher education and polytechnics which had grown up as a result of the binary policy for higher education. The Area Training Organisations were abolished and, with the advent of the CNAA, the universities ceased to be the only academic validating bodies (Browne, 1979, Chapter 16, Lynch 1979, Chapter 2). Despite these changes, teacher education, in the public sector at least, was still subject by 1980 in one way or another, to all the masters it had always had. Indeed the changes to which the teacher education system was subject had added the CNAA and, in 1982, the NAB, to the list, the latter incorporating the voluntary sector in its mandate from 1983 onwards (Bruce, 1985, p. 169). These changes illustrated the relative powerlessness of the colleges and the power of their masters, particularly central government, since central government ultimately controlled all the other regulatory and advisory bodies (Silver, 1985).

The multiplicity of masters controlling teacher education was the result of historical circumstances, as one body after another became involved in teacher education. The resulting complexity made it cumbersome to effect change (Baird, 1965, p. 60). Yet when central government wanted to make changes, it was able to have its way undeterred by the complexity of the system and often with little consultation of interested parties (Browne, 1979, p. 223). When the Robbins Report suggested a way of streamlining

the administration of the colleges by making the universities their sole master, the plan was rejected. The reasons are not far to seek. At one level neither the central government, the LEAs nor the churches could be expected voluntarily to relinquish power and influence. But in teacher education more was at stake. Technically the colleges and polytechnics which provided teacher education in the public sector were owned and maintained by the LEAs and the churches, with substantial financial support from central government. But it was the DES which had the power to determine the number of teachers to be trained, and hence the level of financial support, as well as to determine the qualifications required for entry into teaching (Fenwick and McBride, 1981, p. 198). At the same time, the LEAs were responsible for staffing the schools. Neither the central government nor the LEAs were willing to see the control of teacher education pass into the 'private' orbit of the universities over which neither the DES nor the LEAs had any direct power (Taylor, 1969, pp. 76-77, Lawton and Gordon, 1987, p. 82). Teacher education, therefore, retained its many masters and, in particular, continued to be subject to DES control.

The maintenance of DES control in the 1960s and 1970s was apparent not only in changes forced upon teacher education to cope with fluctuations in the demand for teachers, but also in the regulations for entry into teaching. It was the DES which announced that unqualified people could no longer be employed as teachers, that graduates (with some exceptions) would have to take a training course before entering teaching, that the college course should be lengthened from two to three years, that the BEd degree for teachers should be introduced, that non-graduate courses should be phased out and that prospective teachers should have passes in O level English and mathematics (Gosden, 1972, p. 307, Dent, 1977, pp. 131 and 144, McNamara and Ross, 1982, pp. 4-6). The most recent

manifestation of central control over teacher education was the setting up of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) in 1984. The government's concern about teacher education was apparent in a series of DES and HMI publications (DES, 1982b,c,d, 1983a) which culminated in the White Paper 'Teaching Quality' (DES, 1983b) in which the government proposed that teacher education courses should qualify for recognition by the DES only if they fulfilled certain criteria.

The award of qualified teacher status, as previous paragraphs have described, had always been in the hands of central government. Although a variety of institutions were training teachers in 1984 when CATE was set up, the recognition of their courses as a preparation for teaching was at the discretion of the DES. But although the DES and its predecessors had issued regulations requiring prospective teachers to hold various qualifications, the detailed determination of the nature of the courses, since the 1920s, had been left by and large in the hands of the Joint Boards, the Institutes and the Schools of Education. When the Board of Education gave up its responsibilities for examining in the 1920s, it also gave up issuing detailed regulations on issues such as course content and the qualifications of the staff in the colleges (Tuck, 1973a, p. 91). But the power of central government to issue such regulations, although in abeyance, had never been relinquished, and it was resurrected in the 1980s in the form of CATE (Ross, 1987, pp. 21-22). In Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) the DES announced that in future qualified teacher status would only be available to students who had successfully completed courses which had been accredited by CATE. To obtain accreditation courses had to fulfil a number of specific requirements related to the length of the courses, their content, the qualifications of those who taught the courses, the amount of time spent

in schools, the balance between subject studies and professional education and the involvement of practising teachers in the courses.

Not since the 1920s had the central authority made such detailed stipulations. The powerlessness of teacher education was immediately apparent. Students could obtain qualified teacher status only if they completed an accredited course. Institutions which trained teachers therefore had to seek accreditation and, in many cases, had to make substantial changes in their courses in order to do so. Eight of the first nine courses examined by CATE did not meet the criteria (TES, 1985) and three years after CATE began work 21 out of 43 courses examined had been unable to obtain a positive recommendation. None of these courses was closed but institutions were asked to revise their courses and re-submit them (TES, 1987). Complaints from institutions about the principle of accreditation as well as about some of the requirements seemed to be of little avail (The Guardian, 1986, p. 11, Mills, 1985, Shaw, 1985, Ruddock, 1986, THES, 1986a). CATE's work continued and the teacher education establishment had little choice but to comply. As Silver (1985) put it, 'the work of CATE, good or bad, is imposed on the system'. Constraint and control over teacher education scarcely seemed less in the 1980s than it had in the 1840s. Indeed, the Select Committee on Education, in an attempt to reduce the number of different bodies which regulated teacher education, recommended in its Report on primary education in 1986 that CATE's remit should not be renewed (House of Commons, 1986, 14.163).

Ironically enough, given the close control exercised by CATE, the powerlessness of teacher education was also exemplified in government proposals for a system of entry into teaching which would bypass conventional teacher education courses altogether. In an effort to

ensure a supply of teachers sufficient to implement the National Curriculum, the Secretary of State for Education proposed setting up a system in which new teachers would learn on the job rather than taking a course before beginning to teach (TES, 1989a). It was indicative of the power of central government over teacher education that not only could it specify in detail what kinds of courses prospective teachers should follow, but it could also, if it so desired, license people to teach without requiring them to take a course. Again, although teacher educators could protest, they had no power to prevent the government accrediting teachers according to any criteria it wished to apply.

At the beginning of this chapter the distinction was drawn between the autonomy of the university sector and the relative lack of autonomy of the public sector of higher education. The provision of teacher education which occurs in both sectors, forms a bridge between them and illustrates the similarities and differences between them. The next part of this chapter will examine how the two traditions came together in teacher education in the universities.

3.   Constraint and control in teacher education in the universities

Chapter Three described how the universities and university colleges began to take an interest in education specifically for teachers as early as the 1850s. Several began to provide classes and courses for teachers and prospective teachers and in 1879 and 1883 respectively the universities of Cambridge and London instituted examinations for diplomas in education.

Until 1890 the involvement of the universities and university colleges in teacher education was independent of what was happening elsewhere in teacher education. It was not sanctioned or regulated in any way by the

Education Department and no central government money was involved. Where fees were payable for courses or examinations the students had to find the money from their own resources or in the form of privately endowed grants or scholarships. Similarly the institutions providing the courses and examinations had no public support but existed on endowments, fees and other private sources. The Cambridge Teacher Training Syndicate, for example, depended on a grant from Cambridge University, on 'ingenious book-keeping' and on 'inflated' fees from candidates taking its examinations (Searby, 1982, p. 24). A similar experiment by the Association for the Education of Women in Oxford failed after a year because students could not afford to stay on (Tomlinson, 1968, p. 296). Teachers attending special Saturday classes at University College Aberystwyth in 1877 paid ten shillings for two terms' part-time study, while in Leeds the School Board supported the university's courses for teachers by requiring assistant teachers to attend (Thomas, 1978, p. 250). Under these local, private arrangements, the provision of teacher education courses and examinations offered no threat to the autonomy of the universities and university colleges. After 1890, however, the situation changed.

In an effort to increase the supply of trained elementary school teachers without the expense of building new colleges, the Education Department accepted one of the recommendations of the Cross Commission that universities and university colleges should be allowed to set up day training colleges. Since these colleges were officially recognised, they and their students qualified for grants from the government. At a time when grants for higher education were not readily available and some of the younger university colleges were struggling to make ends meet, such an arrangement was very attractive and a number of day training colleges were opened with the least possible delay (Dent, 1977, p. 33). But

accepting government money meant accepting government regulation. The universities' enthusiasm for this side of the contract was much less apparent.

The universities' suspicion of government interference had arisen as early as the 1850s when a proposal was made by HMI Morrell that Owens College in Manchester should set up a training college as an extension of the classes it already provided for teachers. To obtain government grants like other training colleges, however, the new enterprise would have had to accept government regulation. The Manchester professors turned the idea down 'owing to the nature of the regulations imposed by the Privy Council' (Sadler, 1911, pp. 23-26). The issue of university autonomy also arose, as was described in Chapter Two, during the Great Depression of the 1870s and 1880s. In 1889 the government began allocating grants to the struggling university colleges as a means of strengthening the country's technological base. Glad as they might be to accept financial support, however, the universities made it clear that they did so on condition that it was not accompanied by more than a minimum of regulation (Moodie, 1983, pp. 333-335).

Given the universities' dislike of government regulation, it was perhaps surprising that so many of them so quickly established day training colleges in response to regulations published in 1890 after the Cross Commission had reported (Tuck, 1973a, p. 80, Niblett et al, 1975, p. 14). It seems likely, however, that money, coupled with student numbers, was at the root of the matter (Dent, 1977, p. 33, Armytage, 1954, p. 10, Thomas, 1978, p. 252). Even with the financial help which the government had begun to offer in 1889, many university colleges faced financial difficulties and day training college students had the great advantage that the government financed them and the colleges which they attended.

266

In addition, there is no doubt that there was a considerable body of opinion in favour of the universities playing a role in teacher education and in developing education as a subject of academic study (Sadler, 1911, p. 28, Gosden, 1972, pp. 198-199, Thomas, 1978, p. 152). Two other factors may also have helped sweeten the pill of the government regulation which accompanied the establishment of the day training colleges. The first was that initially the colleges were attached to the universities rather than incorporated into them (Gosden, 1972, p. 199) and were thus held, as it were, at arm's length. Secondly, although the day training colleges were subject to Education Department regulations, they were from the beginning subject to different regulations from the training colleges, and in some respects, to less control. In other words, there was some recognition that the universities' relationship with the government was different from the colleges' relationship with the government. Lofthouse (1982, p. 88) argues that the Board fostered the distinctions between the two and saw them as catering for different types of student.

Control of teacher education in the universities and university colleges certainly differed in some respects from control of teacher education in the training colleges. The day training colleges were non-denominational and their students were free of religious tests. There was thus no controlling role for religious bodies such as existed in the denominational colleges. Nor were the day training colleges subject to local education authority control. In addition, because the new colleges were day colleges, the students were free of the requirement to live in and could enjoy private lives outside the colleges (Thomas, 1978, p. 252). For the academic part of the course students could take courses and examinations offered by the university to which their day training college was attached and the maximum length of the course was extended to

three years to enable students to read for degrees (Gosden, 1972, p. 199). Later the universities were permitted to examine professional as well as academic subjects (Tuck, 1973a, p. 91). There was thus some recognition of university autonomy in teaching and examining. In 1911 the universities were allowed to offer four year courses for intending teachers, an arrangement which gave students a better chance of obtaining a degree, as well as a training qualification, than was available to them in a three year course. Training college students, too, could read for degrees, for example, external degrees of London University, but were not permitted four years to do so (Dent, 1977, pp. 69-70). These concessions on the part of the Education Department and the Board of Education, in conjunction with the prevailing tradition in university education, resulted in teacher education in the universities taking on a more academic and liberal nature than teacher education in the colleges. Since universities, unlike teacher training colleges, were polytechnic, teacher education students could study alongside students preparing for other careers, they had the benefit of university facilities such as libraries, and the possibility of studying subjects not available in the colleges. As the day training colleges became established and the four year course was introduced, the universities could ask for higher entry qualifications, putting their teacher education students on the same footing as their other students. The universities also offered courses for secondary teachers and, after secondary training was recognised by the Board in 1908, many of them began to concentrate on secondary training. Education also began to become the subject of academic study in a way that had not been possible in the training colleges (Tuck, 1973a, pp. 82-91, Gosden, 1972, p. 199, Rich, 1933, pp. 227-232).

But despite the differences which were apparent between teacher education in the universities and teacher education in the colleges, the former was

ultimately subject, like the latter, to the control of central government. All the work in the sphere of teacher education for which the universities were in receipt of government money was subject to government regulation. The Education Department and its successors could control student numbers, course content and assessment, and HMI inspected teacher education in the universities as they did in the training colleges. Although many of the regulations were relaxed for the universities, the comparative freedom enjoyed by teacher education in the universities was in the gift of central government (Tuck, 1973a, pp. 76-79 and p. 87, Wood, 1952, pp. 235-236). The changes which followed the Departmental Committee Report of 1925, the McNair Report of 1944 and the Robbins Report of 1963, as described above, gave the universities increasing influence over the content and assessment of teacher education, both within the universities and outside them, and the role of central government in teacher education gradually receded. But it was never removed and there were regular reminders of the government's powers in teacher education and of the universities' dislike of those powers.

Even before the First World War the animosity between the universities and the government over who controlled teacher education was apparent. As has already been described, many teacher education students in both colleges and universities, but particularly in universities, studied for degrees as well as for their teaching qualification. For students on two or three year courses, working for both qualifications was a heavy burden and the Board of Education complained that their education as teachers was suffering. The Board argued that it was paying grants for students to train as teachers, not for them to obtain degrees, and it began to put obstacles in the way of students who wished to try for both qualifications. Eventually, in 1911, it made a concession to the

universities in the form of four year courses for suitably qualified students (Dent, 1977, Chapter 11). This did not solve the problem, however, for the Board had also discovered that some students who obtained degrees on Board of Education grants were using their qualifications to enter occupations other than teaching. When the Board complained to the universities about this, the universities in their turn attacked the Board for its close control of teacher education (Lofthouse, 1982, pp. 101-103). When the four year course was introduced in 1911 it was accompanied by the 'Pledge', the requirement that students accepting government grants had to sign an undertaking to teach after qualifying (Dent, 1977, p. 70). In making concessions to the universities the Board would only go so far.

In its Report of 1925 the Departmental Committee, considering possible changes in the organisation and administration of teacher education, recognised that incorporating all teacher education into the university system might be resisted by the universities. They might feel that their academic freedom would be under attack if they played too great a part in 'a state-controlled activity' like teacher education (Board of Education, 1925, pp. 76-80). Even the limited role which the universities played in the Joint Boards raised the issue of university autonomy (Lawton and Gordon, 1987, p. 77). Because there were eleven boards, it was suggested that there should be an overarching standardising body. But the universities feared that such a body would infringe their autonomy and were only persuaded to accept it on the understanding that the Central Advisory Committee would take no more than a general overview (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 47-50). Niblett et al (1975, p. 59) suggest that the members of the Joint Boards probably did not know how closely their activities were actually monitored by the Board. Given the universities' fears, it was perhaps just as well.

The issue of university autonomy was raised again after McNair reported in 1944. The Committee suggested two schemes for bringing the universities and the training colleges closer together. Scheme A was disliked by the universities because of the close relationship which it envisaged between the universities and the training colleges (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 101), but Scheme B was disliked even more because it would have created regional boards with responsibility for all the teacher education in each region, including teacher education in the universities. The universities could not accept Scheme B because they feared it would 'create an external body with the power of invading the proper autonomy of the universities' (Sir F Sibly, quoted in Niblett et al, 1975, p. 106). In the end the universities were persuaded to accept watered-down versions of Scheme A (ibid., pp. 151-157).

The McNair Report (Board of Education, 1944, p. 13) also raised to prominence another source of university concern about autonomy. McNair suggested that comparability of standards in teacher education in the different regions should be maintained by a system of external examining and through HMI inspection. In theory teacher education in the universities, as elsewhere, was subject to HMI inspection. In practice, however, after the first few years, the universities had been left very much to their own devices. Inspection had been 'carried out intermittently and with a velvet glove' (Niblett et al, 1975, p. 177) and with 'maximum tact' (Lawton and Gordon, 1987, p. 81), where it was done at all. Newcastle, for example, was never inspected after 1911 (Tyson and Tuck, 1971, p. 47). But the explicit advocacy of inspection by McNair raised university hackles, particularly in London (Worsley, 1952, pp. 224-225). The Director of the London Institute of Education went so far as to recommend that London University should give up training teachers if its work in this field was to be inspected in the same way as

the work of the training colleges (Lawton and Gordon, 1987, p. 81).

Eventually, after a period of 'acute controversy' between the University

and the Ministry (Jeffery, 1955, p. 72), it was agreed that inspection of

teacher education in the universities would be undertaken by HMI by

mutual agreement with the universities, rather than of right. In

addition, inspectors would not report on the work of individual members

of staff (Niblett et al, 1975, pp. 177-181). In 1960 this agreement

formed the basis of a concordat between the Ministry and the Conference

of Heads of University Departments of Education (Taylor, 1985,

pp. 242-243). According to Ross (1987, p. 20), the concordat

'safeguarded university autonomy and served its purpose well for over

twenty years'. Certainly the issue receded into the background. There

was some difficulty when the BEd degree was introduced after the Robbins

Report, when some universities asserted their autonomy by being

aggressive, and, their critics felt, unnecessarily aggressive, in

exercising their rights as validators of the degree (Niblett et al, 1975,

pp. 237 and 270, Browne, 1979, pp. 168-170, Bradley, 1984, p. 88). But,

that apart, no major threats to university autonomy were perceived until

the 1980s.

As was described above and in Chapter Three, while teacher education in

the public sector was changing radically in the 1960s and 1970s, teacher

education in the universities altered little in terms of its structure

and organisation. University education departments contributed, along

with their colleagues from the public sector, to inquiries made by the

Parliamentary Select Committee on Education and Science, by the Short

investigation and by the James Committee, but felt little direct effect

of the changes which were taking place elsewhere. In the 1980s, however,

things began to change. There was considerable government concern about

teacher education and now that the universities, which had not suffered

the cuts imposed elsewhere, provided a comparatively high proportion of new teachers, they too were brought into the limelight (Eggleston, 1983, Bruce, 1985, p. 170).

The first aspect of their work in which the universities began to feel the effects of government control in the 1980s was student numbers (the remainder of this section is based on Patrick, 1986). Although the numbers training in universities had increased along with the rest of the teacher education system, they had not subsequently contracted, and had reached a plateau of about 5,000 per year in the 1970s (Bradley, 1984, p. 96). Teacher education in the universities was funded in the same way as other university activities, through UGC grants which were not directly controlled by the DES. But in the 1980s, when, despite the cuts in the public sector, there were still fears of overproducing teachers, particularly in certain subjects, DES and HMI negotiated with UCET and the UGC for a national allocation of student numbers in PGCE subject areas (UCET, 1983, pp. 3-4, Eggleston, 1983). National plans for teacher recruitment therefore began to affect teacher education in the universities more directly than had been the case for many years (Alexander, 1984b, p. 105 and pp. 118-119).

To some extent these changes were in line with what was happening elsewhere in the universities. The financial stringency imposed on the universities, particularly from 1981 onwards, as was described in Chapter Two, carried with it increasingly direct and detailed government control, exercised through the UGC and later the UFC. Education, like other subjects, suffered a contraction in its resources, including staffing, a reduction in student numbers, and research selectivity exercises (Williams, 1988, pp. 62-63, Walford, 1988, pp. 48-49 and 54-55).

But within these wider manifestations of government control the universities also faced specific pressures in the field of teacher education. The PGCE was a major source of new mathematics teachers and the Cockcroft Report (DES, 1982a, p. 215) recommended that HMI 'should be given the duty of appraising the initial training courses which these (university) departments provide'. The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, in reaction perhaps to a political climate that was hostile to the universities and to their apparent lack of accountability (Kogan and Kogan, 1983, p. 40) suggested that UDEs should strengthen their relationships with HMI. Some UDEs were willing to do so, 'wanting HMI to be more fully aware of the quality of the initial training being done in the university sector' (Eggleston, 1983). By the beginning of 1983 two UDEs had been visited by HMI and several others were arranging visits. As UCET (1983, p. 7) conceded, HMI visits had been 'a normal occurrence over the years' and in general there had been good relations between HMI and UDEs. But UCET was cautious about what seemed to be new kinds of visits. In response to the Cockcroft recommendation on appraisal, UCET reported that UDEs were 'apprehensive about an idea which would involve government in education courses in a way that does not obtain in any other subject or area of work in Universities' (1982, p. 7). Silver (1986) went so far as to suggest that in the universities education departments were 'seen as Trojan horses, having been the vehicle for allowing the HMI into the campus sacred city'. As teams of inspectors began to be invited into UDEs for visits which seemed to smack of inspection, UCET felt constrained to point out that it considered that the 1960 concordat was still in force (1983, p. 7). In other words, UCET feared that HMI would come to see their visits as a right rather than as subject to invitation (Ross, 1987, p. 20).

But this issue soon became one of academic rather than practical interest. With the setting up of CATE, university teacher education courses, like those in the public sector, had to conform to a set of criteria in order to obtain accreditation. As a result, evidence was required on which to base accreditation decisions and HMI were an obvious source of such evidence. Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984, para. 6) stated that:

> 'HM Inspectors will visit teacher training institutions in the public sector and, by invitation, university departments of education'.

Although the words 'by invitation' were used, in reality UDEs had little choice but to issue the invitations. As Lawton and Gordon (1987, p. 84) point out, it was open to UDEs to refuse invitations to HMI, but that would have meant in effect withdrawing from teacher education. Without HMI evidence it would not be possible to obtain accreditation. Without accreditation students from UDEs would be ineligible for qualified teacher status and hence for employment in state schools. HMI inspection, however tactfully described on paper, had returned to teacher education in the universities in a major way.

The role of HMI, however, was not the only feature of the new accreditation procedures which threatened the autonomy of university education departments. Accreditation both in principle and in practice was seen as unwarranted interference by the DES. It was part of a policy, referred to elsewhere in the present study, of increasing central government control over many aspects of education (Hunter, 1985, p. 100). Staff in university education departments, however, had not been used to feeling the direct effects of such control and there was clearly distaste for the whole procedure - 'thus the heavy hand of central government interferes directly in university affairs' (Anweiler and Phillips, 1985, p. 223). The ability to validate their own courses and, indeed, courses

in other institutions, was one of the features which contributed to the unique status of the universities, and the CATE procedures seemed to threaten this ability. Although accreditation was explicitly distinguished in Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984, para. 2) from the validation of courses for academic purposes, the criteria for accreditation related to areas which in universities had traditionally been regarded as within the scope of academic decisions normally taken by academics (Moodie and Eustace, 1974, Chapter 4). These included the qualifications of the staff, the selection and assessment of the students and the content of the courses (DES, 1984, Annex).

UCET did not object to accreditation in principle (UCET, 1983, p. 2), but expressed surprise that only one teacher educator from a university had been included on CATE (UCET, 1984, p. 2). By 1985, however, after CATE had begun work, UCET had set up a consultative group to look at UDE relationships with HMI and CATE 'as a result of many of the anxieties expressed by UDEs over HMI visits and reports and the danger of loss of university autonomy' (UCET, 1985, p. 2). UCET was not the only body to express concern about increasing central control over teacher education. The Association of University Teachers (AUT) said of university staff in teacher education, 'They are . . . subject to a degree of outside interference in the content and method of their teaching which is unique in the university system' (AUT, 1986, p. 9), and the House of Commons Select Committee on Education criticised the CATE criteria for putting 'unprecedented restrictions on the ability of individual institutions to plan and change courses on the basis of their own perception of what is needed' (House of Commons, 1986, para. 12.47). Individual teacher educators made similar points. Professor Wragg of Exeter University, for example, was quoted as saying that 'a door has been opened which allows a (government) minister to impose his personal whims on the system' (The

Guardian, 1986, p. 11). There was also resistance to the pressure put on education departments by the DES to publish their HMI Reports, again on the grounds that university rights, in this case not to publish, were being threatened (THES, 1986b, UCET, 1986, p.2). Despite these fears, education departments did begin to publish their HMI Reports (THES, 1986c, p. 3) and in 1988 HMI published an overview of their findings on initial teacher education in universities (DES, 1988d).

Despite their protests, education departments were powerless to defend their autonomy against CATE. To refuse to seek accreditation would have been to withdraw from initial teacher education, which, for most education departments would have removed their main function and almost certainly resulted in closure. But short of declaring themselves redundant in this way, there was nothing they could do. As Ross (1987, pp. 21-22) points out, the Secretary of State was exercising powers he had long held. His predecessors might not have chosen to exploit these powers, but they had not abolished them. In the 1980s teacher education in the universities became subject to most of the same constraints and controls which central government exercised over teacher education in the public sector.

4. The views of education lecturers on constraint and control in
    teacher education in the universities

At the time when the data for the present study were collected in 1980 issues of constraint and control in university teacher education were not at the forefront of education lecturers' concerns. As was described above and in Chapter Three, the previous twenty years had been a period of considerable change in teacher education in the public sector, but the PGCE in the universities, apart from taking increasing numbers of students, had suffered virtually no outside interference and had escaped

the cuts which had so radically altered the rest of the teacher education landscape. Education lecturers were acutely aware, however, of what was happening elsewhere in teacher education and of the implications events could have for their own work. When the initial interviews were being conducted for the SPITE study (Patrick et al, 1982) interest was expressed in the motives which the DES had for funding a major survey of teacher education in the universities (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979).

In the interviews conducted for the present study concern was expressed about what the government's plans might be for teacher education in the universities. Interestingly, such concern was not specifically probed in the interviews but was volunteered by interviewees in response to more general questions about teacher education and departmental resources.

Tutors were asked about the facilities and resources available to them and about the financial position of the education department within the university. Most staff said they thought education did not suffer compared with other departments in terms of resources or staffing, but some commented that it was difficult to judge in a time of cuts in universities generally. In all seven universities in which interviews were conducted staff commented on the financial problems facing the universities. In one education department there was general agreement that the effects of these problems had not been felt in that particular department in that vacant posts were still being filled and money was available for a new teacher-tutor scheme. Two departments were participating in university-wide reviews of staff-student ratios and teaching hours, and tutors were concerned that the intensive teaching of small groups which was common in education departments would put them at a disadvantage compared with subjects where large-scale lecturing was

more usual. In one department which brought its university a good deal of money from fees from overseas students one tutor felt that education was helping keep other less profitable parts of the university afloat, but others in the same department felt education received its fair share of what it earned. Such disagreement was symptomatic of what seemed to be considerable ignorance among a large minority of tutors about the financial situation in their departments. They could cite examples of posts not being filled or of a shortage of support staff such as technicians or secretaries, but they did not know how this compared with other departments in their universities. In general, however, tutors were of the opinion that education was not being treated unduly unfavourably.

Apart from giving a few specific examples, tutors on the whole did not seem to feel that their work was constrained in any major way by financial difficulties. The cuts of 1981 had yet to come. Even so, there was recognition that the universities were already facing financial difficulties and that teacher education, particularly given what had happened in the public sector, might prove a major victim. Although no specific questions were asked about the position of education or of teacher education in the universities nationally, a number of tutors, ten out of the 47 interviewed, volunteered comments on the economics of teacher education in the universities and on how their work might be affected by national policies. The vulnerability of education departments, it was suggested by tutors, arose from three main sources.

The first of these was demographic. One tutor pointed out that as secondary school rolls fell, secondary teacher education would be a target for cutbacks. The universities were vulnerable because of their concentration on the secondary sector. She felt that her own subject,

PE, was comparatively safe as there was still plenty of demand for teachers in that area, but she thought other subjects could suffer. The PE tutor's comment was made in response to a question about the teaching job market which was put to all the interviewees. All were aware of the teacher unemployment problems which were current at the time. Their 1978-1979 students, however, had not done as badly with respect to finding jobs as had been feared. Most students who had wanted a teaching job had eventually found one, though students with poor references or who were geographically restricted could no longer be certain of finding employment as teachers. Tutors teaching subjects such as history and geography, subjects in which there was apparently no shortage of teachers, said they felt justified in continuing to train people in these subjects as long as they could find posts. Individual departments, it was said, were not prepared to drop subjects because the good students wishing to study them would simply go elsewhere. A few of these tutors were apprehensive about the future but only one tutor, whose subject was history, said cuts should be made. He personally was willing to be made redundant, at a price, if a policy of 'rationalisation' as he described it, were to force cuts in teacher education in the universities.

The second source of vulnerability was the length of the PGCE course. Cutbacks in one year courses, the 'bread and butter' of university teacher education, as one tutor described it, could be achieved more quickly and easily than cutbacks in three and four year courses. It was suggested by some of the tutors who raised the issue of the threat to the PGCE that both individual tutors and whole education departments were trying to protect their position by diversification, that is, by trying to show that the PGCE was not the only iron which they had in the fire. One tutor said there was a feeling in his department that they had to maintain a high level of recruitment to the PGCE to avoid being under

threat of closure, yet at the same time staff felt obliged to undertake a variety of higher degree, INSET and undergraduate work to show that they had a raison d'être beyond the PGCE. As a result, in his department they had more students and more teaching commitments than he felt they could really cope with. In another department, according to one tutor, education was in an exposed position not only because of the PGCE but because so many of its courses lasted only one year. Some consideration had been given in the department to initiating undergraduate teaching as a defence, but staff were half-hearted about such a move.

The third source of threat perceived by tutors to teacher education in the universities was of a more general nature. There had been massive cuts in the public sector and, at a time of increasing teacher unemployment, the universities seemed the obvious place to cut next. Some tutors had come from posts in the public sector, and one of the departments where interviews were conducted had been formed out of an amalgamation of a college of education and a university. To these tutors the threats of cuts or closure did not seem as distant as they did to one tutor in another department who thought that any further cuts would again affect the public sector rather than the universities. It would be unprecedented, 'a total break with tradition', in his view, if the government began 'to play around with the university sector'. Ironically enough, in the 1988 cuts initial teacher education in his department was one of the victims. He was the only one of the ten tutors who talked about the perceived threat to teacher education in the universities to be so optimistic and, as it turned out, so wrong.

But although some tutors expressed fears for the future and felt that the universities were not immune to potential financial or policy constraints, the effects of financial stringency were only just beginning

to be felt, and controls of a policy nature were perceived only at the level of teacher supply and demand in particular subjects. At the day-to-day level of their work, for the most part, the tutors who were interviewed did not see themselves as subject to undue control or constraint, nor did any of them suggest that regulation of a more detailed kind might be on the cards in the foreseeable future.

Many tutors seemed to feel that they had a good deal of autonomy. Like their colleagues in other university departments, as was described in Chapter Two, they had a substantial degree of control over their work. Tutors themselves were appointed in the same way as their colleagues elsewhere in the universities, through an essentially collegial system. The specific qualifications and experience which a department required for a particular post were a matter for the department and the university (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979). Once appointed, tutors were responsible for selecting their own students, designing and teaching their courses as they saw fit and setting their own standards for assessment. Limitations in areas such as the number of students recruited and the departmental arrangements for timetabling or organising teaching practice were sometimes criticised by tutors, but the principle that such administrative constraints should exist was not questioned by any of the tutors interviewed. All university tutors were subject to bounds of these kinds (Startup, 1979, Chapters 5 and 6) and they did not seem to be perceived as unreasonable by the education tutors who were interviewed. Only one tutor said that he would like more flexibility in organising his work and felt that method tutors in particular had insufficient autonomy, while another tutor said she was temporarily having to give up research because of the pressure of other work and she felt this was a limitation on what she could do. In contrast, 23 tutors, almost half of those interviewed, commented either implicitly or

explicitly on the degree of autonomy which they saw themselves as able to exercise.

The tutors were not specifically asked about autonomy but raised the issue in response to questions about their work and the kinds of activities in which they were involved. Those who commented implicitly on the degree of autonomy they possessed talked of their ability not only to select their students and to teach and assess their courses as they wished but also of how they could be selective about their work activities and about changing their commitments. Thus, one tutor describing the distribution of work in his department said of higher degree courses, 'if you show a willingness to do these you get clobbered for them as well', while at the same time, in his view, it would have been possible for him to be 'just a physics tutor' and to avoid taking on any other commitments. An English tutor in the same department said he had chosen to take on an extra-mural group rather than to do some teaching in school. In another department an English tutor who felt that he had a heavy workload said, 'I suspect if times weren't so nervous I would say too much was expected and drop some'. In a third department a philosophy tutor said he was considering dropping out of teaching on the PGCE course.

These kinds of comments implied that tutors felt able to exercise at least some control over their work and some choice in the activities which they undertook. Others, however, were more explicit about their autonomy. One tutor, who had previously worked in a college of education, said that his comparison of the college environment with the university environment led him to believe that in the university he had a lot of freedom to set up courses and to contribute to courses in ways that allowed him to use his strengths. A tutor from another department

said that the situation in education departments was the same as elsewhere in universities and that, 'the work rate depends on the person rather than the job. An academic can work very hard, or not'. Other tutors saw themselves as having 'a great deal of freedom' and being 'free to do their own thing'. One said, 'in a university the job is what you make it', another that tutors were 'left with an extraordinary degree of autonomy', and a third that, 'It is no use waiting for a role to be thrust on you, you have to construct your own'.

It was evident from remarks of this kind that tutors in education departments would have recognised the picture drawn by Startup (1979, p. 8) in his study of academics in a variety of other subjects,

> 'It is apparent that the academic has a high degree of professional
> autonomy. . . . (and possesses a) considerable degree of freedom
> . . ., both in respect of what he does and how he does it.'

Startup (1979, p. 161) also concludes:

> 'It becomes clearer that basically what is happening to university
> teachers is that they are given the (material) tools and told to go
> away not so much to finish their job as to define it.'

This level of autonomy, in the view of the tutors' interviewed, had both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages were that it allowed tutors to do what interested them, to concentrate on their strengths, to vary their activities and to structure and teach their courses in the ways they felt were most beneficial to their students. Most of the tutors who commented on their autonomy did so positively, though they also recognised the disadvantages of permitting so much autonomy to individual tutors.

One disadvantage was that tutors could become 'too insular' and 'not au fait with what other staff are doing'. Their work could become 'a

somewhat private activity', in the view of one head of department, who thought tutors should be more open to new ideas and should make their teaching more open to 'critical appraisal'. A related disadvantage was that it was difficult to effect change of a concerted nature in departments where, as one tutor put it, 'we are all Indian chiefs, there are no braves'. In one department five out of the eight tutors interviewed commented on the difficulty of making changes because individual tutors refused to co-operate and insisted on following their own ideas. A suggestion had been made that the PGCE course should be redesigned so that the more theoretical elements of the course were integrated instead of being taught as separate disciplines, but nothing had come of this. One tutor commented on it as follows:

> '. . . it is difficult to get people to co-operate. We have toyed with the idea, but it breaks down in this department because people don't trust each other enough. In other words, they feel they want to know what they're doing, whereas if they integrate they will have to understand what everyone else is doing.'

Another tutor in this department wondered whether there should be a general course covering topics of interest to all PGCE students, whatever their subject. Alternatively, there might be a list of topics which all method tutors had to cover within the context of their subject. But he felt it would be difficult to reach agreement on the topics and to ensure that they were adequately covered. A third tutor in the same department said:

> 'One thing that is troubling in a place like this is the difficulty of bringing about change of any kind, and things are damnably slow. Part of the problem is that staff are individually mature in years and experience, and they know their minds, and they want to stay that way . . . There is a kind of inertia principle at work.'

Similar kinds of comments were made by tutors in other departments too, confirming that in education departments, as elsewhere in universities, the autonomy of the individual tutor was highly valued and defended. As Eraut et al (1980, pp. 29 and 42) reported, teaching in universities was seen 'in individual rather than corporate terms', and tutors often knew little about what happened on other parts of the courses on which they taught.

A third disadvantage of the high degree of autonomy enjoyed by staff lay in the area of workload. Although, as has been described above, some staff pointed out that it was possible for academics to do a minimal amount of work, more commonly education tutors commented that it was also possible for academics to take on too much work. Tutors who were willing and interested could find themselves taking on more than they could cope with, particularly in a subject like education where the range of areas in which a tutor could have a valid interest was very great. In the words of one tutor, 'the job spreads out into various areas'. It might be possible, given so much autonomy, for tutors to give up some of their commitments when things became too much, but several tutors suggested that this was difficult. As was described above, where tutors were nervous about the security of their jobs, there was personal and departmental pressure on them to be seen to be busy. But a small number of tutors had little sympathy with colleagues who complained of overwork. One tutor, for example, thought that education had made a rod for its own back in that tutors voluntarily took on multifarious commitments and at the same time insisted that education, unlike most other subjects, required the in-depth teaching of small groups.

Certainly for most tutors the range and variety of tasks in which they were engaged were seen as positive aspects of their work and there was an

unwillingness to give up commitments. Tutors seemed to want to have a finger in every pie. Thus a biology tutor said that supervising students on teaching practice was a 'tough burden' but, 'one can't ask somebody else to do it because they don't know the students and are not committed to the students and to the children in the classroom'. This kind of possessiveness will be explored further in the Chapter Ten, but for the present the point at issue is the desire of education tutors to preserve their autonomy to do what they wished in the way that they wished to do it, even if it did make life difficult. The possession of autonomy conferred power and tutors did not wish to relinquish it. Responses to three of the questionnaire items also supported this contention. 80% of tutors disagreed with the statement 'Supervising students on teaching practice takes up university tutors' time which could be better spent in other ways'. Half disagreed that 'The main responsibility for supervising students on teaching practice should lie with the teacher(s) in the schools', and a further 20% were uncertain. In addition, just over 70% agreed that responsibility for the final assessment of students' teaching practice performance should lie with 'University staff, taking account of the opinions of school staff', and a further quarter of tutors thought the responsibility should be shared equally between school and university staff. Method staff were particularly unwilling to relinquish their role in supervising and assessing teaching practice.

It may be argued from this kind of evidence that education tutors were able and willing to take on commitments in which they were interested. They seemed less willing, however, to use their acknowledged freedom to give up commitments. Although this unwillingness may have been strengthened for some tutors by uncertainties about job security, there is also evidence that tutors valued the power they could exercise because they had sufficient autonomy to select the activities to which they

wished to devote their time. Where these activities conferred power or status, tutors were unwilling to give them up, even if at the same time they felt they were overstretched. Evidence on this point, of course, is implicit and impressionistic, for tutors did not state the problem in these terms. Instead they tended to describe conflicts of interest and commitment within their role as inevitable or 'part of the job', as if there was little or nothing to be done about them.

The nature of the role conflict will be examined further in Chapter Ten. It is the issue of freedom or autonomy which is central to the present line of argument. Although tutors recognised the disadvantages of autonomy, they also prized their autonomy and expressed discontent when they thought it was threatened. It is not surprising that tutors who were unwilling to co-operate in implementing departmental policies with which they did not agree, were shocked to find that their autonomy counted for so little in the face of government regulation. The CATE criteria which came into being in 1984 governed all kinds of activities which in 1980, when the interviews were conducted for the present study, were the preserve of the individual tutor. These included criteria for selecting students, course content, the involvement of school teachers in teacher education, and the tutor's own involvement in schools. At the level of the department courses had to be lengthened and students had to spend more time in schools. The outcry which greeted the CATE requirements suggests that, if the interviews had been conducted four years later, the issue of autonomy would have been much more to the forefront than it was. Constraint and control of a financial kind, too, would almost certainly have been an issue of more concern than was apparent in 1980.

5. Conclusion

In summary, it has been argued in this chapter that, when the universities first began to play a major role in teacher education in the 1890s, they were subject to a considerable level of constraint and control. Gradually the restrictions within which they ran their teacher education courses were slackened, bringing teacher education very much into line with the universities' other activities, in which they were able to exercise considerable autonomy. Such changes, however, were made at the discretion of the central government, which retained the power to impose restrictions even if it did not use that power for many years. When the data for the present study were collected in 1980 there were few direct constraints on the day-to-day work of education departments in universities. Many tutors recognised that they enjoyed a good deal of autonomy, to the extent that one head of department described it as 'a luxury'. Tutors who were interviewed recognised that financial constraints were beginning to be felt, though only marginally, and a few predicted that national policies for teacher education might lead to cuts in particular subjects. But not even the most pessimistic tutors voiced any suspicion that regulations of the detailed and all-embracing kind specified by CATE would be introduced within a matter of four years. The CATE constraints were probably the more shocking to tutors for being so unforeseen.

It has been argued that in 1980 tutors in education departments enjoyed very much the same kind of freedom from constraint and control as did their university colleagues in other subjects. In other respects, however, as has been suggested in earlier chapters, education was not quite like other subjects. The role of education departments in supplying teachers for maintained schools made them vulnerable to the exercise of state control. The Secretary of State for Education was

responsible for the provision of teachers and had the power to control the numbers and the nature of the training of new teachers (Fenwick and McBride, 1981, p. 198). When, as happened in the 1980s, the Secretary of State chose to exercise that power in the universities, as already happened in the public sector, the universities had little power to resist. Because of their relationship to the school system, education departments were controlled and constrained in a manner inconsistent with the level of autonomy enjoyed elsewhere in the university system, even at a time of increasing government control over higher education generally.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IDEOLOGY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

1. Introduction

In preceding chapters it has been suggested that university lecturers in education have two main occupational orientations, towards school teaching and towards university teaching. The conflicts engendered by the opposing interests of the two orientations may also be seen in the educational ideologies espoused by education lecturers. Ideology is used here, as in Chapter Two, in the broad sense of a system of views or beliefs. In Chapter Two it was suggested that different ideologies have traditionally been influential in school and university teaching. In the present chapter it will be suggested that rationales for teacher education are drawn from a range of ideologies and that both historically and on the evidence of data gathered in the present study, teacher educators in universities have been influenced by ideologies associated with both school and university teaching. Since lecturers in education are responsible for the education of school teachers, their philosophies of teacher education must reflect in some respects the philosophies of education which underpin the work of school teachers. Because they work in universities, however, lecturers in education must consider the relationship between their philosophies of teacher education and the philosophies which permeate the work of universities. It will be argued here that the differences in emphasis given to different educational ideologies in school and university teaching are such that teacher educators have found them difficult to reconcile. Repeated investigations into teacher education and the nature of its role are in themselves indicative of the lack of a well-defined ideology or

philosophy of teacher education. Instead, teacher education, like school teaching, has accumulated a range of competing ideologies. The difficulty is by no means confined to teacher education in the universities, and this chapter will begin by examining the different ideologies with which the teacher education enterprise as a whole has been associated. It will then analyse how these ideologies have been expressed with particular reference to the PGCE course in universities. In the following chapter empirical data collected in the present study through questionnaires and interviews will be reported.

2.   Ideologies in teacher education

This section will present the major ideologies which have been used to legitimate different structures and processes of initial teacher education in England and Wales. In doing so, it will recap to some extent material presented in previous chapters on the history of teacher education and on the ideologies associated with the occupations of school and university teaching.

As was shown in Chapter Two, school teaching in its various forms has been associated with a range of beliefs or ideologies about its aims. The confusion about what school is for is illustrated not only by the range of ideologies, but also by the range of labels which commentators have attached to them (Meighan and Brown, 1980). For the purpose of the present study, as described in Chapter Two, these beliefs or ideologies have been characterised broadly as academic, economic and social or affective. Briefly, the academic ideology represents the view that education in schools should develop academic or cognitive abilities. The economic ideology represents the view that education in schools should serve the nation's economy by training the workforce in relevant skills. According to the social or affective ideology education in schools should

be concerned with the social and moral development of children, aiming to produce socially responsible, well-adjusted citizens, however these are defined at any point in time. These three ideologies may be seen as legitimating education in the service of the needs of society, or, if a child-centred or student-centred view is adopted, the needs of the individual. Even at this level of conceptual simplification the diverse and potentially conflicting nature of educational ideologies is apparent. If schooling has a range of aims, it is no surprise to find that the system which educates the teachers who work in schools has also been legitimated in different ways. As previous writers have noted (Dickson et al, 1965, p. 139, Aspin, 1973, p. 200, Popkewitz, 1987, p. 24), teacher educators often do not make explicit the values underlying their enterprise. As a result, the aims and ideologies identified here have been teased out from statements of policy and descriptions of practice as much as from direct expressions of legitimation.

It may appear tautologous to suggest that the prime aim of teacher education is to prepare teachers for their work. But the form of the preparation must depend in part on the view which is taken of the nature of the teacher's role. Even the study of the theory and practice of education, including paedagogy, which might be considered central to the work of any teacher, has been the subject of controversy.

At one level debate has centred on how far teacher education should take the form of an apprenticeship model in which students practise the 'craft' of teaching, and how far it should take the form of a 'professional' model in which practice is informed by broader, theoretical perspectives on education and its role in society (Lynch and Plunkett, 1973, pp. 55-56).

The pupil-teacher system through which most elementary teachers entered teaching in the nineteenth century was the embodiment of an apprenticeship model. Most pupil-teachers did not attend a training college and even for those who did there was little theoretical input (Rich, 1933, pp. 166-167). As the pupil-teacher system died out in the first decades of the twentieth century, the practice of teaching came to take place almost exclusively as part of the college course. The Departmental Committee Report of 1925 accepted that teaching could only be learnt in the schools themselves but advocated that practice should be supported by courses in general principles and methods of teaching (Board of Education, 1925, p. 97), with 'the study of children' as the central principle (ibid., p. 57). The McNair Committee made similar recommendations. Their Report suggested that if college courses were lengthened students would have more time for practical teaching in school (Board of Education, 1944, p. 65). Also, under the heading of 'Principles of Education', the Committee suggested that students should study the physical and mental development of children, the history and administration of the education system and social factors affecting their pupils (ibid., pp. 67-69). The James Committee in turn advocated that the second cycle of a teacher's education should concentrate on preparing the teacher for his or her first post through the practice of teaching, the study of the techniques of teaching and the theoretical background to these techniques. Wider theoretical perspectives should be called on only in so far as they were 'contributing to effective teaching'. Although James recommended that the second cycle should concentrate on direct preparation for a teacher's first post, the Report did not suggest excluding wider theoretical perspectives from teacher education altogether, but thought they would have more relevance in in-service rather than initial training (DES, 1972b, pp. 22-25). In the absence of certainty about the availability of in-service education, however,

educational theory retained its place, in one form or another, in initial training. Such a pattern was endorsed in a government statement about teacher education, Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984), which stated that teacher education should include the study of appropriate teaching methods for the relevant subjects and age groups of pupils and should give students a range of experience of practice teaching. Students should be prepared to teach a range of different kinds of pupils as well as being introduced to the teacher's wider role.

Although there has been much debate both about how theory and practice should be approached and about where the balance between them should lie (Alexander, 1984b, pp. 143-150), official statements on teacher education have been unanimous in advocating these two elements in teacher preparation. Practice, however, has belied policy. At a second level of debate it has by no means been universally accepted that teachers should have any introduction to paedagogy in any form prior to taking up their first teaching posts. The tradition died hard that a high level of academic education alone was sufficient preparation for a teacher. Paedogogy was something that teachers learned on the job (Hargreaves, 1980, p. 130). It was not until the 1970s that graduates were required to take training courses, and even then exceptions were made. It is still the case, as was pointed out in Chapter Two, that teachers in higher education are rarely required to train and in 1988 and 1989 the government was putting forward proposals for school teachers too to be able to learn to teach on the job rather than on a separate course (TES, 1989a). Thus, even an apparently central concern of teacher preparation, the theory and practice of education, raises questions of principle about teacher education: first, what the respective roles of theory and practice should be; second, whether they should have a role at all in initial teacher education. These questions will be examined again below,

but for the moment further consideration will be given to the latter of the two questions.

It might be thought reasonable to assume that a basic question such as whether paedagogy should have a role in teacher education would have been settled at an early stage in the growth of the country's system of teacher education. In one sense it was. There seems not to have been much question of its value for elementary teachers. At other levels, however, paedagogy was in competition with academic education which has always enjoyed a high status in Britain. For teachers in private secondary schools in the nineteenth century no training was required or, indeed, available for most teachers. Instead a high premium was placed upon academic knowledge and the most highly regarded teachers in secondary schools were graduates (Hargreaves, 1980, p. 130). As was described in Chapter Three, the status of academic education was such that teachers who held degrees disdained to train but teachers who had trained aspired to degree level education. In consequence, the requirement that graduates who wish to teach should take a training course is of very recent origin, but the requirement that teachers of all kinds should attain a certain level of academic education has a much longer history. Even teachers who were not going to teach to a high academic level needed some knowledge of what they were teaching.

One of the main aims of the early training colleges was the academic education of their students who arrived at college so ill-equipped in this respect. The Cross Commission, which reported on the workings of the Elementary Education Acts in 1888, found that the academic education of pupil-teachers left a lot to be desired (Cross Commission, 1888, p. 88). Cross recommended that pupil-teachers should have more time for academic studies and that a greater proportion of elementary teachers

should have the opportunity to attend training college and thus achieve a higher level of academic education than they could as pupil-teachers. The members of the Commission also favoured increasing the number of women of 'superior social position and general culture' employed in elementary schools and the subsequent Departmental Committee Report of 1898 on teacher supply recommended that all intending elementary teachers should attend secondary school (Gosden, 1972, p. 197).

Every subsequent major official report on teacher education upheld the principle that more teachers should reach a higher level of academic education. The Bryce Commission on secondary education assumed that a secondary teacher should be 'a respectable scholar' (Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895, p. 70). The Departmental Committee Report of 1925 advocated a higher level of academic education for elementary teachers than had previously been the rule, recommending that all intending elementary teachers, if practicable, should stay in full-time secondary education up to the age of eighteen (Board of Education, 1925, pp. 74-75). The members of the Committee were also in favour of a much larger number of graduate teachers in elementary schools, though they argued that in the 1920s it was not practical to require all elementary teachers to be graduates (ibid., pp. 77-78). The recommendation that elementary teachers should be academically better qualified was justified on the grounds that the school leaving age was rising and likely to rise further, and that teachers should be sufficiently well educated to be able to take an overview of 'the world of knowledge' (ibid., pp. 63-64). The Committee claimed that all their witnesses were, in principle, in favour of secondary education for all elementary teachers (p. 64), giving the impression that it had become generally accepted that a high level of academic education was a valuable preparation for teaching. They rejected a proposal that teachers need not be educated beyond secondary

level in favour of college courses providing opportunities for the study

of one or two subjects at a higher level (pp. 84-86 and p. 94). They

also recommended that responsibility for examining in the colleges should

be taken over by the universities, thus endorsing the values of 'thinking

and knowing, of intellect and knowledge' which the universities

represented (pp. 103-109).

The McNair Report of 1944 took the Departmental Committee's

recommendations further. Although the Committee was split on the

details, it agreed with the principle that the universities should play a

greater role in the preparation of teachers for both primary and

secondary schools. Although this was to some extent an administrative

device to co-ordinate training, both the groups into which the Committee

split on the issue saw it as beneficial in educational terms. One group

suggested that the universities would be a source of standards (Board of

Education, 1944, p. 50), while the other thought their main role should

be in the conduct of research in the theory and practice of education

(ibid., p. 55). Although the McNair Committee members did not explicitly

state that they saw the universities' role in terms of academic

education, they stated categorically that 'the schools need better

educated men and women'. They proposed, therefore, that the college

training course should be lengthened to three years. More time would

thus be available for academic study.

The Robbins Report (DES, 1963) on higher education, the next major report

to include teacher education in its remit, said little about the aims of

teacher education other than to suggest that all institutions of higher

education should aim, in varying degrees, to offer 'instruction in skills

suitable to play a part in the general division of labour', to teach 'in

such a way as to promote the general powers of the mind', to promote 'the

advancement of learning' and to transmit 'a common culture and common standards of citizenship' (ibid., pp. 6-7). What Robbins did do, however, was to recognise teacher education as part of the system of higher education and to advocate the institution of degrees specifically designed for teachers. Although the Committee did not think all teachers should necessarily be graduates, it did go further along the road than its predecessors had done towards the teacher unions' long cherished goal of an all-graduate profession (Gosden, 1972, p. 200). The James Report of 1972, which dealt exclusively with teacher education, recommended that all teachers should have at least two years full-time higher education before embarking on training specifically related to teaching (DES, 1972b, pp. 40-41). Although the non-graduate route into teaching was closed in 1980 (McNamara and Ross, 1982, p. 5), Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) still had requirements to make on the academic education of intending teachers. The Circular specified that they should spend at least two years devoted to 'subject studies at a level appropriate to higher education'.

It is clear from the above that academic education at some level has always been regarded as a requirement for a teacher, though there has been considerable debate about the form and level of such education. Even the academically most able and well-qualified teachers, however, although they may not always have been required to study the theory and practice of teaching, have usually been required to show some evidence of their suitability for teaching in the social, moral and affective sphere. These terms are used here in the absence of any single term to describe this aspect of education, which, as will be clarified below, encompasses a number of distinct but related strands.

The social and moral ideology was one of the earliest and most enduring justifications for mass schooling. Education would teach people appropriate social and moral behaviour. Walker (1983, pp. 133-134) argues that in the nineteenth century 'the (elementary) teacher's task was seen in terms of "training up children in Godliness" and dispelling ignorance among the poor'. In the context of such an ideology, teacher education aimed to turn out teachers who were, 'characterised by hard work, informed by religion and respectability, committed to ideas of rescue and improvement, who would act as the cohesive agents for an industrialised and urban society' (Grace, 1978, p. 16). As a result teacher education attempted to inculcate into teachers the moral values which the teachers in their turn, by their work and example, were to promote among their pupils. Social stability was the paramount aim. Elementary teachers were expected to turn out a well-behaved workforce educated only to a basic level of literacy and numeracy. Such work required teachers who were committed to their task as 'missionaries' among the masses, who had a limited level of knowledge and a restricted range of paedagogical skills with the emphasis on the management of large classes. The pupil-teacher system and the training college regime were designed to achieve these limited aims (Taylor, 1969, pp. 273-274). It was no accident that most of the early colleges were run by the churches or that the institutional life of the students in them was akin to that of religious orders (Hyndman, 1978, pp. 169-174). Even in private secondary schools, where a higher premium was put on the teacher's academic education than was the case in elementary schools, the teachers were expected to attend to the moral character of their charges, fitting upper and middle class men for their responsible roles in society (Simon, 1965, pp. 109-112, Salter and Tapper, 1981, pp. 163-165). It was expected that teachers who had themselves passed through a public school and preferably also a university would possess the required social and

moral qualities (Lynch and Plunkett, 1973, pp. 72-73). In private girls'
schools the academic qualities of the teachers were of less importance
than the possession of accomplishments in social graces which the
teachers had to pass on to their pupils (Dyhouse, 1984, pp. 54-55). The
early training colleges which existed for such women aimed, among other
things, to develop these qualities (Kay, 1972, p. 38).

The value of preparing teachers to teach religious, moral and social
precepts and behaviour was recognised in the Cross Commission Report of
1888. The Commissioners noted:

> '. . . we are glad to state our opinion that, as a whole, the
> present body of teachers are a very honourable class, and have a
> great sense of their duties to the children, in regard to the
> formation of their character, and their moral guidance.' (Cross
> Commission, 1888, pp. 79-80)

Although the main Report recommended experimenting with day training
colleges as a way of increasing the supply of trained teachers, the
commissioners considered the existing system of residential colleges was
the best system for the moral development of the students (ibid.,
p. 102). The Departmental Committee which reported in 1925 took a
similar view. The Committee rejected the idea that the training college
course should be cut to one year for students who had experienced a full
secondary education because they felt that at least two years were
necessary for the development of 'a sense of vocation' (Departmental
Committee, 1925, p. 85). Students needed time for reflection and to
develop the right 'moral outlook', and a one year professional course
would not allow enough time for such development. The McNair Committee
twenty years later also thought that students in training as teachers
needed time to reach 'a maturity equal to the responsibility of educating
children and young people' (Board of Education, 1944, p. 65). The

Committee members thought that a degree of maturity and a sense of responsibility might be achieved by some liberalisation of college regimes rather than by the strict control favoured in the previous century (ibid., p. 77). The McNair Report also recommended that students should be encouraged to play an active part in the community beyond the college so that, by becoming good citizens themselves, they could inculcate in their pupils the duties associated with citizenship (ibid., pp. 67-68).

In the nineteenth century teachers' attitudes and personalities were moulded through a closely controlled residential system of training. This tradition remained strong well into the twentieth century (Bell, 1981, pp. 6-9) despite diversification in the structure of teacher education. Although the McNair Committee questioned the value of the close control over students maintained by many colleges, it did not question the need to develop appropriate attitudes and characteristics in teachers. Walker (1983, p. 133) argues that, as the teacher education system expanded in the 1960s, the social control and socialisation of student teachers were achieved through interpersonal relationships rather than by the imposition of rules. Though the latter still proliferated, college life had become considerably less confining than in the previous century. According to the analysis presented by Taylor (1969, p. 275) and Walker (1983, p. 134), the child-centred approach to education, which had become influential in the training colleges, implied a student-centred approach to teacher education, with the emphasis on an integrated, problem-centred, discussion-centred curriculum rather than a subject- or discipline-led transmission model. In such a framework teachers learned commitment not only to their work as teachers, but also to the children in their charge. The individual child was the focus of the teacher's work and also of the teacher's training. Not only was such

a view used to control the socialisation of teachers but, because the outcomes of individualised, child-centred education were less predictable and more diffuse than those of teacher- or subject-centred education (Walker, 1983, p. 135), it enabled college staff to avoid formulating clear instrumental aims of the kind that educationalists such as Kay-Shuttleworth had prescribed in the nineteenth century (McDowell, 1971, pp. 66-71). As Taylor (1969, p. 288) puts it, the language of the advocates of child-centred education 'is replete with terms such as synthesis, integration, consensus and wholeness', but it is difficult to discover the content of the beliefs, attitudes and values to which students are being committed. Mardle and Walker (1980), however, used empirical investigation to try to penetrate what they call the 'latent culture' of teacher education. The found that characteristics such as maturity, loyalty and dependability were prominent in references recommending candidates for teacher education (1980, p. 108). According to college of education literature, courses aimed to enable students to consider their 'commitment to teaching' and 'to develop appropriate attitudes in respect of professional competence, enthusiasm, sensitivity, self-confidence and adaptability' (ibid., p. 108). When tutors came to write references for their students they also laid stress on qualities such as motivation (ibid., p. 114).

Mardle and Walker (1980) suggest that such is the strength of the latent culture that the official curriculum and the student-centred ideology of teacher education can make little more than a superficial and temporary impact on the conformity required of students. A similar argument is made by Bartholomew (1976), who approaches the issue from a theoretical rather than an empirical standpoint. He concludes that such is the gap 'between liberal theory and conservative practice' (p. 117) in teacher education that the 'liberal theory' makes little lasting impact.

McNamara (1986, pp. 33-35) gives an example of a student who, by violating the expectations of the latent culture yet performing competently in the classroom, exposed the chasm lying between the latent and official cultures or ideologies. Other writers have suggested that rather than assimilating the official curriculum, student teachers may see the course in an instrumental light and adopt attitudes appropriate to the college context with the aim of pleasing tutors and passing the course (Hanson and Herrington, 1976, p. 71, Denscombe, 1982, p. 253). Demonstrating that teacher education may not live up to its ideologies (Robinson, P., 1971, p. 53), however, does not negate the importance of these ideologies. As Taylor (1969, pp. 275-277) points out, they have had a significant effect on the structures, processes and curricula of college courses even though their impact may have been considerably less than a mass of hopeful literature on the subject might suggest. However the formation of 'appropriate' attitudes and characteristics in teachers is to be achieved, it has remained of central importance in teacher education.

The James Report of 1972 (DES, 1972b) suggested that teachers with appropriate personal qualities might be found rather than made. Unlike McNair, James did not specify that the 'formation of the character of the schoolmaster', as Kay-Shuttleworth had put it, should be a major aim of teacher education. Instead, candidates for teaching should be selected, partly at least, on the basis of the characteristics they already possessed. The Report specified that 'a major principle' which should underlie the selection of candidates for training was that 'a great weight would have to be given to candidates' personal qualities, motivation and experience' (p. 28). Thus, although James had little to say on how training courses might develop students' personal characteristics, the possession of appropriate characteristics was still

seen as a prerequisite for a successful teacher. The same view was taken in Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984). It stated that students should be selected for, among other things, their 'personal qualities' and any experience over and above passing through the education system, for example, in other employment, 'should normally count in a candidate's favour'.

As McNamara (1986) suggests, it would be difficult to deny the significance of a teacher's personal qualities, but he goes on to document research on the issue which has done little more than to illuminate the difficulty of defining quite what that significance might be. Given the diffuse nature of the teacher's role, it is not surprising that no clear relationship has been established between personal qualities and effective teaching. Even within what may broadly be described as the social or affective role of the teacher, a number of strands may be detected. These strands include a commitment to the work, the promotion of religious and moral precepts and the teaching of socially acceptable behaviour. Although the social role of the teacher originally took the form of teacher conformity to accepted norms, it has variously been seen as including elements of social reform, social work, health education, political education and pastoral care (Bantock, 1969, pp. 123-126, Hargreaves, 1980, p. 140). A further element of the teacher's role which has not as yet been covered here, and which in some respects falls within the social role of the teacher, is in the field of vocational education, or education as a contribution to the wealth both of the individual and of society at large.

As was suggested above, and in Chapter Two, education has long been justified for its economic contribution. In the nineteenth century it was suggested that the discipline of school life would produce a

disciplined workforce, while literacy, numeracy and technical and scientific skills would make at least an indirect contribution to the economy (Reeder, 1979, p. 122). Most teachers, apart from those teaching technical subjects, have not been specifically prepared in their own education for turning out economically useful pupils. Their role instead has been indirect. In the twentieth century for teachers of older, more academic pupils, vocational aspects of education were covered indirectly through academic qualifications which gave pupils access to further and higher education and hence to the occupations of their choice (Hargreaves, 1980, p. 138). In secondary modern schools vocational education, although made explicit through careers education and in the teaching of subjects such as woodwork and typing, was often indirect, taking the form of general education or, in the child-centred tradition, of the education of the 'whole child' (ibid., 1980, p. 141).

Perhaps the indirect nature of the relationship between most aspects of schooling and the world of work explains the lack of attention paid in reports and official pronouncements about teacher education to the issue of preparing teachers for their role in vocational education. Although the McNair Report (Board of Education, 1944) referred to this aspect of the teacher's role, it did so in its deliberations on the training of technical teachers and it envisaged only a limited need for such teachers. The James Report (DES, 1972b, p. 23) saw a place in teacher education for training careers teachers but suggested this should be a matter for in-service rather than pre-service courses. This lack of concern about the vocational aspects of the teacher's role is surprising in view of the number of other official publications, some of which are cited in Chapter Two, on the subject of education over the past sixty years or so which have seen schooling as a preparation for life, be it in the intellectual, social or economic sphere, and have made assumptions

accordingly about the role of the teacher. As was pointed out in Chapter Two, the economic ideology of education has gained ground in official circles in recent years and attempts have been made through schemes such as TVEI and CPVE to translate it into practice. It is surprising, therefore, that Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) is not more explicit about the role of teacher education in preparing teachers for vocational aspects of their work. It states that teachers will need an understanding of 'the relationship between the adult world and what is taught in schools, in particular, ways in which pupils can be helped to acquire an understanding of the values of a free society and its economic and other foundations'. It also favours recruiting teachers who have had experience of working in fields other than education, possibly because such teachers might be expected to be better suited to coping with the vocational aspects of their role, though this is not made explicit.

The foregoing analysis of the ideologies of teacher education has touched on two major issues which will now be examined in more detail. The first of these concerns the number of different ideologies which have been used to justify different patterns of teacher education. When Kay-Shuttleworth was designing training college courses for elementary teachers in the mid nineteenth century, he saw teacher education as having one overriding aim, namely, 'the formation of the character of the schoolmaster' (Rich, 1933, p. 65). In the same period the main qualification for teachers in private and endowed secondary schools was a high level of academic education (Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895, p. 70). This is not to say that teachers in both elementary and secondary schools did not require other kinds of qualifications, but their work had a central focus and, in consequence, the education which it was considered appropriate that they themselves should have also had a central focus or ideology. The view that teachers

preparing to teach in different kinds of schools should themselves have different kinds of education has been maintained well into the twentieth century. Official statements on teacher education, up to and including the James Report, have consistently suggested that for teachers of younger children the emphasis should be on the study of children, while for teachers of older children it should be on the study of subjects (Board of Education, 1925, p. 57, Board of Education, 1944, p. 70, DES, 1963, p. 113, DES, 1972b, pp. 40-41). Alongside this kind of distinction, however, there has also been pressure for the education of teachers of all kinds to become increasingly burdened with aims of all kinds. There has been pressure, particularly from the teachers' organisations, to minimise the distinctions which have traditionally existed between teachers in different sectors of education (Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895, p. 190, Board of Education, 1944, p. 44, DES, 1972b, p. 41, Perkin, 1983, pp. 20-22, Norwich, 1985, pp. 37-40). This kind of pressure has tended to blur some of the distinctions between different kinds of teachers and prescriptions for teacher education have increasingly been made for all teachers rather than for particular groups of teachers.

At the same time, as was described in Chapter Two, the roles of schooling and of the teacher have become increasingly diverse. Although teachers of all kinds have always had a range of responsibilities, with the raising of the school leaving age and with the spread of mixed ability teaching at primary level and of comprehensive schools at secondary level, the role of the teacher has become increasingly varied and diffuse, as many writers on the subject have noted (eg Hoyle, 1969, p. 32, Wilson, 1969, pp. 9-10, Grace, 1972, p. 47, Lynch and Plunkett, 1973, p. 79, Hargreaves, 1980, p. 136).

It has been by no means clear how best teachers may be prepared for such

a diffuse role. As Bantock (1969, p. 126) puts it, 'a number of images

jostle for the attention of the teacher trainer. Into which shall he

attempt to induct his student?' Bantock's answer is to define limited

aims for schooling, arguing that teachers could then be prepared

specifically to fulfil these aims and 'by seeking to achieve less,

accomplish more' (ibid., p. 133). There is ample evidence, however,

that, contrary to Bantock's advice, the burden of expectations which

schooling, and hence teacher education, is required to meet has been

increased rather than decreased (Taylor, 1980, p. 332). As schools have

become comprehensive, so have their aims, and so, in turn, have the aims

of teacher education. Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984), one of the most recent

official statements on the aims of teacher education, presents a

comparatively detailed attempt to match the aims of teacher education

with the aims of schools and the role of the teacher. It suggests, in

summary, that teachers should be prepared in their pre-service training

for as wide a range of contingencies as possible. The aims of teacher

education specified in the document incorporate, in one form or another,

all the aims included in previous official statements.

The increasing multiplicity of aims which teacher education has been

expected to fulfil gives rise to the second issue to be examined here,

namely, the conflict between these aims (Aspin, 1973, p. 208). The

significance of this issue has been recognised in part by increasing the

length of the education a teacher has had to have before he or she

actually begins work (Bone, 1980, pp. 61-62). From the Cross Commission

onwards, all the major reports on teacher education have been critical of

the systems in operation at the time and have suggested that a longer

period of preparation for teachers would offer at least a partial

solution to their criticisms. Thus, for example, the James Report (DES,

1972b), like its predecessors, was very critical of the arrangements for training teachers which were then in operation. These criticisms were directed at the system rather than at individual people, courses or institutions. The basis of the James criticisms was that the system was trying to do too much. The Committee therefore examined the aims of teacher education, redefined them and suggested ways of organising the system so that the aims could be fulfilled. The Committee found the aims of the existing system 'too broad' and 'unhelpfully diffuse'. The claims of 'education' and 'training' were seen as being in conflict and the aim of turning out 'fully finished' teachers in three years was seen as 'unrealistic' (DES, 1972b, p. 19). The McNair Committee had tackled such difficulties by proposing the lengthening of the course. James took the same line. Teacher preparation was to be divided into three cycles - personal education, lasting at least two years, initial training and induction, also lasting at least two years, and in-service education, ideally one term every five years. Each cycle would thus have more time and limited aims. The first cycle would provide teachers with a high level of academic education, either at degree or Dip HE level. The second cycle would consist of professional training and induction into the teacher's first post, and the third cycle would consist of in-service education to enable teachers to 'extend their personal education, develop their professional competence and improve their understanding of educational principles and techniques' (DES, 1972b, p. 5).

Although the James Report recommended limited aims for each cycle, overall the proposals maintained the major aims previously ascribed to teacher education - personal education, teaching method and practice, and educational theory were all to have a place at some stage in a teacher's education. Although James made no recommendations about intending

teachers' social or moral education, as has already been described, the Report advocated that students should only be selected for the second cycle if they could already display appropriate personal qualities (ibid., p. 28). Although the James proposals were only partially implemented, the process of maintaining the aims of teacher education and allowing more time for their achievement has been continued. In the 1980s most prospective teachers had to stay in secondary education until the age of eighteen and then spend a further four years obtaining a degree and a teaching qualification. Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) recognised that, even so, time could be a problem (DES, 1987), and laid down minimum lengths of time for courses and parts of courses. Teacher education in the 1980s, therefore, had considerably more time than was available in the past to attempt to achieve all that Circular 3/84 asked of it - induction into the theory and practice of teaching and a high level of academic education. If less emphasis was given to personal qualities and commitment on the courses themselves, this was because students were expected to possess such qualities as a prerequisite for selection on to a teacher education course. In addition, in the 1980s, there was an increasing recognition of the value of in-service education (Perry, 1980), with the government making grants specifically for the purpose and building time into the teachers' contract, the so-called 'Baker days', which might be used for in-service training (Hewton, 1988, pp. 13, 98 and 143). The teacher's education was thus extended further.

But allowing more time for teacher education offers only a partial solution to the potential for conflict between the various aims of teacher education. Logically, after all, if there is any value in in-service education, the teacher's education is never complete and no amount of extra time would make it so. In any case, the potential for conflict between the aims of teacher education would remain. Even

Kay-Shuttleworth, who had a clearly defined ideology of teacher education, saw the seeds of conflict. As has been noted above, in 1843 he stated:

> 'The main object of a Normal School is the formation of the character of the schoolmaster' (quoted in Rich, 1933, p. 65).

But he also believed that teachers needed professional and academic education and he feared that pride in these accomplishments would not be conducive to the formation of the right kind of character in school teachers and could therefore undermine the fulfilment of the main object of the training course. Kay-Shuttleworth's doubts about how the different requirements of teacher education might best be married together have been reiterated ever since.

One of the main sources of doubt arises from the relationship between academic education and the other elements which have usually been considered desirable in a teacher's preparation. The prestige accorded in this country to academic education has been such, as has already been described, that it is only recently that academic education alone has been officially rejected as a sufficient qualification for teaching. A certain level of academic education has been sought by those interested in teacher education not only for its value to teachers, but also for the prestige which it carries. Report after report on teacher education has prescribed more academic education for teachers. Dickson et al (1965, pp. 140-154), reporting on a comparative study of teacher education in Britain and the United States, commented on the centrality of academic achievement in British teacher education. A certain level of academic achievement was a prerequisite for entry into teacher education courses, assessment on the courses was limited in the main to academic achievements and certification was in the hands of the universities, bastions of academic excellence. But Dickson et al also detected an

312

unwillingness to recognise, or perhaps admit, how central academic achievement was, for they found that official statements about teacher education made by the DES and by the colleges in the 1960s stressed the technical or paedagogical abilities of teachers rather than their academic abilities.

Taylor (1969, pp. 278-281), writing in the same decade as Dickson et al, also thought that intellect was highly valued in the culture of teacher education. But he too saw this valuation as conflicting with other values upheld by teacher educators, and used Hofstadter's much quoted words to describe the tension he saw between the demands of the intellect and the demands of emotion, character, practicality and egalitarianism. To some extent the perceived tension between the intellectual or academic and other aspects of teacher education is a matter of definition. Thus, for example, Eric Robinson (1971, p. 125) defines academic achievement as the competence to write about something and professional achievement as the competence to do something. On the basis of these definitions he sees conventional academic standards as incompatible with professional preparation and concludes,

> 'In principle, within the conventional concept of a degree, . . . it is not possible to obtain a degree by competence in teaching and solving educational problems.' (ibid., p. 125).

But the problem seems to go deeper than definition. A recognition of this kind of conflict has long been apparent in official reports on teacher education. Thus, for example, the Cross Commission lamented the low level of academic education among elementary teachers but recognised that teachers who had had the advantage of what they described as 'general culture' found that it was no substitute for practical experience when it came to finding a post in an elementary school (Cross

Commission, 1888, p. 80). Also, although the Cross Commissioners recommended that teachers should be academically better qualified, they thought it desirable that any regulations about the qualifications of teachers should not be such as to exclude teachers who had not been to college but who had 'a natural aptitude and love for teaching' (ibid., pp. 210-212). The Departmental Committee of 1925 expressed similar reservations. Although the Committee members were in favour of recruiting more graduates into elementary teaching, they felt that some candidates who would make good teachers would be unsuited to academic study at university level (ibid., p. 77). The McNair Committee, too, wanted more academic education for teachers but warned against too high a requirement for academic qualifications lest it prevented potentially good teachers from entering the occupation (Board of Education, 1944, pp. 51 and 61). Even the Robbins Committee, which proposed the introduction of the BEd, felt it was undesirable that prospective teachers, particularly teachers of young children, should feel compelled to embark on a degree course 'if it is not the course best suited to their needs and interests' (DES, 1963, p. 113). The James Committee, too, were impressed by the argument that too high an academic requirement would deter candidates 'who have the qualities of personality and interest which will enable them to be excellent teachers' (DES, 1972b, p. 48).

There is a suggestion in such statements that, desirable as academic education might be for teachers, it might not be entirely compatible with the kinds of personal characteristics which were also considered desirable in teachers. As Taylor (1969, pp. 280-281) suggests, this may be partly a rationalisation of the lower academic status enjoyed by colleges of education in comparison with universities, but suspicion of the academic has not been sufficient to undermine its status in teacher

education or its role in selection and assessment, and Taylor himself (1968, p. 16) has argued against the view that scholarship should be the monopoly of those who teach the most able and older students. In the 1980s the goal of an all-graduate entry to teaching was achieved. It is notable that Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) saw no need to recognise any doubt about the role of academic education in the preparation of teachers, though its precise stipulations in this field have been questioned by teacher educators (Mills, 1985, p. 11 and p. 19, THES, 1986a).

The potential conflict between academic education and other aspects of a teacher's preparation has also been apparent within the sphere of the more directly vocational education of teachers. As has already been described, there has been considerable debate about how far such education should be theoretical and how far it should be practical. This debate, too, includes elements of conflict between the academic or theoretical and other parts of the process of teacher education, in this case the practical aspects, and once again the issue of prestige cannot be ignored. In moving away from the pupil-teacher apprenticeship model, teacher education has been seeking not only the benefits which theoretical insights might offer, but also the prestige which has traditionally been accorded to academic or theoretical pursuits (Wilson, 1975, p. 171, Judge, 1980, pp. 342-345, Bell, 1981, p. 12). But, as Hoyle (1980, pp. 46-48) describes, some critics argue that not only does a theoretical approach not necessarily offer useful insights, but the positivist tradition within which much educational theory has been developed, may actually be inimical to the development of the affective side of the teacher's role. In addition, there is little evidence that teachers internalise or apply the insights offered by educational theory, which in turn is devalued in the eyes of those who see themselves first and foremost as practitioners (Bartholomew, 1976, pp. 114-119, Petty and

Hogben, 1980, Denscombe, 1982). The nature of the relationship between theory and practice in educational studies has been examined from different viewpoints, but most of these carry the implication that there has been a gap, usually regarded as an undesirable gap, between theory and practice.

Simon (1983, p. 10) argues that the gap has arisen from the long neglect of classroom studies or paedagogy in Britain. Instead educational theory has been based on the disciplines of history, psychology, sociology and philosophy, which have had little direct effect on the practice of teaching. The issue of the gap between theory and practice has been tackled by teacher educators in a variety of ways. It has been argued, for example, that educational theory has had an important indirect effect on practice (Simon, 1983, p. 11) and that it is not theory as such which has been at fault but the ways in which it has been structured and taught (Simon, 1976, Bartholomew, 1976). Suggestions have been made for integrating different aspects of theory into courses focused on issues rather than separate disciplines and for integrating theory into studies of practical problems (Simon 1976, Lynch, 1979, p. 85, Hirst, 1979, p. 26, Chambers and Chambers, 1984, p. 304, Norwich, 1985, pp. 49-54). Educational research has increasingly focused on the analysis of classroom practice (Croll, 1986, preface), practising teachers have increasingly been involved in teacher education (Lynch, 1979, p. 126, Alexander, 1984b, pp. 140-142) and initial and in-service teacher education have been linked in projects such as IT-INSET (Ashton et al, 1982).

Such developments have attempted to reduce the perceived gap between theory and practice along a variety of dimensions, labelled by Alexander (1984b, pp. 148-150) as conceptual/epistemological, attitudinal,

paedagogical, structural and institutional. But he also asks whether the question of how to close the gap is a red herring and whether a more fundamental rethinking is required. Other educationalists, too, have advocated a reconceptualisation of teacher education, stripping it of many of the accretions which it has acquired over the years. They argue that the theory/practice 'gap' is one such accretion and that if teachers were taught how to analyse their work and what it means to be a teacher, the artificial nature of the theory/practice conflict would be apparent (Dreeben, 1970, Wilson, 1975, pp. 9-23 and p. 146, Barrow, 1984, pp. 261-269). Reconceptualisation on such a scale, however, poses a threat to vested interests on all five dimensions identified by Alexander, as Wilson (1975, Chapter 7) recognises in his suggestions for a new model of teacher education. As a result, the great bulk of the literature, of which only a sample is represented here, takes considerably less radical views on the directly vocational or paedagogical aspects of teacher education. Most official statements say very little at all on the subject beyond recommending a period of school practice and the study of educational issues. Little advice is given on how these parts of the course should be approached along the kinds of dimensions listed by Alexander. Thus, for example, Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) is based on the implicit assumption that teacher education can be improved by closer contact with schools and teachers, but the Circular provides no theoretical or empirically-based justification for this assumption and offers no help on how its requirements might affect existing attitudes, paedagogy, structures and institutions in teacher education (Norwich, 1985, p. 48, Shaw, 1985, Rudduck, 1986). Thus although the CATE requirements might be seen as an attempt to impose a certain level of uniformity on teacher education, they did not constitute a detailed blueprint in either philosophical or practical terms. The government's proposals for 'licensed' teachers who would learn on the

job, made in 1988 and 1989, although widely criticised, were greeted in some quarters as a desirable development because they would ensure a greater practical input into the initial preparation of teachers (TES, 1989a). How teachers may best be prepared for the paedagogical aspects of their work remains a matter of debate and experiment.

From this exploration of the ideologies of teacher education a number of general conclusions may be drawn. Three main ideologies have been identified - that teachers should be academically well-qualified, that teachers should possess, or have instilled into them, suitable personal qualities, and that teachers should have appropriate induction into the theory and practice of education. Within each ideology a number of strands jostle for supremacy: how much academic education and of what kind; which personal qualities are desirable and how they should be fostered; what constitutes appropriate educational studies for fledgling teachers. The ideologies are also potentially in conflict with each other. The value attributed to each ideology and to the different strands within it has varied in different sectors of education and at different times in history, but there has been a tendency, born out of uncertainty, for more strands of more ideologies to become increasingly influential in the education of more teachers. The result is that teacher education in the 1980s has been expected to live up to a multitude of ideologies, to produce the 'Renaissance' teacher, with all the difficulty of trying to resolve the conflicts inherent in such an enterprise. The next section of this chapter will examine the role of ideology in one branch of initial teacher education, the postgraduate course in the universities.

3. Ideologies in the PGCE in the universities

Tuck (1973a, p. 78) describes the PGCE as having two prototypes. The
first of these was the one year course in elementary teaching for
graduates and students holding advanced university qualifications. Such
courses were recognised under the Department of Education's 1891
regulations. The second was the one year diploma and certificate courses
for secondary teachers which were set up by the universities in the same
period, but which at first had no official recognition. During the next
thirty years or so, through a series of government regulations about
teacher education and through the universities' gradual abandonment of
non-graduate courses for teachers', the universities came to concentrate
on training secondary teachers, either on a straightforward one year
postgraduate course or as part of a four year course in which students
obtained both a degree and a teaching qualification. The latter
eventually became almost indistinguishable from the former as the
professional aspects of the course were increasingly left till the last
year, after the students had completed their degree studies (Tuck,
1973a). The four year courses and the last of the non-graduate courses
in the universities came to an end in the 1950s and, although there were
some postgraduate courses for primary teachers, the universities' main
responsibility was in training secondary teachers (Tuck, 1973b).

Postgraduate teacher education, by definition, subscribes to the ideology
that a teacher should have a high level of academic education. Indeed,
until well into the twentieth century many of those interested in the
preparation of teachers subscribed to the view that a high level of
academic education was all that a teacher needed. Opponents of training
for teachers who were academically well qualified argued that
professional training was narrow and mechanical and would stultify a
natural teacher. Implicit in this argument were the assumptions that

teachers were born, not made, and that the main requirement for a teacher was knowledge of the subject to be taught (Fitch, 1931, pp. 271-272 and pp. 281-284). One of the main roles of teacher education for non-graduate teachers well into the twentieth century was the academic education of the student, and graduates, particularly if they wished to teach the subjects in which they had graduated, could hardly be said to need further academic education. Teacher education for postgraduates, therefore, had to find justification elsewhere.

But postgraduate teacher education could not easily look to character development, one of the other functions of non-graduate courses, for its justification. Not that character was considered unimportant in a secondary teacher but, as described above, a teacher's background, his upbringing at school - in the nineteenth century usually a private school - and subsequently his education at university, formed a system of socialisation which many considered was sufficient to ensure that a graduate teacher could fulfil the social, moral and affective side of his role with no further training (Lynch and Plunkett, 1973, pp. 72-73, Simon, 1981, p. 127). Those who trained secondary teachers in the early twentieth century did not deny their role in influencing the attitudes of their students to their intended occupation, but they did not see socialisation as a central feature of their work in the way that Kay-Shuttleworth had done, and their students were allowed more responsibility and left more to their own initiative than were elementary teachers on the two year course (Jones, 1924, pp. 139-142).

The main role of postgraduate training for secondary teachers, therefore, was directly vocational, concentrating on the theory and practice of education (Jones, 1924, pp. 123-124). But concentrating on this role did not free the PGCE from some of the kinds of problems faced by the

non-graduate courses. There were two reasons for this. First, some of the issues relating to academic education and the character of the teacher remained of some significance. Second, the nature of the vocational training offered by the PGCE was as much at issue at it was in the preparation of non-graduate teachers.

Three main issues have been raised with regard to the academic education of PGCE students. The first relates to the subjects they have studied. Should students be accepted for training if they had studied, for example, law or psychology, subjects seldom taught in schools? Before the abolition of the pledge in the early 1950s, it seems to have been taken for granted that secondary PGCE students would teach the subject in which they had graduated (Jones, 1924, p. 141, Tuck, 1973b, pp. 96-97). Once the pledge had gone some students who had studied a range of 'non-school' subjects began to take training courses (Tuck, 1973b, pp. 96-97), though this seems to have remained comparatively uncommon (UCET, 1979, p. 5, Patrick et al, 1982, p. 26). More recently, the CATE regulations required prospective teachers to have studied a relevant subject for two years during their higher education (DES, 1984) and PGCE selection procedures have been adapted accordingly, though not without protest (Trown, 1985, pp. 15-16, Wormald, 1985, p. 115).

The second issue concerned the class of degree which a graduate held. Traditionally there were few barriers against entry into school teaching for anyone with a degree of any kind (Kelsall et al, 1972, p. 93). But although Morton-Williams et al (1966, p. 63) found that a substantial minority of undergraduates said they were more likely to enter teaching if they failed to obtain a good degree, more recent studies have shown that graduate entrants to teaching, overall, are comparatively well qualified (Lacey et al, 1973-1974, pp. 4.10-4.12, Patrick et al, 1982,

pp. 26-27). There is considerable variation, however, between graduates in different subjects. Trown (1985, p. 16) and Patrick et al (1982, p. 28) found that tutors tended to select the academically better qualified candidates in subjects in which there was no shortage of applicants.

The third issue concerns the difference between studying a subject for a degree and studying the same subject with a view to teaching it. For example, J J Bell, the history tutor at the London Institute of Education in the 1920s, lamented that the professors of history who had taught his students had been unaware of the problems he faced in preparing them to teach. Students well-versed in constitutional debates knew little of the social history which Bell thought appropriate for teaching children. As a result, 'I had to teach them the kind of stuff that I wanted' (University of London Institute of Education, 1952, pp. 34-35). Thirty years later Tibble (1956, p. 11) was arguing that one of the aims of postgraduate training was to enable students to see their subject in a wider context. For those who believed in the value of training for secondary teachers, method work on the teaching of a specialist subject might be a central feature of a teacher's preparation (Tuck, 1973b, p. 105), but traditionally secondary teachers of academic subjects drew their status from their subject expertise and gave a considerably lower priority to questions of paedagogy (Fitch, 1931, p. 60, Hargreaves, 1980, p. 130).

Not only were the academic issues not entirely settled by the adoption of a consecutive pattern of training for secondary teachers, but neither were some of the issues relating to the personal characteristics of prospective teachers. In the days when training was not compulsory for graduates and demand for teachers outstripped supply, the personal

characteristics of prospective secondary teachers do not seem to have been a matter of concern. As has been suggested above, academic success in itself was seen as some measure of character. Perhaps a willingness to sign the 'pledge' was taken as evidence of some commitment to teaching. Certainly the historians of the PGCE say little about the selection procedures beyond describing their organisation. Jones (1924, pp. 139-140) presents an argument made in the 1920s to the effect that one of the aims of the postgraduate training course was to develop certain personal qualities in the student, including a commitment to teaching. In the 1950s commentators were still using similar arguments in support of the PGCE. Thus Tibble (1956, p. 11) talks of courses aiming 'to help students to mature and to prepare them for the responsibilities of the teacher's role', while Armytage (1956, p. 51) sees 'human relations' as central to the PGCE and describes the pastoral role of tutors in developing an enthusiasm for teaching among uncommitted students. In the 1970s, when postgraduate training had become compulsory for most students and the cutbacks in non-graduate and undergraduate teacher training gave the PGCE, numerically at least, much greater significance as a route into teaching, the Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers produced a consultative report (UCET, 1979) delineating the major issues under discussion at the time. The report suggested that 'personal qualities' could be developed during a PGCE course, though this was by no means accepted by PGCE tutors (eg Adams and Hadley, 1980, Slater and Crompton, 1980). Nor can the difficulty be solved by selecting only those students whose personal qualities are already appropriate and need little development, as is suggested, for example, in Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984). As has been described above, there is little agreement either on which personal qualities are appropriate in a teacher or on how these can be detected during the recruitment procedure. But PGCE tutors have still attempted to select

their students according to the criteria of 'suitability for teaching', 'personal qualities' and 'previous experience/commitment' (Trown, 1985, pp. 14-16).

But although the nature of PGCE students' academic education and personal qualities have been of significance, they have received considerably less attention than has the nature of the PGCE course as a professional or vocational training for teachers. Although the PGCE as such received little attention in the literature before the mid 1970s (Alexander, 1984b, p. 119), most of what was published on the subject was directed at the appropriateness or otherwise of the course as a preparation for the job of teaching. At the centre of the debate was the relationship between the theory and practice of education.

Superficially at least the main features of PGCE courses have changed little since the 1920s. According to Jones (1924, pp. 125-127), in the 1920s most courses included some study of psychology, philosophy, history and administration. They all had method work with reference to the teaching of one or two specialist subjects and a minimum of sixty days teaching practice. All but one course assessed the students by written examinations and the main method of instruction was the lecture. A description of university PGCE courses nearly forty years later sounded remarkably similar (Baron, 1963, p. 150). Even by the 1980s, the structure of many PGCE courses had changed little (Alexander, 1984b, p. 121).

But PGCE courses, like other teacher education courses, have long been the subject of criticism and developments have taken place in an effort to meet such criticisms. The main complaint against PGCE courses, from the beginning, was that they were too academic or theoretical and in

consequence had little relevance as a preparation for the practice of teaching. In the 1920s Jones (1924, pp. 137-141) reported that secondary training courses were criticised for providing too much 'theoretical instruction in Psychology' and for imposing on students the study of the philosophy and history of education which had to be, as Jones put it '"got up" for examination purposes'. The students at Manchester in 1919-1920 prepared a report on their course which recommended that there should be fewer lectures, more opportunity for self-expression by means of essays and discussion groups, and a closer relationship of theory and practice in properly organised and supervised schools (Jones, 1924, p. 139). As was noted in Chapter Three, even in the nineteenth century university teacher education courses were criticised by HMI for being too academic and neglecting school experience (Rich, 1933, p. 228).

These have been perennial criticisms of PGCE courses, and may appear a little surprising in view of the criticisms reported in Chapter Three that UDEs failed to gain academic respectability within universities. But, as Tibble (1963, p. 79) points out, the nature of the criticism is heavily dependent on its source. UDEs have been criticised on the one hand by the universities on the grounds that their courses lack academic rigour and depth, and on the other hand by the schools on the grounds that they spend too much time on 'cloudy theorising'. This dilemma is at the heart of the ideological difficulties faced by university PGCE courses. If such courses are to be justified they have to be able to claim to offer students something other than they have already gained from the purely academic studies pursued in their first degree courses. Yet if the PGCE is to be a purely professional course with little or no academic input, it becomes questionable whether it should be located in academic institutions such as universities at all. The early proponents of instituting teacher education in universities argued that students

would thereby benefit from the influences of a liberal, general education (Gosden, 1972, p. 200), and this kind of argument was used thereafter in defence of university PGCE courses. In the 1920s, according to Jones (1924, p. 139), the staff of UDEs justified the quasi-philosophical nature of their courses on the grounds that they were trying to develop in intending teachers 'a clear perception of aims, the power of adjusting means to ends, clarity of thought and breadth of outlook' rather than to turn them into expert teachers, an aim impossible of achievement in a one year course.

In the 1950s, after the abolition of the pledge and the subsequent decline in the numbers of students taking the PGCE (Tuck, 1973b, pp. 98-100), the proponents of training for graduates again seem to have felt the need to justify their courses. In 1956 Tibble (1956, pp. 10-11) saw the general education of the student as one of the tasks of a university PGCE course. He was aware that the universities came under fire for developing theory at the expense of practice, but he believed that, in attempting to further the general education of the student, the universities were applying general principles which should hold for all kinds of teacher education. He was aware that there were problems. One was the gap which could develop between theory and practice; another was the way in which fields of study tended to develop as subjects in their own right and were assessed in formal examinations - the trappings of university culture. But despite the problems, Tibble believed that the UDEs were 'unlikely to return to a narrower view of their task'. Two years earlier Armytage (1954, p. 14), in his inaugural lecture, had seen the postgraduate year as a breathing space during which students could 'sift and apprehend ideas'. In 1956 (p. 51) he too acknowledged that PGCE work could be accused of remoteness from schools and of lack of integration between the disciplines of education. He also accused his

colleagues of unction and of failing to practise what they preached. But despite his criticisms, he still saw the PGCE year as a breathing space and talked of one aim of the PGCE as being the cultivation of 'critical awareness' (pp. 51-52). Critics of this approach, however, tended to see the PGCE as insufficiently practical, a view endorsed to some extent by the research conducted in the early sixties by Dickson et al, who wrote of the PGCE, 'several university programs placed little emphasis on practical work in the classroom' (1965, p. 166). The growth of the disciplines of education during the 1960s has been seen as contributing to the separation of theory and practice in teacher education in the universities (Simon, 1983, p. 10).

Over the next decade, however, some fundamental rethinking took place regarding the nature and role of the university PGCE course. This rethinking was prompted by a number of developments.

First, in 1969 the government announced that by 1973 training was to be compulsory for graduates, with the exception of those who wished to teach certain shortage subjects (Alexander, 1984b, p. 118). The universities were therefore under a moral obligation at least to provide convincing evidence that their courses justified compulsory attendance.

Second, courses had to change to accommodate new developments in education. For instance, sociology does not feature in Jones' descriptions of courses in the 1920s. By the 1960s studies of issues such as equality of educational opportunity had made sufficient impact to ensure that elements of the sociology of education had a place on PGCE courses. Comprehensive reorganisation began to take off in the sixties, which meant that PGCE courses could no longer realistically concentrate on preparing graduates to teach academic subjects in grammar schools.

Numerous new developments in education such as mixed ability teaching, team teaching, integrated studies and educational technology clamoured for attention on training courses (Alexander, 1984b, pp. 118-120, Lynch, 1979, p. 38, Dickson et at, 1965, pp. 165-166, Taylor, 1979, p. 7).

Third, as Chapter Three described, the 1960s and 1970s were a period of substantial reorganisation in teacher education outside the universities. The expansion of the sixties was followed by the cuts of the seventies. The BEd and Dip HE were introduced and public sector institutions began offering PGCE courses validated by the CNAA. In 1980 the last non-graduate training courses were closed, leaving the PGCE in the universities as a proportionately larger producer of teachers than it had ever been (Eggleston, 1983, Bruce, 1985, p. 170). The 1970s also saw teacher education coming under the scrutiny of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education and Science, the Short inquiry and the James Committee (Plunkett, 1984, p. 245).

These developments engendered, as Hirst put it (1976a, p. 3), 'critical reconsideration' of university PGCE courses. The tenor of this reconsideration was to the effect that the PGCE should become a more directly professional course. Hirst, one of the leading commentators, argued that the PGCE should concentrate on preparing students for their first post instead of being concerned about wider goals, however attractive and desirable these might be. He argued that if students' undergraduate studies had been inadequate in terms of providing a liberal or general education, it should not be the job of the PGCE to remedy the deficiency. No doubt PGCE studies would contribute to students' general education but they should not be designed explicitly for this purpose (1976b, pp. 7-8). The UCET working party which considered the secondary PGCE in the mid 1970s, and which was chaired by Hirst, reached similar

conclusions. The working party's report stated, 'there is now widespread agreement that the PGCE course should henceforth focus sharply . . . on the professional preparation of students for their first teaching appointments' (UCET, 1979, p. 5). The report made it clear, however, that professional preparation should not mean training of a 'narrow, routine, mechanical kind' (ibid., p. 6) but should rather take the form of a course which 'must provide not simply for the necessary elements of theoretical study and practical training, but for the building of these together in the tightest possible relationship' (ibid., p. 9).

The climate had certainly changed since the 1950s. Although the structure of most PGCE courses remained similar, experiments were taking place in making the course more school-based and integrating more closely the theoretical and practical parts of the course (Baker, 1967, Lacey and Lamont, 1976, Alexander, 1984b, p. 120, MacLennan and Seadon, 1988, Furlong et al, 1988, TES, 1988).

The PGCE faced the problem faced by teacher education generally, namely, what the balance should be between the theoretical and the practical. For the universities the need to maintain academic and theoretical respectability was a particularly acute issue. As is shown by the quotes above taken from the UCET Report, the universities were careful to point out that a more professional training did not mean a return to craft apprenticeships, and 'sitting with Nellie' was frequently decried as a suitable model for university postgraduate teacher education (McNamara, 1976, Medway, 1976, Simon, 1976). But the moves towards more practically oriented courses were crystallised in Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) and the subsequent CATE requirements, and what had been a matter of academic discussion, experiment and research had to be translated universally into practice.

The increasingly professional orientations adopted on PGCE courses posed a threat to vested interests in the disciplines of education, not only in practical terms in the sense that tutors might find their expertise no longer required, but also in ideological terms in that their expertise was no longer valued in initial training. The bulwarks built in the sixties in the disciplines of education as evidence of the academic respectability of the study of education were seriously undermined (Alexander, 1984b, pp. 125-126), Norwich, 1985, p. 51). Theoreticians such as Simon and Hirst had to defend and reconsider the role they played in professional education. Even Hirst, as an advocate of new directions in teacher education, would not defend an apprenticeship model but argued that theory should arise out of practice rather than being superimposed upon it in the form of the disciplines of education (Hirst, 1985). The role of theory was to be maintained in the PGCE.

The tension between the theoretical and the practical was a reflection of the differences between universities and schools set out in Chapter Two. On the one hand, teacher education in the universities looked to the academic and theoretical orientation of the university to lend status to its work and to justify the position of education as a subject of university study. On the other hand, Janus-like, teacher education in the universities attempted to cater for the paedagogical and social demands of schools to lend credibility to the view that it was providing a practical professional education for classroom teachers. These two ideological orientations were not only in competition but were in some respects incompatible. Yet, as the next chapter demonstrates, for many university teachers of education both were an integral part of their work.

CHAPTER NINE

IDEOLOGIES OF UNIVERSITY TEACHERS OF EDUCATION

1. Introduction

Throughout the present study it has been argued that university teachers of education were pulled in different and often conflicting directions by their two main reference groups, school teachers and university teachers. The ideological tensions inherent in this situation have been described in general terms in Chapter Eight. Education lecturers had a responsibility to their colleagues in schools to produce teachers able to cope with the wide range of demands made on them in modern comprehensive schools. Commentators on the teacher's role and on teacher education have seen these demands as having academic, social or affective, and professional or vocational dimensions, the last usually being seen as encompassing both practical and theoretical elements. The difficulties faced by teacher educators in attempting to reconcile and achieve these demands were particularly acute in the universities with their traditions of academic excellence and the value of a broad education. The more professional, practical, social and affective aspects of teacher education were not accorded high status in universities, and teacher education in the universities, in an attempt to improve its standing, traditionally emphasised its more academic and theoretical aspects. It looked to developments such as the growth of the disciplines of education in the 1960s to give it respectability in university eyes. Inevitably, perhaps, this approach was criticised by students, teachers and teacher educators outside the universities for being too academic and theoretical. By the later 1970s PGCE staff were looking at ways of making their courses more professional, a term usually employed to mean

more directly relevant to the work of the classroom teacher. But academic and theoretical concerns were valued not only for the status they were perceived to carry, but also for the insights they afforded into the work of the classroom teacher as well as of schools more generally. As a result university teacher educators strove to maintain such elements in their courses in one form or another. The competing demands of the different ideologies of teacher education are apparent in the data described in this chapter, from questionnaires and interviews, on the views of university education lecturers on the aims, processes, content and structures appropriate in PGCE courses.

2. The academic ideology

The label 'academic ideology' is used here, as in Chapter Two, to describe a set of beliefs about the value of academic education in the preparation of teachers. Because the PGCE route into teaching is consecutive rather than concurrent, the students have already reached a high level of academic education, but, as data from the present study show, for many tutors concerns about academic education were central to their thinking about the nature of teacher preparation. Indeed, their concerns were apparent at the point of selection for the PGCE. In the questionnaire staff were asked to rate as very important, of some importance or not important a list of possible criteria for selecting PGCE students. Not surprisingly, perhaps, since most staff were involved in the training of secondary teachers, 81% of respondents believed that it was very important that PGCE candidates should show enthusiasm for the subject or subjects they hoped to teach, and nearly 60% believed knowledge of subject was very important. Over a fifth thought good academic qualifications were very important and a further 65% thought they were of some importance (Table 9.1).

Different groups of staff accorded different levels of importance to these criteria. Older, but not more senior, staff were more likely than their younger colleagues to believe that good academic qualifications were very important. There were no significant differences between method and non-method tutors, but there were considerable differences between method tutors in different subject areas. Tutors of modern languages were considerably more likely than their colleagues to think that knowledge of teaching subject should be a very important criterion. 84% of them chose this category on the questionnaire, compared with 61.2% of all the method tutors who answered this question. Four of the five modern languages method tutors who were interviewed said they looked for oral competence in the relevant languages. Over 90% of the languages tutors who responded to the questionnaire also believed that enthusiasm for their teaching subject should be a very important criterion. In this they were joined by similar proportions of PE tutors, arts tutors and tutors of other subjects such as music and art. These last two groups were also more likely than their colleagues to favour students with good academic qualifications, a finding which was borne out by the twelve arts tutors who were interviewed. Almost all of them stressed that academic qualifications were by no means everything, but the application of this criterion was in part a matter of market forces. Tutors in subjects such as history and geography had a greater number of academically well qualified applicants from which to choose than did tutors in science and mathematics, who, apart from the biologists, tended to play down the importance of good academic qualifications more than did their arts colleagues.

These views were reflected in the qualifications of students in different subjects. Evidence from the student survey conducted at the same time as the present study showed that most PGCE students were training to teach

subjects they had studied in their degrees, though there were notable exceptions, particularly in shortage subjects (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 26). This was reflected in the interview data from the present study. Mathematics and physics tutors did not deny the value of relevant degree studies, but did not necessarily require students to have more than a 'reasonable background', as one tutor put it, in the subjects they were to teach. They recruited students with degrees in subjects ranging from engineering to psychology. Although one tutor said he liked mathematicians with 'real enthusiasm' for their subject, another thought that the most able mathematicians sometimes found it difficult to understand that the majority of their pupils found the subject very difficult. Other tutors thought that the varied degree studies of their students widened the perspectives of the method group. Two mathematics tutors said they found no differences in teaching ability between students with mathematics degrees and those without. It was recognised by several tutors in different subjects that, whatever the tutor's view, consideration had to be given to the job market, where many employers preferred teachers with directly relevant degrees.

The data suggest that PGCE tutors had similar preferences. There was a close relationship between the number of applicants in a subject and the extent of tutors' interest in academic qualifications. Where applicants were numerous tutors could afford to be selective on the basis of academic record as well as on other criteria. In shortage subjects they did not have such freedom and were more likely to accept students with minimum qualifications.

The emphasis tutors gave to subject knowledge was also apparent in their responses to questions about the aims of the PGCE course. In the questionnaire tutors were asked to indicate, on a scale of 1 - highly

important to 4 - not important, how important they believed each of eight aims was to the majority of PGCE staff in their university. About 12% of respondents found this difficult to answer, some of them noting that individual tutors within their department had different ideas on the subject.

Over two-thirds of tutors gave a score of 1 or 2 to the aim of 'Giving the student an understanding of his/her teaching subject(s)' and over half gave a score of 1 or 2 to the aim of 'Giving the student an understanding of the place of each subject in the curriculum' (Table 9.2). Older, but not more senior, staff were more likely than their colleagues to think these aims were important in their departments, while among the method tutors the social scientists were less likely than tutors in other subjects to think these aims were highly important in their departments.

In response to an open-ended question, three-quarters of respondents took the opportunity to describe their own aims. The responses to this question were analysed manually because some of them were lengthy and complex. The results were difficult to interpret as the themes which emerged here almost certainly reflected those presented to respondents in the previous question on departmental aims. Nevertheless, the responses are indicative of tutors' concerns. Just over three-quarters of tutors chose to respond to this question and just over 30% of these tutors did so in terms of the students' subject knowledge. Aims of this kind were the most commonly expressed by both method and non-method tutors. Illustrations of the kinds of responses made are given below:

'To develop insights into their teaching subject.'

'Alerting students to links between university and school geography and the desirability of maintaining links with academic geography when they start teaching.'

'To develop a good understanding of the difficulties of teaching physics, ie the inherent difficulties of the subject. Then to see how to make the subject live - to create an enthusiastic approach to the subject - physics _is_ fun. Above all, to get over the special features of _science_ which make it a distinctive and powerful (but not omniscient) way of learning about the world. This means some philosophy of science _must_ be included.'

Similar views were expressed by the tutors who were interviewed. Most of the aims they described could be divided into three broad groups, one of which related to the teaching of their subject. In this context tutors said they wanted students to re-examine the knowledge which they thought they had, for their knowledge of their subject was often more fragile than they realised. Students needed to be familiar with their material before they could consider how to teach it. A physics tutor, for example, said there was an element of content in his course, which included getting students to work out how to structure material into lessons. Tutors wanted their students not only to acquire knowledge but also to look at it in a different light, or to look at new aspects of it. They should discover that the academic viewpoint was not the only way of looking at things. Several tutors said they wanted to show students how interesting their subject could be to pupils of all abilities. A biologist said they should be able to recognise what could be used as stimulus material, and how much scope a biology teacher had for interesting children and capitalising on their natural curiosity. Another biologist said students should see biology in the context of a

wide range of pupils, but retain their integrity as scientists. To do this they needed to think about their subject and to gain greater understanding of it. History tutors wanted to show their students the value of history, where it fitted into the curriculum, and the reasons for teaching it. One saw it as part of his job to promote what he considered to be good history. Another said that his students, as a result of studying mostly British history, had a 'pretty insular' view which he tried to alter by taking them into an inner city, multi-racial school. A modern linguist wanted to teach his students to approach languages from the point of view of their function rather than their grammar. In English, too, a tutor said students had to look at new ways of approaching their subject - 'lit. crit.' was no longer sufficient in his view.

The theme of subject knowledge also emerged strongly in replies to a questionnaire item on the characteristics of an effective teacher (Table 9.3). Respondents were presented with eighteen characteristics and asked to rate each as highly desirable, fairly desirable or immaterial. The item rated most frequently, by 89% of respondents, as highly desirable was 'Enthusiasm for the subject to be taught'. The item, 'Detailed knowledge of the subject to be taught', ranked sixth and was rated highly desirable by over 70% of tutors. Older, but not more senior, staff were significantly more likely than were their colleagues to rate this characteristic as highly desirable. Among the method tutors the social science and primary tutors were less likely than were their colleagues to regard this characteristic as highly desirable. Only about half of the tutors in these areas did so compared with over 80% of the languages, science and PE tutors and nearly 80% of the arts tutors.

The emphasis given on the PGCE to subject knowledge and related issues, as illustrated in different ways by data from the present study, is perhaps to be expected, even although most students arrived on the course already comparatively well-versed in their subjects. Such emphasis was in line with student expectation (Crompton, 1977) and reflected institutional arrangements in schools and on PGCE courses. School curricula, even in primary schools, are commonly described in terms of subjects (Alexander, 1984a, pp. 50-59) and most PGCE courses in 1980 were built around subjects or subject groupings. Subject or method work was usually a central part of the course and subject tutors had major responsibilities for selecting students, supervising them on teaching practice and assessing them (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979). The centrality accorded to subject knowledge also reflected academic structures in universities and the status associated with subject specialisation (see Chapter Two). In 1979-1980 very few PGCE students could follow main courses in general science or integrated humanities, fewer than half the departments offered primary courses and very few offered middle school courses (Patrick et al, 1982, pp. 82-86). Thus, courses in which subject barriers might be broken down were not commonly available, and the traditional subject divisions, paralleling those in most of the rest of the university system, were an important determinant of the structures, processes and content of PGCE courses.

3.   The social or affective ideology

Despite the emphasis on subject or academic knowledge, university education lecturers, like their colleagues in other sectors of teacher education, also strongly valued the social or affective ideology of teacher education. In response to the questionnaire item on student selection criteria (Table 9.1), 52% of tutors thought 'a lively personality' was 'very important', though less than 15% thought 'personal

338

appearance' and 'experience of work unrelated to education' came into this category. Older, but not more senior, staff were more likely than their colleagues to think the latter two criteria were very important. A greater proportion of method tutors than of non-method tutors thought a lively personality should be a very important criterion, but method tutors were less likely to be interested in experience of work unrelated to education. Among the method tutors the primary and PE tutors were most likely to look for students with lively personalities. In an open-ended question which followed, the importance tutors accorded to personal and social characteristics emerged clearly. Just over 40% of those who responded to this question listed characteristics which might broadly be described as skills in interpersonal relations - the ability to get on with others, communication skills, care, concern and liking for others, empathy and sensitivity. Other characteristics suggested by 16.7%, 9.5% and 6% respectively of respondents were adaptability, a sense of humour and a balanced or stable personality.

In the interviews, too, tutors were asked about their criteria for selecting students. All tutors expressed an interest in the social or affective attributes of potential PGCE students. Commonly tutors consulted references for evidence that students were hard-working or conscientious. They were interested in how applicants related to other people and a few organised group interviews to assess this ability. Tutors were particularly interested in how students related to the tutors themselves since they would have to work closely together over a long period. Tutors felt some judgment could be made of this at interview, as could some estimate of an applicant's ability to communicate. Tutors also used the interview to assess whether applicants were 'outgoing', 'positive', 'lively', 'interesting and interested', 'sensitive', 'determined', 'imaginative', 'moderately confident'. Most tutors were

seeking qualities of this kind, though one said that introverts could turn out to be competent in the classroom and that he had learned not to regard the 'bouncy' personality as the last criterion. There was a tendency, however, for tutors to say they would turn down applicants who were very introverted, nervous or shy. One did not want people who were too fixed in their ideas and one said that he would tend to reject people with obvious impediments which would expose them to ridicule by pupils. Another did not want people who had led sheltered lives and whose experience was very narrow and limited. A handful of tutors specified that anyone with a record of mental illness would not be accepted. Most tutors stressed that in such cases it was for the good of both the applicant and of their potential pupils that people with serious problems should not become teachers. Teaching could be stressful enough without letting people join the profession who were already burdened with problems.

The importance tutors accorded to personal and social factors also emerged in their views on the aims of PGCE courses. In response to a structured questionnaire item on the aims of the PGCE in their universities, just over 60% of tutors (66% of method and 54% of non-method tutors) said they thought that 'Enabling the student to develop his/her self-confidence' was a very important aim. In response to an open-ended question on their personal aims in their own teaching, nearly a quarter of respondents answered in terms of making their students aware of children and of their needs and views, for example:

'To ensure they respect their pupils.'

'To enhance the students' awareness of child development and personality variables.'

'To sensitise students to the needs of their pupils.'
Just over a fifth of respondents also took this opportunity to stress the
aim of developing student confidence.

The emphasis on the social or affective was also clear in tutors'
responses to the questionnaire item on the characteristics of an
effective teacher. 83.1% of respondents thought 'Patience in dealing
with pupils' was highly desirable and 80.6% thought 'Sympathy for the
problems of pupils' was highly desirable. Nearly 40% thought it highly
desirable that teachers had 'The ability to relate well to colleagues in
the staffroom' and about a third thought it highly desirable for teachers
to have 'Sympathy for the professional problems of colleagues' (Table
9.3).

The present study also examined some of the issues relating to students'
commitment to teaching, issues which might be considered as part of the
affective domain, although they overlap into the 'professional' domain
too. In response to the questionnaire item on criteria for selecting
students 55% of tutors said it was very important that PGCE candidates
should show evidence of having thought carefully about teaching, though
only 15.5% thought it very important that candidates should have
experience of working with children or young people (Table 9.1). Lower
than average proportions of senior staff (49% of senior lecturers and 33%
of professors) and of men (52%) thought evidence of having thought
carefully about teaching was a very important criterion. There was
almost no difference in this respect between method and non-method
tutors, but among the method tutors almost all the primary and PE tutors
thought this was a very important criterion and these two groups were
also considerably more likely than their colleagues to think experience
of working with children or young people was very important.

Most tutors who were interviewed, not unexpectedly, said they wanted people who were keen to teach and who were not just doing the PGCE to fill in a year or to avoid the dole queue. An early application was often seen as evidence of a genuine interest in teaching as well as of being well organised. Late applications were more likely to be regarded with suspicion, though a few tutors thought a late application might show that a candidate had taken time to consider all the possibilities before settling for teaching, or that a candidate was unsure about teaching and could only decide the matter by taking a PGCE course. Most tutors were willing to consider late applicants for, as one said, some students did not develop a real interest in children and teaching until the course was well under way. In any case motivation was difficult to judge at interview. Several tutors expressed the view that there was a large element of self-selection since people who could not see themselves as teachers did not generally apply. Tutors themselves applied this criterion at interview, wondering whether they could picture an applicant in front of a class. Some tutors looked for previous experience of teaching or work with children such as youth club leader, Sunday school teacher or teaching in the private sector, but most said they would not turn applicants down because they did not have such experience. Some tutors tried to find out how much applicants knew about the realities of teaching and used the interview to indicate to candidates some aspects of teaching with which they might be unfamiliar. Although the quality of candidates varied from year to year, several tutors said that recently highly motivated people had been coming forward, possibly because teaching jobs were no longer guaranteed and those who applied to train tended to be those who were really interested.

Although it is clear that tutors looked for commitment in selecting their students, these data also suggest that tutors thought commitment could

develop during the course. It is less clear, however, that tutors thought it part of their job to try to develop such commitment. This may have been partly the result of the closed nature of the question on aims presented in the questionnaire, since it did not include a category dealing with the issue of commitment. It was followed, however, by an open-ended question on tutors' personal aims. Even here, the issue of commitment was hardly mentioned by the tutors (75% of the total) who responded to this question, although those who wrote of developing a sense of professional responsibility in students (about 7% of respondents) might have seen the growth of commitment as an ingredient in this process.

Part of the difficulty in interpreting the data arises from uncertainty about defining what is meant by commitment. As was described in Chapter Eight, commentators on teacher education have used terms such as 'missionary spirit', 'a sense of vocation', 'a sense of responsibility' and 'motivation' to describe the kinds of attitudes it is believed teachers ought to have to their work, attitudes which might broadly be described as commitment. In the literature on the professions such attitudes have been defined as a 'service orientation' (Goode, 1960, p. 903) and 'primary orientation to the community interest' (Barber, 1963, p. 672), and have connotations of integrity (Millerson, 1964a, p. 5) and a high level of self-control or discipline, sometimes based on a code of conduct (Barber, 1963, p. 672). In general terms the word commitment is used to describe a devotion to work over and above fulfilling the minimum requirements. Such devotion is often taken to be characteristic of members of professions and the data presented above suggest that PGCE tutors looked for evidence of such devotion at some level among their candidates. Further, in the responses to the questionnaire item on the characteristics of an effective teacher, there

was evidence that many tutors saw the teacher's job as involving more than a minimum devotion to duty. 'Willingness to give up his/her own time for in-service training' and 'Willingness to participate in extra-curricular activities', attitudes which might be considered evidence of commitment, were categorised as highly desirable in an effective teacher by 45% and 36% respectively of respondents to these items.

These data show that PGCE tutors expressed an interest in the affective or social side of the role of the teacher in a range of ways. They wanted their students to be confident and well-balanced, to be able to build good personal relationships with pupils and colleagues and to be committed to their work. Views of this kind betray the influence of the school rather than of the university on the nature of teacher education. They echo, albeit distantly, the missionary ethos of nineteenth century training colleges and the student-centred ideology of the colleges of education in the 1960s with all their implications for social relations within schools. Implicit in tutors' views was the significance of the social context of the teacher's work, a context usually accorded little more than marginal significance in universities.

4.   Theory and practice in the ideology of the PGCE

The conflicting pull of school and university ideologies was perhaps most apparent in tutors' views on the 'professional' education of their students. It was suggested in Chapter Eight that the rise of the academic disciplines of education in the 1960s which succeeded the contemplative, philosophical approach to the PGCE of the 1950s, constituted in part an attempt to inject academic rigour and hence respectability and status into teacher education. By the late 1970s, however, the focus was on making the PGCE more 'professional' and, by

implication, more practically oriented and less academic or theoretical. As the data presented below illustrate, however, the issues were more complex than the simple characterisation of theory versus practice within which the debate about the nature of teacher education was often conducted.

The first issue to be considered here is tutors' views on the aims of PGCE courses. In response to a questionnaire item on this subject, it was aims which were directly relevant to classroom teaching which were most frequently cited as 'highly important' by tutors. In rank order the aim most often cited as highly important, by 59% of respondents, was 'Enabling the student to develop the skills necessary for the exercise of classroom discipline and control' (Table 9.2). Method tutors and older, but not more senior, tutors were more likely than their colleagues to categorise this item as highly important. It was followed by 'Giving the student an understanding of a variety of methods of teaching', rated as highly important by 57% of respondents. Again method tutors were more likely than their colleagues to rate this item as highly important. Next came 'Giving the student an understanding of how children's learning takes place', which 54% of respondents thought was a highly important aim in their universities. As has been described above, the next items related to developing students' self-confidence (53% of respondents) and improving their understanding of their teaching subject (46%). Only then did items which might be seen as a little more remote from the classroom enter the order. Just over a quarter of respondents classified 'Enhancing the student's general interest in educational issues' as highly important, fewer than a fifth thought 'Giving the student an understanding of the place of each subject in the curriculum' was highly important and only 10% thought it a highly important aim to induct students into the disciplines of education. Even so, very few tutors

categorised these last three aims as 'not important'. The majority were willing to accord them at least a place among PGCE aims, a picture borne out by the responses to the subsequent open-ended question about tutors' personal aims. Here the most frequently cited aims related to students' understanding of their teaching subject (31% of respondents) and to teaching methods (25%), followed by increasing students' awareness of children (24%), developing their classroom ability (20%) and developing their confidence (20%). Next came the development of critical and analytical potential (19.3% of respondents) and developing students' general interest in educational issues (18%).

Similarly, when asked in the questionnaire about the characteristics of an effective teacher, the item cited least often (by only 14% of tutors) as highly desirable was 'Knowledge of educational research'. But nearly two-thirds of tutors thought this was 'Fairly desirable' in an effective teacher and only 16% thought it 'Immaterial'. At the other end of the order among the items most frequently cited by tutors as highly desirable were 'The ability to keep control of classes' (84% of tutors) and 'The ability to use a variety of teaching methods' (74% of tutors), both abilities of a practical nature.

The interview data also confirmed the perceived importance of aims closely related to working in the classroom, but at the same time indicated that tutors thought their students should be encouraged to look beyond the classroom. As noted above, the aims expressed by the tutors who were interviewed could be divided into three groups. The first of these, already described, was related to the student's teaching subject, the second group of aims related specifically to classroom teaching and the third to wider educational issues. It is the last two groups which are of particular concern here. For the purposes of analysis an attempt

has been made to categorise tutors' comments, other than those relating to teaching subjects, into these two groups which might broadly be equated with the issues of practice and theory. But, as will emerge below, the division is by no means clear cut and for most tutors both groups of aims had considerable significance. No distinction in this respect could be made between method and non-method tutors. It should be remembered, however, that the latter were under-represented in the interview sample. The aims classified as relating more directly to classroom practice are described first.

Given the length of the course - in 1980 it averaged thirty weeks - and given that the PGCE was an initial rather than a complete preparation, most tutors felt that the course could be no more than an introduction to teaching methods and materials. Some tutors in the early weeks of the course aimed to give students enough knowledge and skill to cope with teaching practice. By the end of the course they hoped that students would be equipped to cope with their probationary year. One tutor said that during the PGCE year there was not time to teach students their subject, or remedy their personalities or teach them to speak in public - they had to come already provided with these skills or attributes. Tutors were unsure about whether or not to assume that their students would have the benefit of in-service courses at some later stage in their careers, but there was a general feeling that in any case the PGCE could never prepare them for every contingency.

They therefore set themselves limited objectives. As one tutor described it, the PGCE gave a scaffolding to the immature teacher, and the sooner he or she could leave it behind the better. Two tutors said that their job was not to turn students out as finished teachers but to provide conditions in which they could begin their professional development and

continue it when they went into schools. They considered that one year was adequate for this, because it would enable students to function as the kind of teachers they wanted to be without giving tutors time to impose their personal ideas on their students. At the other end of the spectrum, one tutor thought there was a sense in which he was trying to create in his students the image of himself, though he did introduce them to ideas which he had not himself used when teaching.

Many tutors spoke in general terms of turning out enlightened teachers with regard to their attitude to children and teaching. Several tutors spoke of encouraging a critical approach. An English tutor wanted to prepare students for the actual, but also to alert them to its deficiencies. A geographer spoke of opening windows to new methods because students' experience was limited and they tended to adopt the out-of-date methods by which they themselves had been taught. Related to this was the development of flexibility or adaptability which was frequently mentioned by tutors. A few tutors talked about developing students' powers of self-criticism, and one said how undesirable it would be to turn out smug teachers.

At a more specific level, as well as providing students with information about teaching, different tutors described a variety of skills which they hoped students would acquire during the course. They stressed that their courses were practical rather than, as one tutor put it, 'academic and esoteric'. One tutor said he wanted his students to be able, among other things, to stand up in front of a class and conduct a lesson in a traditional manner. Several tutors spoke of sensitising students to pupil actions and reactions, listening to their use of language, being aware when they were not understanding some part of the lesson, being able to assess pupils' abilities so as to adjust the level of work

accordingly, and recognising how much could be expected of different pupils. Scientists aimed to develop students' practical laboratory skills and several tutors spoke of improving organisational skills. Some used micro-teaching procedures to enable students to learn to express themselves, develop their questioning skills, and practise their blackboard and overhead projector skills.

Most of these aims were described in the context of method work, though many of the ideas were expressed by non-method as well as by method tutors. It is clear, however, that even within the method work context, teacher preparation was seen as something more than teaching a craft. The use of terms such as 'enlightened teachers', 'a critical approach', 'opening windows' and 'self-criticism' suggests tutors were looking beyond a straightforward skills approach. Such an analysis was strengthened by the emphasis tutors gave in the interviews to the third group of aims, which were usually expressed in the context of the PGCE course as a whole. These aims related to wider educational issues and reflected some of the concerns already described in the context of the affective or social ideologies of teacher education.

It was generally agreed that the PGCE should do more than just help people get a clear picture of what they might do in the classroom. Frequently mentioned was the concept of professionalism. Tutors believed students should learn to see themselves as members of a profession with all the rights and responsibilities which this entailed. They had to take responsibility for others as well as for themselves. One tutor was of the opinion that it was sometimes difficult for students to see themselves as part of a school community, since most graduates had spent their lives in a competitive and individualistic atmosphere. For some students the course was stressful and sometimes bewildering and a number

of tutors spoke of aiming to build up student confidence to tackle unfamiliar situations. Students had to change from being recipients to being givers of knowledge. It was hoped that the PGCE provided a basis on which students could build as independent professionals who were able to continue their own development after the PGCE was over.

Related to the concept of professionalism was the idea that students should be encouraged to look at wider issues in education - what education was for, why it was the way it was, and so on. Again the idea of being open-minded and questioning was commonly expressed by tutors. Students should not take too much for granted. Some of these students later in their careers would hold influential posts in the education system. It was generally hoped that they could prepare for promotion by means of in-service courses, but this could by no means be taken for granted. Many tutors therefore hoped that during the PGCE students would pick up ideas about aspects of education such as the role of the head teacher or the pros and cons of comprehensivisation. One tutor hoped that the teaching profession of the future would be articulate, tolerant, fairminded and sharp thinking. Clearly the PGCE course could hardly hope to achieve all these aims, and, as another said, it was largely 'bread upon the waters', but it was hoped that future generations of teachers would be more reflective. For some teachers, the PGCE might be the only chance, however brief and unsatisfactory, to give consideration to wider issues, and most tutors felt it was essential to give them this opportunity. For others it could be an encouragement to do a higher degree at a later date when they could not only examine a variety of educational problems, but could do so from the standpoint of a few years' teaching experience.

These data confirm the picture, painted by the literature and presented in Chapter Eight, of a general shift towards the practical, often described as and equated with the professional, on the PGCE, alongside the desire to maintain a role for wider, often more theoretical, concerns. The picture is confirmed by the structure and content of courses and by education lecturers' views on their courses. It was stated in Chapter Three that even by the 1980s the structure of many PGCE courses had changed little, but that within the framework of teaching practice, method work and educational theory many PGCE courses were moving towards a more practical and integrated approach. The SPITE project, of which the present study formed part, found that in 1979-1980, when PGCE courses averaged thirty weeks, students on average spent fourteen weeks in schools, either on teaching practice or on other activities (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 52). Nearly half the course, therefore, was directly practical. The majority of students spent between six and ten hours, or one to two days a week, attending main method courses, usually with further time for second method work (ibid., p. 108). These findings were confirmed in the present study (see Chapter Six). Only a fifth of students, by comparison, claimed to spend over eight hours a week on educational theory courses (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 118). Even at this level of generalisation, it is clear that work directly related to the classroom had priority on PGCE courses.

Of course, it is not necessarily the case that method work can be equated with practical work. Nor are those parts of PGCE courses commonly categorised, partly at least for want of a better label, as educational theory, necessarily abstract or academic in nature or far removed from classroom experience. Descriptions of course content may be misleading, since almost any topic can be treated in a highly theoretical or highly practical way, or both. Even with these caveats, however, the

descriptions of courses and of tutors' views presented below show a strong commitment to making courses practical, whether or not this was actually achieved. At the same time, however, tutors were reluctant, like the authors of the UCET pamphlet described in Chapter Eight (UCET, 1979), to abandon the commitment developed in the 1950s and 1960s to include in initial training the consideration of educational ideas, theories and disciplines.

There was evidence from both questionnaires and interviews to show that method tutors on the whole believed that the practical aspects of teaching should and did constitute a considerable proportion of the content of method classes. In the questionnaire method tutors were asked which of a list of twenty-seven items they included in their method courses and whether they spent a lot of time on each item (Table 9.4). As was described in Chapter Six, some method tutors spent time teaching alongside their students in schools, and although not all tutors accompanied their students, nearly three-quarters said school visits formed part of their method course. As well as working in schools, other topics on which tutors spent most time included lesson planning, the preparation of teaching materials, various methods of teaching their subject and the use of course materials, all topics directly related to work in the classroom. Almost all tutors in all subject areas spent at least some time on these topics, while other areas of work of an apparently practical nature were more subject specific. Science tutors, for example, were more likely than their colleagues in other subjects to include laboratory work in their courses, while PE specialists tended to spend a lot of time on discipline, organisation and communication skills, and primary tutors on team teaching, project work and mixed ability teaching.

The emphasis on the practical did not mean that method courses lacked any theoretical underpinning. Almost all the method tutors who answered the questionnaire item on the content of method work said they spent at least some time on the aims of teaching their subject and over half said they spent a lot of time on this. Over 80% spent at least some time on the place of their subject in the curriculum and nearly 30% spent a lot of time on it. It also emerged from the interviews that there was a general feeling that students should be introduced to various theoretical principles underlying practice. An English tutor, for example, introduced his students to various models of English teaching so that they were aware of approaches other than his own. As well as covering the reasons for teaching their subject in schools, tutors also tried to break down preconceived ideas held by students about their subjects and, as described above, to introduce them to different philosophies of subjects such as history and science.

But it was the practical aspects of teaching which were perceived as predominant. Most method tutors who were interviewed stressed the practical nature of their courses. They felt that the problems of coping in the classroom were uppermost in students' minds and aimed to give students at least some rudimentary skills to help them. One tutor said it was no good just to 'natter' at the students. What was needed, in his view, was to get them doing things. As well as, or in some cases instead of, sending their students into schools during method time, some tutors arranged micro-teaching or simulation exercises in the department. Science tutors gave students practice in the use of equipment and the setting up of experiments. Modern linguists spent a good deal of time on oral aspects of language teaching. Data from both interviews and questionnaires provided substantial evidence that method tutors introduced their students to a variety of resources, field work, the

analysis of textbooks, assessment problems, blackboard work, audio-visual aids, designing worksheets, lesson planning, communication skills and other practical aspects. The emphasis on the practical was also apparent in the student survey conducted at the same time (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 92).

A general strategy used by tutors in their efforts to make their courses practical was to link method work directly with teaching practice. Tutors who were interviewed described links of various kinds, some of which have already been noted. Teaching practice usually included regular visits to school instead of being confined to one or two isolated blocks (Patrick et al, 1982, pp. 49-50). Some tutors went into schools with their students to teach alongside them as well as to monitor their progress, while in some cases school teachers came into universities to take method sessions. Some tutors took their students to look round schools which, for various reasons, were not used for teaching practice. A biology tutor, for example, took her students to a sixth form college to see what could be achieved by able pupils. On some courses teaching was practised not only in school but in the university in the form of micro-teaching with other students or with pupils 'imported' from schools forming the class. Although tutors sometimes had little choice of schools, where possible they liked to send students to schools where staff were largely in sympathy with their own ideas on teaching. Some tutors thought there would always be differences between the actual and the possible, but they hoped that on the whole students would see teaching of the kind which their tutors were recommending to them. One tutor said he would not want the method work to be so at odds with what students experienced in schools that they would reject it.

Efforts were also made to make the non-method parts of the PGCE, referred to here for brevity as theory courses, more practically oriented and less remote from the concerns of the classroom. On the majority of PGCE courses in 1979-1980 the theory courses were integrated in some way, that is, the courses centred on themes, issues or topics and drew on the disciplines of education rather than centring on them. This kind of organisation was aimed at building closer relationships between theory and practice and at giving non-method courses a more practical focus than the traditional educational disciplines usually had (Patrick et al, 1982, pp. 114-115, Alexander, 1984b, pp. 135 and 143).

Over half the education lecturers participating in the questionnaire survey taught on integrated courses and they were asked to list the three most important topics included in the courses as they taught them. While it must be remembered that the labels attached to the topics included in these courses do not necessarily indicate how the topics were approached, the responses suggest that to some extent there was a practical orientation. Nearly a hundred different topics were listed, illustrating the range of content in such courses. The topics most commonly reported by staff as forming part of an integrated course were discipline and behaviour problems, the curriculum, philosophical issues, school organisation, examinations and assessment, language, grouping (including mixed ability), the education system, cognitive development, learning and a variety of other psychological topics such as memory and personality. Among the specialist courses taught by staff, either as options in addition to an integrated course or as common or optional courses where there was no integrated course, those most commonly listed on the questionnaires were on psychology, language, the curriculum, history of education, sociology of education, philosophy of education, assessment, comparative education, PE and games, special and remedial education and

multi-cultural education. Although the influence of the separate disciplines is apparent here, there is also room for topics which do not fit into the disciplines framework.

On some courses attempts were also made to achieve some degree of integration between theory courses and method courses. Often this involved some integration of personnel. Thus, among the staff responding to the questionnaire survey, 75% of the method tutors also taught on theory courses. Less common were attempts made through syllabuses and timetabling to bring method and theory courses closer together. Method tutors might be expected to broaden their courses beyond the teaching of their subject so that method time was increased and comparatively little time was spent on separate educational theory. Alternatively, topics dealt with on theory courses might also be covered in method courses during the same week.

Field work for the present study was conducted at a time when the role of theory and the relationship between theory and practice were subjects of much debate among PGCE tutors. Many of the issues under debate were raised in the interviews conducted for the present study. One major issue was the content of theory courses. Tutors commented that there was a wide and ever-growing range of content that could be of value to potential teachers and that only a small proportion of it could be covered on the PGCE. The report of the SPITE project (Patrick et al, 1982, p. 114) suggested that theory courses often had little by way of conceptual underpinning, a view that was confirmed in the interviews with tutors. The approach to selecting content seemed to be pragmatic and none of the tutors suggested that the theory courses in their department were designed according to any other criterion. The problem of selecting content for theory courses was met partly by offering a range of options

from which students could choose, though some tutors preferred common courses which all students were expected to attend because these formed a common basis from which links could be made to other parts of the PGCE course. Most courses had a combination of common and optional courses.

Although individual tutors had personal preferences about what should be included in theory courses - more on counselling in one course, less sociology in another - there was general agreement that theoretical courses were a valuable part of the PGCE. As was noted above, some tutors believed that for some teachers the PGCE might be the only opportunity they would have to study education in a wider context than their own classrooms.

Despite the value which they saw in the theoretical study of education, the tutors who were interviewed recognised that theory courses were a source of student complaint. Students tended to be preoccupied with the practical business of learning to teach and to feel that theory was a waste of time. One tutor described theory as the fringe part of the course which students could safely attack without endangering their central relationship with their main method tutor, while several expressed the view that students did not have enough practical experience to enable them to appreciate the value of the theory. The tutors themselves, however, with only a few exceptions, seemed reasonably satisfied with the existing theory courses in their departments. Many of them attended theory courses not only when they contributed to the teaching of them but also for a variety of other reasons. Some had not themselves trained as teachers and wanted to further their own study of education; some wanted to see what the students were complaining about; some had to take seminars which followed up presentations by colleagues and so had to attend the presentations; some, either because of personal

wishes or because of departmental policy, wanted to be able to link method work with aspects of theory courses. Tutors' relative satisfaction with theory courses was thus based on some knowledge of the nature of these courses.

There was evidence from the interviews, however, that tutors were more satisfied with the theory courses in departments where an attempt was made to integrate these courses, both by organising the theory courses in terms of themes or topics and by linking them directly to other parts of the PGCE. This can be no more than a tentative conclusion because the evidence comes only from the seven subsample departments where interviews were conducted and because integrated and non-integrated courses were also associated with other factors which contributed to staff satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Non-integrated courses tended to include more lectures and fewer seminars and to be conducted by staff who were not otherwise involved in the PGCE. On integrated courses there tended to be fewer lectures and more seminars and more PGCE staff were involved to varying degrees. The hypothesis that staff satisfaction was positively associated with integration was also examined using the questionnaire data. Tutors were asked in an open-ended question to give their opinion of the content and relevance of the PGCE course in their university. Approximately 70% of the tutors who participated in the survey responded to this question and nearly half of these expressed satisfaction, albeit often qualified satisfaction, with the content and relevance of their courses. A further 5% said their courses were practical and were therefore relevant. 16% thought their courses were satisfactory in some respects but not others and just over 10% said they were in the process of improving their courses. About one in ten expressed definite dissatisfaction with their courses, and a further 7% thought their courses should be more practical and less theoretical.

Less than 2% thought their courses were too practical and insufficiently theoretical. There were no clear differences between different groups of staff. As in the interviews, so in the questionnaires staff expressed their relative satisfaction with the content of their courses as a whole. As in the interviews, too, there was some evidence in the questionnaires that in departments where theory courses were integrated in some way, tutors were more likely to express satisfaction with the content and relevance of their courses. The difference was only slight, however, and, as in the interviews, the picture was confused because of the different ways in which integrated and non-integrated courses were organised.

In the questionnaire tutors were asked their views on the length of the PGCE course. The results are given in Table 9.5. Almost exactly half of them thought it was long enough to provide an introduction to teaching, but not a satisfactory one, and nearly 40% thought the course was long enough to provide a satisfactory introduction to teaching. There were no major differences between different groups of staff.

Tutors' views on PGCE courses were also sought in an open-ended questionnaire item which asked, 'How would you like to see PGCE courses develop in the future in terms of length, structure and content?'. Because of the length and complexity of many responses, the item was analysed manually. Three-quarters of questionnaire respondents took the opportunity to respond to this item. The single change which was most frequently advocated, by 40% of respondents to the item, was an increase in the length of the course. Nearly two-thirds of these respondents wanted a two year course, usually specifying that it should include probation. The remainder suggested a variety of lengths - four terms, the school rather than the university year, an extra month at the

beginning of the course - or wanted a longer course but did not say how long. Related to this was the desire of about a quarter of respondents that more effective use should be made of the probationary year and of in-service provision. In this context a number of staff said they would welcome the continuation of links with former students during their first year of teaching, though they did not go so far as to suggest that PGCE and induction should be welded into a two year course. Despite the relative satisfaction, described above, which staff expressed about the content and relevance of their courses, their replies to the question under consideration here suggested tutors still saw room for development. Nearly 30% of respondents to this question thought their courses should become more practical, with more teaching practice or time spent in schools, a concentration on method work at the expense of the more theoretical elements, increased use of micro-teaching techniques, a greater role for practising teachers, or, in a few cases, with courses becoming school- rather than institution-based. Just over 10% of respondents wanted a closer relationship between theory and practice, though most did not describe how this might be achieved. Of those who did, some wanted increased collaboration and interchange of staff between schools and education departments while others thought all theory courses should be built round practical problems.

Numerous other changes were advocated by small numbers of staff, for example, different patterns of teaching practice, alternative assessment procedures, changes in course content, more flexible courses, more student say in course structure and content. Thus, although only about 10% of tutors expressed strong dissatisfaction with the course in their department, many more had ideas on how courses should develop and moves towards making courses more practical came second only to the desire to

extend the period of teacher education beyond the average thirty week PGCE course.

Tutors expressed similar views in the interviews. About half of those interviewed thought the PGCE was too short or were ambivalent about the length. Tutors who had given some consideration to the idea of a longer course were aware of potential drawbacks. If students were attached to an education department for two years, their probation would have to be done in a local school. Not only might this be difficult to arrange, but one tutor commented that it might encourage some students to be more parochial than they already were. If students were still to be recruited every year, more staff would be required in both schools and education departments and it seemed unlikely there would be money for this. It was felt there might be student resistance to a two year course, even if it included probation. Initially the move to a two year course would severely reduce the number of new teachers coming on the market, though it was suggested that, except in shortage subjects, this might not matter too much during a time of teacher unemployment.

Those who were ambivalent about the length of the course tended to say that it depended on what the course was aiming to do. If it was an introduction to teaching and a period during which students could discover whether they really wanted to teach, an academic year was long enough, assuming that it would be backed up by in-service courses. This was a stumbling block, however. Several tutors expressed concern at the lack of in-service: 'What has happened to the James Report recommendations?'; 'The LEAs are reneging on induction'; 'If the PGCE is not followed up by in-service, then teachers can be criticised, as they have been by HMIs, for their lack of training'. If in-service could not be taken for granted, the PGCE had to try to compensate, however

unsatisfactorily, and one year was not enough. It was felt, however, that additional training could be done more efficiently as in-service because by then teachers would know what they needed and would be better motivated.

A few tutors had experience of training teachers on three and four year courses. Most of them thought the PGCE provided as good a training, pointing out that on longer courses time could be wasted because priorities did not have to be so carefully thought out. A longer course might give students more time to reflect and to study issues in depth, but one tutor said that because the PGCE students were older, they picked things up more quickly, though another suggested they were more likely to be hidebound.

Two tutors suggested that a shorter PGCE course might be possible. Perhaps resources could be diverted so that fewer were devoted to initial training and more to induction and in-service. In this case the PGCE could be rudimentary because there would be more money, time and staff available for training at later stages in a teacher's career.

Tutors who were satisfied with the length of the course tended to believe that more time would be of little advantage. Some expressed the view that teachers learned most by teaching and that anything more than introductory work was better done at a later stage in a teacher's career. Tutors who were satisfied with the length of the course all insisted that in-service training was essential. Teachers needed additional training if they wanted promotion, if they wanted to branch out into counselling or administration or special education, if they wanted to keep up with innovations. One tutor said schools and teachers might be conservative, but not to the extent that training need never be updated in a career

spanning forty years. Several tutors believed that a teacher never stopped learning and that training should be seen as an ongoing process.

A small number of tutors in different departments and in different subjects suggested a more radical restructuring of the PGCE. They felt that the PGCE might be more effective if it was much more practical than it currently was. One tutor said it should be completely school-based, with method tutors teaching part-time and training students part-time. On a more school-based course students would have more time to get to know staff and pupils. Method work would be closely related to students' needs in particular situations, rather than being hypothetical as so much was in existing courses. Method work would no longer be a 'game', as one tutor suggested it was, but would have to apply to real situations. One tutor who favoured a more school-based course felt that going completely school-based would have disadvantages if it meant that the experience of both the tutor and the students were to be limited to a single school.

The staff who suggested that the PGCE should be more school-based were by no means averse to the theoretical elements of the course. Two of them were themselves 'theorists' as opposed to method tutors. But they felt that on the PGCE most students were not ready for the more theoretical side of the course. They did not have enough experience to appreciate it fully and it was therefore something of a waste of time to try to interest them in it. These tutors suggested instead that theory was more likely to make sense after a few years' teaching. Some tutors had found this themselves and several said that teachers who returned to do higher degrees had the same experience. Some believed, therefore, that there should be compulsory in-service after a few years' teaching when teachers would attend courses of a more theoretical nature and would have an opportunity to think about their work in a wider context.

Tutors' views on their courses and on the relationship between theory and practice in teacher education were also apparent in their responses to questions about assessment on the PGCE. One form of assessment was in operation during the selection procedures before students arrived on the course. Some tutors commented in interview that they did not expect candidates to know much about education or teaching before they came on the PGCE but, as has already been described, many were looking for evidence of interest in and commitment to teaching. In addition, some tutors said they took what might be described as a practical perspective and tried to judge applicants from the point of view of the teaching job market: whether the applicant had studied a relevant degree subject; whether he or she could offer more than one teaching subject; whether the tutor could picture the applicant in front of a class; whether, if the tutor were a head of department in a school, he or she would want a particular applicant as a colleague in the department. Tutors acknowledged that the interview was an imperfect tool for making such judgments, but it was apparent from both questionnaire and interview data that assessment continued to pose problems, even when tutors had much more evidence on which to base their judgments.

In the questionnaire used in the present study tutors were asked to express agreement or disagreement with a list of six statements about assessment (Table 9.6). There was overwhelming agreement (by 87.5% of respondents) that allowances should be made when assessing students doing teaching practice in particularly difficult schools, and nearly two-thirds of respondents agreed that staff should be more prepared to recommend failure of the PGCE as a result of a student's performance on teaching practice. Beyond this, however, there was little agreement or consistency in the views which tutors expressed. Over 60% agreed that poor practical teaching should be the main criterion for failing the

PGCE, but nearly as many agreed that students who did not complete the required written assignments satisfactorily should fail the PGCE however good their practical teaching. 34% agreed that weak students should be given every chance to pass teaching practice, but 31% disagreed with this statement, while nearly half believed it should not be so easy to pass the PGCE. Limited account may be taken of this last statement, however, as the item was badly worded.

There were some differences between different groups of staff. Method tutors, with the exception of the social scientists among them, were more likely than were non-method tutors to agree that weak students should be given every chance to pass teaching practice, while only 20.3% of female tutors, compared with 37% of the men, agreed with this statement. Method tutors, with the exception of those specialising in primary education, along with professors, were more likely than were their colleagues to agree that failure to complete the written assignments satisfactorily should lead to failure, however good a student's practical teaching might be. Method tutors, and particularly the social science method tutors, were less likely than were their colleagues to agree with the statement that it should not be so easy to pass the PGCE. PE method tutors were among those most likely to agree that staff should be more prepared to recommend failure of the PGCE as a result of a student's performance on teaching practice, while 20% of professors, compared with only 15% of other staff, expressed uncertainty about this statement. Over a fifth of professors, however, compared with only 12% of their colleagues, disagreed that poor practical teaching should be the main criterion for failing the PGCE.

The ambivalence and ambiguity apparent in the questionnaire responses to the items on assessment can be explained, in part at least, by reference

to data collected in interviews with the link people in each department early in the SPITE project (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979) and in the interviews carried out in the course of the present study. Two main types of explanation can be derived from these interview data. First, the responses reflected the status quo. In all departments, according to the SPITE link people, students were required to pass both the written and the practical parts of the PGCE course. This may explain why a majority of tutors felt able to agree that poor practical teaching should be the main criterion for failure as well as agreeing that failure to produce satisfactory written work should result in failure of the PGCE.

The second type of explanation concerns the problems inherent in assessing performance on a course of professional training. Through their contacts with schools and by writing references tutors played an important role in helping their students obtain posts at the end of the course. Tutors who were interviewed felt that they had a responsibility to the teaching profession not to allow students who were not really suitable to pass the PGCE course. One tutor said he felt it was vital to persuade unsuitable students to think things over carefully since there were people in the teaching profession who did not really want to be there, but who were there because no-one had made them question what they were doing there. Where weak students could not be persuaded to drop out, tutors could indicate their doubts about the suitability for teaching of such students through the grades which they awarded them or, in the case of departments which used a pass/fail system, by means of the references which they wrote. In some cases, however, students had to be failed. But tutors found it difficult to fail students because they were only too well aware of the subjective nature of the assessment of teaching ability. Even when a variety of people - tutors, teachers, heads of department and external examiners - had seen a student teach,

they could not always reach agreement on a pass or a failure, and in such a case the student was likely to be given the benefit of the doubt. A few tutors were of the opinion that the standard of written work was sometimes used as a criterion for failing students or, more precisely, it was used as an excuse for failing people whose teaching was poor, because staff had not faced up to the difficulties of failing students for their practical work and the criteria for failing essays were more easily seen and understood. This meant that the real question of what made a poor teacher was never fully explored, and that written work was valued not for its own sake but for its usefulness as evidence of failure. Some tutors, however, said that they were unwilling to pass students whose written work was unsatisfactory on the grounds that there was really no excuse for a graduate being unable to produce passable written work, and failure to do so might be indicative of idleness or lack of interest, qualities which would not augur well for a career in teaching.

The questionnaire included an open-ended question on tutors' views on the written demands made on PGCE students. Nearly 60% of tutors responded to the first part of the question about the volume of written work. Of these, just over 60% thought sufficient written demands were made, 11% thought the demands were insufficient and 8% thought they were too great. About 5% of respondents thought the demands were often inappropriate or irrelevant. In the same question tutors were asked about the rigour of the academic standards applied to written work. 65% of tutors answered this part of the question and half of them thought the academic standards applied were sufficiently rigorous. 17% thought they were insufficiently rigorous and about 10% thought they were irrelevant or inappropriate. Thus, although substantial minorities of tutors were dissatisfied with aspects of the written work required of their students,

that written work constituted a hurdle students had to overcome to pass the PGCE.

In this section a considerable amount of evidence has been presented which illustrates the issues, tensions and sometimes contradictions associated with the 'professional' education of teachers. For most tutors, the professional education of the students had to be directly relevant to the work they were to do as teachers in schools. Yet, at the same time, tutors felt there was a place for the more academic or theoretical study of education, the kind of study associated with most of the other subjects offered by universities.

5. An Overview

This chapter has dealt in turn with the academic education of PGCE students, their social or affective characteristics, and finally their directly professional education. It was argued in Chapter Eight that teacher education has become increasingly susceptible to pressure to include elements of all of these aspects. Despite the tensions between these different aspects, the teacher education establishment has not found it possible to deny the value of any of them. In this respect the PGCE is no exception. The degree of support among tutors for a longer course was indicative of their desire to give more attention to all three major aspects of teacher education.

In Chapters Five and Six it was argued that professors of education could be clearly distinguished from their colleagues in terms of their qualifications and experience as well as by the kind of work in which they were involved. When it came to their views on teacher education, however, no such distinction could be made. Although, as the earlier parts of this chapter indicate, education staff were by no means

unanimous in their views, it was not possible to identify groups of staff according to their ideologies. It might have been expected, for example, that professors, with their academic and research oriented backgrounds and workloads, could be distinguished by their support for the more academic aspects of teacher preparation in terms of subject specialism and educational theory. No such picture emerged, however. Nor was it possible to distinguish consistently between other groups of staff, for example, method and non-method tutors, on the basis of their views. Tutors were not susceptible to categorisation according to ideologies. Instead, like their colleagues in other sectors of teacher education both past and present, they held views which drew on all of the ideological strands which have been identified in the present study. The material presented below to conclude this chapter give examples of how the same tutors' views included elements from different ideological strands.

At the point of selecting students, the desire on the part of tutors to find candidates with a range of qualities was apparent. In response to the questionnaire item on selection criteria, over a fifth of tutors said they thought good academic qualifications were very important. 55% of these tutors also thought that evidence of having thought carefully about teaching was very important and 62% of them thought a lively personality was very important. Clearly tutors who were looking for good academic qualifications were also strongly interested in student personality and commitment.

Similarly, in their expressed aims for the PGCE, tutors believed that their colleagues were supportive of aims relating to more than one ideological strand. Nearly half of respondents thought that 'Giving the student an understanding of his/her teaching subject(s)' was a highly important aim in their department. Over 60% of these tutors thought that

369

'Enabling the student to develop his/her self-confidence' was also a highly important aim. Both subject understanding and personality development were being sought. With regard to students' directly professional education, tutors were aiming to develop both their ideas and their practice. Nearly 30% of tutors thought that in their department it was a highly important aim to enhance students' 'general interest in educational issues'. Over 80% of these tutors thought it was also highly important to give students 'an understanding of a variety of methods of teaching' and over three-quarters of them thought it highly important to enable students to 'develop the skills necessary for the exercise of classroom discipline and control'. Similarly, of those tutors (10% of respondents) who thought it a highly important aim in their department to induct students into the disciplines of education, over two-thirds also thought it was a highly important aim in their department to give students an understanding of a variety of teaching methods and nearly 60% thought it highly important to enable students to develop their skills in classroom control and discipline. In other words, even when tutors thought theoretical insights were highly important in their departments, the majority also thought that the development of practical skills was highly important.

The desire to promote both the theoretical and the practical aspects of the PGCE was also apparent in tutors' views on assessment. About 60% of tutors thought that poor practical teaching should be the main criterion for failing the PGCE yet 60% of these tutors also thought that students who did not complete the required written assignments should fail the PGCE however good their practical teaching. Nearly two-thirds of respondents thought tutors should be more prepared to recommend failure of the PGCE as a result of a student's performance on teaching practice, yet nearly two-thirds of these tutors also thought that failure to

complete written work should result in failure. Thus tutors wanted evidence both of teaching ability and of ability in written work before they were willing to allow students to qualify as teachers. In their views on the characteristics of an effective teacher, too, tutors who thought a knowledge of educational research was highly desirable (nearly 15% of respondents) were also highly likely to think it highly desirable that an effective teacher should have a range of more directly practical attributes. Over 90% of them thought it highly desirable that an effective teacher should have the ability to use a variety of teaching methods and to keep control of classes as well as having patience with pupils, while over 80% of them thought it highly desirable that an effective teacher should have a detailed knowledge of the subject to be taught. Once again there is evidence that tutors looked for a range of attributes in teachers.

These examples illustrate the argument developed in Chapter Eight that the PGCE in the universities, like the rest of the teacher education enterprise, was associated with a range of obligations. University PGCE tutors subscribed to the ideology that teachers should have a high level of academic education, to the ideology that teachers should have appropriate social and personal attributes, to the ideology that teacher education should be a highly practical activity and to the ideology that there should be more to teacher education than a craft-style apprenticeship. The PGCE in the universities, like teacher education elsewhere, was trying to achieve in one form or another virtually every aim with which teacher education had been associated over the past hundred years. The range of aims expressed by tutors in the present study betrayed teacher education's origins in the apprenticeship of the pupil-teacher and its efforts to gain status through association with the universities. Inevitably, such a range of aims had a direct effect on

tutors' views of their occupation and its rights and responsibilities. These views form the subject of the last chapter of the present study.

Table 9.1   Views of university teachers of education on the importance
            of particular criteria in selecting PGCE students

		Very important	Of some importance	Not important	Non response
Good references	N	224	458	17	63
	%	29.4	60.1	2.2	8.3
Knowledge of teaching	N	434	257	8	63
subject(s)	%	57.0	33.7	1.0	8.3
Enthusiasm for teaching	N	617	82	3	60
subject(s)	%	81.0	10.8	0.4	7.9
Good academic	N	167	497	34	64
qualifications	%	21.9	65.2	4.5	8.4
Personal appearance	N	102	471	117	72
	%	13.4	61.8	15.4	9.4
Evidence of having thought	N	416	243	41	62
carefully about teaching	%	54.6	31.9	5.4	8.1
Experience of working with	N	118	424	156	64
children/young people	%	15.5	55.6	20.5	8.4
A lively personality	N	394	281	22	65
	%	51.7	36.9	2.9	8.5
The ability to contribute	N	110	476	114	62
to extra-curricular	%	14.4	62.5	15.0	8.1
activities					
Experience of work	N	110	454	135	63
unrelated to education	%	14.4	59.6	17.7	8.3

N for each item - 762

Table 9.2   Views of university teachers of education on the importance
            of particular aims of PGCE courses in their departments

		1 Highly imp.	2 fairly imp.	3 Some imp.	4 Not imp.	Non responses
Giving the student an understanding of his/her teaching subjects(s)	N	349	163	109	38	103
	%	45.8	21.4	14.3	5.0	13.5
Giving the student an understanding of the place of each subject in the curriculum	N	139	274	217	33	99
	%	18.2	36.0	28.5	4.3	13.0
Giving the student an understanding of how children's learning takes place	N	412	166	77	12	95
	%	54.1	21.8	10.1	1.6	12.5
Enhancing the student's general interest in educational issues	N	212	295	146	13	96
	%	27.8	38.7	19.2	1.7	12.6
Giving the student an understanding of a variety of methods of teaching	N	433	182	47	3	97
	%	56.8	23.9	6.2	0.4	12.7
Inducting the student into the disciplines of education (eg philosophy, psychology, administration, sociology, etc)	N	76	210	279	97	100
	%	10.0	27.6	36.6	12.7	13.1
Enabling the student to develop his/her self-confidence	N	406	188	62	10	96
	%	53.3	24.7	8.1	1.3	12.6
Enabling the student to develop the skills necessary for the exercise of classroom discipline and control	N	451	163	44	6	98
	%	59.2	21.4	5.8	0.8	12.9

N for each item - 762

374

Table 9.3   Views of university teachers of education on the desirability
            of school teachers having particular attributes and abilities

		Highly desirable	Fairly desirable	Immaterial	Non response
Clear diction	N	514	202	4	42
	%	67.5	26.5	0.5	5.5
Sympathy for the professional problems of colleagues	N	255	418	33	56
	%	33.5	54.9	4.3	7.3
The ability to use a variety of teaching methods	N	567	143	12	40
	%	74.4	18.8	1.6	5.2
Knowledge of educational research	N	109	480	119	54
	%	14.3	63.0	15.6	7.1
Teaching from material prepared in advance of lessons	N	478	219	16	49
	%	62.7	28.7	2.1	6.4
Detailed knowledge of the subject to be taught	N	541	175	3	43
	%	71.0	23.0	0.4	5.6
The ability to keep control of classes	N	640	73	1	48
	%	84.0	9.6	0.1	6.3
Enthusiasm for the subject to be taught	N	678	42	1	41
	%	89.0	5.5	0.1	5.4
Patience in dealing with pupils	N	633	86	1	42
	%	83.1	11.3	0.1	5.5
Awareness of socio-economic differences between pupils	N	204	418	87	53
	%	26.8	54.9	11.4	7.0
The ability to relate well to colleagues in the staffroom	N	296	393	30	43
	%	38.8	51.6	3.9	5.6
Efficiency at administration	N	192	475	51	44
	%	25.2	62.3	6.7	5.8
Punctuality	N	509	203	7	43
	%	66.8	26.6	0.9	5.6
Awareness of ethnic differences between pupils	N	278	378	41	65
	%	36.5	49.6	5.4	8.5
Willingness to give up own time for in-service training	N	320	353	44	45
	%	42.0	46.3	5.8	5.9
Sympathy for the problems of pupils	N	614	104	2	42
	%	80.6	13.6	0.3	5.5
Willingness to participate in extra-curricular activities	N	256	408	55	43
	%	33.6	53.5	7.2	5.6
The ability to teach a class at a moment's notice	N	172	422	110	58
	%	22.6	55.4	14.4	7.6

N for each item - 762

Table 9.4   Time spent on topics and activities included in method work

	A lot of time N	A lot of time %	Some time N	Some time %	Not dealt with N	Not dealt with %	Non response N	Non response %
Team teaching	34	8.0	187	43.7	166	38.8	41	9.6
Organising school outings	35	8.2	163	38.1	189	44.2	41	9.6
Use of textbooks	298	69.6	95	22.2	7	1.6	28	6.5
Use of course materials	244	57.0	134	31.3	10	2.3	40	9.3
Aims of teaching subject(s)	236	55.1	165	38.6	3	0.7	24	5.6
Communication skills	71	16.6	245	57.2	78	18.2	34	8.0
Project work	88	20.6	248	58.0	61	14.3	31	7.2
Teaching children of below average ability	92	21.5	260	60.7	49	11.4	27	6.3
Place of subject(s) in curriculum	122	28.5	241	56.3	34	8.0	31	7.2
Course/syllabus planning	165	38.6	207	48.4	28	6.5	28	6.5
Lesson planning	327	76.4	71	16.6	6	1.4	24	5.6
Methods of assessment and evaluation	149	34.8	234	54.7	18	4.2	27	6.3
Mixed ability teaching	152	35.5	223	52.1	27	6.3	26	6.1
Preparation for public examinations	44	10.3	239	55.8	108	25.2	37	8.6
Field work	72	16.8	111	26.0	196	45.8	49	11.4
Laboratory work	79	18.5	58	13.6	233	54.4	58	13.6
Skills of questioning pupils	162	37.8	209	48.8	27	6.3	30	7.0
Various methods of teaching subject(s)	295	68.9	101	23.6	4	0.9	28	6.5
Use of blackboard	52	12.1	279	65.2	66	15.4	31	7.2
Use of AVA	138	32.2	233	54.4	26	6.1	31	7.2
Classroom organisation	171	40.0	208	48.6	21	5.0	28	6.5
Discipline in the classroom	153	35.7	214	50.0	30	7.0	31	7.2
Teaching streamed classes	39	9.1	172	40.2	173	40.4	44	10.3
Microteaching	67	15.7	138	32.2	181	42.3	42	9.8
Interaction analysis	21	5.0	121	28.3	239	55.8	47	11.0
School visits (other than teaching practice)	115	26.9	201	47.0	79	18.5	33	7.7

N for each item - 428

Table 9.5 Which one of the following statements best describes your
attitude to the length of your PGCE course?

	N	%
The PGCE course is too short to serve any useful purpose	19	2.5
The PGCE course is long enough to provide an introduction to teaching, but not a satisfactory one	383	50.3
The PGCE course is long enough to provide a satisfactory introduction to teaching	292	38.3
The PGCE course is long enough to give the student all the formal training he/she will ever need	1	0.1
Non responses	67	8.8
Total	762	100.0

Table 9.6 Views of university teachers of education on PGCE assessment

		Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Non response
Students who are weak should be given every chance to pass teaching practice	N	264	171	239	90
	%	34.4	22.4	31.4	11.8
Staff should be prepared to recommend failure of the PGCE course as a result of a student's performance on teaching practice	N	505	116	64	· 77
	%	66.3	15.2	8.4	10.1
Students in particularly difficult schools should have this situation taken into account in the assessment of their teaching practice	N	667	28	4	63
	%	87.5	3.7	0.5	8.3
Poor practical teaching should be the main criterion for failing the PGCE	N	469	129	94	70
	%	61.5	16.9	12.3	9.2
Students who do not complete the required written assignments satisfactorily should fail the PGCE however good their practical teaching	N	448	160	85	69
	%	58.8	21.0	11.2	9.1
It should not be so easy to pass the PGCE ·	N	350	209	91	112
	%	45.9	27.4	11.9	14.7

N for each item - 762

CHAPTER TEN

TENSIONS AND DIVERSITY IN TEACHER EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES

The aims of this final chapter are to review the empirical data presented
in previous chapters, to present additional data gathered mainly in
interviews, and to use these data to explore the nature of working in a
university department of education as an occupation.

In Chapter Five the membership of the occupational group, teachers of
education in universities, was described. Most university teachers of
education were men who had been well qualified, experienced and
successful school teachers and who had moved into teacher education in
universities in their early thirties. In the university context,
however, they were not particularly well qualified as a group, had
entered university teaching comparatively late and had come via an
unusual route. In Chapter Six the nature of the work undertaken by
university teachers of education was described. Because one of the
central functions of education departments was initial teacher education,
most teachers of education were heavily involved in activities related to
schools and their work - teaching in school, method work, visiting
students on teaching practice, writing school textbooks, working for
school examination boards, and so on. In addition, however, because
university teachers of education were working within the context of their
universities, they were also expected to run higher degree courses,
supervise higher degree students and undertake research and publication.

Chapter Seven examined how teacher education in universities was
constrained and controlled. As part of the state's provision of teachers

for schools, teacher education in universities was subject to most of the controls which operated on other sectors of teacher supply. Central government had the power to control the nature of teacher education courses and to grant qualified teacher status. At the same time, however, teacher education in universities was taking place in a context within which the work of the staff was normally comparatively free from constraints and controls, so that the position of teacher education was to some extent anomalous.

Chapters Eight and Nine looked at the ideologies associated with teacher education and, in particular, with teacher education in the universities. Because it was concerned with preparing teachers to work in schools, teacher education looked for its philosophy to some extent in the concerns of schools, with the practical aspects of being a teacher, with the social and moral education of pupils, with their vocational training and, particularly in the case of primary schools, with a child-centred view of education. On the other hand, in the university context, teacher education looked for academic respectability through the development of educational theory, the general education of students and the centrality of teaching academic subjects rather than taking the more instrumental stance which the vocational education of teachers might be thought to require.

Throughout these chapters it has been argued that university teachers of education have in a sense a dual loyalty. On the one hand they have a stake in school teaching, the occupation to which they themselves have belonged and for which they are preparing so many of their students. On the other hand, they have a stake in the university community to which they currently belong. It has been argued in the present study that these two loyalties make diverse and to some extent conflicting demands

on university teachers of education. They may work in universities, but they also have a second constituency, namely, school teaching, to which they feel obligations and responsibilities. The concerns of schools and universities differ to such an extent, however, as was argued in Chapter Two, that the importance of school teaching as a concern for university teachers of education has the effect of marginalising teacher education in universities. These issues were explored with education tutors in the interviews which were conducted as part of the present study.

The first issue which will be considered here is the diverse nature of the tutors' work. According to Clark (1987, pp. 94-95), professional schools which prepare their students for particular occupations have to 'combine practical and academic missions'. He quotes a professor in a management school who describes himself as having 'two constituencies', that is, 'the academic brethren' and 'the practicing (sic) managers' and who suggests that catering for both constituencies induces schizophrenia. Clark goes on to say:

> 'A similar tension . . . is found in schools of education that must constantly attempt to become more scholarly, in order to achieve and maintain legitimacy in the university family, while also involving themselves directly in the improvement of educational practice. The first means research and publication, the second means time spent in the teacher education laboratory, the university elementary "lab school", the local school district, or the office of the state superintendent of public instruction.

> Professional schools vacillate between these two poles.'

Bressler (1964, p. 92) argues that the educationist has not two roles but three - 'the scholar who acquires knowledge, the teacher who is

responsible for its transmission, and the researcher who is responsible for its extension'. It was this range of roles which were explored in the present study.

In Chapter Six data from the questionnaire survey showed the range of work undertaken by lecturers in education. In the interviews tutors were asked about the kinds of work in which the PGCE involved them and about their views on their workload. Most of the tutors interviewed were involved in a variety of activities both for PGCE courses and for other courses. They ran method groups, organised teaching practice placements, supervised their students in schools, arranged and taught on induction and in-service courses, taught on higher degree courses, both full- and part-time, and supervised students doing research degrees. In some cases they also taught undergraduates in education and in other subjects. In addition, tutors taught in schools, gave papers at seminars and conferences, wrote theses for higher degrees, acted as consultants, worked for school examination boards, prepared teaching materials for schools, published school and university level books and articles, were involved in curriculum development work for bodies such as the Schools Council, refereed and reviewed books and papers, edited journals, sat on university committees, belonged to national subject associations and to other professional bodies and acted as external examiners. Some were also school governors and sat on local education committees. Not all tutors were involved in all of these activities, but most of the tutors interviewed had links with a network of individuals, organisations and institutions of various kinds.

Such a variety of obligations, however, had drawbacks. There were two major, related disadvantages. The first was that staff could easily

become overworked and the second, which was a consequence of the first, was that they might be trying to do so much that they did nothing well.

Details were given in Chapter Six of the teaching commitments reported by education staff in the questionnaire survey and it was suggested there that on teaching load alone the workload of education tutors compared unfavourably with that of university teachers in other subjects as described in the Robbins Report (DES, 1963) and by the CVCP (1972), Williams et al (1974) and Startup (1979). Staff who were interviewed were unwilling to compare their workloads too unfavourably with those of colleagues in other departments, but it was generally agreed that staff in education departments, and particularly method tutors, had fairly full teaching timetables, often including teaching in the evening on part-time courses.

A few tutors thought that it was in the nature of a training course such as the PGCE that high contact hours with small groups of students were required. Most of the method tutors who were interviewed thought that the relationship between the method tutor and his or her students was central to the PGCE and that helping students develop their teaching skills could not be confined to timetabled classes. One tutor described his role as one of 'availability' and said, 'It's no good giving the impression that your door is shut'. The pastoral aspects of the tutor's role, particularly the method tutor's role, thus took up time. In addition, some tutors were of the opinion that administrative loads were heavier in education departments because they ran such a number and variety of courses, often involving part-time students and teachers and colleagues from outside the university, as well as having to organise school placements.

Visiting students on teaching practice was also seen as time-consuming and could be difficult to fit in round other commitments. In one department an inquiry had been made into staff workloads and one of the findings which had emerged was that those staff who supervised students on teaching practice spent twice as long as other staff on each 'full-time equivalent' student whom they taught. A modern languages tutor described teaching practice supervision as 'very wearing and time-consuming' and a biologist said it was 'a tough burden'. Another modern linguist said he found it difficult to visit more than three students in a day because by the time he saw the third he was beginning to flag and felt he could not give the student the help he should. A physics tutor said that each teaching practice visit, including travelling and time for consultation with students and teachers, took up more or less half a day. He tried to visit each student five times during a ten week practice and said that when he had a full group of twelve students teaching practice supervision took up approximately six out of every ten working days. A physical education tutor pointed out that teaching commitments within the university could conflict with the need to see students at times when a tutor's visit might be particularly helpful. It was especially difficult when students were placed in distant schools. Comments of this kind echoed the findings of the questionnaire survey. Out of a list of twelve items which might cause problems on teaching practice, finding time to visit students as often as tutors would wish was cited as the problem which most frequently caused difficulty and three-quarters of respondents claimed to have some or major problems in finding time for regular visits.

One corollary of such an apparently heavy workload was the feeling expressed by a number of tutors that they lacked the time to meet all their commitments as well as they would have liked. A biology tutor, for

example, who was under pressure to keep up his student numbers to compensate for smaller groups in physics and chemistry, said he appreciated the reasons why he should have a large group, but that it kept him so busy that he felt unable to prepare adequately for all the teaching commitments which he had. A physics tutor in another department thought he was not sufficiently available to his students because he had so many other calls on his time, while his colleague who taught history method said that he felt he failed to run a good resources centre for his students because he lacked the time. Another tutor said that in his method work he tended to live off his 'fat, wits, experience' and had not always kept up with the literature.

The main complaint about workload, however, was that tutors did not have enough time for research and publication. In response to a questionnaire item over 40% of tutors said they would like to spend more time on preparing for teaching, over 60% wanted more time for keeping up with their teaching subject, but over 80% wanted more time for 'Personal research and/or writing'. In the interviews, too, research and writing, according to most of the tutors, were the areas of their work for which it was most difficult to find time. Tutors identified a number of consequences which, in their view, followed from their lack of time for research and publication. One was a feeling of dissatisfaction arising out of starting a piece of research and not completing it. One tutor said that until a piece of work was written up he did not feel that he had really finished it. Several tutors saw it as part of their role to disseminate and publishing their research was one aspect of dissemination, while one tutor said she could not achieve any recognition for her work if it were never published and no one else knew anything about it. The main complaint, however, was that promotion was seen to depend largely on research and publication and that heavy teaching and

administrative loads made it difficult for staff to compete with their colleagues in other subjects.

It was suggested that such was the nature of the teaching and administration required in education that staff in education departments should not be criticised for their lack of research nor penalised in the promotion stakes. Instead, in the opinion of some of the tutors interviewed, teaching skill should be taken into account as a criterion for promotion. A few tutors felt that the lack of promotion in education had a demoralising effect. One tutor said that people who become stuck at the top of the lecturer scale eventually gave up the struggle and turned their interests towards activities outside work. Such people, he maintained, were not discontented financially but professionally. In his opinion it was necessary to become an 'extended professional' to get on in education. Another tutor, who had recently been promoted to a senior lectureship, said that he felt it was a bit like a raffle because the chances of winning were very slim since there were so many people in the university as a whole who had the requisite research and publications. He said, 'In education you have to be very single-minded or very lucky in your teaching load to be able to compete on equal terms'. Some tutors said that in universities with a heavy bias towards the sciences it was impossible to be as productive in terms of publications as their scientific colleagues. A few tutors expressed the view that if they did research which was linked to method work and to teaching in schools it was not regarded as academically respectable and might not be taken seriously as a basis for promotion. The issue of the status of education within the universities, which is raised by these kinds of comments, will be considered later in this chapter.

The data collected in this study suggest that staff in university departments of education were engaged in a range of activities and had comparatively heavy teaching and administrative loads. As a result, many of them felt overworked and unable to compete, in terms of research and publications, with colleagues in other subjects. If this picture of teacher education staff is accurate, it raises the question of whether such a situation was inevitable. The nature of the work done by staff in education departments was explored in the interviews.

The tutors who were interviewed expressed a variety of views about the range and diversity of their work. As was reported in Chapter Seven, university teachers of education felt they had a good deal of autonomy and could choose to some extent the activities in which they wished to be involved. The ability to choose, however, may have been more apparent than real, for some tutors expressed the view that it was in the nature of their job that they should have numerous responsibilities. One tutor, for example, saw it as part of his job to take a liaison and dissemination role which required him to establish a network of contacts in different sectors of the educational world. A number of tutors saw it as a positive benefit to build up a network because the different aspects of their role were complementary: working for an examination board helped them teach courses on assessment; teachers who attended their in-service and higher degree courses could be asked to take students on school placements; school teaching and teaching practice supervision fed into method work; teaching in an undergraduate department helped with PGCE recruitment; contacts built up through subject associations and national curriculum development work enabled tutors to help their students find jobs. These kinds of inter-connections made it seem difficult to some tutors to give up any one area of work without the risk of undermining others.

The idea that it was in some way in the nature of education that staff should have numerous and diverse obligations was also apparent in other analyses offered by tutors in the interviews. It appeared from what tutors said about the criteria for appointing staff to education departments that they were expected to be practitioners and to have academic qualifications since both school teaching experience and a higher degree were sought (Thomas, 1982, p. 241). This view was borne out by the interviews conducted at the beginning of the SPITE project with the tutors with whom the project staff liaised (Patrick and Reid, unpublished, 1979), and it was also apparent in the experience and qualifications of the staff of education departments as described in Chapter Five. On average they had taught for nearly nine years in schools or further education and nearly two-thirds had a higher degree, though less than 15% had a doctorate. The interviews certainly provided support for Mitchell's view (1985, p. 49) that many staff felt under a good deal of pressure to maintain their credibility in a number of fields. They felt obliged to prove that they could teach in schools, carry out research, write articles and books, be experts in some aspect of the theory of education and keep up-to-date in their subject. One tutor felt he had to try to keep up with the latest developments in physics to match his colleagues in the physics department, though he did not think that they felt any need to keep up with him in their knowledge of education as a field of study, while a history tutor felt it was important for his method work that he could demonstrate his credibility as a historian by doing research in history.

One area in particular in which most tutors felt the need to keep up-to-date was in their knowledge of the latest developments in schools. As was described in Chapter Nine, it was a common aim of PGCE tutors to be practical and to relate their work to the realities of the classroom.

Tutors felt a responsibility to teaching as an occupation to deter unsuitable students from finishing the PGCE course and taking up teaching posts. They also felt an obligation to prepare their students as well as they could for 'the job of teaching. Many tutors thought that their own school teaching experience was an important, even essential, qualification for their role in teacher education and they drew on that experience in teaching on the PGCE as well as on induction and in-service courses. After a few years in an education department, however, their own school teaching experience could seem 'dated' and their ideas become stale. Some tutors, therefore, made a point of renewing their experience by continuing to teach from time to time in schools.

For some tutors teaching in schools arose in the context of their method work and of supervising students on teaching practice. Tutors in subjects as diverse as geography, history, English, modern languages, primary education and mathematics took their method groups into schools and organised demonstration lessons as well as team teaching sessions in which tutors, teachers and students taught alongside each other. Sometimes this was arranged as a regular weekly feature of method work, sometimes it took the form of an intensive one week session, usually in the third term, during which a whole school, with the help of PGCE tutors and students, might devote itself to work in a single subject area. One PE tutor made regular arrangements to bring groups of pupils from local schools onto the campus for demonstration lessons. Some tutors, particularly those teaching PE or primary subjects, made a point of participating when they visited students on teaching practice in schools.

A few tutors helped out in schools for specific, short-term reasons: helping with the organisation of a school outing; substituting for a school's sole Russian teacher who fell ill only weeks before the A level

examinations; trying out new materials in mathematics which a school hoped to use; collecting information for a book on multicultural literature. A number of tutors wanted to widen their experience of teaching. Several who had taught only in grammar or secondary modern schools had made a point of spending a sabbatical term teaching in a comprehensive school. A classics tutor who had taught only Latin and Greek used a sabbatical term to gain experience of teaching classical studies, while a PE tutor was trying to arrange to do some middle school teaching, something she had not experienced before.

Tutors also gave a number of more general reasons for continuing to teach in schools. They felt it was the best way to keep up-to-date with what schools were like. Some said it was good for their morale to find that they could still cope. Others felt it revitalised their method work because they no longer had to draw on experience that was fading into the past, or to talk about aspects of teaching of which they had no personal experience. Those who taught alongside their students found it a useful way of getting things across because they could be seen to be practising what they preached. Perhaps the most common reason given was that of increasing the tutor's credibility in the eyes of students, colleagues and teachers, in the same way as Startup (1976, p. 152 and 1979, p. 83) suggested that psychology lecturers gained authority from having had clinical experience and engineering lecturers gained credibility through membership of the Institute of Chartered Engineers.

Some tutors, however, expressed doubts about the usefulness of spending time teaching in schools. They believed that they could learn as much about contemporary schools by visiting them and talking to staff and pupils as they could by actually teaching in them. Whether or not tutors still taught in schools, they recognised that to do so was to work in an

artificial situation. It is clear from the studies made by Hilsum and Strong (1978) and Hilsum and Cane (1971) that school teachers, both junior and secondary, were responsible for a range of tasks and duties with which an education tutor, even when teaching regularly in a school, would not have to cope - collecting dinner money, making examination arrangements, attending parents' evenings, supervising pupils in the playground, and so on. Even when tutors took on more than just the teaching of a series of lessons - for example, if they spent a term in a school - they would not face the same strains as most of the teachers since they would be free from the longer term responsibilities, such as taking a class all the way through an examination course or planning the following year's syllabus. Some of the tutors interviewed in the present study believed any teaching a tutor did took place in such an artificial context as to be of little or no value, or even to be counter-productive. It could give tutors and students a false picture of what was possible as well as taking up time which could perhaps be better spent in other ways. Method tutors in particular believed that it was more beneficial for students to observe and work with a successful practising teacher who was coping with all aspects of the job on a full-time basis, than to see a tutor take a one-off lesson with a class of pupils whom he or she did not know.

Some tutors believed that the artificiality surrounding any school teaching which they did could lead students to reject its validity as evidence of their school teaching ability. An English method tutor said that when students saw him teach they just said that they knew that he could teach and that he should move over because they wanted to have a go themselves. On the other hand, students who did not see him teach wondered whether he could. This tutor said that he could not win but that this was a healthy situation which kept him on his toes.

Not only did tutors have doubts about what they could achieve by teaching in schools, but they also had problems in arranging work in schools because of their other - commitments. A linguist said that the irregularity of university life meant that a regular school teaching commitment could lay him open to criticism for missing university meetings. Another tutor emphasised that if tutors made commitments to work regularly in schools they had to be sure that they would be able to fulfil them so as not to inconvenience the school staff or disrupt the work they were doing with the pupils.

For some tutors, then, continuing to teach in schools was seen as an unrealistic approach to the problem of maintaining their credibility in the classroom and a small number of tutors suggested that more radical means were required to keep their method work up-to-date.

A history tutor suggested that 'the rationale for the old-style PGCE, ie making a teacher into a lecturer who teaches method to students, was never very satisfactory and now that schools change so quickly, it becomes less satisfactory'. He had been out of the classroom for some years and had become increasingly involved in university life both within and beyond the education department to such an extent that he had come to see his role as a method tutor in a new light. He felt he could no longer speak about the job of teaching with the kind of conviction that a serving teacher would have. Consequently, he saw his own role as that of 'honest broker', bringing his students into contact with successful practising teachers. He had not given up all his method teaching responsibilities, but he had made arrangements with local schools to enable teachers to play a much larger part than he believed was usual in method work, and he thought that as a result, 'the increased bite and grip of method work . . . is astonishing'. As well as teaching and

liaison, his own work involved selecting the teachers who were to take part, writing and trying out school texts and teaching materials and providing philosophical rationale for the teaching of his subject in schools. A number of other tutors also invited school teachers to work with their method groups. They saw this as serving a number of functions. Not only were practising teachers thought to have more immediacy and credibility, but such arrangements introduced variety, new faces and different points of view, while teachers could deal with aspects of teaching which might be unfamiliar to the tutor. One English lecturer said that she brought in successful young teachers to talk to her group as a way of giving the students confidence because they could see that people not much older than themselves could handle classes, write syllabuses and run departments.

A physics method tutor in another department took a different view. He was in his second year in his present post and talked of the difficulties of moving from school teaching into university teaching and what he felt his role should be. He felt that his students had 'a certain amount of faith' in him because he had so recently been a teacher. He had been experimenting with how to approach method work and thought that after three or four years he could run a really good method course. After that, however, 'it would begin to drop off and the course would lose all credibility'. He did not know what he would do about this but would have liked something written into his contract to enable him to return to school teaching for a period yet retain his university post. As it was, he felt that the only way he could renew his school teaching experience properly was to resign and take a teaching post with no guarantee of finding another teacher education post. Ideally he would have liked to run a school-based course in which both he and his students were based in a school, with the students learning to teach in a real teaching

situation rather than in method classes which he saw as lacking in reality because so much of the work was dealing with hypothetical situations. A modern languages tutor, however, said that when he had first become a method tutor he, too, had thought his course would be more effective if it were school-based but he had come round to the view that such a course would be very limiting because both he and his students in the main would have experience of only the one school. In his present course his students went to different schools and as a result of visiting them on teaching practice he had gained a much wider knowledge of a greater range of schools than he had possessed when he first became a method tutor. He thus had wider experience to feed into his method work.

What is apparent in all of these analyses of their work is the perceived need for education tutors to legitimise their courses through basing them in the realities of classroom teaching, either through their own experience of school teaching or their wider knowledge of schools and teachers or through the involvement of school teachers in their courses. Even non-method tutors believed it was important to link theory and practice. Most of them had school teaching experience on which to draw and several expressed the view that this could add an extra dimension to their role as teachers of education. One tutor who taught courses on decision-making in education said it was less easy for his students to reject what he said because he knew about decision-making in practice as well as in theory. The philosophy of education tutor who described himself as 'an academic and a theorist' was an exception. For the great majority of tutors knowledge of the practical aspects of teaching was a major justification for their work, and had to be seen to be central to their courses. Although these tutors had moved out of school teaching into university teaching, school teaching was still a major focus of their work.

But it was not the only focus. As was described in Chapter Nine, the academic and the theoretical have long been valued in teacher education, particularly for the status they are thought to bring, and in the university context they were seen by many tutors as essential ingredients in teacher education. The value which tutors saw in introducing students to the theory of education has been described in Chapter Nine. But tutors valued educational theory not only as a means of widening students' thinking beyond the classroom but also in the context of their own jobs as university teachers. Hardly any of those who were interviewed said that they felt under no pressure to do research or to publish their work. Indeed, as a few of them pointed out, as university teachers the requirement to undertake research was written into their contracts. Although, as has been described, there may have been some feeling that research was given too much emphasis and that it was difficult to find time for it given their other responsibilities, most tutors talked about research as if they took it for granted that they should be doing it. As one English tutor said, 'I recognise the necessity of doing research'. Heads of department who were interviewed said that they encouraged their colleagues to become involved in research and tutors in one department said they felt under pressure to acquire a higher degree if they did not already have one. One tutor questioned whether teacher education should be undertaken in a university if it did not have an academic side to it, while another thought that perhaps the PGCE was not sufficiently academic to be a university course and a third said that colleagues who were too committed to the PGCE and the practical aspects of teaching could not do their academic work properly. It was suggested that any department in a university had to submit to university criteria and it was questioned whether university teachers should spend so much time teaching as they did in education departments. One tutor thought that his research work gave him something in common with

colleagues in other departments and another said that he found when he was with staff from other departments that 'there's an assumption that you have done your research'. A professor said that it was for the very purpose of developing their research and scholarship that people came to work in universities and a number of tutors saw their personal research and writing as something which 'opens up vistas' and helped renew and revitalise their work generally. One tutor who saw it as part of his job to encourage his students to be reflective felt he himself therefore needed time for reading, study and reflection over and above his day-to-day preparation for teaching.

There was a strong suggestion in many of the comments made on doing research of an incompatibility between a strong commitment to the practicalities of school teaching and the university's requirement that staff should be engaged in research. At one level it appeared to be simply a matter of time - there were not enough hours in the day for tutors to maintain their skills and interests as classroom practitioners and at the same time to devote themselves to research. In particular, in the opinion of some of the tutors, it was difficult for method tutors to do both because of the time-consuming nature of running a method group and supervising students on teaching practice. At another level, however, there was a suggestion that training teachers was not an academic activity and perhaps should not be done in universities at all. One tutor suggested, for example, that method tutors were uncertain about whether they were meant to be academics or practitioners or both and in so far as they did regard themselves as practitioners they might feel out of place in the university environment.

There is little difficulty in fitting this kind of pattern into the analysis of conflict within occupations as described by Bucher and

Strauss (1961, p. 325). 'Diversity and conflict of interest' could certainly be seen among university teachers of education. There was also, to quote Turner and Hodge (1970, pp. 36-37), 'a variety of avenues open for the pursuit of occupational interests'. Even with their heavy teaching loads, most university teachers of education believed they had considerable autonomy to shape their workload and to choose their commitments. In this respect they regarded themselves as having much the same freedom as other university teachers to define their own job. So how did they cope with the pressures which they felt to pursue a variety of apparently conflicting 'avenues' simultaneously?

The tutor quoted earlier who believed it was necessary to become an 'extended professional' to get on in an education department, suggested that some of his colleagues found themselves unequal to the struggle and, when they became stuck at the top of the lecturer scale, began to turn to interests outside work for their stimulation and did as little as was necessary to get by in their role as teachers of education.

Another possible response was to ignore some avenues and to concentrate on others. The philosophy of education tutor quoted above who saw himself as an academic and theoretician made no claims to be a practitioner. His school teaching experience was limited and he did not attempt to renew it. He saw his role as developing students' 'readiness to look at a wide range of questions and to think broadly about educational issues'. A languages method tutor in another department, in contrast, chose to concentrate on method work. He did not deny the value of the more theoretical elements in the PGCE course and said it was valuable for teachers to have a general grounding in education beyond their specialist subject. He said that the department was 'higher degree conscious' because it helped tutors to obtain promotion and pressure was

put on staff in his department to work for higher degrees, but he had
resisted and ignored it. He preferred to use his time to write
children's stories and he said,

> 'I think it's ironic that authority would look on me with more
> favour if I spent my time writing a thesis about other authors
> writing stories . . . for children.'

Another tutor, whose subject was history, said that method tutors did not
have time for research, that they did not want to do research because
they were practitioners and that it did not bother him that he did not
have time for research.

Making clear choices of this kind about which aspects of the job to
pursue and which to neglect had a number of different consequences. One
was that the pressure to take on commitments in other areas was still
perceived. Even the philosophy of education tutor referred to above felt
his stance to be ambiguous. He said,

> 'I have a psychologically peculiar relationship with the PGCE. I
> don't know where I personally stand on a crucial issue. This is a
> professional course, but what does this mean? Does it imply
> practical, or more than that? It is professional, not academic.
> You don't prepare them to teach in academic terms, but it should be
> more than just helping people to get a clear picture of what they
> might do in the classroom and how to do it well.'

For tutors who chose the practical rather than the academic emphasis, the
chances of gaining promotion in the university were slim given the
importance of research and publications as criteria for promotion, though
a few tutors said they were not interested in promotion.

Another possible response to the diversity of commitments was to be more selective, not to the extent of giving up whole areas of work, but by cutting back on particular aspects. Some tutors expressed the view that if education tutors were overworked it was their own fault - 'education has made a rod for its own back'. It was suggested that education students were 'over-taught' and that education tutors should limit the number of courses on which they taught. But for many tutors being selective was not an attractive strategy. As was described above, tutors saw different strands of their work as interconnected and interdependent. To cut back their work in some areas could undermine others. They saw it as being in the nature of teacher education that it was a multi-dimensional activity and they felt that the PGCE was such a short course that they owed it to their students to pack as much into it as they could and to offer their students as much support as possible. In so far as they saw their role as one of liaison and dissemination they felt an obligation to maintain networks of contacts with teachers, examination boards, local education authorities, publishers, subject associations, broadcasters and curriculum development bodies. There was also an unwillingness to retrench in a time of cuts in teacher education in the public sector. Tutors felt vulnerable and wanted to demonstrate their versatility so that if some areas of their work were cut back they had something to offer in other areas.

There was also, as was described in Chapter Seven, a reluctance on the part of many tutors to give up any of their responsibilities because they felt a kind of possessiveness about them. Method tutors commonly felt that their students ought to be visited regularly on teaching practice and that the method tutors themselves were the best people to make the visits because they knew the students and the subject matter and the schools. They also felt best equipped to assess the students' progress

because of their wide experience of assessing students working in a variety of schools. At the same time, however, a head of department said that visiting students on teaching practice was inefficient because tutors spent so much of their time on the road. He went on to say,

'This is a contentious issue because tutors' commitment to visiting students on teaching practice is almost total . . . yet students don't necessarily think they get the best advice from the university tutor. The school staff see them oftener and are there when they have problems. There are real tensions here. Some (university) staff see teaching practice supervision as central to their professional lives and they are reluctant to let it go.'

This view was confirmed by comments from tutors such as the following:

'The PGCE is very time-consuming . . . but this role is best left in the hands of people like me, devoted to the task, because school teachers . . . can't really give the clinical supportive role given their current teaching load.'

'If one takes PGCE work seriously it takes up a lot of time, yet we are loathe to give it to other people.'

' . . . in the PGCE one does need to spend a lot of time with small groups. It is a matter of ethos.'

'We could enlist the support of schools more directly, but my experience is that the quality of support from schools is very variable indeed . . . Tutors feel under a professional obligation to know what quality of experience and advice students are getting. Also, those who make judgments wield the power. Schools would be beginning to dictate what good practice is.'

There was considerable support for the idea that theory and practice on the PGCE should be integrated and that method tutors, with their knowledge of practice, were best placed to bring theoretical perspectives to bear on that practice. In one of the departments surveyed in this study method time had been increased and the number of non-method classes reduced with the specific aim of building theory into the course as an extension of method work. Arrangements of this kind, of course, tended to increase the teaching load of the method tutors. On the one hand tutors complained about the burden on method tutors, but on the other there seemed to be an almost masochistic desire to amass commitments. One tutor said, 'We all like to think we are beavering away like billy-o', and another said, 'In UDEs you do tend to collect jobs and they account partly for your credibility'. There were several complaints about the difficulty of taking study leave. In some departments there seemed to be a feeling that it was 'self-indulgent', as one tutor described it, to take study leave and tutors who did so felt that some of their colleagues tried to make them feel guilty about it.

Staff were well aware that they might be trying to do too much, but many of them took the opportunity to point out that they enjoyed their work and that it was the very diversity that made the job attractive. Several tutors said they were not interested in narrow specialisation. The result was that many tutors liked to try to do a bit of everything even though they might feel overworked and unable to do anything as well as they would have liked.

Several tutors expressed the view that their job was not nearly as difficult as teaching in school, though only a very small number gave the impression that they could cope easily with all aspects of the job. One English method tutor, for example, seemed to have a very heavy load. He

taught on two MEd courses, supervised research students and did some BEd teaching. In addition to running his own method group, he contributed to others. He had just finished making a series of television programmes and was beginning another. He had had a book published the previous year and had just completed his PhD. He was co-editor of a journal and was on a sub-committee of a subject association. He was doing some evaluation for the Schools Council and acting as a readability consultant. He taught in a school half a day a week and gave two or three talks a month in other institutions. He admitted to not attending any meetings which he did not have to go to, and to falling behind with his correspondence, and said,

> 'You do what you want to do. I'm into work, which I don't think is especially laudable . . . I'm very happy in my job. It's a very good place to work and I've built up the areas where I want to work.'

To maintain such a level of activity in so many areas, however, was comparatively unusual. As the data presented in Chapter Six suggest, there was a tendency for tutors to favour one area of work at the expense of others. The main division was between method tutors, or practitioners, and non-method tutors, or theoreticians. Both groups recognised the value of each other's contribution and few tutors were exclusively practitioners or theoreticians, but the school/university divide which has been the focus of this study also emerged clearly in the analyses tutors made of their work in the interviews.

The main pattern to emerge was that method tutors had heavy teaching and supervision commitments which made it difficult for them to take on much higher degree work or to do much research or to spend time writing. Non-method tutors, in contrast, spent only a small proportion of their

time on the PGCE and tended instead to concentrate on higher degree work and, because the teaching commitments in these areas were thought to be less onerous, had time for research and writing. It was commonly suggested by tutors in both groups that method tutors wanted to become involved in higher degree work and in research and writing and that they should have opportunities to do so. It was less commonly suggested, however, that non-method tutors should contribute to method or to teaching practice supervision. Where the idea was mooted it usually came from method tutors who saw it as a way of relieving their own burden, but even then many of them felt unwilling to hand their students over to other tutors. Also, some non-method tutors made a point of saying that method tutors did not recognise how hard non-method tutors worked. Doing research was in a sense regarded as a privilege while supervising students on teaching practice was seen as a burden, even if it was a burden which many method tutors were unwilling to relinquish. PGCE work was often referred to as a department's 'bread and butter' whereas research often seemed to be something that could be done if other commitments allowed.

It was interesting how little commitment non-method tutors felt to the PGCE in practice, despite what they might say about its centrality to their department. This helps explain why so many non-method tutors returned their questionnaires uncompleted saying that they did not think they were meant for them. A professor said that some of his colleagues who were not heavily involved in the PGCE saw it as a 'bit of a bore' and were not committed to it. One tutor who did some teaching on the non-method part of the PGCE said he was 'not aware of an expectation for people like me to attend PGCE meetings', though a method colleague in the same department complained that non-method tutors did not take the PGCE seriously and although they were represented on PGCE committees they

often did not attend and left the bulk of the work to the method tutors. A non-method tutor in another department said that he did feel 'a bit outside the PGCE . . . I teach my lot and then go away'. He said he was not really aware of what other PGCE staff were doing. In another department a tutor who did some non-method PGCE teaching referred constantly to the 'PGCE people' as if he did not regard himself as one of them. He was gradually reducing the small amount of PGCE teaching which he had, though he thought he would not give it up entirely:

' . . . those who do nothing whatsoever on the PGCE are viewed with some suspicion by the PGCE people because it is felt that some of the non-PGCE people have fewer students and that the PGCE staff are keeping their jobs for them by having a lot of students. The non-PGCE people may be uncomfortable about this. It causes resentment but not often an overt challenge. But it is one of the reasons I feel I should contribute to the PGCE, and also because it has so many students. If all the INSET work fell off, which is unlikely, I would revert to the PGCE. It is perhaps unfair that I have this kind of fall-back position. Also, the non-PGCE people have time to publish, which may also be resented.'

Certainly some of these resentments were expressed by method tutors who were interviewed. A physics tutor, for example, said:

'One of the things that contributes to excessive workloads is that method people have a theory background which they use, but theory people have very rapidly got rid of their method background because it is a low status occupation.'

Views of this kind were expressed by a number of tutors:

' . . . the way people have been able to divorce themselves from the classroom is not a happy one . . . in some departments people hive

403

off on research projects and by implication demean the method job, and this shouldn't happen.'

'In this department there is a group, a clearly identified group, of method tutors who feel method is more important than theory - which is disputable - it is a matter of balance. But they feel method comes last in lots of ways . . . method doesn't pull much clout in the department. Politically method has low status.'

'I deplore the split in education departments between theory and method . . . People tend to do one or the other . . . I deplore the existence of colleagues in a UDE like this who boast that they have got away from teaching in schools, yet they make their living talking about education in schools. Their theory is worth very little if they can't regularly get into schools and teach themselves.'

'There are certain prejudices which method people have. The low status of method people worries us a lot. We are child-centred and student-centred and the disproportionate time we have to spend, and want to spend, on method means that other things like research and publications go by the board. The postgraduates are very demanding and there is insensitivity among other people about the problems of teacher training.'

'There is an unspoken feeling that if you taught only on the PGCE you would not look so academically respectable . . . within the department there is an unspoken feeling of inferiority if one only does the PGCE and this puts pressure on people to do something in higher degrees. This is my own feeling.'

'In the department method is of low status. Basically it seems to me that we have two departments, one which does the academic curriculum, and the rest of us who actually do the work.'

There was thus evidence from the interviews as well as from the questionnaires that university teachers of education tended to divide into two groups, with one group oriented towards schools and the concerns of teachers and the other oriented towards the university and the academic concerns of their colleagues in other subjects. Although many tutors had a foot in both camps, it was difficult to maintain a high commitment to both - 'there is conflict between the university's expectations and PGCE commitments'. Most tutors therefore concentrated on the one aspect or the other. By virtue of the importance of the PGCE in most departments, for the majority of staff their major orientation had to be towards schools and school teaching. But if this orientation was regarded as having low status within education departments themselves, how was it viewed by the wider university community? The issue of the status of education departments and their work was explored in the interviews.

There was general agreement, with few exceptions, among the tutors who were interviewed, that education was regarded in some respects as a second class subject within the university community. One tutor said that other departments tended to 'look down on' education. Another said,

'There is this feeling (of being second class). All institutions look for ways of categorising themselves. If it wasn't us it would be some other department which would be seen as slightly inferior . . . people are always looking for status and will find it where they possibly can.'

A tutor from another department said it was 'sad' that colleagues in other departments regarded education as 'second rate'. One of the professors who was interviewed said, 'some people in the university are by no means friends of education . . . there may be a pecking order of departments', and his colleague who taught physics method said, 'Universities still operate on the principle that education is not really respectable, and there may be an undercurrent of this at _____'. Another tutor thought it of some significance that the education department was located on the edge of the campus and said, 'Education is not of the highest status'. A physics tutor said 'the university as a whole doesn't know what goes on in education, and anything they don't understand they look down their noses at'. His colleague who taught history method said,

> 'Little straws in the wind suggest education is a second class subject. I know most of the historians in the university and occasionally the tone of their remarks implies they don't want to dirty their hands with school-related work. Prejudice clearly still exists.'

One of his colleagues said that education's position in relation to the university echoed the situation in schools, 'where Burnham (the pay structure) does not respect the classroom teacher'. One of the tutors in another department said, 'Education is not a second class citizen, but a third class citizen', and one said he was doing his PhD in history because he felt it would be more acceptable than if he did it in education. Several tutors believed that research on issues connected with method and with teaching in schools was not regarded as academically acceptable and might not count in the promotion stakes - 'it may be significant . . . that research that is done on paedagogical problems is sometimes seen as more "lightweight" than research in the educational

disciplines'. Only in a very few cases did tutors deny that education was looked down on in any way. For example, one head of department said he was involved in staff development in the university and was encouraged to develop concurrent courses for joint degrees in education and other subjects. He said, 'There is a close interlocking with other departments so that education is regarded as a department like any other'.

Although this view was very much in a minority, when tutors were asked for concrete evidence that education had low status, they found it hard to provide. Although, as some of the comments quoted above suggest, their colleagues in other subjects might appear to disparage education, in practical terms it seemed to have little effect. Most tutors said they thought education did not suffer compared with other departments when it came to resources or staffing, though some tutors said this was difficult to judge. In one department two of the tutors said education did not get quite as much out of the university as it brought in from income provided by overseas students, but other tutors in the same department thought education did very well. Another department had the second worst staff-student ratio in its university according to figures provided by a university committee and tutors there thought their head of department should be making more of a fuss about it, though they did not think they suffered in other respects. One tutor in another department said that since education departments were usually relatively large and provided places for the new graduates of other departments, most universities would not want to lose them. Tutors did not report experiencing any animosity on a personal level from colleagues in other departments. The major disadvantage, as has already been described, seemed to be in the area of promotion. Tutors were aware that there were fewer promoted posts in education departments, though some of them said this was because education staff failed to fulfil the university criteria

for promotion. In one university with a college system, however, one of the tutors said,

'In _____ one test of whether you have arrived in the university is whether you have a fellowship at a college and very few in education have fellowships, except at one ex-teachers' college, . . . but that doesn't really count . . . in part this reflects education's lack of prestige.'

These exceptions apart, however, tutors could not pin down many clearly observable examples of education departments being disadvantaged. But many tutors clearly felt at a disadvantage within the university community, even if this perception had little concrete foundation, or, as one professor said, might be 'a myth perpetrated by people in education, who do tend to hide their lights under bushels'.

Tutors put forward a number of possible reasons why education might be regarded as of low status. Some saw it as arising from differences between staff in education departments and staff in other departments. One tutor said, 'It is historically true that people are in education departments because of their coal face experience, which in other departments counts less', and another said,

'Education hasn't yet drawn to it those kinds of minds which make a distinctive impression on the nature of our understanding through research and the development of new knowledge, but it has made a lot of progress in the last twenty years. Most of the method tutors come from practical experience in schools, or from colleges. We look for people with Master's degrees and who are qualified practitioners.'

The same point was also made by another tutor:

'Education people haven't come via the same track and don't have
PhDs typically, and it is difficult to get one part-time. Things to
do with status are complex. These are indicators, not the whole
story.'

For some tutors education's status arose from its applied nature. One
likened it in this respect to engineering, another said they had faced
difficulties in making major changes to their PGCE course 'because Senate
was not interested in the practical side of things', and a third said it
was 'because of the practicalities - there is too much of the ivory
tower'. It was also suggested that it was in the nature of education,
particularly method work, that what was taught was of a fairly low
academic standard. One tutor said, 'Education doesn't have the academic
acceptance of other subjects and it is difficult to get respectability
because there are too many bits of it', and, according to another,

'People have nothing against education per se, but they just think
it's an amalgamation of disciplines, which is not necessarily a bad
thing. Education is one of a group of subjects under fire because
it is less rigorous than other things, but it should not be any the
worse for that.'

Some tutors also thought that any problems which education had were of
its own making and that some of the difficulties could be overcome if
education made an effort to improve the way it presented itself within
the university:

'Education is not seen as respectable anywhere in terms of the top
of the ladder of prestige, but this is often through a total lack of
understanding of what it's about.'

'Education should be more public about what it is doing so that the university would understand.'

'The UDE has taken on new courses, etc. We are left with an extraordinary degree of autonomy and therefore overwork is partly our own fault, because it is easy to become overstretched. We can't complain too much about the university. The department is not very good at banging its own drum. Senior members of staff could be more pugnacious and a good deal of goodwill could come our way. We would get ample recognition. There is a tendency towards the Cinderella feeling, but it is not really justified.'

Behind these explanations for the perceived low status of education in universities lies the association which education departments had with schools and school teaching. Hardly any of the tutors said so explicitly, though one non-method tutor did suggest that among his method colleagues, 'there is this desire to feel different from school teachers'. But a major implication of much of the data presented here is that education was of low status because it was associated with school teaching. Tutors in other departments in the university did not want to 'dirty their hands' with school-related work, research which was school focused was regarded as 'lightweight', spending time in schools was not an activity highly valued by the university, holding a PhD brought the university kudos, but having experience of school teaching did not.

Judge (1982), Lanier and Little (1986) and Schneider (1987) have explored the apparent contradiction in the USA that education is a highly regarded commodity yet school teachers are not accorded high status. Although the structure and process of teacher education in England and Wales differ considerably from the way in which it is organised in the United States,

the same paradox is apparent. Historically school teaching has been a low status occupation, associated with close government control and elementary standards of education. When the present study was conducted it was not possible to enter teaching without a degree, yet the stigma remained. All the difficulties set out by Moberly (1949, pp. 250-252) over thirty years before, and quoted at the beginning of this study, were raised by the education tutors who were interviewed. Education was not academically respectable, teacher training was not seen as necessary for the high status university teachers, education tutors were not terribly well-qualified, the best people did not go into education, and if they did they failed to get promotion. In any case education was not a real subject but an amalgam of several others.

What underlies all of these complaints is the relatively low status of school teaching as an occupation. Other vocational courses such as medicine and law do not have these difficulties. Education is not low status because it is practical but because the practice with which it is associated is that of school teaching. If it were the practice of a prestigious occupation such as law or medicine, as Judge (1982, pp. 31-32) argues, the study of education, too, would acquire prestige by association. Education, by association with school teaching, does not acquire prestige. Those who teach education, like those who teach social work, are indivisibly linked with an occupation which, in comparison with the ancient professions, including university teaching, has not achieved high status. An analysis of the work of university social work tutors (Richards, 1985) is almost exactly parallel to the analysis of the work of university education tutors. Staff in universities where giving academic lectures to large audiences was the norm could not accept the need for the intensive small group work, often of a non-cognitive nature, associated with the teaching of social workers. Social work staff felt

under pressure to do higher degrees and research which would 'count' academically even if they did not 'meet a perceived need from the field'. Tutors also felt a need to maintain their credibility as active social workers and at the bottom of it all was the knowledge that 'certain activities were held in higher esteem than others and more likely to further a career'.

Lortie (1975, p. 12) argues that school teachers have suffered in the prestige stakes because they have a number of different roles yet are not the acknowledged leading experts in any of them. It may be concluded that the same is true of university teachers of education. They cannot compete as subject specialists with their university colleagues who can devote themselves to the study of their subject, and they cannot compete as teachers with practising school teachers. While they are trying to compete in both of these areas, they cannot develop the theory of education as a field of study to a high level. Perhaps the hybrid nature of their role and their association with school teaching as an occupation are inevitable concomitants of low status.

Appendix 1

STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

T H E   S T R U C T U R E   A N D   P R O C E S S
O F
I N I T I A L   T E A C H E R   E D U C A T I O N

• Newcastle upon Tyne

• Durham

• York
• Leeds
• Hull
Liverpool • • Manchester
Bangor • • Sheffield
• Keele
• Nottingham
• Loughborough
Aberystwyth • Birmingham • • Leicester
• • Warwick
• Cambridge

Swansea • • Oxford
Cardiff • • Brunel • • London Institute
• Bath • King's College
Bristol Reading Chelsea College

Exeter • Southampton • • Sussex

414

Dear Colleague,
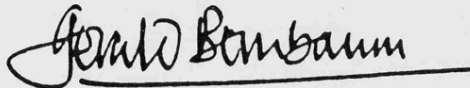
In a separate letter Ken Reid and Helen Patrick provide
explanations of the origins and nature of this questionnaire.
I am writing to emphasise some of the points that they have made
and to indicate the purposes of the enquiry.

The questionnaire is absolutely confidential and, as Ken Reid
and Helen Patrick explain, can easily be made absolutely
anonymous. There is no possibility that individuals or individual
departments can, or will, be identified.

Preliminary interviews with colleagues have suggested that there
is a diversity of practice in the PGCE courses and this
questionnaire has been designed to provide an opportunity for
an expression of that diversity. Within the diversity, however,
certain themes have recurred. Colleagues have commented
frequently upon the relatively unfavourable staff:student ratios
in university departments of education, on their teaching loads
and on what they perceive to be the relatively poor opportunities
which they have to pursue their own research and study in
comparison with colleagues in other departments of universities.
The questionnaire has been designed to obtain a perspective on
these issues. In addition, as colleagues will know, during
the current session Ken Reid and Helen Patrick have been
responsible for gathering a large amount of data from PGCE
students. These data have been related to the students'
backgrounds, their attitudes to teaching and teacher education
and their educational experiences on the PGCE. It seems
appropriate, therefore, that academic staff are given similar
opportunities to express themselves.

Finally, there has never been a full study of initial teacher
education in universities and there is a paucity of information
about those who teach education in the universities. Thus,
I hope very much that you will feel able to help us to remedy
this situation, in part at least, by completing the questionnaire
and returning it to Ken Reid.

Yours sincerely,

Gerald Bernbaum
Professor of Education

SECTION I

1   Please give the year of
    appointment to your present
    university department of
    education (If recently merged,
    please give date of original
    college appointment)

    | I | 9 | | |

2   What is your present position?
    Please tick ONE box

    1   Lecturer
    2   Senior Lecturer
    3   Reader
    4   Professor
    5   Other *(please specify)*

    ....

3   Please give the year of
    appointment to your present
    position, as shown in Question
    2 above

    | I | 9 | | |

4   Sex

    1   Male
    2   Female

5   Please give your age in years,
    as at 1st April, 1980

    | | |

6   What is/was your father's/
    guardian's major lifetime
    occupation?
    *Please give as full an answer
    as possible*

    ....

    ....

    ....

7   In which type of school or
    college did you spend the major
    part of your secondary
    education?
    Please tick ONE box

    1   Grammar (all types)
    2   Independent school
    3   Secondary modern school
    4   Comprehensive school
    5   Overseas
    6   Other *(please specify)*

    ....

8   Have you held any fulltime
    school and/or further education
    teaching posts?
    Please tick ONE box

    1   Yes
    2   No

    If NO, please go to Question 14

9   In which year did you last
    teach fulltime in a school or
    further education college?

    | I | 9 | | |

10 Which age range(s) of children
    (18 years or under) have you
    taught fulltime in a school
    or further education college
    for periods of at least one
    academic year?

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

11 Details of type(s) of school
    or college, and length of
    teaching experience

Type	No. of yrs. as fulltime teacher	
Grammar (all types)		
Independent		
Comprehensive		
Other secondary		
Primary		
Further education		

    Others (please
    specify)

    .... | |

    .... | |

12 Which subject(s) did you teach
    as a fulltime school and/or
    further education teacher (eg
    history, maths, primary,
    general studies)?
    Please put what you regard as
    your main teaching subject as
    number one

    1 ....

    2 ....

    3 ....

13 As a fulltime school and/or
    further education teacher, what
    was the highest promoted post
    which you held?
    Please tick ONE box

    1 Unpromoted ☐

    2 Promoted at lower level ☐
       than head of department

    3 Head of department ☐

    4 Deputy headteacher ☐

    5 Headteacher ☐

    6 Other (please specify) ☐

    ....

14 Have you taught fulltime in any
    of the following institutions
    of higher education (excluding
    your present department)?
    Please tick whichever boxes
    apply

    1 No ☐

    2 University ☐

    3 College of Education ☐
       (Teacher Training)

    4 Polytechnic/Scottish ☐
       Central Institution

    5 College of Higher ☐
       Education

    6 College of Advanced ☐
       Technology

    7 Other (please specify) ☐

    ....

15 Other than teaching, have you
    had any kind of fulltime
    permanent employment?
    (Please exclude National Service)

    Please tick ONE box

    1 Yes ☐

    2 No ☐

    If NO, please go to Question 17

16 What was the main occupation
    in which you were employed?

    ....

    ....

    ....

17 DETAILS OF QUALIFICATIONS
*Please complete whichever of the following sections apply. If you
have more than one of any type of qualification, please put
additional qualifications in section (e) below*

		Awarding Institution	Year	Class/Grade (if applicable)	Subject(s)
(a)	First degree	....	19___	....	....
		....		....	....
		....		....	....

		Awarding Institution	Year	Subject Area	Attendance *Please tick appropriate box(es)*	
(b)	Master's degree	....	19___	....	box(es)	
		....		....	Part-time	☐
		....		....	Fulltime	☐

		Awarding Institution	Year	Subject Area	Attendance *Please tick appropriate box(es)*	
(c)	Doctorate	....	19___	....	box(es)	
		....		....	Part-time	☐
		....		....	Fulltime	☐

		Awarding Institution	Year	Type of Qualification (eg B.Ed., Cert.Ed., PGCE)
(d)	Teacher Training Qualification	....	19___	....
		....		....
		....		....

		Awarding Institution	Year	Name of Qualification	Subject Area
(e)	Other qualifications not entered above	....	19___	....	....
		....		....	....
		....	19___	....	....
		....		....	....

		Name of Qualification
(f)	Qualifications for which you are currently registered but which have not yet been completed	....
		....
		....

SECTION II

If you do not teach on the PGCE course you may feel unable to answer all
of the questions in this section. Nevertheless, from your experience
in an Education Department, we would welcome your opinions and
judgements where you feel able to give them.

18 What is your opinion of the amount of students' time occupied by the
    PGCE timetable in your university?
    Please tick ONE box

    1 It occupies too much of the students' time

    2 It is satisfactory

    3 It leaves students too much unscheduled time

19a) In your experience, do any of the issues outlined below regularly
    cause problems on students' teaching practice on the PGCE course
    in your university?

    MP = major problems; SP = some problems; NP = no problems

    Please tick ONE box for each issue

		1 MP	2 SP	3 NP
1	Schoolteachers having insufficient time to supervise students adequately	☐	☐	☐
2	Schoolteachers being unwilling to allow students to observe their teaching	☐	☐	☐
3	Students being given unnecessarily difficult classes	☐	☐	☐
4	Teaching practice schools being inconveniently distant from the university	☐	☐	☐
5	Visiting distant schools being expensive	☐	☐	☐
6	University tutors not having time to visit their students as often as they would wish	☐	☐	☐
7	Students finding it difficult to communicate with school staff	☐	☐	☐
8	University tutors not being well received by school staff	☐	☐	☐
9	Students not conforming to the norms and regulations of their teaching practice schools	☐	☐	☐
10	School staff thinking that university tutors do not supervise their students adequately	☐	☐	☐
11	School administration being inefficient	☐	☐	☐
12	Students being unable to control difficult classes	☐	☐	☐

    b) Which of these problems occur(s) most frequently?
    Please circle the appropriate number(s)

        1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12

20 In your opinion, which is the best way to organise teaching practice within the framework of a one year PGCE course?

Please tick ONE box

1   In one long block ☐

2   In two approximately equal blocks ☐

3   In one long and one short block, or vice versa ☐

4   In several short spells throughout the year ☐

5   For two or three days per week over twenty to thirty weeks ☐

6   Other *(please specify)* ☐

....

....

....

21 Below is a list of statements about teaching practice supervision. How far do you agree or disagree with each one?

1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = uncertain; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree

Please circle ONE number for each statement

	Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
1 Supervising students on teaching practice takes up university tutors' time which could be better spent in other ways	1	2	3	4	5
2 Students on teaching practice should be visited by university tutors at least once a fortnight	1	2	3	4	5
3 University tutors who supervise teaching practice should have only a limited number of other teaching commitments during the period of teaching practice	1	2	3	4	5
4 The main responsibility for supervising students on teaching practice should lie with the teacher(s) in the schools	1	2	3	4	5
5 All PGCE tutors, not just method tutors, should help with teaching practice supervision	1	2	3	4	5
6 Competent students should have as much supervision as weak students	1	2	3	4	5

22 Below is a list of statements about assessment on PGCE
    courses. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each
    of them

    Please tick ONE box for each statement

	1 Agree	2 Uncertain	3 Disagree
1 Students who are weak should be given every chance to pass teaching practice	☐	☐	☐
2 Staff should be more prepared to recommend failure of the PGCE course as a result of a student's performance on teaching practice	☐	☐	☐
3 Students in particularly difficult schools should have this situation taken into account in the assessment of their teaching practice	☐	☐	☐
4 Poor practical teaching should be the main criterion for failing the PGCE	☐	☐	☐
5 Students who do not complete the required written assignments satisfactorily should fail the PGCE, however good their practical teaching	☐	☐	☐
6 It should not be so easy to pass the PGCE	☐	☐	☐

23 It is sometimes asserted that PGCE courses, in general, make
    insufficient written demands upon students, and are insufficiently
    rigorous with respect to academic standards

    *Please comment on these criticisms with respect to the PGCE course
    in your university*

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

24   In your opinion, who should be responsible for the final
      assessment of students' teaching practice performances?

      Please tick ONE box

      1   School staff only

      2   University staff only

      3   School and university staff should
          have equal responsibility

      4   School staff, taking account of the
          opinions of university staff

      5   University staff, taking account of
          the opinions of school staff

25a) When students are selected for PGCE courses, how important do you
      think each of the following criteria should be?

      1 = very important; 2 = of some importance; 3 = not important

      Please tick ONE box for each criterion

		1 Very imp.	2 Some imp.	3 Not imp.
1	Good references			
2	Knowledge of teaching subject(s)			
3	Enthusiasm for teaching subject(s)			
4	Good academic qualifications			
5	Personal appearance			
6	Evidence of having thought carefully about teaching			
7	Experience of working with children/ young people			
8	A lively personality			
9	The ability to contribute to extracurricular activities			
10	Experience of work unrelated to education			

   b) Please list any other criteria which you consider important in the
       selection of PGCE students

       ....

       ....

       ....

       ....

26 Below is a list of statements, derived from our interviews with
    university staff, about attendance on PGCE courses. Please
    indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of them with regard
    to the PGCE course in your university
    Please tick ONE box for each statement

		1 Agree	2 Uncertain	3 Disagree
1	Student attendance is good on the whole	☐	☐	☐
2	Student attendance is poor during the third term (excepting teaching practice)	☐	☐	☐
3	The attendance regulations are too lax	☐	☐	☐
4	A strict watch should be kept on student attendance levels	☐	☐	☐
5	Attendance at method classes should be compulsory	☐	☐	☐
6	Attendance at all PGCE classes should be compulsory	☐	☐	☐
7	There should be a minimum level of attendance which all students must reach	☐	☐	☐

27 There has for many years been a debate over the content and
    relevance of PGCE courses. What is your opinion of the content and
    relevance of the PGCE course in your university?

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

28 There has for a long time been a debate over the main aims of PGCE courses. Please indicate how important you believe the aims presented below are to the majority of PGCE staff in your university

1 = highly important; 2 = fairly important; 3 = of some importance; 4 = not important

Please tick ONE box for each aim
Please answer with respect to your own university

		1 Highly imp.	2 Fairly imp.	3 Some imp.	4 Not imp.
1	Giving the student an understanding of his/her teaching subject(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐
2	Giving the student an understanding of the place of each subject in the curriculum	☐	☐	☐	☐
3	Giving the student an understanding of how children's learning takes place	☐	☐	☐	☐
4	Enhancing the student's general interest in educational issues	☐	☐	☐	☐
5	Giving the student an understanding of a variety of methods of teaching	☐	☐	☐	☐
6	Inducting the student into the disciplines of education (eg philosophy, psychology, administration, sociology, etc)	☐	☐	☐	☐
7	Enabling the student to develop his/her self-confidence	☐	☐	☐	☐
8	Enabling the student to develop the skills necessary for the exercise of classroom discipline and control	☐	☐	☐	☐

29 What are your personal aims in your own teaching on the PGCE course?

....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....

30 There is much debate about the characteristics of an effective teacher.
How desirable do you think it is for a school teacher to have each
of the attributes and abilities listed below?

1 = highly desirable; 2 = fairly desirable; 3 = immaterial

Please tick ONE box for each statement

		1 Highly desirable	2 Fairly desirable	3 Immaterial
1	Clear diction	☐	☐	☐
2	Sympathy for the professional problems of colleagues	☐	☐	☐
3	The ability to use a variety of teaching methods	☐	☐	☐
4	Knowledge of educational research	☐	☐	☐
5	Teaching from material prepared in advance of lessons	☐	☐	☐
6	Detailed knowledge of the subject to be taught	☐	☐	☐
7	The ability to keep control of classes	☐	☐	☐
8	Enthusiasm for the subject to be taught	☐	☐	☐
9	Patience in dealing with pupils	☐	☐	☐
10	Awareness of the socio-economic differences between pupils	☐	☐	☐
11	The ability to relate well to colleagues in the staffroom	☐	☐	☐
12	Efficiency at administration	☐	☐	☐
13	Punctuality	☐	☐	☐
14	Awareness of ethnic differences between pupils	☐	☐	☐
15	Willingness to give up his/her own time for in-service training	☐	☐	☐
16	Sympathy for the problems of pupils	☐	☐	☐
17	Willingness to participate in extracurricular activities	☐	☐	☐
18	The ability to teach a class at a moment's notice	☐	☐	☐

31 Which one of the following statements best describes your attitude
to the length of your PGCE course?

Please tick ONE box

1 The PGCE course is too short to serve any useful purpose ☐

2 The PGCE course is long enough to provide an introduction ☐
to teaching, but not a satisfactory one

3 The PGCE course is long enough to provide a satisfactory ☐
introduction to teaching

4 The PGCE course is long enough to give the student all ☐
the formal training he/she will ever need

32 How would you like to see PGCE courses develop in the future in
terms of length, structure and content?

....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....

ARE THERE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS RELATED TO THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
WHICH YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAKE AT THIS STAGE?

If so, please use the space provided below

....
....
....
....
....
....

SECTION III

33 Are you running a method/
   teaching subject group(s) on the
   PGCE course this academic year?

   Please tick ONE box

   1 Yes ☐
   2 No   ☐

34 Are you supervising (visiting)
   any students on teaching
   practice this academic year?

   Please tick ONE box

   1 Yes ☐
   2 No   ☐

   *If NO, please go to
   Question 37*

35 For each group of students
   whom you are supervising
   (visiting) this academic year,
   please give the following
   details:

                    GROUPS

                    1   2   3

   Number of   ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐
   students

   Average no.
   of visits
   per   ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐
   student
   (over whole
   year)

   Number of
   students who
   have teacher
   tutors (or   ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐
   other
   specially
   recognised
   teachers)

36 Which type(s) of students are
   you supervising (visiting)
   this academic year?

   Please tick whichever boxes apply

   1 Students in your method   ☐
      group(s)

   2 Students in your   ☐
      subject(s)

   3 Students for whom
      you are responsible   ☐
      as personal tutor

   4 Students in any subject
      in particular schools/   ☐
      areas/zones

   5 Other *(please specify)*   ☐

   ....

   ....

37 Do you undertake any school
   teaching in your present post?

   Please tick ONE box

   1 No   ☐
   2 Occasionally   ☐
   3 On a regular basis ☐

38 Other than supervising teaching
   practice and/or running a
   method/teaching subject group(s),
   do you have any teaching
   commitment on the PGCE course
   this academic year?

   Please tick ONE box

   1 Yes ☐
   2 No   ☐

   If NO, please go to Question 42

39 Excluding all kinds of method work, please complete the table below
with respect to the courses or course components on which you are
timetabled to teach on the PGCE course this academic year

Name of course/   Teaching method(s)
course component   *(please tick whichever boxes apply)*
(excluding method   Seminar/
work)   Tutorial   Lecture   Other *(please specify)*

1 .... ☐ ☐ ☐ ....

2 .... ☐ ☐ ☐ ....

3 .... ☐ ☐ ☐ ....

4 .... ☐ ☐ ☐ ....

5 .... ☐ ☐ ☐ ....

40 For each course or course component listed above, please complete
the following table with regard to your personal timetabled workload

Number of students   Number of weeks course   Average number of
                         lasts this academic year   hours contact per
                                                       week

1
2
3
4
5

41 For each course or course component listed above, please give what
you consider are the most important topics in the area as you teach
the course *(please give no more than three topics for each course)*

1(i) .... 4(i) ....

 (ii) ....   (ii) ....

 (iii)...........................   (iii)...........................

2(i) .... 5(i) ....

 (ii) ....   (ii) ....

 (iii)...........................   (iii)...........................

3(i) ....

 (ii) ....

 (iii)...........................

42 Other than PGCE work, which of the following teaching responsibilities do you have this academic year?

Please tick YES for those which you have
Please tick NO for those which you do not have

		1 Yes	2 No
1	Teaching on master's courses	☐	☐
2	Supervising master's and/or doctorate students	☐	☐
3	Teaching on under-graduate courses	☐	☐
4	Teaching on advanced diploma courses	☐	☐
5	Teaching on induction courses	☐	☐
6	Teaching on in-service courses	☐	☐
7	Other (please specify)	☐	☐

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

43 Which course, including the PGCE and those listed in Question 42 above, takes up most of your time (timetabled or otherwise)?

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

44 Which of the following administrative responsibilities do you have this academic year?

Please tick YES for those which you have
Please tick NO for those which you do not have

		1 Yes	2 No
1	National committee work (eg NATE, Schools Council)	☐	☐
2	University committee work not necessarily directly related to your department (eg Senate and its boards)	☐	☐
3	Education department committee work	☐	☐
4	Interviewing prospective PGCE students	☐	☐
5	Interviewing other prospective students	☐	☐
6	Organising in-service courses	☐	☐
7	Overall administrative responsibility for a course within the department (please specify course)	☐	☐

. . . .

. . . .

| 8 | Organising teaching practice school placements | ☐ | ☐ |
| 9 | Other (please specify) | ☐ | ☐ |

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

45(a) Below is a list of activities in which you may be involved
as part of your teaching responsibility this academic year.
On which, if any, of these activities would you wish to
spend more time than is currently available to you?

Please tick whichever boxes apply

1 Marking and assessing students' work ☐

2 Preparation for teaching ☐

3 Advising students about careers ☐

4 Pastoral care of students ☐

5 Keeping up to date with teaching
subject(s) ☐

6 Personal research and/or writing ☐

7 Other *(please specify)* ☐

....

....

(b) Please comment on how you would prefer to have your workload
rearranged to enable you to devote more time to these and
any other departmental activities which you wish to pursue

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

46 Does the balance of work in your present post lie <u>primarily</u> in teaching or research?
Please tick ONE box

1 In teaching ☐

2 In both, but with a leaning towards teaching ☐

3 In both, but with a leaning towards research ☐

4 In research ☐

47 Are you engaged in any work which you expect to lead to publication?
Please tick ONE box

1 Yes ☐

2 No ☐

48 Do you have any of the following publications, including those which have been accepted for publication and any which you may have published jointly with other authors?
Please tick ONE box for each type

TYPE OF PUBLICATION	None	NUMBER 5 or under five	Over five
Article(s) in journals	☐	☐	☐
School textbook(s)	☐	☐	☐
University textbook(s)	☐	☐	☐
Academic book(s)	☐	☐	☐
Report(s) (eg LEAs, Schools Council, SSRC, DES)	☐	☐	☐
Contribution(s) to academic books	☐	☐	☐

49 Are you engaged in research (not including work for a higher degree)?
Please tick ONE box

1 Yes ☐

2 No ☐

If NO, please go to Question 52

50 What is/are the area(s)/topic(s) of your research?

....

....

....

....

....

51 Is any of your research externally funded (eg by the SSRC, Nuffield Foundation)?
Please tick ONE box

1 Yes ☐

2 No ☐

52 Please indicate any additional work in which you are involved, not previously mentioned, which you consider to be important

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

SECTION IV - METHOD WORK

Please complete this section only if you are involved in running a
method/teaching subject group this academic year
*If you are not involved in running a method/teaching subject group this
academic year, please turn to the end of this questionnaire*

53 How many main method groups do
you have this academic year?.

Please tick ONE box

1 None ☐
2 One ☐
3 Two ☐
4 Three ☐

54 How many subsidiary/second
method groups do you have this
academic year?

Please tick ONE box

1 None ☐
2 One ☐
3 Two ☐
4 Three ☐

55 In which subject(s) are you
training students to teach?

*Please put what you regard as
your main method subject as
number one*

....

....

....

56 Within the present structure of
your PGCE, do you think that
method work is allotted enough
time in your university to
enable you to prepare students
for teaching their subject(s)?

Please tick ONE box

1 Yes ☐
2 No ☐

57 Please complete one section of
this table for each of your
<u>main</u> method groups this
academic year

GROUPS

	1	2	3
Number of students	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
No. of wks. course lasts (excluding teaching practice weeks)	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
Average no. of hrs. contact per week	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐

58 Please complete one section of
this table for each of your
<u>subsidiary/second</u> method
groups this academic year

GROUPS

	1	2	3
Number of students	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
No. of wks. course lasts (excluding teaching practice weeks)	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
Average no. of hrs. contact per week	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐

59 Below is a list of topics and activities which might be included in
    a method course. Please indicate which of them you include in your
    method course this academic year
    *If you teach more than one method subject this academic year, please
    answer with regard to your main method subject as indicated in
    Question 55*

    1 = Yes, I spend <u>a lot of</u> time on this topic/activity
    2 = Yes, I spend <u>some</u> time on this topic/activity
    3 = No, I do not <u>include</u> this topic/activity

    Please tick ONE box for each topic/activity

		1 Yes	2 Some	3 No
1	Team teaching	☐	☐	☐
2	Organising school outings	☐	☐	☐
3	The preparation of teaching materials	☐	☐	☐
4	The use of textbooks	☐	☐	☐
5	The use of course materials	☐	☐	☐
6	The aims of teaching your subject(s) in the schools	☐	☐	☐
7	Communication skills (eg voice projection)	☐	☐	☐
8	Project work	☐	☐	☐
9	Teaching children of below average ability	☐	☐	☐
10	The place of your subject(s) in the curriculum	☐	☐	☐
11	Course/syllabus planning	☐	☐	☐
12	Lesson planning	☐	☐	☐
13	Methods of assessment and evaluation	☐	☐	☐
14	Mixed ability teaching	☐	☐	☐
15	Preparation of pupils for public examinations	☐	☐	☐
16	Field work	☐	☐	☐
17	Lab work	☐	☐	☐
18	The skills of questioning pupils in class	☐	☐	☐
19	Various methods of teaching your subject(s) in the schools	☐	☐	☐
20	The use of the blackboard	☐	☐	☐
21	The use of audio-visual aids	☐	☐	☐
22	Classroom organisation	☐	☐	☐
23	Discipline in the classroom	☐	☐	☐
24	Teaching streamed classes	☐	☐	☐
25	Microteaching	☐	☐	☐
26	Interaction Analysis	☐	☐	☐
27	School visits (other than teaching practice)	☐	☐	☐

60 Are there any other topics or activities not listed in Question 59
    which are important in your method course this academic year?

    If so, please write in below

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

61 Please list any topics or activities listed in Question 59 which
    you deliberately avoid because they are covered elsewhere on
    the PGCE course this academic year

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

62 On which THREE of the topics or activities listed in Questions 59
    and 60 do you spend most time on your method course this
    academic year?

    1 ....
    2 ....
    3 ....

63 Do you have any additional comments related to the teaching of
    method work on the PGCE course in your university?

    If so, please use the space provided below

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

ARE THERE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAKE
REGARDING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE?

If so, please use the space provided below

....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
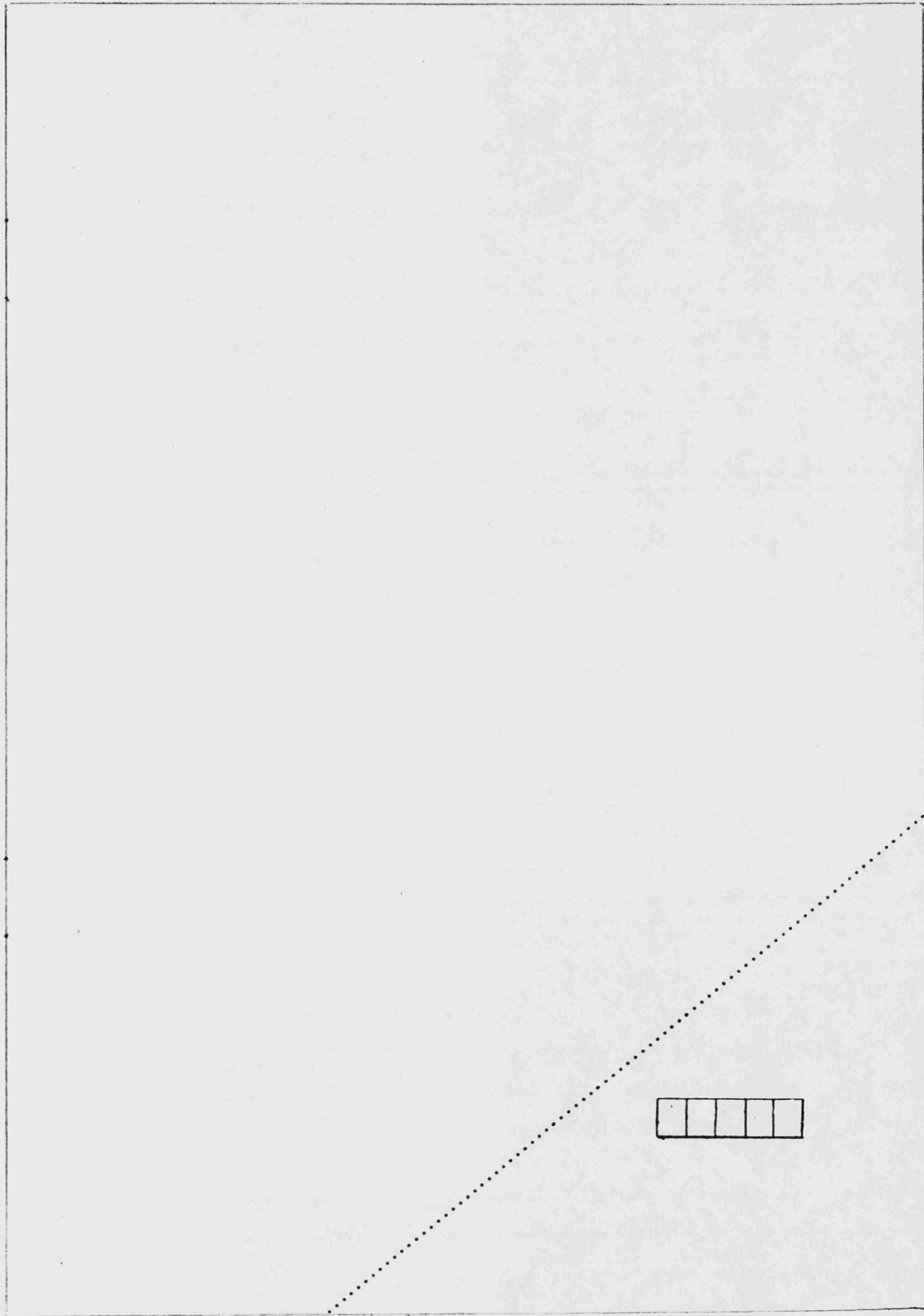
THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

STAFF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. The Course

1. Do you think that one year is long enough for a PGCE course?

   (Follow up: should there be a two year course?
   should there be more integration between the PGCE and the probationary year?
   should there be more integration between the PGCE and in-service training?)

2. Given the existing one year course, are there any changes you would like to see in its structure?

   (P. - should there be more or less teaching practice?
   should the teaching practice be at different times during the year?
   should the students spend more time in school?
   should the schools have more responsibility for teacher education?)

3. Do you think the course achieves a satisfactory balance between theory and practice?

   (P. - is too much emphasis placed on either of these aspects?
   have any attempts been made to integrate the two areas?
   how was this done?
   how successful has it been?
   how has it affected relationships between method tutors and other PGCE staff? (vary, according to whether subject is method tutor or not))

4. Are there any major changes you would like to see in the content of the course?

   (P. - should there be more emphasis on second method?
   should there be more time spent on how to cope with discipline problems?
   are there important omissions?
   should the content be of a higher academic standard?)

5. How do you feel about the way the PGCE course is organised?

   (P. - do staff have enouth say on how things are done?
   is there one member of staff who co-ordinates everything?
   does the existence of many small groups for teaching purposes make the course disjointed?
   should staff be more aware of what their colleagues are doing?)

6. <u>Student recruitment</u> - are you able to recruit the kinds of students you prefer?

    (P. - what characteristics do you look for in applicants?
        has teacher unemployment affected the number or quality of applicants?
        should PGCE courses be training fewer people in arts subjects, such as history?
        how do you think teacher unemployment will affect your PGCE course in the future?

B. <u>Aims</u>

7. What do you <u>hope</u> that a student gets out of the PGCE course here?

    (P. - does it differ in any important ways from other PGCE courses?
        does too much depend on the individual method tutor?
        what do you see as your particular personal contribution?)

C. <u>Role</u>

8. What <u>kinds of work</u> does the PGCE involve you in?

    (P. - pastoral work? - giving practical advice? - assessment?
        do you have to be constantly available to students?
        do you visit schools regularly?
        if so, how do you spend your time there?
        do you find that staff in schools see the PGCE in a different light from yourself?
        do you feel that your own distance from the classroom is an advantage or a disadvantage?
        which parts of your own education or experience have you found most useful for your work on the PGCE?)

9. Which parts of your PGCE work do you find most <u>interesting</u>?

    (P. - would you prefer to concentrate on other courses rather than the PGCE?
        if so, why?)

10. What is your opinion of the <u>facilities and resources</u> available to you?

    (P. - are they adequate?
        is the PGCE course favourably treated within your department?
        what sort of status or priority does teacher education have within the university?)

11. How do you think your <u>workload</u> compares with those of other staff in the education department?

    (P. - do method tutors in particular have too many different responsibilities?
        do you have sufficient time for your own research?
        is there sufficient opportunity for sabbatical leave?
        do you think that staff in education departments have heavier workloads than staff in other departments in the university?)

12. What is your opinion of <u>promotion prospects</u> for staff in education departments?

    (P. - what criteria do you think are applied in the promotion process?
        do you believe these are suitable?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACKER, S (1980) 'Women, the other academics', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1, 1, pp. 81-91

ACKER, S (1983) 'Women and teaching: a semi-detached sociology of a semi-profession' in WALKER, S and BARTON, L (Eds) Gender, Class and Education, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 123-139

ACKER, S and PIPER, D W (Eds) (1984) Is Higher Education Fair to Women?, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson

ADAMS, A and HADLEY, E (1980) 'A study in method: some aspects of the Post Graduate Certificate of Education', Westminster Studies in Education, 3, pp. 59-89

ADAMS, J (1921) 'The universities and the training of school teachers: first paper', in HILL, A (Ed) Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire, 1921: Report of Proceedings, London, Bell, pp. 267-270

ADELMAN, C (1984) 'The play house and the sand tray', in GOODSON, I F and BALL, S J (Eds) Defining the Curriculum, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 77-88

ALEXANDER, R J (1984a) Primary Teaching, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston

ALEXANDER, R J (1984b) 'Innovation and continuity in the initial teacher education curriculum', in ALEXANDER, R J, CRAFT, M and LYNCH, J (Eds) Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 103-160

ALTMAN, E (1967) 'The mature student teacher', New Society, 28 December, pp. 930-932

ALTMAN, E (1973) 'Latecomers to teaching', New Society, 7 June, pp. 564-565

ANWEILER, O and PHILLIPS, D (1985) 'Higher education, the state and the economy: Anglo-German variations and some topical themes', Oxford Review of Education, 11, 3, pp. 221-226

APPLE, M W (1987) 'Gendered teaching, gendered labour', in POPKEWITZ, T S (Ed) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 57-83

ARMYTAGE, W H G (1954) The Role of An Education Department in a Modern University, University of Sheffield

ARMYTAGE, W H G (1955) Civic Universities, London, Ernest Benn

ARMYTAGE, W H G (1970, 2nd Ed) Four Hundred Years of English Education, Cambridge University Press

ARMYTAGE, W H G (1956) 'The education of graduate teachers', Journal of Education, 88, pp. 50-52

440

ASHBY, E (1963) 'Introduction: decision making in the academic world', in HALMOS, P (Ed) <u>The Sociological Review Monograph No 7: Sociological Studies in British University Education</u>, University of Keele, pp. 5-13

ASHBY, E (1969) <u>The Academic Profession</u>, London, The British Academy

ASHTON, P, KNEEN, P, DAVIES, F and HOLLEY, B J (1975) <u>The Aims of Primary Education: A Study of Teachers' Opinions</u>, London, Macmillan and Schools Council

ASHTON, P M E, HENDERSON, E S, MERRITT, J E and MORTIMER, D J (1982) <u>Teacher Education in the Classroom: Initial and In-Service</u>, Beckenham, Croom Helm

ASHWORTH, J M (1982) 'Reshaping higher education in Britain', <u>Journal of the Royal Society of Arts</u>, 130, pp. 714-725

ASHWORTH, J M (1985) 'Universities and industry: national and institutional perspectives', <u>Oxford Review of Education</u>, 11, 3, pp. 235-243

ASPIN, D N (1973) 'On the "educated" person and the problem of values in teacher education and training', in LOMAX, D E (Ed) <u>The Education of Teachers in Britain</u>, London, Wiley, pp. 193-217

ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES (1980) <u>Commonwealth Universities' Yearbook 1980</u>, London, Association of Commonwealth Universities

ATKINSON, G B J (1976) 'Notes on mature entrants to teaching', <u>British Journal of Teacher Education</u>, 2, 3, pp. 273-276

ATKINSON, P (1983) 'The reproduction of the professional community', in DINGWALL, R and LEWIS, P (Eds) <u>The Sociology of the Professions</u>, London, Macmillan, pp. 224-241

ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHERS (1986) 'CATE on a hot tin roof', <u>AUT Bulletin</u>, November, p. 9

BAGLEY, J J and BAGLEY, A J (1969) <u>The State and Education in England and Wales, 1833-1968</u>, London, Macmillan

BAIRD, K A (1965) 'The status of the teacher', in CLUDERAY, T M (Ed) (1965) <u>The Professional Education of Teachers, Aspects of Education</u>, Journal of the Institute of Education, The University of Hull, 3, December, pp. 55-64

BAKER, J R (1967) 'A teacher co-tutor scheme', <u>Education for Teaching</u>, 73, Summer, pp. 25-30

BALL, N (1983) <u>Educating the People</u>, London, Maurice Temple Smith

BAMFORD, T W (1973) 'Public school masters: a nineteenth century profession', in COOK, T G (Ed) <u>Education and the Professions</u>, London, Methuen, pp. 29-47

BANKS, O (2nd Ed, 1971) <u>The Sociology of Education</u>, London, Batsford

BANKS, O (1974) <u>Sociology and Education</u>, Inaugural Lecture, University of Leicester, Leicester University Press

BANTOCK, G H (1969) 'Conflicts of values in teacher education', in TAYLOR, W (Ed) <u>Towards a Policy for the Education of Teachers</u>, Proceedings of the Twentieth Symposium of the Colston Research Society, London, Butterworths, pp. 122-134

BARBER, B (1963) 'Some problems in the sociology of the professions', <u>Daedalus</u>, 92, 4, pp. 669-688

BARNARD, H C (1961) <u>A History of English Education From 1760</u>, University of London Press

BARON, G (1963) 'The training of teachers in England and Wales', in BEREDAY, G Z F and LAUWERYS, J A (Eds) <u>The Yearbook of Education, 1963: The Education and Training of Teachers</u>, London, Evans, pp. 137-155

BARON, G and HOWELL, D A (1974) <u>The Government and Management of Schools</u>, London, Athlone Press

BARROW, R (1984) <u>Giving Teaching Back To Teachers</u>, Brighton, Wheatsheaf

BARTHOLOMEW, J (1976) 'Schooling teachers: the myth of the liberal college', in WHITTY, G and YOUNG, M (Eds) <u>Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge</u>, Driffield, Nafferton, pp. 114-124

BAXTER, W T (1988) <u>Accounting Research - Academic Trends versus Practical Needs</u>, Edinburgh, The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland

BECKER, H S and CARPER, J W (1956a) 'The development of identification with an occupation', <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, 61, 4, pp. 289-298

BECKER, H S and CARPER, J W (1956b) 'The elements of identification with an occupation', <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 21, pp. 341-348

BECKER, H S, GEER, B, HUGHES, E and STRAUSS, A (1961) <u>Boys in White</u>, University of Chicago Press

BECKER, H S (1962) 'The nature of a profession', in <u>Education for the Professions</u>, 61st Year Book of NSSE, University of Chicago Press, pp. 27-46

BELL, A (1981) 'Structure, knowledge and social relationships in teacher education', <u>British Journal of Sociology of Education</u>, 2, 1, pp. 3-23

BEN-DAVID, J (1963-1964) 'Professions in the class system of present-day societies', <u>Current Sociology</u>, 12, 3, pp. 247-330

BENNETT, W S and HOKENSTAD, M C (1973) 'Full-time people workers and conceptions of the "professional"', in HALMOS, P (Ed) <u>The Sociological Review Monograph No 20: Professionalism and Social Change</u>, University of Keele, pp. 21-45

BENNIS, W G, BERKOWITZ N, AFFINATO, M and MALONE, M (1957) 'Reference groups and loyalties in the out-patient department', <u>Administrative Science Quarterly</u>, 2, pp. 481-500

BERDAHL, R O (1959) British Universities and the State, Cambridge University Press

BERDAHL, R (1983) 'Co-ordinating structures: the UGC and US state co-ordinating agencies', in SHATTOCK, M (Ed) The Structure and Governance of Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE, pp. 68-107

BERESFORD, R (1973) 'The James Report on the mature student', Froebel Journal, 25, Spring, pp. 10-13

BERNBAUM, G (1974) 'Headmasters and schools: some preliminary findings', in EGGLESTON, J (Ed) Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education, London, Methuen, pp. 228-244

BERNBAUM, G (1976) Education: The Desert of Mind, Inaugural Lecture, University of Leicester

BERNBAUM G, NOBLE, G and WHITESIDE, M T (1969) 'Intra-occupational prestige differentiation in teaching', Paedagogica Europaea, 5, pp. 41-59

BERRY, D (1984) 'Lawyers prepare for a battle of quills', The Times Higher Education Supplement, 2nd March, p. 10

BEYER, L E and ZEICHNER, K (1987) 'Teacher education in cultural context: beyond reproduction', in POPKEWITZ, T S (Ed) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 298-334

BIBBY, J (1970) 'Rewards and careers', Higher Education Review, 3, 1, pp. 9-18

BLIGH, D (Ed) (1982) Accountability or Freedom for Teachers?, Guildford, SRHE

BLONDEL, J (1963) 'The state and the universities', in HALMOS, P (Ed) The Sociological Review Monograph No 7: Sociological Studies in British University Education, University of Keele, pp. 31-44

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1925) Report of the Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools, Cmd 2409, London, HMSO

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1927) Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent, (Hadow Report), London, HMSO

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1931) Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary School, (Hadow Report), London, HMSO

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1938) Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, (Spens Report), London, HMSO

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1944) Teachers and Youth Leaders, (McNair Report), London, HMSO

BONE, T (1980) 'Current trends in initial training', in HOYLE, E and MEGARRY, J (Eds) World Yearbook of Education, 1980: Professional Development of Teachers, London, Kogan Page, pp. 57-68

BRADLEY, H (1984) 'Change in the university sector', in ALEXANDER, R J, CRAFT, M AND LYNCH, J (Eds) Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 84-100

BRENT, E J (1959) The Training, Recruitment and Conditions of Service of the London Elementary Schoolteacher, 1919-1939, MA thesis, University of London

BRESSLER, M (1964) 'The conventional wisdom of education and sociology', in PAGE, C H (Ed) Sociology and Contemporary Education, New York, Random House, pp. 76-114

BREWER, R I (1986) 'A note on the changing status of the Registrar General's classification of occupations', British Journal of Sociology, 37, 1, pp. 131-140

BRITTAIN, V (1960) The Women of Oxford, London, Harrap

BROCK, M (1978) 'We must educate our masters', Oxford Review of Education, 4, 3, pp. 221-232

BROOKSBANK, K and ACKSTINE, A E (Eds) (2nd Ed, 1984) Educational Administration, Harlow, Councils and Education Press

BROWNE, J D (1970) 'The Act of 1870 and the training of teachers', Educational Review, 22, 3, pp. 131-140

BROWNE, J D (1979) Teachers of Teachers: A History of the ATCDE, London, Hodder and Stoughton, in association with NATFHE

BRUCE, M G (1985) 'Teacher education since 1944: providing the teachers and controlling the providers', British Journal of Educational Studies, 33, 2, pp. 164-172

BUCHBINDER, H and NEWSON, J (1988) 'Managerial consequences of recent changes in university funding policies: a preliminary view of the British case', European Journal of Education, 23, 1-2, pp. 151-165

BUCHER, R and STRAUSS, A (1961) 'Professions in process', American Journal of Sociology, 66, pp. 325-334

BURGESS, R (1984) 'It's not a proper subject: it's just Newsom', in GOODSON, I F and BALL, S J (Eds) Defining the Curriculum, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 181-200

BURGESS, T (1977) Education After School, London, Penguin

BURKE, J (1985) 'Concord Sixth Form College: the possibility of schooling without conflict', in BALL, S J and GOODSON, I F (Eds), Teachers' Lives and Careers, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 138-157

BUTLER, C (1985) 'Universities in the United Kingdom', in JAQUES, D and RICHARDSON, J T E (Eds) The Future for Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 3-12

BUTLER, R (1982) 'The control and management of higher education in Great Britain, with special reference to the role of the University Grants Committee and the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals', Oxford Review of Education, 8, 3, pp. 265-278

CAINE, S (1971) 'British universities, 1900-1970', in MacCALLUM SCOTT, J H (Ed) University Independence: The Main Questions, London, Rex Collings, pp. 1-18

CAPLOW, T (1954) The Sociology of Work, New York, McGraw Hill

CARR-SAUNDERS, A M and WILSON, P A (1933, Reprinted 1964) The Professionals, London, F Cass & Co

CHAMBERS, J and CHAMBERS, P (1984) 'Teacher educators and teachers', in ALEXANDER, R J, CRAFT, M and LYNCH, J (Eds) Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 300-320

CHAPMAN, A D (1955) The Story of a Modern University: A History of the University of Sheffield, Oxford University Press

CHARLTON, K (1973) 'The education of the professions in the sixteenth century', in COOK, T G (Ed) Education and the Professions, London, Methuen, pp. 19-27

CHRISTOPHERSON, D (1973) The University at Work, London, SCM Press

CLARK, B R (1983) 'Governing the higher education system', in SHATTOCK, M (Ed) The Structure and Governance of Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE, pp. 19-43

CLARK, B R (1987) The Academic Life, New Jersey, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

CLEMETT, A J and PEARCE, J S (1986) The Evaluation of Pastoral Care, Oxford, Blackwell

COGAN, M L (1953) 'Toward a definition of profession', Harvard Educational Review, 23, 1, pp. 33-50

COGAN, M L (1955) 'The problem of defining a profession', Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 294, pp. 105-111

COHEN, L and MANION, L (1985, 2nd Ed) Research Methods in Education, Beckenham, Croom Helm

COLLIER, K G (1973) 'A principal's view of college administration', in LOMAX, D E (Ed) The Education of Teachers in Britain, London, Wiley, pp. 175-190

COLLINS, R (1971) 'Functional and conflict theories of educational stratification', American Sociological Review, 36, pp. 1002-1019

COMMITTEE OF VICE-CHANCELLORS AND PRINCIPALS OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE UK (1972) Report of an Enquiry into the Use of Academic Staff Time, London, CVCP

CROLL, P (1986) Systematic Classroom Observation, Lewes, Falmer

CROMPTON, J (1977) 'Student expectation and the PGCE', British Journal of Teacher Education, 3, 1, pp. 41-44

CROSS COMMISSION (1888) Final Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales, London, HMSO

CROUCH, W B (1969) 'From day training college to school of education' University of Reading Staff Journal, 7, pp. 9-11

COUNCIL FOR THE ACCREDITATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION (1985-1986) CATE Notes, 1-4, London, CATE

DANIELS, A K (1971, 1973) 'How free should professions be?', in FREIDSON, E (Ed) The Professions and their Prospects, London, Sage Publications, pp. 39-57

DAVID, T (1963) 'Thoughts for tomorrow: report of Gulbenkian Educational Discussion, 1962', Universities Quarterly, 17, 2, pp. 177-181

DAVID, T (1988) 'The funding of education', in MORRIS, M and GRIGGS, C (Eds) Education - The Wasted Years? 1973-1986, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 28-54

DENSCOMBE, M (1982) 'The "Hidden Pedagogy" and its implications for teacher training', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 3, 3, pp. 249-265

DENT, M C (1977) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales, 1800-1975, London, Hodder and Stoughton

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (no date) Statistics of Teachers in Service in England and Wales 1980, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (no date) Statistics of Teachers in Service in England and Wales 1986, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1962) Statistics of Education 1961, Part 1, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1963) Higher Education, Report of the Committee on Higher Education', (Robbins Report), London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1967) Children and their Primary Schools, (Plowden Report), London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1969) Statistics of Education 1966, Volume 6, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1971) Statistics of Education 1969, Volumes 4 and 6, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1972a) Education: A Framework for Expansion, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1972b) Teacher Education and Training, (James Report), London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1973a) The Qualification of Teachers, Circular 11/73, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1973b) The Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector, Circular 7/73, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1974) Statistics of Education 1972, Volume 6, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1975a) A Language for Life, (Bullock Report), London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1975b) Statistics of Education 1973, Volume 4, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1976) Statistics of Education 1974, Volume 4, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1978a) Entry to Initial Teacher Training Courses in England and Wales, Circular 9/78, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1978b) 'Induction and in-service training of teachers: 1978 survey', Statistical Bulletin 8/78, December, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1979) Aspects of Secondary Education in England: A Survey by H M Inspectors of Schools, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1980) 'Induction and in-service training of teachers serving in maintained schools and further education establishments in England and Wales: 1979 survey', Statistical Bulletin, 9/80, August, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1982a) Mathematics Counts, (Cockcroft Report), London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1982b) Qualified Teacher Status: A Consultation Paper by the Department of Education and Science, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1982c) Teacher Training and Preparation for Working Life: An HMI Discussion Paper, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1982d) The New Teacher in School: A Report by HMI, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1983a) Teaching in Schools: The Content of Initial Training: An HMI Discussion Paper, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1983b) Teaching Quality, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1984) Initial Teacher Training: Approval of Courses, Circular 3/84, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1986) 'The 1984 Secondary School Staffing Survey: some data on teachers and their deployment', Statistical Bulletin 8/86, May, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1987) Quality in Schools: The Initial Training of Teachers: An HMI Survey, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1988a) Statistics of Schools 1987, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1988b) Report of the Interim Advisory Committee on School Teachers' Pay and Conditions, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1988c) The New Teacher in School: A Survey by H M Inspectors in England and Wales, London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1988d) Initial Teacher Training in Universities in England, Northern Ireland and Wales: A Review carried out by HMI and the Inspectorate in Northern Ireland, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE and WELSH OFFICE (1987a) The National Curriculum 5-16: A Consultation Document, London, DES and Welsh Office

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE and WELSH OFFICE (1987b) National Curriculum: Task Group on Assessment and Testing - A Report, London, DES and Welsh Office

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE and WELSH OFFICE (1988) Advancing A Levels, Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales, (Higginson Report), London, HMSO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE and WELSH OFFICE (1989) The Education Reform Act 1988: The School Curriculum and Assessment, Circular 5/89, London, DES

DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT (1985) New Earnings Survey, 1984, Part D, Analyses by Occupation, London, Department of Employment

DICKSON, G E et al (1965) The Characteristics of Teacher Education Students in the British Isles and the United States, Research Foundation of the University of Toledo

DOBSON, J L (1973) 'The training colleges and their successors, 1920-1970', in COOK, T G (Ed) Education and the Professions, London, Methuen, pp. 49-68

DREEBEN, R (1970) The Nature of Teaching, Illinois, Scott, Foresman & Co

DYHOUSE, C (1984) 'Storming the citadel or storm in a tea cup? The entry of women into higher education 1860-1920', in ACKER, S and PIPER, D W (Eds) Is Higher Education Fair to Women?, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 51-64

EDMONDS, E L (1962) The School Inspector, London, RKP

EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHERS COUNCIL (1977) Publishing for Schools, London, EPC

EGGLESTON, J (1983) 'HMIs move in on teacher education', The Times Educational Supplement, 14 January, p. 4

EGGLESTON, J (1984) 'School examinations - some sociological issues', in BROADFOOT, P (Ed) Selection, Certification and Control, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 17-34

ELLIOTT, B J (1975) The Development of History Teaching in England, 1918 to 1939, PhD thesis, University of Sheffield

ELLIOTT, P (1972) The Sociology of the Professions, London, Macmillan

ELLIS, A C O (1979) 'The training and supply of teachers in the Victorian period', History of Education Society Bulletin, 24, pp. 22-38

ELTON, L (1982) 'Assessment for learning', in BLIGH, D (Ed) Professionalism and Flexibility in Learning, Guildford, SRHE, pp. 106-135

ENGEL, A J (1983) From Clergyman to Don, Oxford, Clarendon Press

ENTWISTLE, N J, PERCY, K A and NISBET, J D (1971) Educational Objectives and Academic Performance in Higher Education, University of Lancaster Department of Educational Research

ERAUT, M, CONNORS, B and HEWTON, E (1980) Training in Curriculum Development and Educational Technology in Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE

ETZIONI, A (Ed) (1969) The Semi-Professions and their Organisation, New York, The Free Press

EUSTACE, R (1988) 'The criteria of staff selection: do they exist?', Studies in Higher Education, 13, 1, pp. 69-88

EVANS, K (1985) The Development and Structure of the English School System, London, Hodder and Stoughton

EVETTS, J (1973) The Sociology of Educational Ideas, London, RKP

FAIRBROTHER, R W (Ed) (1980) Assessment and the Curriculum, Chelsea College, University of London

FENWICK, K (1985) 'Changing roles in the government of education', British Journal of Educational Studies, 33, 2, pp. 135-147

FENWICK, K and McBRIDE, P (1981) The Government of Education, Oxford, Robertson

FERNS, H S (1982) How much Freedom for Universities?, London, Institute of Economic Affairs

FIDDES, E (1937) Chapters in the History of Owens College and of Manchester University, 1851-1914, Manchester University Press

FIELDEN, J and LOCKWOOD, C (Eds) (1973) Planning and Management in Universities: A Study of British Universities, London, Chatto and Windus, for Sussex University Press

FINN, D, GRANT, N and JOHNSON, R (1973) 'Social democracy, education and the crisis', in CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES, On Ideology, Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 10, CCCS, University of Birmingham, pp. 144-195

FITCH, M G (1931) The History of the Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools in England, 1846-1930, MA thesis, University of London

FLETCHER, B (1968) The Freedom and Autonomy of Universities, Higher Education Broadsheets, 5, London, published for the University Teachers' Group by SCM Press Ltd

FLOUD, J and SCOTT, W (1961) 'Recruitment to teaching in England and Wales', in HALSEY, A H, FLOUD, J and ANDERSON, C A (Eds) Education, Economy and Society, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, pp. 527-544

FOWLER, G (1979) 'The politics of education', in BERNBAUM, G (Ed) Schooling in Decline, London, Macmillan, pp. 47-90

FRANCE, P R (1971) 'Security of tenure: the position of academic staff in English and Welsh University Institutions', Universities Quarterly, 25, 4, pp. 456-470

FREIDSON, E (Ed) (1971, 1973) The Professions and their Prospects, California, Sage Publications

FREIDSON, E (1983) 'The theory of professions: state of the art', in DINGWALL, R and LEWIS, P (Eds) The Sociology of the Professions, London, Macmillan, pp. 19-37

FURLONG, V J, HIRST, P H, POCKLINGTON, K and MILES, S (1988) Initial Teacher Training and the Role of the School, Lewes, Falmer

GEER, B (1968) 'Occupational commitment and the teaching profession', in BECKER, H S, GEER, B, RIESMAN, D and WEISS, R S (Eds) Institutions and the Person, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co, pp. 221-234

GELLERT, C (1985) 'State interventionism and institutional autonomy: university development and state interference in England and West Germany', Oxford Review of Education, 11, 3, pp. 283-293

GIBSON, R (1980) 'Teachers as employers', in SOCKETT, H (Ed) Accountability in the English Educational System, London, Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 85-97

GIDDENS, A (1973) The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies, London, Hutchinson

GOODE, W J (1957) 'Community within a community: the professions', American Sociological Review, 22, 2, pp. 194-200

GOODE, W J (1960) 'The profession: reports and opinion', American Sociological Review, 25, 6, pp. 902-914

GOODE, W J (1969) 'The theoretical limits of professionalisation', in ETZIONI, A (Ed) The Semi-Professions and their Organisation, New York, The Free Press, pp. 266-313

GOODINGS, R (1958) 'The London day training college', Educational Libraries Bulletin, 3, pp. 2-7

GOODLAD, S (1984) 'Introduction', in GOODLAD, S (Ed) Education for the Professions, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 3-16

GOODSON, I (1983) School Subjects and Curriculum Change, London, Croom Helm

GORDON, P (Ed) (1980) The Study of Education: A Collection of Inaugural Lectures, London, The Woburn Press

GORDON, P (Ed) (1983) Is Teaching a Profession?, University of London Institute of Education, Bedford Way Papers, 15

GOSDEN, P H J H (1969) How They Were Taught, Oxford, Blackwell

GOSDEN, P H J H (1972) The Evolution of a Profession, Oxford, Blackwell

GOSDEN, P (1983) The Education System Since 1944, Oxford, Martin Robertson

GOSDEN, P H J H (1984) 'The role of central government and its agencies, 1963-1982', in ALEXANDER, R J, CRAFT, M and LYNCH, J (Eds) Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 31-45

GOSDEN, P H J H and TAYLOR, A J (Eds) (1975) Studies in the History of a University 1874-1974, Leeds, E J Arnold and Son

GOSS, M G (1950) The Development of University Participation in the Training of Teachers in England and Wales (1888-1944), MA thesis, University of London

GOULDNER, A W (1957a) 'Cosmopolitans and locals: toward an analysis of latent social roles - I', Administrative Science Quarterly, 2, pp. 281-306

GOULDNER, A W (1957b) 'Cosmopolitans and locals: toward an analysis of latent social roles - II', Administrative Science Quarterly, 2, pp. 444-480

GRACE, G (1972) Role Conflict and the Teacher, London, RKP

GRACE, G (1978) Teachers, Ideology and Control, London, RKP

GRACE, G (1984) 'Headteachers' judgements of teacher competence: principles and procedures in ten inner-city schools', in BROADFOOT, P (Ed) Selection, Certification and Control, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 103-126

GRACE, G (1985) 'Judging teachers: the social and political contexts of teacher evaluation', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 6, 1, pp. 3-16

GREENWOOD, E (1957) 'Attributes of a profession', Social Work (USA), 2, pp. 45-55

THE GUARDIAN (1986) 'Why anxious academic eyes are trained on a watchdog', The Guardian, 3.6.86, p. 11

GYARMATI, G (1975) 'The doctrine of the professions: basis of a power structure', International Social Science Journal, 27, 4, pp. 629-654

HABENSTEIN, R W (1963) 'Critique of "profession" as a sociological category', The Sociological Quarterly, 4, 4, pp. 291-300

HALL, R H (1975) Occupations and the Social Structure, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall

HALL, S (1977) 'The hinterland of science: ideology and the "sociology of knowledge"', in CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES, On Ideology, Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 10, CCCS, University of Birmingham, pp. 9-32

HALLS, W D (1985) 'Universities, the polity and the market place', Oxford Review of Education, 11, 3, pp. 263-269

HALSEY, A H (1982) 'The decline of donnish dominion?', Oxford Review of Education, 8, 3, pp. 215-229

HALSEY, A H and TROW, M (1971) The British Academics, London, Faber

HANSON, D and HERRINGTON, M (1976) From College to Classroom: The Probationary Year, London, RKP

HARGREAVES, D H (1980) 'The occupational culture of teachers', in WOODS, P (Ed) Teacher Strategies, London, Croom Helm, pp. 125-148

HARRIES-JENKINS, G (1970) 'Professionals in organisations', in JACKSON, J A (Ed) Professions and Professionalisation, Cambridge University Press, pp. 53-107

HELLER, T E (1878) 'On the registration, certification and training of teachers', Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, pp. 434-437

HENDY, F J R (1920) The Universities and the Training of Teachers: An Inaugural Lecture, Oxford, Clarendon Press

HEWTON, E (1988) School Focused Staff Development: Guidelines for Policy Makers, Lewes, Falmer

HICKSON, D J and THOMAS, M W (1969) 'Professionalisation in Britain: a preliminary measurement', Sociology, III, pp. 37-53

HILL, A (Ed) (1921) Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire, 1921: Report of Proceedings, London, Bell

HILSUM, S and CANE, B S (1971) The Teacher's Day, Slough, NFER

HILSUM, S and START, K B (1974) Promotion and Careers in Teaching, Slough, NFER

HILSUM, S and STRONG, C (1978) The Secondary Teacher's Day, Slough, NFER

HIRST, P H (1976a) 'The PGCE papers: introduction', British Journal of Teacher Education, 2, 1, pp. 3-5

HIRST, P H (1976b) 'The PGCE course: its objectives and their nature', British Journal of Teacher Education, 2, 1, pp. 7-21

HIRST, P (1979) 'Professional studies in initial teacher education: some conceptual issues', in ALEXANDER, R and WORMALD, E (Eds) Professional Studies for Teaching, Guildford, SRHE, pp. 15-29

HIRST, P H (1985) 'Educational studies and the PGCE course', British Journal of Educational Studies, 33, 3, pp. 211-221

452

HOLT, J C (1977) <u>The University of Reading: The First Fifty Years</u>, Reading University Press

HOPPER, E I (1968, Reprinted 1977) 'A typology for the classification of education systems', in KARABEL, J and HALSEY, A H (Eds) <u>Power and Ideology in Education</u>, New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 153-166

HORN, P (1978) <u>Education in Rural England, 1800-1914</u>, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan

HOUSE OF COMMONS (1986) <u>Achievement in Primary Schools</u>, Third Report from the Education, Science and Arts Committee, Session 1985-1986, London, HMSO

HOWE, H (1982) 'Foreword', in JUDGE, H, <u>American Graduate Schools of Education</u>, New York, Ford Foundation, pp. vi-viii

HOYLE, E (1969) <u>The Role of the Teacher</u>, London, RKP

HOYLE, E (1980) 'Professionalisation and deprofessionalisation in education', in HOYLE, E and MEGARRY, J (Eds) <u>World Yearbook of Education, 1980: Professional Development of Teachers</u>, London, Kogan Page, pp. 42-54

HOYLE, E (1983) 'The professionalisation of teachers: a paradox', in GORDON, P (Ed) <u>Is Teaching a Profession?</u>, University of London Institute of Education, Beford Way Papers, 15, pp. 44-54

HUGHES, E C (1951, Reprinted 1958) 'Work and the self', in HUGHES, E C (Ed) <u>Men and their Work</u>, Illinois, The Free Press, pp. 42-55

HUGHES, E C (1958, Reprinted 1981) <u>Men and their Work</u>, Connecticut, Greenwood Press

HUGHES, E C (1963) 'Professions', <u>Daedalus</u>, 92, 4, pp. 655-668

HUGHES, E P (1901) 'The training of teachers', in ROBERTS, R D (Ed) <u>Education in the Nineteenth Century</u>, Cambridge University Press, pp. 171-192

HUMPHREYS, D W (1965) <u>The Relationship between the Training Colleges and the Universities before McNair</u>, University of Bristol Institute of Education

HUMPHREYS, D W (1976) <u>The University of Bristol and the Education and Training of Teachers</u>, University of Bristol School of Education

HUNTER, C (1983) 'Education and local government in the light of central government policy', in AHIER, J and FLUDE, M (Eds) <u>Contemporary Education Policy</u>, London, Croom Helm, pp. 81-108

HUNTER, C (1985) 'Cut-price centralisation in teacher education', <u>British Journal of Sociology of Education</u>, 6, 1, pp. 97-101

HURT, J (1972) <u>Education in Evolution</u>, London, Paladin

HURT, J S (1977) 'Drill, discipline and the elementary school ethos', in McCAIN, P (Ed) <u>Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century</u>, London, Methuen, pp. 167-191

HYNDMAN, M (1978) <u>Schools and Schooling in England and Wales: A Documentary History</u>, London, Harper and Row

JACKSON, J A (1970) 'Professions and professionalisation - editorial introduction', in JACKSON, J A (Ed) <u>Professions and Professionalisation</u>, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-15

JAMES, LORD, OF RUSHOLME (1967) <u>The Universities and the Idea of Liberty</u>, Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand

JEFFERY, G B (1955) 'Universities and the teaching profession', in JUDGES, A V (Ed) (1955) <u>Looking Forward in Education</u>, London, Faber pp. 60-80

JENCKS, C and RIESMAN, D (1968) <u>The Academic Revolution</u>, New York, Doubleday

JOHNSON, R (1970) 'Educational policy and social control in early Victorian England', <u>Past and Present</u>, 49, pp. 96-119

JOHNSON, T J (1972) <u>Professions and Power</u>, London, Macmillan

JOHNSON, T (1977) 'The professions in the class structure', in SCASE, R (Ed) <u>Industrial Society: Class, Cleavage and Control</u>, London, Allen and Unwin, pp. 93-110

JOHNSON, T (1984) 'Professionalism: occupation or ideology', in GOODLAD, S (Ed) <u>Education for the Professions</u>, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 17-25

JONES, L G E (1924) <u>The Training of Teachers in England and Wales: A Critical Survey</u>, Oxford University Press

JUDGE, H (1980) 'Teaching and professionalisation: an essay in ambiguity', in HOYLE, E and MEGARRY, J (Eds) <u>World Yearbook of Education, 1980: Professional Development of Teachers</u>, London, Kogan Page, pp. 340-349

JUDGE, H (1982) <u>American Graduate Schools of Education</u>, New York, Ford Foundation

KAYE, E (1972) <u>A History of Queen's College, London</u>, London, Chatto and Windus

KELSALL, R K and KELSALL, H M (1969) <u>The School Teacher in England and the United States</u>, London, Pergamon

KELSALL, R K, POOLE, A and KUHN, A (1972) <u>Graduates: The Sociology of an Elite</u>, London, Methuen

KING, M D (1968) 'Science and the professional dilemma', in GOULD, J (Ed) <u>Penguin Social Sciences Survey</u>, Middlesex, Penguin Books, pp. 34-73

KLEGON, D (1978) 'The sociology of professions: an emerging perspective', <u>Sociology of Work and Occupations</u>, 5, 3, pp. 259-283

KLOSS, G (1985) 'The academic restructuring of British and German universities and greater efficiency: a comparative perspective', Oxford Review of Education, 11, 3, pp. 271-282

KOGAN, M (Ed) (1971) The Politics of Education, Harmondsworth, Penguin

KOGAN, M (1985) 'The "Expectations of Higher Education" project', in JAQUES, D and RICHARDSON, J T E (Eds) The Future for Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 99-109

KOGAN, M and KOGAN, D (1983) The Attack on Higher Education, London, Kogan Page

KRAUSE, E A (1971) The Sociology of Occupations, Boston, Little Brown

LACEY, C, ADAMS, M, HORTON, M and HOAD, P (1973-1974) Teacher Socialisation/The Postgraduate Training Year, SSRC Report, ref HR/496/1

LACEY, C (1977) The Socialisation of Teachers, London, Methuen

LACEY, C (1985a) 'Professionalism or bureaucracy', in SLATER, F (Ed) The Quality Controllers, University of London Institute of Education, Bedford Way Papers, 22, pp. 61-70

LACEY, C (1985b) 'Never mind the quality, feel the width', The Times Educational Supplement, 19th April, p. 4

LACEY, C and LAMONT, W (1976) 'Partnership with schools: an examination of some of the principles and problems in establishing a partnership with the PGCE', British Journal of Teacher Education, 2, 1, pp. 39-47

LANGFORD, G (1978) Teaching as a Profession, Manchester University Press

LANIER, J E and LITTLE, J W (1986) 'Research on teacher education', in WITTROCK, M C (Ed) Handbook of Research on Teaching, New York, Macmillan, pp. 527-569

LARSON, M S (1977) The Rise of Professionalism, University of California Press

LAURIE, S S (1892) Address on the Occasion of the Inaugural Address Delivered at University College, Liverpool, January 15th, 1892, Liverpool, University Training College

LAWRENCE, B (1972) The Administration of Education in Britain, London, Batsford

LAWSON, J (1965) 'The historical background', in CLUDERAY, T M (Ed) The Professional Education of Teachers, Aspects of Education, Journal of the Institute of Education, University of Hull, 3, December, pp. 14-28

LAWSON, J and SILVER, H (1973) A Social History of Education in England, London, Methuen

LAWTON, D and GORDON, P (1987) HMI, London, RKP

LEGGATT, T (1970) 'Teaching as a profession', in JACKSON, J A (Ed) Professions and Professionalisation, Cambridge University Press, pp. 155-177

LEONARD, M (1988) The 1988 Education Act, Oxford, Blackwell

LEVERHULME REPORT (1983) Excellence in Diversity, Guildford, SRHE

LEWIS, D G (1980) The University and the Colleges of Education in Wales, 1925-1978, Cardiff, University of Wales Press

LINDOP, N, MERRITT, N, GOWENLOCK, B and PIPER, D W (1982) 'Teachers and staffing', in BLIGH, D (Ed) Accountability or Freedom for Teachers?, Guildford, SRHE, pp. 11-54

LITTLE, A N (1963) 'Some myths of university expansion', Sociological Review Monograph, No 7: Sociological Studies in British University Education, University of Keele, pp. 185-197

LIVINGSTONE, H (1974) The University: An Organisational Analysis, Glasgow, Blackie

LOFTHOUSE, M T (1982) Teacher Training: The Church Colleges, PhD thesis, University of Leicester

LOMAX, D (1970) 'Focus on student teachers', Higher Education Review, 3, 1, pp. 36-52

LORTIE, D C (1959) 'Laymen to lawmen: law school, careers and professional socialisation', Harvard Educational Review, 29, 4, pp. 352-369

LORTIE, D C (1968) 'Shared ordeal and induction to work', in BECKER, H S, GEER, B, RIESMAN, D and WEISS, R S (Eds) Institutions and the Person, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co, 1968, pp. 252-264

LORTIE, D C (1969) 'The balance of control and autonomy in elementary school teaching', in ETZIONI, A (Ed) The Semi-Professions and their Organisation, New York, The Free Press, pp. 1-53

LORTIE, D C (1973) 'Observations on teaching as work', in TRAVERS, R (Ed) Second Handbook of Research on Teaching, Chicago, Rand McNally, pp. 474-497

LORTIE, D C (1975) Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study, University of Chicago Press

LYNCH, J (1979) The Reform of Teacher Education in the United Kingdom, Guildford, SRHE

LYNCH, J (1984) 'Bradford: a college-college merger', in ALEXANDER R J, CRAFT, M and LYNCH, J (Eds) Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 215-240

LYNCH, J and PLUNKETT, H D (9173) Teacher Education and Cultural Change, London, Allen and Unwin

LYNN, K S (1963) 'Introduction', Daedalus, 92, 4, pp. 649-654

MacCALLUM SCOTT, J H (Ed) (1971) University Independence: The Main Questions, London, Rex Collings

McCLELLAND, V A (1975) 'Herbert Vaughan, the Cambridge Teachers' Training Syndicate and the public schools, 1894-1899', Paedagogica Historica, XV, pp. 16-38

McDOWELL, D (1971) 'The values of teacher education', in BURGESS, T (Ed) Dear Lord James, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 61-77

McKINLAY, J B (1973) 'On the professional regulation of change', in HALMOS, P (Ed) The Sociological Review Monograph No 20: Professionalism and Social Change, University of Keele, pp. 61-84

McKINLAY, J B (1975) 'Clients and organisations', in McKINLAY, J B (Ed) Processing People: Cases in Organisational Behaviour, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 339-378

MacLENNAN, S and SEADON, T (1988) 'What price school based work? Reflections on a school sited PGCE method course', Cambridge Journal of Education, 18, 3, pp. 387-403

McNAMARA, D (1986) 'The personal qualities of the teacher and educational policy: a critique', British Educational Research Journal, 12, 1, pp. 29-36

McNAMARA, D R and ROSS, A M (1982) The BEd Degree and Its Future, School of Education University of Lancaster

McPHERSON, R G (1959) Theory of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England, University of Georgia Monographs, No. 4, Athens, University of Georgia Press

McWILLIAMS-TULLBERG, R (1975) Women at Cambridge, London, Gollancz

MADDOX, J (1985) 'The research factor', in JAQUES, D and RICHARDSON, J T E (Eds) The Future for Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 181-187

MANSBRIDGE, A (1923) The Older Universities of England, London, Longmans Green & Co

MARDLE, G and WALKER, M (1980) 'Strategies and structure: some critical notes on teacher socialisation', in WOODS, P (Ed) Teacher Strategies, London, Croom Helm, pp. 98-124

MATHIESON, M (1975) The Preachers of Culture, London, Allen and Unwin

MEASOR, L (1984) 'Pupil perceptions of subject status', in GOODSON, I F and BALL, S J (Eds) Defining the Curriculum, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 201-217

MEDWAY, P (1976) 'Back with Nellie', British Journal of Teacher Education, 2, 2, pp. 161-166

MEIGHAN, R and BROWN, C (1980) 'Locations of learning and ideologies of education: some issues raised by a study of "Education Otherwise"', in BARTON, L, MEIGHAN, R and WALKER, S (Eds) Schooling, Ideology and the Curriculum, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 131-151

MILLER, R (1969) 'Collective bargaining for dons', Higher Education Review 1, 3, pp. 9-18

457

MILLERSON, G (1964a) The Qualifying Associations, London, RKP

MILLERSON, G (1964b) 'Dilemmas of professionalism', New Society, 4 June, pp. 15-16

MILLS, C (Ed) (1985) The Impact of CATE, SRHE, Teacher Education Study Group

MILLS, C W (1951, 1953) White Collar, New York, Oxford University Press

MINISTRY OF LABOUR (1966-1970) Ministry of Labour Gazette, Volumes 74-78, London, Ministry of Labour

MITCHELL, P (1985) 'A view from the bridge', in SLATER, E (Ed) The Quality Controllers, University of London Institute of Education, Bedford Way Papers, 22, pp. 47-53

MOBERLY, W (1949) The Crisis in the University, London, SCM Press

MOODIE, G C (1976) 'Authority, charters and the survival of academic rule', Studies in Higher Education, 1, 2, pp. 127-135

MOODIE, G C (1983) 'Buffer, coupling and broker: reflections on 60 years of the UGC', Higher Education, 12, pp. 331-347

MOODIE, G C (1988) 'The debates about higher educational quality in Britain and the USA', Studies in Higher Education, 13, 1, pp. 5-13

MOODIE, G C and EUSTACE, R (1979) Power and Authority in British Universities, London, Allen and Unwin

MOORE, W E (1967) 'Economic and professional institutions', in SMELSER, N J (Ed) Sociology: An Introduction, New York, John Wiley & Sons, pp. 273-328

MOORE, W E (1970) The Professions: Roles and Rules, New York, Russell Sage Foundation

MORTON-WILLIAMS, R, FINCH, S, and POLL, C (1966) Undergraduates' Attitudes to School Teaching as a Career (England and Wales), Central Office of Information: Social Survey for Ministry of Education, SS354, London, HMSO

MOUNTFORD, Sir J (1966) British Universities, Oxford University Press

MOSER, Sir C (1988) 'The Robbins Report 25 years after - and the future of the universities', Oxford Review of Education, 14, 1, pp. 5-21

MUSGROVE, E (1971) Patterns of Power and Authority in English Education, London, Methuen

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS (1980) Promotion and the Woman Teacher, London, NUT

NIBLETT, W R (1972) 'The place of teacher education in the structure of higher education', London Education Review, 1, 1, pp. 6-13

NIBLETT, W R, HUMPHREYS, D W and FAIRHURST, J R (1975) _The University Connection_, Windsor, NFER

NIE, N H, HULL, C H, JENKINS, J G, STEINBRENNER, K and BENT, D H (1975, 2nd ed), _SPSS_, New York, McGraw-Hill

NISBET, J and McALEESE, R (1979) 'Britain (Universities) - growth, consolidation, and now a new phase?', in TEATHER, D C B (Ed) _Staff Development in Higher Education_, London, Kogan Page, pp. 38-56

NIXON, J (Ed) (1979) _Teachers in Research_, London, Schools Council

NIXON, J (Ed) (1981) _A Teachers' Guide to Action Research_, London, Grant McIntyre

NOBLE, T and PYMN, B (1980) 'Recruitment to teaching in the years of expansion', _British Journal of Sociology_, 31, 1, pp. 95-109

NORWICH, B (1985) 'Aspects of the professional socialisation of teachers', in FRANCIS, H (Ed) _Learning to Teach_, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 37-55

NUTTALL, D L (1984) 'Doomsday or a new dawn? The prospects for a common system of examining at 16+', in BROADFOOT, P (Ed) _Selection, Certification and Control_, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 17-34

OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS (1970) _Classification of Occupations 1970_, London, HMSO

OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS (1980) _Classification of Occupations 1980_, London, HMSO

ÖGREN, G (1953) _Trends in English Teachers' Training from 1800_, Stockholm

OWEN, T (1980) 'The University Grants Committee', _Oxford Review of Education_, 6, 3, pp. 255-278

OZGA, J T and LAWN, M A (1981) _Teachers, Professionalism and Class: A Study of Organized Teachers_, Lewes, Falmer

PARRY, N and PARRY, J (1974) 'The teachers and professionalism: The failure of an occupational strategy', in FLUDE, M and AHIER, J (Eds) _Educability, Schools and Ideology_, London, Croom Helm, pp. 160-185

PARSONS, T (1945, Reprinted 1964) _Essay in Sociological Theory_, New York, Free Press

PATRICK, H and REID, K (1979) _Initial Linkmen Interviews_, unpublished report

PATRICK, H (1986) 'From Cross to CATE: The universities and teacher education over the past century', _Oxford Review of Education_, 12, 3, pp. 243-261

PATRICK, H, BERNBAUM, G and REID, K (1982) _The Structure and Process of Initial Teacher Education within Universities in England and Wales_, University of Leicester School of Education

PEARCE, J (1972) _School Examinations_, London, Collier-Macmillan

PEARSON, R (1985) 'The demands of the labour market', in JAQUES, D and RICHARDSON, J T E (Eds) The Future for Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 193-200

PERKIN, H J (1969) Key Profession, London, RKP

PERKIN, H (1983) 'The teaching profession and the game of life', in GORDON, P (Ed) Is Teaching a Profession?, University of London Institute of Education, Bedford Way Papers, 15, pp. 12-25

PERRY, P (1980) 'Professional development: the Inspectorate in England and Wales', in HOYLE, E and MEGARRY, J (1980) World Yearbook of Education, 1980: Professional Development of Teachers, London, Kogan Page, pp. 143-148

PETTY, M E and HOGBEN, D (1980) 'Explorations of semantic space with beginning teachers: a study of socialisation into teaching', British Journal of Teacher Education, 6, 1, pp. 51-61

PLUNKETT, D (1984) 'Southampton: pressures and initiatives in a university department of education', in ALEXANDER, R J, CRAFT, M and LYNCH, J (Eds) Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 241-249

POLLARD, A (1985) 'Is the Primary Education Debate missing the point?', Education 3-13, 13, 2, pp. 3-5

POPKEWITZ, T S (1987) 'Ideology and social formation in teacher education', in POPKEWITZ, T S (Ed) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 2-33

PORTWOOD, D and FIELDING, A (1981) 'Privilege and the professions', The Sociological Review, 29, 4, pp. 749-773

PURVIS, J (1973) 'Schoolteaching as a professional career', British Journal of Sociology, 24, pp. 43-57

PYLE, D (1979) 'The demand for education', in BERNBAUM, G (Ed) Schooling in Decline, London, Macmillan, pp. 17-46

RAISON, T (1976) The Act and the Partnership, London, Centre for Studies in Social Policy

READER, W J (1966) Professional Men, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson

REEDER, D (1979) 'A recurring debate: education and industry', in BERNBAUM, G (Ed) Schooling in Decline, London, Macmillan, pp. 115-148

REID, W and FILBY, J (1982) The Sixth: An Essay in Education and Democracy, Lewes, Falmer

RICH, R W (1933) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge University Press

RICHARDS, M (1985) 'In defence of social work teachers: a study of their development needs', in HARRIS, R J, BARKER, M W, READING, P, RICHARDS, M and YOULL, P (Eds) Educating Social Workers, Leicester, Association of Teachers in Social Work Education, pp. 25-32

RICHARDSON, C A, BRULE, H and SNYDER, H E (1953) The Education of Teachers in England, France and the USA, Paris, UNESCO

ROBINSON, E E (1971) 'Degrees for teachers', in BURGESS, T (Ed) Dear Lord James, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 122-145

ROBINSON, P (1971) 'The student view', in BURGESS, T (Ed) Dear Lord James, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 47-58

ROGERS, A M H (1938) Degrees by Degree, Oxford University Press

ROSS, A (1987) The Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers 1966-1987: Twenty One Years of Endeavour, London, UCET

ROTH, J A, RUZEK, S K and DANIELS, A K (1973) 'Current state of the sociology of occupations', The Sociological Quarterly, 14, pp. 309-333

ROTH, J A (1974) 'Professionalism: the sociologist's decoy', Sociology of Work and Occupations, 1, 1, pp. 6-23

ROTHBLATT, S (1968) The Revolution of the Dons, London, Faber

ROTHBLATT, S (1976) Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, London, Faber

ROY, W (1983) Teaching Under Attack, London, Croom Helm

ROYAL COMMISSION ON SECONDARY EDUCATION (1985) Report, (Bryce Commission), Volume 1, London, HMSO

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD (1852) Evidence

RUDDOCK, J (1986) 'Ingredients of a good partnership', The Times Educational Supplement, 18 July, p. 20

RUESCHEMEYER, D (1964) 'Doctors and lawyers: a comment on the theory of the profession', Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 1, pp. 17-30

RUESCHEMEYER, D (1983) 'Professional autonomy and the social control of expertise', in DINGWALL, R and LEWIS, P (Eds) The Sociology of the Professions, London, Macmillan, pp. 38-58

SADLER, M E (1911) 'University day training colleges: their origin, growth and influence in English education', in The Department of Education in the University of Manchester, 1890-1911, University of Manchester Publications, 58, Education series 4, Manchester University Press, pp. 9-54

SAKS, M (1983) 'Removing the blinkers? A critique of recent contributions to the sociology of professions', The Sociological Review, 31, 1, pp. 1-21

SALTER, B and TAPPER, T (1981) Education, Politics and the State, London, Grant McIntyre

SANDERSON, M (1972) The Universities and British Industry, 1850-1970, London, RKP

SARAN, R (1988) 'School teachers: salaries and conditions of service', in MORRIS, M and GRIGGS, C (Eds) Education - The Wasted Years? 1973-1986, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 145-159

SCHAEFER, R J The School as a Center of Inquiry, New York, Harper and Row, 1967

SCHEFFLER, I (1968) 'University scholarship and the education of teachers', Teachers' College Record, 70, 1, pp. 1-12

SCHNEIDER, B (1987) 'Tracing the provenance of teacher education', in POPKEWITZ, T S (Ed) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 211-241

SCHOOLS INQUIRY COMMISSION (1868) Report of the Commissioners, Volume 1, (Taunton Commission), London, HMSO

SCOTT, P (1984) The Crisis of the University, London, Croom Helm

SCOTT, P (1985) 'The Leverhulme recipe', in JAQUES, D and RICHARDSON, J T E (Eds) The Future for Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 65-72

SCOTT, P (1988a) 'Blueprint or blue remembered hills? The relevance of the Robbins Report to the present reforms of higher education', Oxford Review of Education, 14, 1, pp. 33-48

SCOTT, P (1988b) 'Higher education', in MORRIS, M and GRIGGS, C (Eds) Education - The Wasted Years? 1973-1986, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 127-144

SEABORNE, M (1966) Education, London, Studio Vista

SEARBY, P (1982) The Training of Teachers in Cambridge University: The First Sixty Years, 1879-1939, Cambridge University Department of Education

SHAKOOR, A (1964) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales, 1900-1939, PhD thesis, University of Leicester

SHATTOCK, M (1986) 'The UGC and standards', in MOODIE, G C (Ed) Standards and Criteria in Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 46-64

SHATTOCK, M and BERDAHL, R (1984a) 'The British University Grants Committee, 1919-1983: changing relationships with government and the universities', Higher Education, 13, 5, pp. 471-499

SHATTOCK, M and BERDAHL, R (1984b) 'The UGC idea in international perspective', Higher Education, 13, 5, pp. 613-618

SHATTOCK, M and RIGBY, G (1983) Resource Allocation in British Universities, Guildford, SRHE

SHAW, B (1985) 'CATE and its powers: an example of galloping centralism', Education, 166, 3, 19 July, pp. 62-63

SHAW, K E (1984) 'Exeter: from college of education to university', in ALEXANDER, R J, CRAFT, M and LYNCH, J (Eds) Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 203-214

SHILS, E (1983) The Academic Ethic, University of Chicago Press

SILVER, H (1977) 'Ideology and the factory child: attitudes to half-time education', in McCANN, P (Ed) Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century, London, Methuen, pp. 141-166

SILVER, H (1985) 'Home threats from abroad - Sir Keith's Kremlin tactics', The Times Higher Education Supplement, 6 December, p. 14

SILVER, H (1986) 'The second class citizenship conferred on teacher "training"', The Times Higher Education Supplement, 28 February, p. 14

SILVER, H and SILVER, P (1986) 'The escaping answer', in MOODIE, G (Ed) Standards and Criteria in Higher Education, Guildford, SRHE and NFER-Nelson, pp. 9-30

SIMON, B (1965) Education and the Labour Market, London, Lawrence and Wishart

SIMON, B (1976) 'Theoretical aspects of the PGCE course', British Journal of Teacher Education, 2, 1, pp. 23-38

SIMON, B (1981) 'Why no pedagogy in England?', in SIMON, B and TAYLOR, W (Eds) Education in the Eighties, London, Batsford, pp. 124-145

SIMON, B (1983) 'The study of education as a university subject in Britain', Studies in Higher Education, 8, 1, pp. 1-13

SIMPSON, R L and SIMPSON, I H (1969) 'Women and bureaucracy in the semi-professions', in ETZIONI, A (Ed) The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, New York, The Free Press, pp. 196-265

SIZER, J (1987) 'The impacts of financial reductions on British universities: 1981-1984', Higher Education, 16, pp. 557-580

SLATER, K S and CROMPTON, J (1980) 'Disposing of the dispositions, Professor Hirst and the PGCE', British Journal of Teacher Education, 6, 3, pp. 253-261

SLOMAN, P (1983) 'Rights and whims - how parental choice works', Education, 161, 15, 15 April, pp. 289-290

SMITH, M (1980) 'The evaluation of curricular priorities in secondary schools: regulations, opinions and school practices in England, 1903-1904', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1, 2, pp. 153-172

SOCKETT, H (1980) Accountability in the English Educational System, London, Hodder and Stoughton

SOCKETT, H (1983) 'Towards a professional code in teaching', in GORDON, P (Ed) Is Teaching a Profession?, University of London Institute of Education, Bedford Way Papers, 15, pp. 26-43

SPSS Inc (1983) SPSS-X User's Guide, New York, McGraw-Hill

STARTUP, R (1976) Some Aspects of the University Teacher's Role, PhD thesis, University of Wales

STARTUP, R (1979) The University Teacher and His World, Farnborough, Saxon House

STENNING, R (1979) 'The changing nature of employment relations in secondary schools', Educational Administration, 7, 2, pp. 99-121

STURT, M (1967) The Education of the People, London, RKP

SUTHERLAND, G (1971) Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century, London, Historical Association

SUTHERLAND, G (1985) Women who Teach in Universities, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham

TAPPER, T and SALTER, B (1978) Education and the Political Order, London, Macmillan

TAYLOR, W (1965) 'The university teacher of education in England', Comparative Education, 1, 3, pp. 193-201

TAYLOR, W (1968) Half a Million Teachers, University of Bristol Institute of Education

TAYLOR, W (1969) Society and the Education of Teachers, London, Faber

TAYLOR, W (1979) 'Universities and the education of teachers, Oxford Review of Education, 5, 1, pp. 3-11

TAYLOR, W (1980) 'Professional development or personal development?', in HOYLE, E and MEGARRY, J (Eds) World Yearbook of Education, 1980: Professional Development of Teachers, London, Kogan Page, pp. 327-339

TAYLOR, W (1984) 'The national context, 1972-1982', in ALEXANDER, R J, CRAFT, M and LYNCH, J (Eds), Change in Teacher Education, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 16-30

TAYLOR, W (1985) 'The future for teacher education', in HOPKINS, D and REID, K (Eds) Rethinking Teacher Education, London, Croom Helm, pp. 229-253

TAYLOR, W (1988) 'Robbins and the education of teachers', Oxford Review of Education, 14, 1, pp. 49-58

THOMAS, J B (1978) 'The day training college: a Victorian innovation in teacher training', British Journal of Teacher Education, 4, 3, pp. 249-261

THOMAS, J B (1979) 'The curriculum of a day training college: the logbooks of J W Adamson', Journal of Educational Administration and History, XI, 2, pp. 29-34

THOMAS, J B (1982) 'Teacher education in England and Wales', in COHEN, L, THOMAS, J and MANION, L (Eds) Educational Research and Development in Britain, 1970-1980, Windsor, NFER-Nelson, pp. 241-250

TIBBLE, J W (1956) 'The education of teachers', Journal of Education, 88, pp. 8-11

TIBBLE, J W (1963) 'The work of university departments of education', Forum, 5, pp. 79-80

TIBBLE, J W (Ed) (1966) The Study of Education, London, RKP,

TIBBLE, J W (1971) 'The universities', in HEWETT, S (Ed) The Training of Teachers: A Factual Survey, University of London Press, pp. 56-67

TILFORD, R (1985) 'Political socialisation at British and West German universities - or: whistling in the dark?', Oxford Review of Education, 11, 3, pp. 295-304

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT (1985) 'Why the inspector isn't welcome', TES, 15 November, p. 11

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT (1987) 'An unloved baby grows into a bearable child', TES, 25 September, p. 10

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT (1988) 'Healthy future predicted for the new interns', TES, 11 November, p. 4

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT (1989a) 'Mr Baker opens door to more untrained staff', TES, 3 February, p. A6

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT (1989b) 'Someone to mind the shop', TES, 10 February, p. A15

THE TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT (1986a) 'CATE on trial', THES, Editorial, 3 October, p. 36

THE TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT (1986b) 'CVCP in HMI report move', THES, 21 February, p. 3

THE TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT (1986c) 'Universities release HMI reports', THES, 9 May, p. 3

THE TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT (1988) 'Review of the year', THES, 30 December, pp. i-viii

THE TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT (1989) 'Notice board', THES, 3 March, p. 30

TOMLINSON, L (1968) 'Oxford University and the training of teachers: the early years, 1892-1921', British Journal of Educational Studies, 16, 3, pp. 292-307

TOREN, N (1975) 'Deprofessionalisation and its sources', Sociology of Work and Occupations, 2, 4, pp. 323-337

TROPP, A (1957) The School Teachers, London, Heinemann

TROWN, E A (1985) Selection for Teaching, School of Education University of Lancaster

TUCK, J (1973a) 'From day training college to university department of education', in LOMAX, D (Ed) The Education of Teachers in Britain, London, Wiley, pp. 71-94

TUCK, J (1973b) 'The university departments of education: their work and their future', in LOMAX, D (Ed) The Education of Teachers in Britain, London, Wiley, pp. 95-116

TURNER, C and HODGE, M N (1970) 'Occupations and professions', in JACKSON, J A (Ed) Professions and Professionalisation, Cambridge University Press, pp. 17-50

TYSON, J C and TUCK, J P (1971) The Origins and Development of the Training of Teachers in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, University of Newcastle

UNIVERSITIES' COUNCIL FOR THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS (1979) The PGCE Course and the Training of Specialist Teachers for Secondary Schools: A Consultative Report, London, UCET

UNIVERSITIES' COUNCIL FOR THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS (1982-1987) Annual Bulletin, Nos 14-19, London, UCET

UNIVERSITIES' STATISTICAL RECORD (1982) University Statistics 1980, Volume 1 and Volume 3, Published on behalf of the University Grants Committee

UNIVERSITIES' STATISTICAL RECORD (1987) University Statistics 1986-1987, Volume 1 and Volume 3, London, Published on behalf of the University Grants Committee

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION (1952) Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans

UNIVERSITY OF READING (1949) The Education Department through Fifty Years, University of Reading

VOLLMER, H M and MILLS, D L (Eds) (1966) Professionalization, New Jersey, Prentice Hall

WALFORD, G (1987) Restructuring Universities, Beckenham, Croom Helm

WALFORD, G (1988) 'The privatisation of British higher education', European Journal of Education, 23, 1/2, pp. 47-64

WALKER, M (1983) 'Control and consciousness in the colleges', British Educational Research Journal, 9, 2, pp. 129-140

WALSH, K, DUNNE, R, STOTEN, B and STEWART, J D (1984) Falling School Rolls and the Management of the Teaching Profession, Windsor, NFER-Nelson

WARD, W R (1965) Victorian Oxford, London, Frank Cass & Co

WHITE, J (1975) 'The end of the compulsory curriculum', in UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION, The Curriculum, University of London Institute of Education, pp. 22-39

WHITEHEAD, J (1989) 'News from the South West', Research Intelligence, 31, p. 22

WHITESIDE, T and BERNBAUM, G (1979) 'Growth and decline: dilemmas of a profession', in BERNBAUM, G (Ed) Schooling in Decline, London, Macmillan, pp. 91-114

WHITTY, G (1976) 'Teachers and examiners', in WHITTY, G and YOUNG, M (Eds) Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge, Driffield, Nafferton, pp. 212-222

WHITTY, G (1983) 'State policy and school examinations 1976-1982', in AHIER, J and FLUDE, M (Eds) Contemporary Education, London, Croom Helm, pp. 165-190

WHITTY, G, BARTON, L and POLLARD, A (1987) 'Ideology and control in teacher education: a review of recent experience in England', in POPKEWITZ, T S (Ed) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, Lewes, Falmer, pp. 161-183

WIDDOWSON, F (1980) Going into the Next Class: Women and Elementary Teacher Training, 1840-1914, London, Women's Research and Resources Centre Publications

WILENSKY, H L (1964) 'The professionalization of everyone', American Journal of Sociology, 70, 2, pp. 137-158

WILLIAMS, G (1988) 'The debate about funding mechanisms', Oxford Review of Education, 14, 1, pp. 59-68

WILLIAMS, G L, METCALF, D H and BLACKSTONE, T A V (1974) The Academic Labour Market in Britain, London, Elsevier

WILLIAMS, G and BLACKSTONE, T (1983) Response to Adversity, Guildford, SRHE

WILSON, J B (1975) Educational Theory and the Preparation of Teachers, Windsor, NFER

WILSON, R (1969) 'Unity and diversity in the education of teachers', in TAYLOR, W (Ed) Towards a Policy for the Education of Teachers, Proceedings of the Twentieth Symposium of the Colston Research Society, London, Butterworths, pp. 3-14

WISEMAN, S (1953) 'Higher degrees in education in British universities', British Journal of Educational Studies, 2, 1, pp. 54-66

WITTLIN, A S (1963) 'The teacher', Daedalus, 92, 4, pp. 745-763

WOLFENDEN, J (1970) 'The economic and academic freedom of universities', Jephcott Lecture, Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 63, pp. 839-846

WOOD, A C (1953) A History of the University College Nottingham, 1881-1948, Oxford, Blackwell

WOOD, S H (1952) 'Relations with the Ministry', in UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans, pp. 226-237

WOODS, P (1984) 'The myth of subject choice', in HAMMERSLEY, M and WOODS, P (Eds) Life in Schools, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp. 45-60

WORMALD, E (1985) 'Teacher training and gender blindness', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 6, 1, pp. 112-116

WORSLEY, S J (1952) 'Relations with the university', in UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION, Studies and Impressions, 1902-1952, London, Evans, pp. 214-225

YOUNG, M F D (1971) 'An approach to the study of curricula as socially organised knowledge', in YOUNG, M F D (1971) (Ed) Knowledge and Control, London, Collier-Macmillan, pp. 19-46

ABSTRACT

ACADEMIC STAFF IN UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

by Helen Patrick

This study arose out of a research project on teacher education in England and Wales which was funded by the Department of Education and Science and which was based at the University of Leicester School of Education from 1979 to 1982. The study aimed to explore the ambivalence and ambiguity which, the literature suggested, were inherent in the enterprise of training teachers in universities.

Empirical data on university teachers of education were collected by questionnaire and interview and the findings are considered within a number of contexts.

In university departments of education university teachers train students to become school teachers. The first context examined in the study is the sociology of occupations which is used as a framework within which to compare and contrast the two occupations of university teaching and school teaching. University teachers and school teachers are thus established as reference groups for university teachers of education.

Next the study considers the role of these reference groups within the context of the history of teacher education in the universities.

In the central part of the study data on the social, educational and occupational backgrounds of university teachers of education are considered in relation to the two reference groups of school teachers and university teachers. Data on the nature of the work undertaken by university teachers of education are also examined in this context.

The study then explores the context of occupational constraint and control, comparing and contrasting teacher education in the universities with university teaching in other subjects and with school teaching.

The role of ideology in teacher education is then analysed as a context within which to view the nature of ideology in teacher education in the universities, again drawing on empirical data from questionnaires and interviews.

In the final chapter additional data are presented to bring together the findings and interpretations presented in the body of the study.