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INVOLUNTARY CHANGE OF PROFESSIONAL CAREERS:

A STUDY OF THE REORGANISATION OF THE  
COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

DEREK PORTWOOD, 1979

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ABSTRACT

This study approaches the recent reorganisation of the Colleges of Education through an examination of the involuntary change of the careers of the college lecturers. It is thought that this apparent contradiction of commonplace views of the almost inviolable nature of careers (especially professional ones) would expose much of the sociological interest in the reorganisation.

On the grounds that the essential issue is the control of the consequences of the involuntary change of the lecturers' careers, a thesis is advanced that the structure of control of their careers would minimise the adverse consequences of the change itself.

The college lecturers are defined as a bureaucratic profession. This is seen to centre on the variable of the state provision and allocation of a guaranteed clientele, and specifically on the rate and scale of the change of that clientele. On this basis, a model of the control of change of career in a bureaucratic profession is constructed. In turn, this model together with a historical perspective and a variety of research techniques enables an investigation to be undertaken of the lecturers' careers at societal, organisational and individual levels.

The empirical enquiry itself consists of an historical descriptive analysis of the colleges generally followed by situational analyses, first, of four colleges of education (three of them involved in a merger with a polytechnic, and the other - a voluntary college - undergoing closure), and, secondly, of individual members of these colleges (based on 117 personal interviews).

These theoretical and empirical studies produce information on occupational and organisational change and elaborate the notion of career (and its allied concepts). Moreover, they indicate and analyse current trends in professionalisation, and suggest to professionals how they might handle involuntary change in their own careers, particularly as the research broadly confirms the main thesis.

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## PREFACE

Moore has noted that 'opinions may properly differ as to what constitutes a "significant" social change' (1968, p.368), but there appears to be little dispute that the recent reorganisation of the colleges of education falls into that category. Accordingly, it has become not merely a passing item on the political agenda but more especially an area of continuing interest to a range of social scientists (important studies already include those of Newton et. al, 1975; Issac, 1977; and Hencke, 1978). No doubt, in due course, the historians will hail and study it as a landmark in the development of higher education in Britain. Certainly, as a sociologist, I could not pass up the opportunity to investigate such an event while it was actually happening (so often our sociological studies are post-facto, if not post mortem), especially as it was taking place on my own doorstep.

In a situation where topics of sociological interest abounded, one was spoilt for choice. My problem, however, was to decide on a feature of the change which was a significant (and manageable) detail in itself while also sufficient to provide a perspective on the whole process. Once more (and I will expand on all this later) personal interest served the purpose. I settled for the concept of career and particularly the uncommon twists given to it by the reorganisation of the colleges, summed up in the notion of involuntary change of professional careers.

Thus I looked at what was happening to careers (which Wilensky, 1960, had in any case identified as a crucial sociological concern) from an unusual standpoint. At the same time I wanted to view the subject in terms of popular opinion about the virtual inviolability of careers (especially professional careers) to abrupt and radical change. Hence, my thesis focussed on the minimisation of adverse consequences of the college lecturers' careers, mainly on the grounds that they were professional careers. Then, of course, my theoretical and methodological problems began.

To meet these I conducted what amounted to a theoretical overview of the concept of professional career, especially as it related to the college of education lecturers. On the methodological side, I constructed a model and chose research techniques which not only suited my theoretical predispositions but also enabled a scrutiny of the subject itself. Finally, I embarked on the empirical investigation which entailed closetting myself with many books, reports and previously known and unknown professional colleagues from four colleges of education over a period of four years.

In such ways this study was conceived, devised and executed. Hence, it can be taken in two ways. The first, and this must be foremost, is that it is a sociological investigation of some of the elements and

implications of the reorganisation of the colleges of education predominantly from the college lecturers' point of view. The other is that it is an individual's search for an understanding of his own personal milieu. Ironically, in that latter respect, the study by itself has ensured for me that this 'public issue' has not been experienced as a 'private trouble'. It has kept me far too busy and engrossed for that!



### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Information is vital to any research project and I needed two kinds of information for mine. The first was that of 'official' college documents and especially the minutes of Governing Bodies and Academic Boards. I am indebted to the Principals of the four colleges who not only gave me access to these documents but let me peruse them at my leisure.

The other kind of information was the personal accounts by individual lecturers of their perceptions of what was happening to their careers during the closure or merger of their colleges. I am aware that it was never easy for any of them to speak on such an intensely personal matter, particularly as many of them were experiencing hurt as they underwent change. Yet many of them not only spoke to me on these matters but did so freely and fully. I am most grateful to them and would add that without their friendly cooperation my task would have been impossible.

Another side of a research project is, of course, the clarification of one's own ideas as one proceeds. In this respect I was much helped by my supervisor Professor Ronald Frankenberg. His perceptive comments and positive encouragement both sharpened my ideas and kept me 'worrying away' at them. A similar result came from discussions with colleagues. Of them I must specially mention Dr. Alan Fielding who by casual

remark as well as considered opinion threw light on what was often a darkened conceptual landscape.

PART I. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

The very notion of involuntary change of professional careers is a contradiction in terms from a popular point of view. Professionals are by definition those who are wholly or largely self-determining, how then can they be subjected to involuntary change in such a crucial area of their professional status as their careers?

It is a moot point and hinges obviously on definitions of key concepts and particularly on the value assumptions on which such definitions are based. Plainly from a popular viewpoint concepts such as profession and career are vested with almost sacred qualities which produce unthinking attitudes towards them<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, involuntariness is regarded simply as an undesirable process.

All this, of course, is highly questionable and invites scrutiny. Thus we have our preliminary task. Specifically this is:

- i. to examine the notion of professional career; that is, to establish whether or not career is

1. Everett Hughes, for example, noted that 'profession' is 'not so much a descriptive term as one of value and prestige' (in Esland et. al. 1975, p.210).

distinctively associated with professional occupations. If it is, then to undertake

- ii. an analysis of professionalisation and changes in career, and particularly the relationship between these two processes. The point here is to establish the possibilities and limitations of change in professional careers.
  
- iii. in the light of the above to make a theoretical analysis and appraisal of the case of the college lecturers: this involves examining their claim for professional status and analysing their career structure, paying special attention to the question of the control of their careers.

In these ways we may establish not only whether or not the college lecturers are an appropriate field of study for us, but also begin to identify the parameters and assemble the theoretical apparatus to undertake such a study.

In order to examine these matters, we will engage in a review of the relevant literature, supplementing it where necessary with statistical and historical data and suggesting modifications which could assist our purpose.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NOTION OF PROFESSIONAL CAREER

Career is a popular term - and that in two senses. First, career is a commonplace idea, used in a variety of situations, and, even in the occupational sphere with which it is most closely associated, it is employed by all and sundry to describe their widely differing positions and activities. Secondly, career is popular in the sense that it conveys a favourable connotation (Slocum, 1966, p.5). In occupational terms, a reference to a career is a claim that one's work is worthwhile, if not prestigious. Thus career 'flatters' an occupation (Williams, 1976).

Clearly the two usages are not finally separable - people like to present themselves in a favourable light; hence, even criminals have 'careers' (Fitzgerald, 1976) - and it is on this account that the notion of career presents the sociologist with a hazard more subtle than that of many other familiar terms. Here the problem is not only precision of meaning in a straightforward analytical sense, but also that of adopting a critical stance towards what underlies the sociologist's own identity and legitimates his activity. He, in common with others, justifies his work, and concomitantly himself, with references to his

career, particularly his professional career. His own dependence on such a description for social and self respect leads him to view the notion of career favourably<sup>2</sup>. Sociological literature accordingly evinces a fondness for the term, and nowhere subjects it to the adverse critiques levelled at the related concept of role (e.g. Coulson in Jackson, 1972).

In as far then as sociologists are prone to follow popular practice and use the notion of career in a variety of social contexts covering a wide range of meanings and actions, a first step to examining the concept must be a review of this situation. This, at least, should identify and clarify its elements and features. From there, the examination can proceed to an assessment of the value and applicability of the concept to theoretical understanding and empirical investigation. In turn, this assessment should set the stage for a pursuit of our own interest in the notion of professional career, and particularly the question of involuntary change in such careers. In these ways it is hoped that it can be established that career may

2. Indeed, such celebrated sociological controversies as that over the valuefree principle are brought down to earth when the career interests of academics are considered - the irony in this particular case being that the principle which was intended to establish the 'disinterestedness' of sociology has in fact served its practitioners' own interests extremely well, both opening up career paths and morally justifying them so that they could be taken for granted (see Gouldner, 1975, p.7).

best be understood and investigated in the context of professions and that to answer, 'What is happening to careers?' may best be pursued through the notion of professional career.

### Review of Sociological Literature on Careers

Frequently analyses of career begin with Everett C. Hughes' definition:

"subjectively, (career is) the moving perspective in which, a person sees his life as a whole and interprets his attributes, actions and the things which happen to him ... objectively, it is a series of statuses and clearly defined offices ... typical sequences of position, responsibility, even of adventure". (Hughes, 1937, pp. 409-10).

Hughes' own interest centred on occupations but his reference to the two-sidedness of the concept - subjective and objective aspects - has led many to use the idea in all manner of spheres of social experience.

The outstanding examples are those of Howard Becker (1963) in the study of deviance and Erving Goffman's (1963) study of the mental patient. Both of them see the value of the concept in terms of its identification of the

dialectical relation between the personal and the public, and of its recognition of the importance of the outcome of that relation, not simply for evaluations of success or failure, but rather as an indication of and commentary on 'any social strand of any person's course through life'. Thus their appreciation of career is as process, but with strong leanings towards the subjective aspect. Pursuing this line, other sociologists have come to view career not only as 'the progress through identity bestowing situations' (Salaman, 1974, p.14), but to the point of arguing that 'careers are not only given to participants in a situation; they are created by them too' (Dale, 1972, p.67). Career, here, is becoming not only virtually a synonym for biography, but, more particularly, for autobiography<sup>3</sup>.

A marked contrast is apparent when careers are confined to occupations. The objective aspect is paramount - not surprising in view of what occupations are considered to be:

"the social role performed by adult members of society that directly and/or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major focus in the life of an adult", (Hall, 1969, p.5).

This emphasis on 'what is available to be done' is

3. Compare Stebbins whose analysis of 'subjective career' is aimed at 'developing more generalised concepts of career, applicable both inside and outside the sociology of occupations'. (1970, p.43).



extended and reinforced when careers and occupations are themselves seen in the context of wider social structure. Thus, not only is the orderly nature of careers a major source of social stability (Wilensky, 1960, p.555), but their relation to the social stratification system helps to perpetuate a particular form of that social order (Pahl, 1971, p.17 and Elliott, 1972, p.74). In this way career may be viewed as 'a minority, elite institution in Western society' (Krause, 1971, p.41), and for the middle class it is 'the supreme social reality' (Dahrendorf in Pahl, 1971, p.17).

The objective, structural view of career accordingly pre-dominates. Within the occupational sphere itself, careers are seen to bring stability and predictability because they are 'a succession of related jobs, hierarchical in prestige, with ordered directions for an individual to pass through them in a predictable sequence' (Taylor, 1968, p.266)<sup>4</sup>. Negatively, careers are the opposite of random job mobility (Form in Sills, 1968, p.252), or even of drifting in and out of occupational structures (Dale, 1972, p.76). Rather, the stress is on 'norms and

4. Compare the definition by Thompson et. al.: 'Careers are actually unfolding sequences of jobs usually related to each other. Most careers are orderly, in that the various jobs in a career utilize skills, training and experience related to each other'. (Hall, 1969, p.316).

structuring, identifiable and discrete stages, through which practitioners pass as they experience a life's work in a given occupation' (Taylor, 1968, p.266). In this connection, the key norms are longevity of experience, commitment, specificity of function and hierarchically ordered occupational position (Taylor, 1968, p.292).

In all this the individual's part is 'a long, if not a lifetime, commitment to moving upwards through a series of related occupations and statuses according to a schedule' (Form in Sills, 1968, p.252). The process itself is seen essentially as a series of adjustments to the network of institutions, formal organisations and informal relations in which the occupation is practised (Hall, 1948, p.237). Thus, while career may be 'a dialogue between private plans and public expectations' (Pahl, 1971, p.18), the deciding factor is what institutions allow, and individuals base their self-conceptions on that assumption (Sofer, 1970, p.36). It is in this sense only that careers have a prospective dimension (Krause, 1971, p.45), but predominantly they must be understood in retrospective terms (Pahl, 1971, p.106).

Thus, Goldthorpe et. al. (1969, p.79) observed in their

study of the Luton workers that their notion of 'project'<sup>5</sup> which consisted of the structuring of work aspirations was based on 'the vindication of important choices made at some earlier stage of their economic lives'. Hence while project for these workers was 'the attempt they were making to give some direction and meaningfulness to their lives and those of their families', it was even from a subjective point of view on the basis of acquired 'predispositions' (see Stebbins, , 1970, pp. 34-5).

Accordingly, while it is 'the ability to look back and ahead ... and see some consistency between what one hoped to become, now is and can reasonably still become' which aids identity maintenance (Sofer, 1970, p.69), it is the experience of proceeding along a well-trodden occupational path which brings the sense of security to the individual in respect of his career (Dunkerley, 1975, p.35).

From this broad survey, a key issue becomes plain. Is the individual, as far as his career is concerned, in control or is he under control?<sup>6</sup> The broad view of career with its

5. Sartre defines project in a narrower sense. He regards it as 'fundamental project' or 'original choice' (often made in childhood) which is 'manifested in particular actions and that each act is a renewed choice of the project'. (in Maser, 1966, pp.121-5). Sartre's interest, of course, is in the question of man's freedom and here he clearly believes that it is highly directed, if not determined, by the project. For our purposes his ideas are important for understanding the subjectivity of career and especially the high premium placed by individuals on career consistency.
6. Seeley (1967) distinguishes between 'made' and 'taken' careers on this basis.

emphasis on changes in perspectives, motivations and desires of individuals tends to stress the former. Whereas the narrower, occupational view with its emphasis on objective facts of social structure adheres to the latter.

The distinction is clear in the differing approaches to the notion of career contingency. These contingencies which refer to 'an event possible, but dependent upon another uncertain event' and thus influence mobility from one position to another, may range from 'shifts in a person's perspective' (Becker, 1961) to 'the culture's rules on ageing and the role of women' (Krause, 1971, p.41). Overwhelmingly though, references to contingencies stress how they are largely outside the individual's personal control (as Becker freely admits).

Reinforcing this approach is the notion of career line which refers to 'hierarchically related occupational positions in the organisation that require successively more responsible performance of occupational skills' (Slocum, 1966, p.6). These are established by the work organisation and the individual's part is to pursue them (although Dunkerly criticises this view on the grounds that it is related mainly to the idea of bureaucracy, 1975, p.30). Indeed, in that 'career lines characteristic of an occupation take their shape from problems peculiar to that

occupation and (these problems) in turn are a function of the occupation's position vis-a-vis other groups in the society' (Becker, 1963), the individual's inability to influence their formulation is pronounced.

A similar conclusion is reached through the notion of career commitment which often is employed to explain a consistent line of activity (Becker, 1960). Essentially the commitment refers to a process of investment<sup>7</sup> which often becomes apparent only when an opportunity arises to depart from it. Thus, rather than the initial act of choosing a career and receiving further training in it, it is this realisation that change will involve loss of 'accumulated valuables' which reveals the career commitment (Becker, 1960, p.32). Once more the stress is on constraints.

Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how it could be otherwise because not only is career a structural aspect of an organisation but is itself not an isolated process. In considering, for instance, the career of an household-head, one must be mindful of the household-career of family (Mann, 1973, p.10). In fact, the family may be seen as a system of careers which is not without its tensions and conflicts

7. Sofer refers to 'an irreplaceable quantum of time' and adds that 'a career involves investment of substantial parts of one's life; commitment to particular tasks, colleagues and organisations; and claims to a particular type of identity and social reputation' (1970, pp.47 and 270).

between husband and wife's occupations or between those of parents and children (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; and Rose, 1962, pp.290 and 506). Thus, the Pahl's are critical of Dahrendorf's view of career as the supreme social reality of the middle class, and argue that 'the dialectic of social reality for the middle class' is 'the tension between the conflicting value systems of home and work, or family and career' (Pahl, 1971, pp.106 and 126). Here again, the reference to career is in narrow terms - 'the universalistic and achievement-oriented values imposed on the chief earner in a competitive capitalist system', and accordingly is applicable mainly to men. On that latter score, the Simpsons add that women's careers are discontinuous and on those grounds presumably are not accorded an equivalent status to men's careers (in Etzioni, 1969, p.203, and see Fogarty et. al. 1971, pp.138-40).

A broad conclusion from this welter of definitions, analyses, observations and comments is inescapable: career is essentially an institutional arrangement. Its function for the individual, organisation and larger society is, at heart, order, stability, continuity and predictability. Hence, it is a vital strand which links personal history or biography to the major institutions (Pahl, 1971, p.19)<sup>8</sup>,

8. Everett Hughes (1958, p.413) argued that this 'linking' quality meant that this concept could be used 'to reveal the nature and 'working constitution' of a society'. (for comment see Chapter 8).

and is manifested, on the one hand, by the quality of relations seen in strong attachments to formal associations and community, and, on the other, by the creation of a 'life-plan' for individuals (Wilensky, 1961, pp.523 and 530). For the organisation, this arrangement provides a reliable resource, and from the individual's side, a framework of interest and aspiration (Sofer, 1970, p.14).

Of course, order is not to be regarded in static terms because career denotes mobility and movement (although, as Taylor (1968, p.266) remarks, excessive development of career patterns could place the emphasis in an organisation on the preservation of the character and precision of the occupation and in so doing inhibit its growth). The point is that the change occasioned by development of careers is of a restrained and regulated kind. Even so, careers do not run smoothly at either organisational or individual levels because by their very composition they are both problem-solving and problem-creating mechanisms.<sup>9</sup> This is so because careers must account for ideology and practice, interests and situations (Elliott, 1972, p.140). Accordingly, conflict and tension are often

9. Williams (1976) notes that our use of the term 'Rat-race' to describe a derogatory form of career is near to the original meaning of career as rapid and unrestrained activity - retained in the expression 'careering about'.

present and may be of the degree where planned or deliberate change is not possible<sup>10</sup>. This important consideration will be developed more fully in the next chapter on

professionalisation, but it needs to be underlined here that the order created and sustained by careers is essentially a changing order, not a fixed order.

Given such considerations, a further conclusion is unavoidable: career has special relevance to the situation and activity of a minority group, particularly elite occupations. This is most evident from references to occupational classification, phases of career, life-long process and career commitment.

To be a little more explicit: the hall-mark of high status occupations is the expectations and rewards of their career lines, and occupations may be classified accordingly (Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.1). In regard to the career lines themselves, these have clear phases, ranging from preparatory to retirement (Miller and Form in Hall, 1969, p.315). This ensures occupational progress and provides a measure of success, particularly in age-graded terms (Sofer, 1970, p.53).

10. Pavalko (1971, p.156) refers to 'career crunch' where the expectations that individuals hold concerning their present and future occupational activities are inconsistent with the expectations that the reality of the situation presents.



The outcome is career as a life-long process which brings not only a commitment to the title, technical function and ideology of the occupation (Sofer, 1970, p.47), but also a sense of vocation, even a life devoted to good works (Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.17)<sup>11</sup>. Commitment, accordingly, becomes the nub of the career.

Such arrangements and practices plainly are neither feasible nor desirable for the mass of workers, particularly if they are seen as a means by which high-status groups maintain their position and engineer change in order to preserve the essential features of the existing order. It is in this regard that careers are specially applicable to professions. An examination of that consideration can be delayed, however, until we have assessed the value and applicability of our understanding of career so far for theoretical and empirical purposes.

### The Usefulness of Career in Sociological Research

Earlier we noted that Wilensky considered that what is happening to careers is an important sociological concern.

11. Purvis observes that a professional is someone who 'secularises the Protestant Ethic' and who regards 'occupational success as a sign of Self-worthiness'. (1973, p.45). An important implication of this observation is the moral connotation given to careers by professionals.

His view was based mainly on the institutional significance of the concept. On the one hand, he saw careers as a major source of social stability in that they enable groups to recruit and maintain their personnel and motivate role performance, and, on the other, in that they provide satisfaction for the most able and skilled segments of the population, thus avoiding from such key groups levels of rebellion or withdrawal which would threaten the maintenance of the system (Wilensky, 1960, p.555). Accordingly, he pursued research in this area from the broad theme of careers and social integration (Wilensky, 1960) to a more specific study on the orderliness of careers and its effects on the objective vitality of social participation - concluding that career patterns are becoming one of the major determinants of social relations (Wilensky, 1961) - and, finally, concentrating on the related but wider subject of professionalisation (Wilensky, 1964). The implications of this development of interest for our contention that careers may best be understood in the context of professional groups are plain.

Other significant studies which use the concept of career from an occupational viewpoint, range from those with specific concerns such as the relation of careers and organisation size (Kriesberg, 1962) to those with broader interests regarding career patterns such as Sofer's (1970)

study of senior management where he examined their careers as rationalisations of the use of human resources by industrial organisations, providing simultaneously for the organisation 'building blocks' in a task-centred system and for the men themselves, repositories of their identity. More broadly, but still concerned with career patterns, the Pahls' (1971) study of managers and their wives questioned the assumption that careers provide the central focus of a manager's life, and concluded instead that it is the tension between family and career which is the 'supreme social reality' for the middle class. In these latter two studies it is pertinent to observe, for our purposes, that both were concerned with careers in bureaucratic settings, and, as such, centred on administrators as opposed to more traditional professionals. Nonetheless, in all these studies, career was regarded as useful in attempting analyses in an occupational context ranging from concerns with social solidarity to the structure of relations in primary groups.

Outside the occupational sphere, we have remarked on Becker and Goffman's work. Each of them has wielded considerable influence on establishing career as a significant sociological concept, especially in their emphasis on its subjective aspects.

For Becker, this has been displayed in his studies on deviance, where from an early, very loose definition of the term - little more than 'a sequence of changes' (see his study of the career of the marihuana user, Becker 1953), he later introduced a more structural approach. Thus his study of dance musicians was concerned not only with the commitment of the musician himself to his art but also the effects of the musician's career on the relation of the musician and his family - and all this was in the context of understanding the origins and forms of career lines in occupations (Becker, 1963). The development of this approach was largely contingent on Becker's identification of situational adjustment and commitment as central features of the career process (Becker, 1964).

By situational adjustment, Becker is referring to the process of personal development through which a person tries to meet the expectations he encounters in immediate face-to-face situations. Where this is achieved he is a success. The important observation that Becker makes, however, is that situational adjustment is 'very frequently not an individual process at all, but a collective one' - he singles out schools as a prime example, but he himself was mainly interested in negative cases, where people do not adjust 'appropriately'. The structural aspects are already

evident, but become more plain in his analysis of commitment. The essence of this process is consistency of behaviour. Thus a person is said to be committed when he is observed 'pursuing a consistent line of activity in a sequence of varied situations'. As Becker remarks, this, in fact, is usually the outcome of an acquisition of 'a variety of commitments which constrain one to follow a consistent pattern of behaviour'.

In all this Becker is evidently thinking of career in a broad sense, and while the structural aspect is present, it becomes far more pronounced when he concentrated on occupational careers. Here his concern was with occupational definitions of success and the contingencies affecting career movement, including the achievement of success. Success, he noted, need not be measured in money or fame, but rather in achieving a position in which the problems of the occupation are most easily solved - this is what members of the occupation define as success. Hence, 'success is achieved by moving from one to another of the positions that the structure of the occupation makes available'. But the same chronic problems which have set the standards of success have also produced the contingencies which affect the movement necessary to achieve those standards. Here Becker anticipates his later analysis of the dance musician, pointing out that the musician's desire for 'steady work' involves

renouncing some of his claims to artistic autonomy.

In such ways, Becker, while attempting to give full rein to the subjective aspects of the concept of career, in point of fact indicates that its main usefulness is in terms of its objective, structural aspect.

Erving Goffman makes no bones about this matter. While he wishes to use career from the perspective of natural history and to single out its moral aspects, thus concentrating on 'the regular sequence of changes career entails in a person's self and in his framework of imagery for judging himself and others', Goffman observes that 'the person's line concerning self defensively brings him into appropriate alignment with the basic values of his society'. Structural and cultural constraints are clearly present, not least in the case where 'the facts of a person's past and present are extremely dismal' for then 'about the best he can do is to show that he is not responsible for what becomes of him'. Thus Goffman, while, valuing the concept of career on account of it allowing 'one to move back and forth between the personal and the public', sees its crucial contribution in institutional terms, and adds that this avoids the need 'to rely overly for data upon what a person says he thinks he imagines himself to be' (Goffman, 1963, pp.119 and 139).

From all sides, then, the verdict is clear: while the importance of the concept of career lies in its two-sidedness, its major usefulness for sociological purposes lies in its objective nature which depicts the process primarily in terms of orderliness or, perhaps more suggestively, as (institutionally) regulated movement or controlled change. This is best illustrated in the occupational field, and there most sharply in the professions<sup>12</sup>.

### The Notion of Professional Career

'Typically', says Form (in Sills, 1968, p.252), 'a career involves not only systematic education for the initial occupation, but also systematic occupational experience in which each occupation is considered as technical and social preparation for the succeeding ones'. The allusion to the professions with their emphasis on the mastery of a knowledge field and commitment to the ideal of service is unmistakable, particularly when consideration is given to Form's further comment that 'the very existence of careers

12. Weber regarded career as one of the characteristics of his ideal-type of bureaucracy. Thus under his proposition that the personal position of the official is patterned, he noted, 'the official is set for a 'career' within the hierarchical order of the public service'. (in Gerth and Mills, 1957, p.203). The significance of the implications of this will become apparent when we examine the notion of bureaucratic-profession.

implies existence of occupational associations to regulate training and to supervise mobility'. (see also Wilensky, 1964, p.139).

Career, as we have seen, implies more than a job which carries a high income, but rather work which matches the highest powers of the individual, and accordingly one which requires some sense of vocation<sup>13</sup>. Thus career is one of the distinctive features of the professional type (Elliott, 1972, pp. 93 and 106), and provides a sign of a professional community (Goode, 1957, p.199). Indeed, it is argued that one speaks of career when one becomes self-conscious of a continuity of knowledge and skills, and that it is professionalisation which protects and enhances that continuity (Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.2). Thus it is claimed that a professional culture is incomplete without the concept of career, because 'at the heart of the career concept is a certain attitude towards work which is peculiarly professional' (Greenwood in Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.17)<sup>14</sup>.

13. Johnson sees a career in the professions as becoming a more important object of individual ambition on account of structural changes such as reduction of opportunities for individual success in business entrepreneurship. In a similar vein, he argues that professional career is now an important source of identity because other sources (such as family, village or locality) have become less important (in Hurd, 1973, pp.120 and 127).
14. In her refutation of school teaching as a professional career, Purvis placed heavy emphasis on this 'attitudinal variable' (and linked it with the preponderance of women in school-teaching). (1973, pp.49-50).



Certainly all the marks of career which we have noted - longevity of experience, commitment, specificity of function, succession of related jobs (hierarchical in prestige), and institutional significance both for the development of personality types and for maintenance of social order - are peculiarly present in the professions (see Greenwood in Nosow and Form, 1962, p.215). Consequently, in as far as career is distinctively associated with professional occupations, the notion of professional career may be regarded as the form of career most likely to assist theoretical understanding of and empirical investigation into the concept of career itself. In other words, it is in the context of professions that we may best answer, 'What is happening to careers?' Moreover, that question may be more sharply focussed if we examine the latest developments in what is happening there. Hence, our interest in involuntary change in professional careers. But this raises questions over change in careers and professions which we have not covered, and to which we must now turn.

CHAPTER TWO

PROFESSIONALISATION AND CHANGES IN CAREERS

In asking what is happening to professional careers, one sets afoot any number of larger questions concerning social change. These range from societal issues such as changing forms of social order to individual ones such as re-formulation of images of self, but most immediate to this actual issue are changes in professions and career structures. Our problem is what is happening on these two counts, and, most pertinently, in what respects and in which situations do these patterns of change inter-weave? Thus, while there is little possibility of understanding changes in professional careers without a broader knowledge of both the process of professionalisation and the causes and directions of change in careers generally, it is in the inter penetration of these processes that the whole issue is clarified and opened-up. Moreover, in as far as our interest is centred on involuntary change in professional careers, our particular attention will need to be given to the possibilities and limitations of such occurrences. Hence, background questions will be, Why involuntary change at all? and, How far can it go? In these ways we can begin to see what are the dimensions and processes of involuntary change in professional careers, and, particularly, the origins, courses and consequences of that

change. Is it, for instance, necessarily an 'undesirable', let alone a 'destructive' exercise? Or, on the other hand, could it be something of an institutional fiddle, a case of 'change in order to preserve'? But this is jumping ahead of ourselves. Our first task is to analyse professionalisation and career change.

### The Problems of Professionalisation

At first sight an examination of professions involves a study of the claim of certain groups for exclusivity (i.e. autonomy and monopoly) in their occupational practices. For, as Everett Hughes put it, 'Professionals profess. They profess to know better than others the nature of certain matters and to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs'. In that this is 'the essence of the professional idea and professional claim', Hughes sees professionals as those who 'claim the exclusive right to practise, as a vocation, the arts which they profess to know, and to give the kind of advice derived from their special lines of knowledge'. (in Lynn, 1967, p.2). In other words, a study of professions is a study of occupational elitism<sup>15</sup>.

15. Gyarmati (1975, p.638) goes much further, calling professions 'dominant elites' (i.e. those who are strong enough to impose and preserve these institutional arrangements which favour their own activities) but he appears to have 'traditional professions' in mind.

Having said that, the problems are self-evident: are the grounds on which the claim is made sufficient to warrant it, and how far can the claim be taken - to the absolute degree? Put another way, the questions raised by the professional claim revolve round the definition of profession and the limits of professionalisation.

1). The Definition of Profession

Hall (1969, p.70) avows that professions are 'the occupational class most readily identified by the public at large', but identification parades are notorious for instances of mistaken identity. The question in this case is what the public is looking for. Is it a collection of inherent qualities? Or, is it a self-assertiveness which brooks no argument? In other words, what are the criteria and the context of the claim to professional status? In the event, definitions of profession have been attempted from those viewpoints separately and in combination. Thus in talking of definition of profession, one is actually speaking of several approaches to it.

The first is in terms of the listing of attributes of professions; what Johnson (1972, p.23) referred to as 'trait-mongering'. This has a distinguished set of proponents from Greenwood (1957) to Moore (1970); indeed, Millerson (1964) listed twenty-one such authors and

tabulated the attributes they mentioned.

The significance of the fact that no single item was accepted by all these authors will be dealt with shortly, but for the moment it indicates the bewildering variety of the factors which are considered important for a definition, and consequently the impossible task of arriving at a final definition of profession through using this approach. Nonetheless, there are sufficient major areas of agreement to warrant an attempt. This is demonstrated by an early effort by Carr-Saunders: 'Profession may perhaps be defined as an occupation based upon specialised intellectual study and training, the purpose of which is to supply skilled service or advice to others for a definite fee or salary' (quoted in Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.4). Here the emphasis is first on what Talcott Parsons called 'technical competence' (in Sills, 1968, p.545), and secondly on what Wilensky (1964, p.140) termed 'the service ideal'.

Hence, a more recent definition takes up these two traits<sup>16</sup> but makes a notable addition: 'A profession is a type of higher-grade, non-manual occupation, with both subjectively and objectively recognised occupation status, possessing a well-defined area of study or concern and

16. Goode described them as (1) prolonged, specialised training in a body of abstract knowledge, and (2) a collectivity or service orientation, (1973, p.355).

providing a definite service, after advanced training and education' (Millerson, 1964, p.10). Thus, while knowledge monopoly and service-orientation remain key factors, an additional dimension is that which Haug (1973, p.196) describes as 'work autonomy'<sup>17</sup>.

It is at this point that the 'attributes' approach begins to merge with that of (functional and power) 'relationships', but before engaging in that analysis, the problems of definition can be further exposed through a critique of this 'trait-mongering'. This approach, as already observed, has a multiplier effect and consensus on vital items is not easily achieved. But whether the items are numerous or few, the underlying problem is the articulation of the theoretical relationships between the elements. Presumably it is such relationships which make professions distinctive, but the assumption of this approach is that these qualities are inherent and ipso facto

17. Haug argues that this 'knowledge-service-autonomy model easily permits the derivation of other elements of the various definitions'. Accordingly, she contends, 'High levels of commitment to the work are based on the investment of much time and effort in acquiring the body of knowledge and being socialized in the professional ethos. Substantial rewards in prestige and coin of the realm follow from control of mysteries not accessible to those without the academic credentials, licenses, and other proofs of knowledge acquisition. Professional organisations and their ethical codes, standards of performance and claims of peer review act as gatekeepers as well as guarantors both of the command of knowledge and of the service orientation, thus allowing for client trust and public confidence in the practitioner as deserving of the power and autonomy he demands'. (Haug, 1973, p.196).

need only to be recognised, not explained. This assumption places the issue in an ahistorical context where no reference need be made to the social context in which professionalisation takes place. Rather, the emphasis is on self-evidence where the existence of attributes autonomously makes and confirms the claim to professional status. No reference is necessary to political or academic contexts, or, for that matter, to variations in the professional-client relationship itself. In short, the approach is based on reified concepts, with little recognition of the social processes involved in their origin and perpetuation (on this whole section see Johnson, 1972, pp.23-30)<sup>18</sup>.

The 'relationship' or 'connections' approach answers many of these criticisms. Essentially the stress is on the nature and form of the professional-client (or producer-consumer) relationship which on account of the specialised skills of the professional is characterised by dependence and distance (Johnson, 1972, p.41). In short, this is the dimension of work autonomy which we mentioned earlier. In its most extreme form this means that professionals are

18. Compare Tropp's approach to an analysis of school teachers as a profession: 'The key to the growth of this particular professional group must be sought in the interaction between the continuing process of industrial expansion and the English social structure'. (1957, p.1).

those 'who are considered by their colleagues to be members of professional groups' (Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.viii), thus making a profession 'a community within a community' (Goode, 1957). But the operative phrase is 'within' - so, in speaking of 'relationships', the larger social context is vital. This needs to be viewed, of course, not in terms of a reified public but rather from the standpoint of a complex of social processes which produce vital economic, political and social connections which themselves substantiate and legitimise the privileged position of the group.

At the broadest level, this is to do with the moral basis of society (a Durkeimian theme taken up by many authors, e.g. Elliott, 1972, p.7; Freidson, 1971, p.292; and Halmos, 1970, p.57), but also, in the same context of the division of labour, with solutions to specific (though universal) problems of human experience (Jackson, 1970, p.7). In this way, professions have a double significance: 'It is not only the patterning of the division of labour and the processes by which patterns are perpetuated and changed in relation to occupational activities which are important, but also the way in which these are related to the overall patterns and processes' (Turner and Hodge in Jackson, 1970, p.49). But whether one is regarding professions as a unique product



of the division of labour, or is viewing them as performing a special role in industrial society, the underlying theme is that of social control, and the professional relationships are accordingly functional and power relationships.

This is made very apparent through an analysis of the producer-consumer relationship, and particularly in respect of where the control of it is located. Johnson (1972, p.45) gives three possibilities in this connection. First, the producer defines the needs of the consumer and the manner in which those needs are catered for. The result is collegiate control where the profession has a guild-like form. Secondly, the consumer assumes the defining role and various forms of patronage (oligarchic or corporate depending on the character and composition of the consumer) ensue. The final alternative is where a third party, especially the state, mediates in the relationship and determines both the content and subjects of the practice.

It is plain that this emphasis on types of occupational control, and especially on basing an analysis of profession as the product of variant institutional forms of occupational control, leads to a plethora of professional organisations which, at most, are no more than a 'special case' of occupations generally (Krause, 1971, p.75). Indeed,

the power approach tends to exclude the notion of professional continuum<sup>19</sup> which stretches from non-professional to ideal professional (Johnson, 1972, p.18)<sup>20</sup>.

All such considerations spell out, of course, the immense difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory definition of profession. Haug, for instance, in attempting to summarise the relation of the dimensions of knowledge monopoly, service orientation and work autonomy says, 'Professionals are supposed to be experts who put their clients' interests first, and so are given a relatively free hand with their clients' problems, subject only to the control of other professionals', but then immediately adds a vital qualification to this description on account of the location of professionals in bureaucratic settings (Haug in Halmos, 1973, p.196).

The fact of the matter is that asking what is a profession is erroneous if that is based on treating

19. For an exposition of the notion of professional continuum see Pavalko, (1971).
20. Elliott suggests (1972, p.97) that in as far as the professional ideal-type includes continua of behaviour outside work there may be an argument for professions as a distinct class or status group. However, if only the occupational side is taken, then a 'competitive model' (rather than a sacred-profane typology) may be more appropriate for the analysis of the practice of professionals (Jackson, 1970), p.111).

professions as unique phenomena. Professions are not entities but rather are processes (or, more accurately, structures in process). Thus the answerable question is: what is a professionalised occupation (see Jackson, 1970, p.5)<sup>21</sup>. At most, professions may be regarded as a special case, thus making them distinct from other occupations, but not separable from them. The focus of attention is, therefore, on professionalisation of occupations, and it is in that light that attempts to identify traits and relationships plainly assist a definition of profession. This is because they indicate that the process has distinguishing marks and recognisable boundaries, and thus that perhaps professions may best be understood in terms of a series of typologies. It is with this in mind that we go on to examine the limits of professionalisation.

ii). The Limits of Professionalisation

Professionalisation may be approached from several

21. Vollmer and Mills (1966, pp. vii, viii) adopted a similar stance: "We avoid the use of the term 'profession' except as an 'ideal type' of occupational organisation which does not exist in reality, but which provides the model of the form of occupational organization that would result if any occupational group became completely professionalised. In this way, we wish to avoid discussion of whether or not any particular occupational group is 'really a profession', or not. In accord with Hughes' experience, we feel that it is much more fruitful to ask 'how professionalized', or more specifically 'how professionalized in certain identifiable respects' a given occupation may be at some point of time".

conceptual standpoints, and we shall take those of the stages of its development, the relation of professionalisation and professionalism, and the relation of professionalisation and bureaucratisation. All of these will help to identify and clarify structural features and processes involved in understanding professional careers and particularly involuntary change in them.

First, then, professionalisation may be regarded in a linear sense as a series of stages, what Caplow (1954, p.139) described as 'definite steps'. Harold Wilensky, the main expositor of this approach, identified, from an historical survey of eighteen occupations, a typical sequence of events 'in the push towards professionalisation'. . Briefly, these were: (1) the emergence of an occupational group on the basis of full-time engagement on a particular set of problems; (2) the establishment of training and selection procedures; (3) the formation of a professional association; (4) political agitation for the support of law for its control over its sphere and modes of practice; and (5) the elaboration of a formal code of ethics (Wilensky, 1964, pp.142 ff). An advantage of this approach is its identification of major characteristics attributed to professions (Elliott, 1972, p.114), with the corollary that a typology may be constructed on the basis of the degree to which occupations proceed

through this sequence. Hence, distinctions may be made while relations are maintained between what Carr-Saunders described as established professions (law, medicine), those in process or marginal (nursing, teaching), new professions (hospital, administration), and doubtful (advertising). The weakness of this approach is the same as we noted for all 'trait' approaches, namely that it pays little attention to the rate of change and, consequently, makes no allowance for the political, economic and social contexts in which the changes occur (see Hall, 1969, p.80). Above all, it does not take into account the fact that the impact of the prevailing system of control of the occupation will vary as a result of its prior historical development (Johnson, 1972, p.47). Thus the pyramidal model of a professional continuum which this approach presents is clearly inadequate for understanding professionalisation (we shall suggest an alternative model shortly). However, it does have some usefulness in as far as it attempts to identify the nature and order of the structural components of professionalisation and we shall return to these aspects in due course.

In conjunction with such a mapping exercise, there must be some explanation of why groups are on this pathway at all, and why they happen to be at their particular point on it. Here a distinction between professionalisation and

professionalism is useful. Often the terms are confused, but Vollmer and Mills neatly distinguish them:

"We would prefer to use 'professionalism' to refer to an ideology and associated activities that can be found in many and diverse occupational groups where members aspire to professional status.

Professionalism as an ideology may induce members of many occupational groups to strive to become professional". (Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.viii).

Professionalism, with its cardinal value of autonomy, is, therefore, both the end product of professionalisation and the major inducement to engage in that process. Accordingly, professions may once more be distinguished though remaining related on this basis. Thus, Elliott observes that 'new professions have drawn on the ideology and models of organisation set out in the older tradition, just as the older professions have developed directly from it' (1972, p.56).

Indeed, if Katz's observation (in Etzioni, 1969, p.71) that 'few professionals talk as much about being professions as those whose professional stature is in doubt' is accepted, then the degree of espousment of the ideology would be the mark of how professionalised an occupation is. In this way

professionalism may be regarded as the ideology of those occupational groups moving towards self-sufficiency (Elliott, 1972, p.144), and particularly of those who 'are unlikely to achieve conditions which are antithetical to the development of the form of institutionalised control under which the occupation is paramount and autonomous' (Johnson, 1972, p.32: we will examine shortly the implications of the link between the ideologies of professions and the 'dominant ideologies' of a society). Hence, in as far as professionalism is 'a necessary constituent of professionalisation'

(although not a sufficient cause of the entire process, Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.viii), it indicates unmistakably clear limitations to the process of professionalisation and emphasises that most occupational groups are aspiring to the 'symbolic label for desired status' (Hughes in Elliott, 1972, p.3) rather than that they have achieved it.

Accordingly, the typical profession is most likely to be the one which is striving towards the ideal.

Largely this situation has been arrived at because within the broad process of industrialisation, professionalisation has developed cheek-by-jowl with bureaucratisation. Thus while professionals have typically worked in bureaucratic organisations, this has not resolved the basic problem of the distinction between their modes of authority (Goode,

1973, p.370 - but here and in other references the problem may be exaggerated through regarding the concepts of bureaucracy and profession in an ideal-typical manner). Cotgrove and Box summarise this conflict as:

"The authority of the administrator flows from his position in the hierarchy. But the authority of the professional rests on his expertise. Employment in an organisation, therefore, represents a potential threat to the autonomy of the professional to exercise his expertise, subject only to the judgement of his peers who are alone competent to assess his performance" (1970, pp. 4, 5).

Kornhauser, however, while recognising that the problem is not that of the relationship between organisations and individuals, but rather of that between two institutions, argues that mutual accommodation is possible<sup>22</sup>. In his analysis of the relationship of science and industry, he remarks on their mutual interdependence, in as far as scientists rely on the organisation of resources, and the

22. On a broader level Ritzer has argued that Weber himself did not see professionalisation and bureaucratisation as antithetical to each other, but rather as 'aspects of rationalisation'. Furthermore, Ritzer contends that Weber's concern was with 'bureaucratic-professional' (1975, p.632).



organisation relies on scientists for innovation (Kornhauser, 1962). In more recent sociological literature 'a persistent theme ... is the compatibility of professional status and performance with employment in a complex organisation' (Freidson, 1971, p.11)<sup>23</sup>. Perhaps Wilensky stands in both camps of thought with his conclusion that 'bureaucracy enfeebles the service ideal more than it threatens professional autonomy', but he is unambiguous in his declaration that the occupational group of the future will be a hybrid organisation, combining elements from both the professional and bureaucratic models (Wilensky, 1964, pp.148 and 157).

This trend does not necessarily mean, however, the elimination of professionalism in its present guise. A

23. After a study of the professional accountant in industry, Hastings and Hinings concluded that the general notion of the incompatibility of professional orientations with bureaucratic authority should be used 'with great care' (1970, p.364).

But compare Scott's comprehensive analysis of the areas of conflict for professionals in bureaucracies (in Vollmer and Mills, 1966, chap. 8) and also Pavalko's proposition that 'the basic issue' proposed by professionals working in bureaucracies is one of conflict (1971, p.189).

An important consideration appears to be the proportion of professionals employed in the organisation. Thus Noble and Pym noted that in an organisation with a high proportion of professionals 'the conflict between bureaucracy and the claims of professional autonomy have been accommodated. This has been achieved within an elaborate and involuted system of committee control which has been able to exploit the uncertainties of collegiate authority without destroying it'. (1970, p.442)

major obstacle to that development, for example, lies in the professional associations. These (which some regard, on the basis of their presence or absence, age and type, as a measure of the degree of professionalisation, e.g. Harries-Jenkins in Jackson (1970, p.63) have the objectives of generating and supporting the autonomy of professions. Classically, this is apparent where they control recruitment and certification of members, and set standards of adequate practice (Freidson, 1971, p.79), but in that they strive for the status of their members and occupation in exclusive terms, this makes them competitive in nature (Millerson, 1964, pp.116 and 10). Consequently, when they are also located in bureaucratic organisations, the tendency is for them to adopt some of the characteristics of unionism, with its emphasis on financial rewards and conditions of service (Haug and Sussman, 1971, p.92). This in itself would be a development of the trend in Britain, noted by Elliott (1972, chap. 2) where there is a decline of status professionalisation (the place which professions occupy relative to other class and status groups), and a rise in occupational professionalisation (the part which professions play in managing division of labour and specialisation of knowledge).

From such considerations of ideology and organisation, it is very plain that it is a fundamental error to talk of either the profession or the process of professionalisation. Professionalised occupations are distinct from, though related to, each other (e.g. on the principle of work autonomy). Similarly, the process of professionalisation is a complex of processes, not only on account of its relations to other major social processes, but within itself as well. The outcome is a plurality of occupational groups characterised not so much by the degree of professionalisation, as by the various forms of control and differing features of professionalism.

Hence it is also erroneous to speak of the professional continuum. At the very least there is a plurality or series of continua and each continuum within that scheme is a set of continua in itself. Thus to take the example of Johnson's mediation type of profession, continua of professionalisation could be identified depending on the emphasis given to technical competence or service orientation and based on the degree of exclusivity of practice (i.e. autonomy and monopoly) conferred and/or allowed by the State. For example, within the 'medical profession' in the National

Health Service the following scheme of continua could be devised:-

Aspects of Professionalism	Degree of Exclusivity of Practice		
	High	Intermediate	Low
Technical competence	Dentists	Opticians	Hospital phys io-therapists
Technical <u>AND</u> Service	Consultants	-	-
Service orientation	Hospital Chaplains	Health Visitors	Nurses

The question, of course, is what is the relation of such continua and here Katz's suggestion (in Etzioni, 1969, p.69) that it may be understood in terms of a caste system (e.g. nurses do not become doctors on the basis of a hierarchical pattern) could be helpful.

Nonetheless, despite this complexity it is clear that many professions have common ground in that they are set in bureaucratic organisation and exhibit bureaucratic features themselves. Indeed, this would appear not only to be the predominant trend in professionalisation but such a heavily marked process that Haug argues that de-professionalisation is taking place; that is, there is 'a loss to professional occupations of their unique qualities, particularly their monopoly over knowledge, public belief in their service ethos, and expectations of work autonomy and

authority over the client'. According to her this loss is on account of the bureaucratisation of professional practice, because in this setting clients (through aggregation and interaction) are more able to demand accountability. But Haug throws doubt on her own hypothesis in admitting that within the same setting professionals can bring organisational power 'to cow clients' (in Halmos, 1973, pp. 197 and 207 - in any event she appears to be over-stating her case because of her ideal-typical view of bureaucracy). For our purposes the thesis does no more than support our contention that the typical professional to-day (and tomorrow) is the one who is employed in a complex organisation, and generally may be described as a bureaucratic. Yet, having said that, there is still no single type of professional in that category. Within the National Health Service in Britain, for example, there is a marked difference between hospital doctors and hospital administrators, although both may be regarded as salaried professionals. Moreover, within one of these professional occupations, there are distinct segments, not only in terms of differentiation on the basis of task but also in terms of organisation on the basis of ideology. Hence, one can distinguish not only pathologist from paediatrician but also types of pathologists and types of

paediatrician (Bucher and Strauss, 1961, pp. 325-334)<sup>24</sup>.

However, in another version of this approach, Satow notes that the crucial segmentation is based not on skills but on 'compromise between organisational adaptation and commitment to ideology'. She observes this is particularly applicable to organisations which are devoted to providing professional services (e.g. mental hospitals) and the primary segmentation occurs between 'administrative and operative systems'. Moreover, she contends that this segmented structure comprises 'not a deviant form of bureaucracy but a unique type of organisation', which she call 'value-rational organisation' (1975, pp. 526-31). Plainly this approach is suggestive for understanding the concept of bureaucratic profession and is of importance to our interests. At the very least it suggests that ideological considerations as well as questions of power must be taken into account when studying professionals working in bureaucratic organisations.

Nonetheless, even in this case, the crucial consideration is not so much that professionals are set in or comprise a type of bureaucracy as their historical institutional (economic

24. Johnson sees professions as 'constellations of intensive and narrow specialisms' and notes that 'the various sub-groups do not necessarily share a common interest' (in Hurd, 1973, p.128).

and moral) significance<sup>25</sup>. Thus Leggatt observes, 'It may well be that while an elite profession can maintain status in the context of bureaucratic employment, as do lawyers in the field of industry, no profession can win standing for itself for the first time in this employment' (in Jackson, 1970, p.160). The key issue appears to that of state sponsorship (Mok, 1977) which not only defines the area of practice but also provides a 'guaranteed clientele' (Johnson, 1972, p.78). We will return to this subject shortly.

From all this it is clear that many of the dimensions of professionalism and the directions of professionalisation may be examined through the notion of the salaried professional. It is here that one is brought up sharply before questions of authority and autonomy. For instance, just who is in control? Moreover, just what and whom are controlled? Is it a case of ambiguous power - thus warranting the description of the salaried professional as 'the modern

25. Within a general analysis of integration in society and of its moral renewal on the basis of the 'counselling ideology' permeating the 'leadership class', Halmos sees professions as divisible on the grounds of their differing approaches to the service ideal into impersonal and personal service professions, but connected on the basis of the 'counselling ideology' (Halmos 1970, pp. 25-6, 38 and 57). The point of the analysis is not merely to note the extensive growth of these personal service professions, but to study the implications for 'moral reformation of leadership' to the extent where society itself may be described as 'the personal service society'. For our purposes, however, the important consideration is that these personal service professions are located and function invariably in bureaucratic settings and are promoted and supported by the state.

marginal man, his feet uncertainly planted in two different and partially conflicting institutional environments' (Scott in Etzioni, 1969, p.89). But even among the 'purest' professions notably law and medicine, there is a considerable proportion of full-time salaried employees (Caplow, 1954, p.170, and Shrank, 1977).

The fact of the matter is that the status of the salaried professional is characterised by 'mixed forms of control' (Wilensky, 1964, p.138)<sup>26</sup>, and while this may present 'the continuing problem ... derived from the conflict between the demands of a bureaucratic career commitment and the requirements of professional personality involvement' (Harries-Jenkins in Jackson, 1970, p.107), it is now a commonplace experience. Hence, Wilensky (1964, p.157) could forecast that 'professional orientations rooted in a colleague group will increasingly be found mixed with careerist orientations rooted in a workplace hierarchy'. This may well be an over-simplification, however, because it tends to assume a polarisation or assimilation of types of professionals within bureaucratic organisations into a hybrid, 'bureaucratic professional'. As we have seen, such

26. Johnson (in Scase, 1977, p.99) prefers the notion of indetermination which indicates the capacity of professionals to control their situation - but, for our purposes, a full examination of this idea can best be left until we deal with the question of involuntary change.



a view scarcely does justice to the varying types of occupational control operative in professions, including those within bureaucratic organisations. Thus while government may hold the purse strings of education, it frequently refers to professionals in the higher education sector to guide its policies in many social spheres (e.g. as Chairman of Special Enquiries), and in any case is heavily dependent on the 'knowledge' generated and published from that source.

Consequently, authority and autonomy are not entirely lost for all salaried professionals. Indeed, if Satow's suggestion of professions as value-rational organisations is accepted we may be witnessing new aspects of authority and autonomy. Nonetheless, such professionals are plainly subject to change from different quarters and in new forms from that which was experienced in earlier generations. Hence, we need to turn to those experiences which may be examined in the general context of change in careers, which involves change in societal, organisational and individual (identity) levels.

### Changes in Careers

Careers, as we noted earlier, spell change, but this is of a regulated, orderly kind because of the implications

it holds for stability at societal, organisational and individual levels. Indeed, the *raison d'etre* of careers is to achieve an intermeshing between these levels. Naturally, the problem is one of synchronisation, the achievement of coincidence or agreement between general social trends, developing occupational organisation, and stages of the individuals (and family's) life-cycle<sup>27</sup>. Accordingly, careers cannot be thought of in terms of master plans which will engineer the necessary social machinery for this end. Rather, they need to be viewed as processes or series of negotiations whereby 'working arrangements' are achieved. Careers are, therefore, not so much formulae for social order, as the expression of the attempt to achieve it. Careers, in other words, may at once be regarded as the product and the producer of social control, particularly, as we have seen, in the occupational sphere. In consequence, an examination of change in careers involves first, a study of the context in which it occurs (and, in conjunction with that, the direction it takes), and, secondly, the question of who controls the change.

27. Elliott follows a similar scheme for the analysis of professionalisation, seeing it as 'part of general social change, the way different occupations aspire to and achieve professional status and the way in which individuals become practising members of particular professions'. (1972, p.5).

## The Context and Direction of Change in Careers

A complete over-view of social change at any of the levels we have identified is not only too large an enterprise to be entered upon here, but also would tend to obscure our major theme, producing a case of 'not being able to see the wood for the trees'. Instead, our procedure will be to select (no doubt, arbitrarily) pointers within and between these three levels of social structure as this will help us to analyse changes in careers.

At the societal level, change may be identified in terms of social movements or in developments of social stratification. Of key interest to us in these respects are the contributions of Halmos (1970 and 1973) and Johnson (in Scase, 1977) because both relate their analyses to professionalisation<sup>28</sup>.

28. Both authors mark how professions sustain dominant ideologies. Note how Gyarmati's claim that 'the doctrine of the professions has the self-same roots as, and fits in perfectly with, the dominant ideology of society and that it derives its effectiveness precisely from this mutually reinforcing symbiotic relationship between the two systems of legitimation' could be applied to both viewpoints, although he himself sees the dominant ideology in terms of 'the doctrine of the competition of elites' (1975, p.638).

Halmos, we noted earlier, marks the tendency in modern industrial society for humanitarianism to become the core ideology, sustained by, and, in turn, sustaining, the growth of personal service professions. As a consequence these professions have become not only numerically greater than any others, but their ideology permeates the whole social structure, thus producing the personal service society<sup>29</sup>.

Johnson, on the other hand, is more concerned with the thesis of social reproduction, and especially with the significance of professionals in this process. In accepting the inadequacy of his earlier analysis of professions (1972) on the grounds that he concentrated too much on the division of labour and too little on 'an adequate theory of class relations', Johnson sees a similar fault in other arguments 'for the central significance of professionals in contemporary processes of social change'. He centres his critique on the notion of indetermination (culled from Jamous and Peloille in Jackson, 1970, p.142), which refers to the capacity of professions, on the basis of the organisation of their knowledge, to resist bureaucratic authority, and he focuses

29. An instance of this inter-relation of such societal values and organisational structure is that of social service departments in local government authorities, where the organisation is 'still bureaucracy but is distinguished in terms of the organisation of resources for the purpose of dealing with complex and unstructured problems' (Dunkerley, 1975, p.66).

particularly on 'the conditions of indeterminacy'. These he associates with a capitalist mode of production - hence, 'professionalism ... can arise only where the ideological and political processes sustaining indetermination coincide with requirements of capital' (in Scase, 1977, p.106). Hence, while throwing light on the relation of bureaucratic organisations and professions (and we shall return to this subject shortly), Johnson's main contribution for our immediate purposes is to indicate that professions (and their career structures) are part and parcel of the processes involved in the reproduction of class structure<sup>30</sup>.

Thus, it is such cultural and structural considerations as these that provide the backcloth against which general and specific career change takes place.

At the organisational level, a study of occupations and careers necessarily raises questions of change not only on account of developmental considerations associated with industrialisation (e.g. Wilensky, 1960, p.555; and Olesen and Whittaker in Jackson, 1970, p.183), but more narrowly,

30. The limitations of this thesis were well illustrated by Fielding in his study of the professionalisation of ophthalmic optics where he observed 'eye care is needed irrespective of the socio-economic system' (1978, p.300). However, see Johnson's argument that 'medicine (is) the beneficiary of the ideological process linked to the requirements of capital' (1977, p.230).

through the conflictual relations of organisations themselves. (Dunkerley, 1972, p.71). In the latter respect, we have already noted the conflicts (and compatibilities) between bureaucratic organisations and professions, but, of course, other areas of conflict also exist. This is inevitable if organisations are viewed as 'a configuration of interacting variables' which include task (objectives of organisation), technology (equipment, plant, buildings), structure (systems of authority, work-flow, information systems, co-ordination and communication) and people (attitudes and expectations) (Clark, 1972, pp, 2 and 28). Certainly, as Clark observes, some of these variables are highly interdependent, but both their number and complexity militate against smooth functioning or even planned change, e.g. the effecting of congruence, between job satisfaction and job motivation which involves tying together the context of a job (supervision, working conditions, salary, relations with colleagues) and the content of a job (opportunities for personal growth, for advancement and recognition) (Clark, 1972, pp. 2 and 58). Indeed, in respect of bureaucratic organisations themselves, Form notes that 'while their growth increases the number of possible careers, these are far from orderly on account of such facts as technological change and increasing specialisation' (in Sills, 1968, p.253)<sup>31</sup>. Johns goes even further

31. On this point, Haug argues that computerisation is a major contributory factor to de-professionalisation (in Halmos, 1973, p.201).

in arguing that the nature of organisational change itself produces 'the need for constant change', on the grounds that 'change takes time to implement and consolidate: by the time the process is complete, the problem which stimulated the change has itself altered - and so the need for change is never-ending' (Johns, 1973, p.16).

In fact, consideration of the time dimension is always a crucial one in understanding organisational change<sup>32</sup>. Indeed, ironically, it is this very factor which has hampered research on the subject - sponsorship of longitudinal studies is notoriously difficult to obtain (Clark, 1972, p.151), and this may account for both the paucity of studies in this area (Hage and Aiken, 1970, p.31) and for the omission of the time factor in studies which are actually undertaken (Jones, 1968, p.164). Nonetheless, in an attempt to remedy this failing, Hage and Aiken note that there are stages to the process of organisational change - what they call evaluation, initiation, implementation and routinisation (1970, pp.96ff)<sup>33</sup>. The weakness

32. In Argyris's analysis of 32 major changes, he noted that not one was fully completed and integrated even three years after the change was announced (see Johns, 1973, p.28).
33. Compare Zaltman, Duncan and Holbek's 'paradigm of organisational change and innovation' and their exposition of the 'stages of the innovation process' (1973, pp.5, 58-70 and 178-183).

of such a scheme for our purposes, however, is that it is related to the authors' own model of eight dimensions of organisational structure and performance, and not to different kinds of organisational change such as deliberate, accidental and reluctant. All the same, such analyses of organisational change make it plain that while the process is inescapable, it is far from straightforward, even when it is planned (Clark, 1972, p.2) - a conclusion which is reinforced when resistance to change is taken into account.

As in the case of conflict in organisational relations, resistance is likewise seen as inherent to the situation. Thus, Johns observes that 'resistance to change is endemic among the people who work in organisations' (1973, p.15)<sup>34</sup>. Moreover, this is not simply a matter of current attitudes and expectations of groups and individuals (we shall return to this issue in a moment), but rather that it frequently has an historical and, consequently, an ideological base. Elliott makes this point forcefully in his observation on change in professional organisation:

'Professional organisation is suited to social change

34. For a fuller treatment of structural and psychological resistance to innovation, see Zaltman, Duncan and Holbek, 1973, pp.85-103.



at the general level, in the sense that through professionalisation new occupational groups can emerge demarcating newly emergent functions. What is more difficult, however, is to bring about change within a given profession. The patterns of thought and activity which develop within a profession are supported internally and externally by its own structure and the relation it has established with other organisations and associations. Not only career and economic interests are at stake, but also established patterns of thought and ways of approaching the world' (Elliott, 1972, p.150).

The question of the capacity and ability of professionals to resist change may best be left for the moment, but it illustrates that organisational change is characterised by the process of overcoming resistance (Johns, 1973, p.28). Accordingly, 'the ability to introduce change with minimum resistance is a key managerial skill' (see Johns, 1973, pp. 155-16 and also Handy, 1970, chap. 12 - the reference will be important to us when we come to examine the role of the Principals of the colleges)<sup>35</sup>. However, as Johns further

35. Noble and Pym refer to the 'myth of the master manager' especially in organisations which are staffed largely by professionals, and they observe that in such cases 'committee control' is the source and form of decision-making (1970, pp.435, 442).

observes, 'as a general rule, any method of implementing change which incorporates at least an element of participation is preferable to autocratic techniques, mainly because participation nearly always helps to lower the level of conflict, stress and tension accompanying change'. (Johns, 1973, p.156).

Nonetheless, whatever the managerial skills and level of participation, organisational change is frequently described and experienced as 'deeply-felt crisis'. This is particularly the case in a bureaucratic organisation, which Crozier observes is 'an organisation that cannot correct its behaviour by learning from its errors'; indeed, its rigidity is such that it cannot 'adjust without crisis to the transformations that the accelerated evolution of modern society makes more and more imperative' (Crozier, 1964, p.195)<sup>36</sup>.

On the other hand, the description of a situation as being in 'a state of crisis' is the usual justification for a reform or governmental decision destined to remedy it

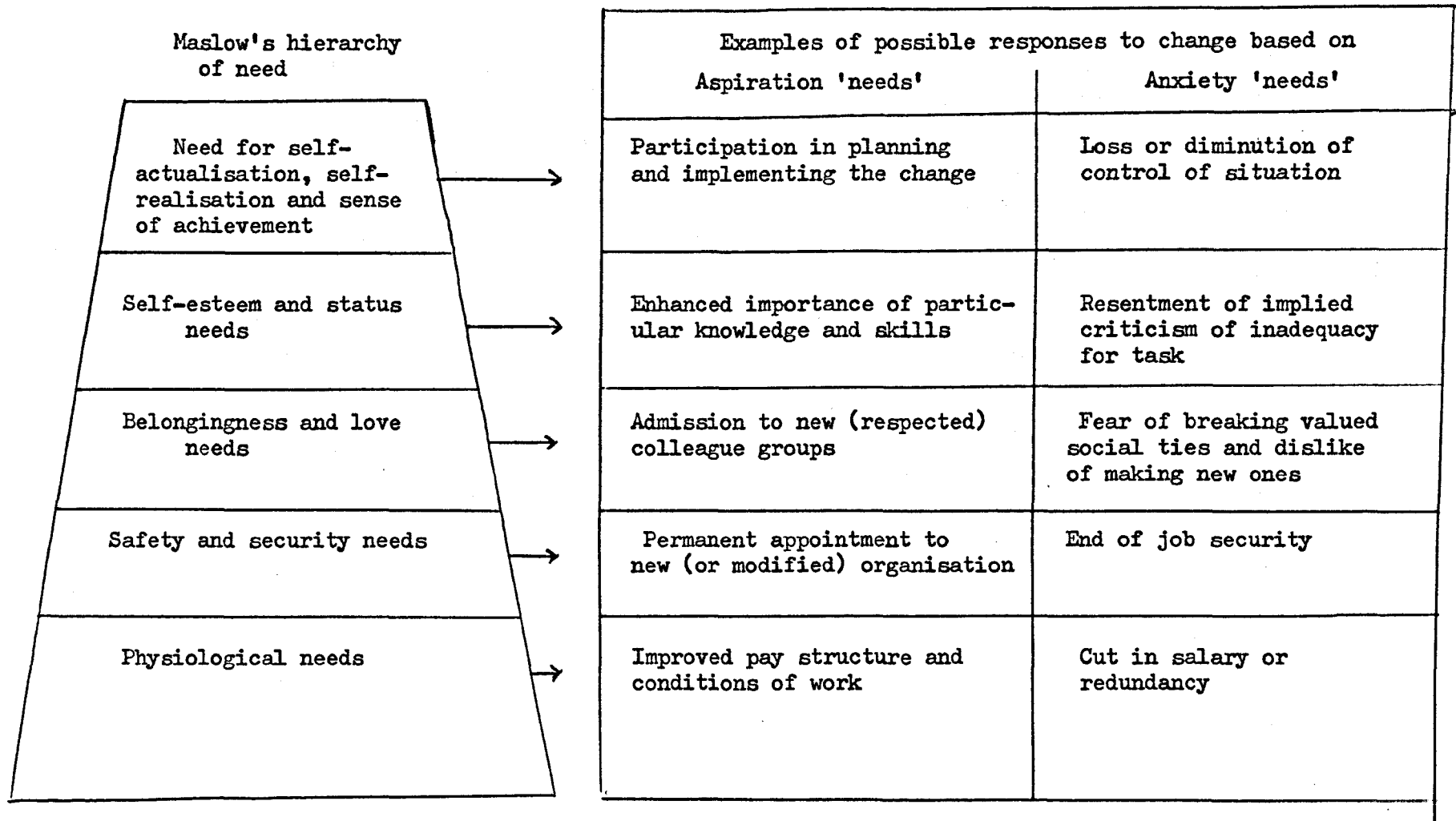
36. As we have already noted in other references to bureaucracy, Crozier appears to be referring to an extreme form of bureaucracy, whereas the pertinent question for such organisations (as in the case of the professions) is 'How far are they bureaucratized?' We will take up this question ourselves when we refer to the Colleges of Education as 'bureaucracies of low constraint' (see Newton et. al., 1975, pp.11-12).

(Jamous and Peloille in Jackson, 1970, p.111). Hence, the crisis-nature of organisational change lies not only in the structure of bureaucratic organisations themselves, but also in the uses to which they are put. It is this latter consideration that makes their change sometimes seem chaotic and beyond the conscious control of individuals, but 'never is the process of change random' (Inkeles in Johns, 1973, p.xi).

Turning to the level of the individual, the key issue for him is not simply the change itself, but his perception of it (Sayles and Strauss, 1966, p.303). Of course, both the origins of that perception and the course and means of its realisation are extremely complicated matters which we can do no more than touch upon. Plainly, classic sociological variables such as age, sex, marital status, occupation and education are of vital importance in reaching any understanding of the subject, but the general difficulty over analysing career change at the level of the individual can be illustrated by an elaboration of Maslow's (1943) model of the hierarchy of the needs of people who work (Figure 1). (see next sheet).

Clearly, such a scheme begs all manner of questions; for instance, the form and direction that the organisational

Figure 1. Categories of Responses of Individuals to Change in Occupational Organisation



change takes, that is, whether or not it is a merger, closure, stream-lining exercise and so on. On the other hand, the over-lapping of the needs does indicate that any change which is perceived in threatening terms can best be described as 'traumatic' in its effects. Clearly, this is particularly the experience in the case of redundancy. Here, Johns notes that four stages of re-action are undergone before people reach a new equilibrium, namely those of shock, 'flight or fight', gradual acceptance and adaptation (1973, p.44). Sofer gives a similar list, but in addition to obvious strategies such as removal from the stressful situation and tolerating the emotions which go with threatening situations, mentions the propensity to construct defensive ideologies which will afford some protection from anxiety and disappointment (Sofer, 1970, pp.280-7). The important point being made here is that much occupational change is not directed at or experienced by isolated individuals but rather by groups. Thus, the group is frequently both the medium and target of change (Johns, 1973, p.88).

Nonetheless, individuals invariably have some sense of being alone in the experience, and in this regard personal career considerations are frequently the major concern. Sofer, for instance, notes that even thoughts of significant change evoke feelings of anticipatory shame

and loss of self-esteem because career and self-conception are so tightly interwoven (1970, pp.48 and 69). Nor are possibilities of 'a new start' particularly helpful because this often means 'falling behind in the competition within our age-graded stratification and mobility' (Sofer, 1970, p.47)<sup>37</sup>. Indeed, the factor of age or stage of life-cycle is a paramount one in considerations of career change, not least because it is allied to other involvements and obligations in such areas as family and community (Pecaut, quoted in Johns, 1973, p.60).

From such considerations, one is forced to the conclusion that change in careers is two-faced. On the one side, it is all a piece, but, on the other, it is piecemeal. Thus, crisis at one level of social structure is re-organisation at another and trauma at yet another - all are inter-connected; but, to take a different view and to examine one level on its own is to find that one organisation's loss is another's gain, or one man's demotion is another's promotion. Indeed, between the levels themselves, inconsistency and discrepancy are as

37. On the 'appropriate' relationship between age and work activity see Pavalko (1971, pp.159-61), and particularly his observation that 'substantial deviation from these norms and definitions may generate a variety of problems for individuals'. The question which confronts us, however, is what happens when 'normal' conditions and arrangements are upset? Do the same norms apply? Or, do they produce unanticipated consequences, perhaps of a dysfunctional kind?

much apparent as are congruity and equitability.

What seems certain is that if change is radically to affect career structures and career lines, it has to assume crisis proportions - to the degree where imposition of policy cannot finally be challenged. In this way, the change itself must have the appearance of 'all of a piece' (that is, a coherent and justifiable policy) even though it may be experienced in a piecemeal fashion (for example, as 'very rough justice'). In short, the context of career change cannot be circumscribed to what Wright Mills (1961) called 'private troubles' (that is, within the character of the individual and within the range of his immediate relations with others), but rather is that of 'public issues' (that is, the organisation of many personal milieux into the institutions of historical society). Similarly, the direction of change will be from the institution to the individual, that is, having the character of imposition from above.

But given that career change cannot be fully understood without appreciating its context and direction, this still leaves begging the question of the control of such change. For what is clear is that there is no neat interplay between wide social movements, specific phases of organisational change and the varying stages of the individual's life-cycle;

nor, for that matter, is there one unequivocal direction of change. The central problem of change in careers, accordingly, is the handling of that change.

In practical terms this involves, from one viewpoint, managing change, and, from another, coping with it, particularly if one or more of the parties concerned regard the change as unjustified and imposed and thereby involuntary. But this is the practical view, and, as such, can be approached only in terms of considering specific cases; whereas, while we shall use this approach ourselves shortly, our prior need is to ascertain if there are general principles or theoretical models in this connection whereby groups or categories of individual cases can be examined and understood. Accordingly, we will describe some general theoretical contributions to the topic, and then approach the actual question of involuntary change with more specific studies and references.

### The Control of Change in Careers

In as far as the question of the control of change in careers is at its most acute where the levels of social structure intersect, a prime instance is the point at which institutions and organisation intersect with groups and individuals, seriously affecting their career lines. It is



on this level that we shall specially concentrate. Accordingly, we shall use Glaser and Strauss's (1971) analysis of status passage to gain a broad appreciation of the elements of and issues raised by the question, and then use contributions by Merton, Goffman and Becker to examine specific aspects of it.

The notion of status passage is particularly appropriate to the study of career because, as Glaser and Strauss observe, it is at once associated with the functioning of organisations and institutions and consequently with their change, and also with the necessary social mobility of individuals - status is a resting place for individuals but one which they must leave (this and subsequent references are to Glaser and Strauss, 1971; here, p.2)<sup>38</sup>.

The status passage itself entails 'movement into a different part of a social structure; or a loss or gain of privilege, influence or power, and a changed identity and sense of self, as well as changed behaviour" (p.2). The point to note about this movement is that pre-eminently it is scheduled, regular and prescribed - hence, very frequently it is ritualised (p.3). But there are other properties

38. The concept itself stems from the broader notion of 'rites of passage' which basically referred to passages between age-linked statuses - once more an indication of the relevance of the idea to that of career.

(pp.4-6, and given in italics below) which may characterise the kind of change which interests us and may assist in its analysis.

Obviously, a major property in this connection is that the passage may be undertaken *voluntarily* or involuntarily - in the latter case, there may be no choice in the matter or perhaps degrees of choice either en toto or about aspects of the passage (p.4). Allied to this is the further property of the degree of *control* which various agents - including the person undergoing the passage - have over various aspects of the passage (p.5). A crucial property in this connection is whether or not the passage requires special *legitimation* by one or more authorised agents (p.4). On this score, a vital concern is if the person going through the passage is doing so *alone*, *collectively* or *in aggregate* (p.4), the point being that the degree of *awareness* and *communication* with others will vary from one to other of those experiences (p.4). But whether solo, collective, or aggregate, the passage may be regarded in some measure as *desirable* or *undesirable* (p.4), and here much will depend on the *centrality* of the passage to the person and also the *length of time* involved (p.5). On the undesirable side, it may well mean that the signs of passage are *disguised* by relevant parties in order to effect greater control (p.5). But in any case, passage may or may not be *reversible* or *repeatable* (p.4).

Despite Glaser and Strauss's contention that analyses of status passages will be incomplete without a focus on all such properties, there is (as they admit) the question of relevance (p.10). Plainly, once more, this is an arbitrary exercise, but, from their own exposition of these properties, the following considerations seem particularly important to our own research interests.

First, is the shape of the passage which though determined by combining its direction and temporality, raises the question of who is in control (pp.57-8). The crucial factor in this connection is the nature of the relationship between the people involved - agents, passagees and their witnesses (p.27). Clearly, for passages within careers a balance of control is necessary in order to achieve consistency, but when involuntary passages are introduced the balance has shifted in favour of the agent. The problem then becomes the agent's means of control - this may be based on rational-legal authority but will involve the question of the legitimation of negotiation and devising strategies to minimise awareness and overcome resistance (p.62).

In this connection, however, so much depends on the structural conditions affecting the passage, particularly the number of agents and passagees, in combination with the respective relationships of all concerned (p.116). Thus,

passages may be conceived in collective, aggregate and solo terms from the sides of both agents and passagees, Indeed, their commingling is not only a frequent occurrence (invariable in the case of career structures), but also a major source of problems. The agent group, for example, has to manage the shaping of the collective passage not only in terms of 'articulating the passages of multiple cohorts of passagees who at any moment, are at different steps in passage', but also in terms of 'individual passagees whose performance depart disturbingly from the normal ones dictated by the expected usual shape' (p.117). On the passagees' side, they need to consider both group and personal interests, which may well not be mutually supportive. Indeed, the fact of competition among passagees may mean some or all of the cohorts may be implicated in agents' tactics to control individual (deviant) passagees (p.123).

The web of control, accordingly, is extremely intricate especially when one considers 'that people go through more than one status passage at a time' (p.142). Certainly these passages may support each other, but 'multiplicity inevitably also sets problems of priority' (p.142). Despite institutional arrangements to articulate many if not most of an individual's status passages (this is the justification for age-related passages), in capitalist industrial societies the burden of

doing so is placed squarely on the individual himself. Thus, 'individuals in at least the advanced sectors of industrialized societies do confront the necessity of juggling most of their own passages. This requires a host of decisions and also the creation of strategies and tactics, not to mention the choice of proper assisting agents' (p.143). Clearly the difficulties in this connection would become pronounced when involuntary status passage was proposed or envisaged, leading commonly on the part of the passagee to an experience characterised by feelings of crisis, emergency or stress (pp.144-7). In respect of careers, the multiple status aspect would refer to the implication of involuntary change not only for the standard of living in terms of income and job security but also to the wider aspects of a style of life, from colleague relations to social participation in the community<sup>39</sup>.

Finally, there are the temporal aspects of status passage - these provided for Glaser and Strauss an example of how formal theory might be utilised in developing a substantive theory (p.157). The principal issues here are 'the amount of time committed to achieving or preventing mobility; the rate of movement, whether up or down; and the temporal articulation of

39. On the effects of unemployment, Wilensky (1961, p.522) notes that studies of it do not tell us 'whether re-employment brings a return to previous participation levels'.

actions pertaining to mobility' (p.158). While specifically related to social mobility in America, the analysis is relevant to the general issues of control because essentially it focusses on policy and decisions concerned with how long the passage shall take, how far (in any direction) it can go in that time, and the management of the phasing and timing of the constituent actions of the passage.

All this is, of course, a highly selective treatment of Glaser and Strauss's analysis of status passage, but even so its relevance to our own interests is very apparent. In broad terms, their list of properties of status passages provide a check against unwitting distortion through treating a limited number of variables as though they were exhaustive and comprehensive. More narrowly, if one area of change or a single type of status passage is taken, they provide signposts of which approaches to take. Hence, over the question of control of changes in careers, their analysis suggests that significant questions would relate to the composition of the parties involved (collective, aggregate, and solo), the balance of control between them (involving identifying the means of control), and the context of the control itself (in terms of multiple status for the individual and the temporal or historical aspects of the process itself).

From these over-arching ideas, we can turn to less

ambitious contributions to the subject. The first is that of Robert Merton (1957) in his analysis of role-set which he describes as 'that complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status' (p.369). The issue here is why with so many sources of conflict (on account of different locations in the social structure; hence, different values and moral expectations), the role is not untenable. Merton's answer is to list eight social mechanisms through which 'some reasonable degree of articulation among the roles in the role-sets is secured' (p.371)<sup>40</sup>. Thus, while conflict is endemic, a precarious order is maintained. In the case of changes in career where the role-set figures largely in the individual's career contingencies, the individual may well find that such mechanisms enable him to achieve a measure of control or at least to avoid career disintegration.

40. Especially pertinent to our interests would be the following 'mechanisms':
- a. 'differing intensity of role-involvement among those in the role set' (the efforts, and effects of those efforts, of the professional association is relevant here),
  - b. 'differences in power of those involved in a role-set' (careers carry moral persuasion as well as legal rights),
  - c. 'social support by others in similar social statuses with similar difficulties of coping with an unintegrated role-set' (change in career structure is a public matter; again, the role of the professional association is important),
  - d. 'abridging the role-set' (e.g. modifying a career through re-training). (Merton, 1957, pp.371-9).

But where involuntary change is concerned (and thereby some kind of 'loss'), there must be in most cases a degree of loss of control (an exception is where re-organisation creates new posts which are vacant and open to competition). The matter is crucial for the individual because, apart from practical considerations, there is the question of loss of status. As Erving Goffman (in Rose, 1962) puts it, 'more than loss of substance, loss of status' (p.489). However, the involuntary loss itself may be of two kinds. One may be 'in such a way that the loss is not taken as a reflection upon the loser', and the other may be 'under circumstances which reflect unfavourably on his capacity for (that status)' (pp.488-9). The tendency naturally, is 'to shift certain losses of status from the category of those that reflect upon the loser to the category of those which do not' (p.489). In any event, the loss of status, especially if it is the disappointment of reasonable expectations, 'creates a need for consolation'. Goffman describes several possible lines of such action using the analogy of 'cooling the mark out' (pp.492-6). Hence, to minimise the sense of failure, the task will be given to someone whose status is relative to that of the mark, or he will be offered a different status



but one which will enable him to be 'somebody'<sup>41</sup>. On the other hand, the mark may refuse to be consoled, and may 'blow up' and turn 'sour', or even take it to the point of 'personal disorganisation'. But whatever 'the defenses, strategies, consolations, mitigations and compensations', the loss remains, and for the mark the area of control is that of the 'sugar-coating', not the 'pill' itself (p.503). At best, he may have (or be given) some control of his adaptatinn to the loss.

Yet even as 'not being his own fault' is a saving factor, so too is 'not being on his own'. It is this collective experience which we referred to earlier when mentioning Howard Becker's analysis of situational adjustment (p.18 ). His own aim in that connection was to account for the changes involved in the personal development of adults. These he traced not to predilections of the indididual but to the processes of learning and meeting the requirements of various situations if the individual is to continue and be a success in them. Hence, the explanatinn of why people change as they do lies in the character of the situation and in their adjustment to it. Of course, this movement is not conducive

41. Goldner notes that demotion in industrial management is obscured in 'a good deal of ambiguity' (mainly by 'zig-zag movements') 'to cope with potential strain' (1965, p.714).

to stable perspectives, but it is usually far from random or idiosyncratic because it is within a group that the situation is confronted, interpreted and adjusted to. For the individual, this not only obviates personal decision but provides the security of a group decision, and gives the possibility of a wider range of response to the situation than would have been available for the individual on his own.

Relating these various analyses to the question of control in career change, one can see that from the individual's point of view the change, while not necessarily out of his control (e.g. on account of the social mechanisms articulating his role-set or the collective nature of his situational adjustment), is far from fully under his control. This is not only because the balance of control is heavily on the agent's side, especially where involuntary change (of a loss nature) is taking place, but also because the sphere of control is severely limited, essentially to a status and situation which are being lost.

However, involuntary change involves not only moving out of one situation but moving into another. The crucial questions here are the availability and control of alternatives, and particularly the possibility of access to them. Clearly the agents initiating and implementing the change will usually make provision in this respect if only

to reduce or overcome resistance (so here, once more, the notions of role set and situational adjustment are applicable). A crucial consideration, however, must be the temporal aspects of change because in as far as they are concerned with how long the operation is to take, at what rate and the timing of the vital events in the process, they affect the possible patterning of control and access. Moreover, another vital aspect is the social context in which the change occurs. Here we may return to our earlier analysis of professionalisation, and particularly the limits to which it is subject and which it sets largely because of its location within bureaucratic organisation. Indeed, in order to pin-point and link many of the important features of our analyses of professionalisation and of changes in careers, we may, finally, embark on a closer examination of the notion of involuntary change in professional careers.

#### Involuntary Change in Professional Careers<sup>42</sup>

It is commonplace in sociological literature on professions to observe the capacity of professions to manage or cope with much of the change with which they are involved.

42. Involuntary change, may not, of course, be unwelcome change. While not arising from the actual wishes of the group, such change may in the event be seen as beneficial or at least as not disagreeable to them. At this stage of our study, however, we are regarding involuntary change as contrary to the wishes of the group which is affected.

Indeed, although the major emphasis is on their capacity to resist or impede change (McKinley in Halmos , 1973, p.76), it is also recognised that 'several dominant professions ... influence the initiation, direction and rate of social change' itself. Generally, this capacity is reckoned to originate from 'the strategic importance of the professions ... in the occupational system of modern societies' (Talcott Parsons in Sills, 1968, p.536). Krause (1971, p.79) sees this on two fronts: first, he notes that professions are functionally powerful, that is, they are located 'near to key places in the division of labour', and this is 'reflected in their political power, prestige and material reward'; and, secondly, he observes that professions deal with 'individual or group needs of a basic sort, in situations where the absence of their skills spells immediate and long-term crises for the individuals of society and for society itself'. The outcome is 'the emergence of a mythology concerning professionalism' (e.g. no public accountability, a mandate to define needs and supply requisite services, and an unprecedented degree of trust) which gives professionals 'almost dictatorial powers' (McKinley in Halmos, 1973, p.77). Hence, our earlier reference to Elliott's comment on the difficulty of bringing about change with a given profession (although plainly it is the established type which is in mind here).

Nonetheless, professions are subject to change, partly

because of the constitution of the professions themselves and also on account of external influences. Professions, as we noted earlier, may be regarded as 'a loose amalgamation of segments' and change accordingly is inherent because not only may these segments have conflicting interests, but 'changes in their conceptual and technical apparatus' and 'in the institutional conditions of work' force change on the profession as a whole (Bucher and Strauss in Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.193). Similar considerations to the latter two also apply to external factors, and it is such technological change (especially computerisation) and 'the bureaucratisation of professional practice' that led Haug to hypothesise 'de-professionalisation' (in Halmos, 1973, pp.207 and 209).

Yet while enforced change is admitted, the sociological consensus would support Heraud's contention that 'the main strength of the professions appears to lie in their ability to exploit a particular expertise, aided by a high degree of organisation, to counter the control of other groups and ideologies' (in Halmos, 1973, p.98 and see Krause, 1971, p.194), even if this response is mainly in terms of 'active obstruction' (McKinlay in Halmos, 1973, p.79).

Given then that professions (and by association their career structures) are highly resistant to change, what form does such change take, and how far do professionals themselves

control it? Is there, in fact, a phenomenon of involuntary change in professional careers? A key study in this connection is that of Jamous and Peloille on changes in the French university-hospital system (in Jackson, 1970, chap. 4).

These authors begin their analysis not with the 'products' mentioned above (i.e. the self-justifying definition and social function of professions) but with the 'means' to these 'end results' (p.112). These 'means' are: first, a duality within the organisation of professional knowledge which they characterise as technicality (i.e. what can be mastered and communicated in the form of rules) and indetermination (i.e. what escape rules; its unique qualities). The second 'means' is the relation of this indetermination/technicality ratio to 'the general balance of social forces, and the system of legitimacy which corresponds to it' (p.112).

The crucial question in regard to change in professions, therefore, centres on the issues of their legitimacy. Within the profession itself, technicality, while justifying professional exclusivity and self-perpetuation on the basis of expertise which arises from the creation and transmission of a systematic body of knowledge, is also dysfunctional for such claims. This is because technicality exposes knowledge to codification to the extent where routinisation and fragmentation occur, and thus increases the possibilities of

intervention (p.117). The 'counter-action' of indetermination is not to allow this stage to be reached either by denying the comparability of 'new ideas' with established ones thus allowing for distinctions to be made but each with its own legitimacy, or by denying the general significance of the innovation, assigning to 'an exception to the rule' category or reducing it to technical detail (and 'technician' status) (pp.115-6 and 142-3). In other words, legitimacy is controlled by dominant members of the profession on the grounds of indetermination which broadly can be linked to professional ideology (pp.116-7).

But the struggle is not within the profession only, but between it and 'an overall balance of social forces', but only where this takes the form of pressure on account of the creation of new demands as far as the social use of the production underlying this (professional) activity is concerned' (p.142). Yet even here the strength of indetermination is such<sup>43</sup> that only the coincidence of the 'two fold dynamic' (rationalisations

43. Of course, this is no mystical power, but rather is the result of such social arrangements as the involvement of professionals in their own reform. Thus, Jamous and Peloille note that 'it was demanded of them (the professionals) that they change the very system which was the source of their own authority and privilege and which had given them the power to bring about reform' (p.137). Self-interest has a strong conservative bias.

Johnson, however, in criticising Jamous and Peloille for not theorising 'the conditions for indetermination', postulates a more fundamental base of the professionals' capacity for resistance in that he links professionalism and the capitalist mode of production - 'professionalism, involving the colleague control of work activities, can arise only where the ideological and political processes sustaining indetermination coincide with requirements of capital' (in Scase, 1977, p.106).

within and social demands without) have much chance of achieving 'major transformations' (p.142). In brief, the situation must assume 'crisis' proportions (which, at root, are 'conflicts of legitimacy') for far-reaching change to occur. Hence, 'transformations of a profession are not made by a self-regulating system but by sudden jolts, when the principles of the dominant ideology are shaken' (p.142).

Of course, this particular study was concerned with 'a sort of medical elite and aristocracy' (p.111), and the actual reform was achieved in somewhat 'abnormal' circumstances (e.g. immediately after a serious political crisis, and by an ad hoc committee where representatives of the profession were not in the majority and which was presided over by a determined (and highly influential) reformer, p.137). But in Jamous and Peloille's view, it provides ('by detecting the appropriate intermediate steps') an approach to 'the analysis of activities and groups called professional' which neither cuts them off 'from the general social dynamic' nor loses them 'in the confusion of an overall historical approach of too general a nature' (p.152). At the very least, from our point of view, it is illustrative of the fact, and suggestive of the components and directions of involuntary change in professional careers, particularly on a structural level.



## Conclusion

Our review of sociological literature of professionalisation and career change confirms our opening surmise that career change contingent on occupational re-organisation (and thereby experienced as imposed and involuntary) typically takes the form of a series of adjustments at both structural and experiential levels, rather than that it is a simple act (or series of such acts) of destruction. That is, the process is one of transformation and re-direction, rather than one of dissolution. The underlying cause for this process to predominate lies in the fact that careers are at once the product and producers of power relationships which means that negotiation is an essential part of both their formulation and re-formulation. It is our view that these conditions are supported and illustrated primarily in the case of professional careers.

The reasons for taking this position lie in the peculiar institutional and organisational significance of professional occupations themselves, and also in the general capacity of occupational groups to exercise some control over the shaping of their careers. More particularly, at the professional level, we saw that although there is a welter of occupational groups which lay claim to professionalism with lesser or greater justification, they all

exhibit some measure of self-sufficiency. This is most manifest in the established-type professions, but is also evident in the largest and broadest category of them, namely, those employed in complex organisations. In that setting, their knowledge monopoly and service orientation, notably when recognised and approved by the state, not only distinguish them but ensure them a degree of control of their activities. In short, while salaried professionals may be the most common of the current types of professionals (although they are in fact a typology of their own), their significance in historical institutional terms (such as sustaining vital institutional definitions of superordination and subordination) and in organisational terms (such as generating new knowledge for the improvement of productivity and efficiency) grant them considerable say in the content and direction of their practices. The degree of such control, however, will vary both between and within professional groups, partly on the grounds of prior historical development - and here the formation and development of a professional association is critical - and partly on the basis of meeting current political, economic and social requirements, involving, primarily, endorsement by the state.

In respect of the general capacity of occupational groups to control their careers, once more societal and organisational factors are crucial. Clearly where an

occupation is supportive of the prevailing mode of production and dominant ideology then it is in a position either to initiate or resist change in respect of its career structure. Moreover, at a purely organisational level, where change itself is of the order of things, a state of crisis is usually necessary to achieve radical change because of the inherent resistance to change of the people involved. Their resistance is based, of course, on their perceptions of the change, and in career terms this far exceeds the monetary considerations of job security. In any case, if organisational change is attempted, it is the group rather than the individual on which attention is focussed, and the capacity for resistance is consequently strengthened. Thus, it can be said that the major form of control which occupational groups exercise over shaping and re-shaping their careers appears to lie largely in their ideological and organisational capacity to resist change. In view of our analysis of professional occupations, it is clear that this capacity is especially pronounced in their case. Given such an approach and analysis, it can be hypothesised that professional careers are notably resistant to change because of their ideological, institutional and organisational significance.

More narrowly, the question of career change becomes that of the handling of it both in terms of managing it and coping with it. Here we found such concepts as role set,

adaptations to failure and situational adjustment helpful, but it was the notion of status passage which was particularly important for identifying the issues involved and providing a model with which to investigate them. Here the chief concern was with the balance of control within a temporal setting.

This issue becomes acute, of course, in the context of involuntary change in professional careers. At first sight, this contradicts our earlier contention about the capacity of professionals to resist change, but not if involuntariness is seen as a matter of degree or in terms of stages of involuntary change. Here, we saw the relevance of the concept of indetermination which refers to those aspects of the organisation of professional knowledge which are linked to professional ideology and accordingly are virtually concerned with the legitimacy of the position and practice of the professional group. It is this indetermination that sets the limits of the content, degree and direction of career change. Indeed, it is at once the base and outcome of the profession's negotiation with other interested parties when such change is proposed or envisaged<sup>44</sup>.

44. This is not to minimise the importance of 'technicality' for the creation and establishment of the professional group, but it is in this area that the group is most vulnerable. Thus, Taylor's observation (1968, p.131) that 'the power of professionalisation is non-political, and the authority of professionals is limited to their technical subject area' is neither the whole nor the half of the tale because it fails to recognise either the duality within the organisation of professional knowledge or the major role that indetermination has within that duality to sustain the status of the profession.

Accordingly, it can be hypothesised that involuntary change in professional careers is minimised in its scope and effects at both organisational and individual levels because the legitimisation of such careers rests partly with the professionalism of the professional group itself, and career change is limited accordingly. It is in this sense, in addition to considerations of social goodwill and political expediency, that it can be said that professions 'are looked after' and that professionals 'can look after themselves'.

In saying this, we have arrived at the heart of our thesis which, in its concern with involuntary change in professional careers, is pre-occupied with the origins, courses and limits of such change. It is our view that involuntariness is rarely, if ever, even for the individual, outside the context of negotiation between interested parties and consequently that the professional group and the professional himself retain some control of career change.

It is with these ideas in mind that we turn to the re-organisation which is currently taking place in Colleges of Education in England and Wales. Our interest centres there on the changes in careers of lecturers. But before we engage in description and analysis of such changes, our prior need is to see where such careers fall within the areas we have outlined. This involves examining the claim

of such lecturers to be a profession, describing their career structure and style, and seeing in what ways and to what extent these lecturers do control their careers.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CAREERS OF COLLEGE OF EDUCATION LECTURERS

Marcus's observation that 'teachers will be the prototype of the new and emerging professionals because the change they have undergone and the problems they have confronted in the past two decades are just now beginning to be experienced by other professions' (in Freidson, 1971, p.192) may well be the case in American society, but perhaps could be applied more appropriately to the teachers of teachers in British society (see Christopherson in Collier, 1968, p.ix)<sup>45</sup>. The rise and fall of the Colleges of Education over the past generation has vividly portrayed many of the themes and, indeed, most of the scene, of what is happening to professions today. Marcus lists 'the impact of increased bureaucratization, large size, external intervention, specialisation among members, and societal demands for accountability even with the absence of performance criteria' in support of his proposition, and the Colleges and thereby the lecturers could add the impact of demographic and economic trends, rationalisation of national administrative organisation (allied to the implementation of political ideology), as well as the questioning of purposes and values within the education and training of teachers.

45. Although see Tropp who suggested that 'the position of the school teachers could well be regarded by other professions and would be professions'. (1957, p.270).

On account of these many (and in some cases exaggerated) features, the development of the college lecturers as a profession may be regarded more as an ideal-type rather than as a prototype of professionalisation today. Nonetheless, it serves (as do all ideal-types) 'to map out the problem area and thus prepare the ground for its empirical investigation by appropriate methods' (Nadel, 1957, p.1), and particularly so, as we shall see, in respect of the question of involuntary change in professional careers. But before that specific question can be asked and pursued, we must, as previously, place the notion of professional career in context. Hence, our first task is to examine the nature, form and status of the college lecturers' claim as a profession, then to analyse their career structure and career patterns, and finally to pay particular attention to the question of control of those careers. In that our objective at this stage is to establish whether or not and in what sense and form the careers of College of Education lecturers may be said to be professional careers (and hence an appropriate field of study for us), we shall rely mainly on an over-view of references from major authors on the subject together with a cursory look at historical data, leaving fuller empirical description and analysis until we confront actual instances of involuntary change itself.



College of Education Lecturers as a Profession

It goes without saying in sociological literature that academic staff in training schools should be regarded as professionals<sup>46</sup>. Indeed, the proposition is that their existence is a key indicator that professionalisation is under-way (Wilensky, 1964, p.144) and that they themselves are crucial both to the form and content of professional recruitment and socialisation (Johnson, 1972, p.79; Elliott, 1972, p.62). In fact, their vital role in professionalisation means that they 'constitute particularly significant arenas in which the social and technological forces at play on the occupation may be highlighted' (Olesen and Whittaker in Jackson, 1970, p.195), and accordingly are essential for any understanding of 'changes implicated in shifts of established professions and movements within those believed to be undergoing professionalisation' (op cit).

The training school itself is characterised by 'a corps of people who teach rather than practice' (Wilensky, 1964, p.144), and new professions in particular 'are marked by the prestige they

46. The problem associated with such training schools is that of their role, not of their status (Barber in Lynn, 1967, p.19).

afford to those whose 'careers are removed from practice' (Hughes in Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.67). This is especially the case, Barber argues (in Lynn, 1967, pp.21-2) in respect of 'the university professional schools' which 'are the leading, though not the sole, innovators and systematizers of ideas for their professions', and whose staff 'serve as ethical role-models'. But criticisms of the 'ivory tower' syndrome indicate that the theoretically-oriented do not have it all their own way; indeed, Mok notes that while there is a division between producers and users of knowledge, the tendency 'in the emerging society' is towards the user of knowledge (in Freidson, 1971, pp.108-9). Moreover, among those who teach, there are gradations of status on the basis of 'the esoteric value of what is taught and the consequent difficulties involved in attaining it and the audience to whom it is communicated' (Jackson, 1970, p.11). Some of the difficulties involved in such considerations are well illustrated in the case of the Colleges of Education lecturers not only in terms of their relation vis-a-vis the university teachers, but also in respect of recruitment of staff to the colleges where the choice lies between 'the newly qualified subject experts straight from the universities or ex-teachers who have professional experience but may lack the breadth of up-to-date knowledge' (Elliott, 1972, p.87). In such ways, while teachers in training schools are taken for granted to be professional groups, the composition, relative standing and style of their professionalism are open

to question.

Such questions are particularly applicable to the lecturers in the Colleges of Education which bear many of the marks (and scars) of professionalisation. Judged on an 'attributes' scale, the College lecturers readily qualify for professional status, if only because school teaching itself holds that title (Leggatt in Jackson, 1970, p.160). Of course, as with school teaching, the reservations in that respect are numerous and weighty (Lorties refers to 'truncated professionalisation', in Etzioni, 1969, p.29), but the college lecturers through state support and university connection have unquestionably reached an elite position vis-a-vis school-teachers themselves<sup>47</sup>. Both conferment and confirmation of that position can be found in a series of government-sponsored reports, notably McNair (1944), Robbins (1963), and James (1972) - all of which will be described and discussed fully in the subsequent historical analysis of the Colleges (Chapter 5). Indeed, the interests of those reports show that, while at one time the

47. In any event the school teachers have used the Colleges in their own attempts to achieve and legitimate higher status (for example, through lengthening the teacher training course), thus inadvertently promoting the status claims of the College lecturers (Warwick, 1974, p.10). Moreover, the Colleges provided a career route for school teachers into higher education. This consideration is curiously neglected by Purvis (1973) in her examination of school-teaching as a professional career, as is the further route into H. M. Inspectorate (see Tropp, 1957, pp.118-20).

professional status of the college lecturers was in doubt, they are now firmly established in the higher education sphere, and the question that now remains is their role in that connection. It will be argued in due course that the recent re-organisation of the Colleges themselves has not resolved that question because it was largely an administrative exercise pre-occupied with issues concerning physical resources, rather than with matters relating to the knowledge, skill and value interests of a profession.

Nonetheless, if the claim of the lecturers in the Colleges to professional status is incontrovertible, it is far from certain or clear what is their rank of profession or stage of professionalisation. Clearly, they are not an established profession in a similar sense to that of university teachers but equally they are not a semi-profession in a similar sense to that of school teachers. Actually the mention of such related but distinct groups gives the clue to the college lecturers professional standing and development, particularly if one adds the relationship with the state (at national and local levels) because the peculiarity of the college lecturers' professional status is the consequence of involvement in the matrix of those relationships (Taylor, 1969, p.79).

To be more specific, though avoiding detailed analysis for the moment, the college lecturers have undergone a transformation of identity over the past century, (with major

changes concentrated in the latter 30 years), largely on account of being caught in the intersecting interests of related occupational groupings within the larger economic and social interests of the state, and as an outcome they have secured and developed a distinct, though frequently revised, occupational status. The picture is essentially one of the emergence of a type of what Leggatt broadly described as bureaucratic profession (in Jackson, 1970, p.160).

In as far as this transformation has depended largely on the development of the Colleges much of it was not initiated directly by the lecturers themselves, but at the very least they supported such change and to a large extent manipulated it to their advantage. Accordingly, the lecturers' professionalisation was inextricably tied to the development of the Colleges and some historical data on this score (leaving a more detailed description and analysis until later) will begin to clarify the matter.

Chronologically, the Colleges had no connection with higher education until the end of the nineteenth century and little effective contact until 1926 when the Board of Education established Joint Boards (comprising a group of colleges and a university) for the purpose of supervising and validating college courses. Even so, Colleges continued to resemble 'superior secondary schools, and this is how they were tended to be regarded by the authorities that provided and controlled

them' (Lawson in James, 1975, pp.11-3). The Colleges had a strong vocational orientation partly because of their origins in voluntary (especially religious) organisations and also because they were almost exclusively concerned with the training of primary school teachers. University graduates mainly filled teaching posts in the grammar and public schools. Thus there were two routes into the teacher profession, and those from the Colleges were regarded as second-class members (Hewett in Lawlor, 1972, p.20). The creation of one grade of teacher in 1945 did not totally erase this distinction, especially as the Universities (except Cambridge) set up Institutes of Education at the same time, and their training was designed chiefly for subject specialists in secondary education.

Hence, the Colleges, despite considerable growth, remained essentially school-based (with the main reference to the primary sector), and were 'jolted out of it' only during the massive expansion in the mid-1960s (Shipman in Butcher and Rudd, 1972, p.335). It was at this juncture that the Colleges began to emphasise academic qualifications rather than a pragmatic, apprenticeship approach to training (marked by their re-designation as Colleges of Education in the Robbins Report, 1963). Indeed, the Colleges staked their claim for their 'welcome into the family of higher education' (White Paper, 1972 - to be dealt with fully later) during this period. In

1960, the training course was extended to three years<sup>48</sup>, shortly afterwards post-graduate training was introduced, then following (and acting upon) the Robbins Report (1963), the B.Ed. degree (four years) was introduced; finally, the Colleges achieved a degree of autonomy through the creation of governing bodies and academic boards following the implementation of the Weaver Report, 1967, (once more, to be dealt with later). The ties with the Universities were now firm, the college lecturers had a large say in the structure and content of their courses. One consequence was the establishment of academic subject departments and a division between these and (expanding) departments of education (Taylor, 1969, p.248). With education itself being developed into an academic discipline, a further distinction was promoted in terms of those with either theoretical or pragmatic orientations within education departments (Shipman in Butcher and Rudd, 1972, p.341). Hence, professionalisation occurred in terms of increasing professional segmentation.

Within the Colleges by the end of the 1960s, therefore, several competing approaches to teacher education and training were discernible, and traditional ideas and methods in that

48. The lengthening of the course coincided with a rising birth-rate and it was these two factors that contributed mainly to the large and rapid increase in the number of students undergoing teacher training - 26,000 in 1956; 48,000 in 1962; 85,000 in 1966; and a peak of 114,000 in 1972 (see Burgess, 1977, p.226).

respect were under serious challenge. It all added up to not so much a state of conflict as an orientation characterised by ambivalence. This appeared inescapable in view of the number of dualities which were present.

A major instance of this was in the organisation of the Colleges, notably those of long-standing within both the voluntary and state systems, which was an alliance of sorts between bureaucratic and collegiate principles (Warwick, 1974, p.19)<sup>49</sup>. The role of the principal epitomised this duality, although in this case progressive bureaucratisation evidently was winning the day (Taylor, 1969, p.240). College lecturers displayed a similar duality in their orientation to their work veering from narrow subject specialism to preoccupation with a narrow range of skills for classroom teaching (Taylor, 1969, p.109)<sup>50</sup>. Equally the relationships of the staff of the Colleges with interested parties were ambivalent, notably in respect of the Universities and local authorities, because on

49. Nias noted in her research on the effects of a group of colleges of the introduction of the B.Ed. that although the tendency was for individual departments to become the dominant elements in the colleges, 'the collegiate tradition still had considerable force and should not be discounted' (in Page and Yates, 1976, p.31).
50. In the case of Worcester College of Education, Shipman noted that in 1961 it was 'impossible to distinguish between academic, professional and social aspects', but by 1966 'symptoms of change to impersonal, bureaucratic organisation were present', and these were related to the development of new subject departments and new specialisms (in Butcher and Rudd, 1972, pp.338-9).



the one hand their own academic respectability and on the other hand the financial viability of their colleges were at stake, but at the same time these were only partly under their own control. The problem here was not only that range of difficulties associated with any attempt of power sharing but the special nature and function of the Colleges with their emphasis on values (Taylor, 1969, pp.11-2), and their organisation as the major single-purpose institution in this country (Butcher, 1972 p.5).

The issue basically was concerned with their position and rôle in higher education (Hewett in Lawlor, 1972, p.19, and James Report, 1972), and this was complicated by the introduction of the binary system in 1965 through the creation of polytechnics<sup>51</sup>. On this score the Colleges crystallised many of the political issues involved in the development of higher education (Hewett in Lawlor, 1972, p.19) and were subject also to the many constraints arising from their single-purpose activity, especially those relating to birth-rate, age distribution, stage of technological development, and economic trends (Taylor, 1969, p.32).

51. It is striking (and significant for understanding the college lecturers' response to the DES initiative in respect of re-organisation) that in the relevant academic literature during this period, the polytechnics were scarcely mentioned in analyses and discussions of the Colleges' role and future. Stanley Hewett, general secretary of ATCDE, ignored them in one such analysis (in Lawlor, 1972 and see Robinson in Burgess, 1972, p.157).

Accordingly, it is not a simple matter to define the organisational activities of the college lecturers in terms of a profession. Clearly, what are commonly regarded as professionalisation and bureaucratisation were inextricably interwoven in their development. Hence, their professional association, the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (ATCDE), approximated more to a study association than to an occupational association (see, Millerson, 1964, p.33), but it clearly recognised that 'the ultimate deciding role' for the Colleges lay in the hands of the DES (Hewett in Lawlor, 1972, p.32). Indeed while there were 'certain common features in (the Colleges') orientation to their task and in the forms of organisation that have developed to perform it' to warrant the identification of 'a distinctive sub-culture' (Taylor, 1969, p.11), the colleges were equally characterised by the tendency of their staff to bureaucratised not only their external relations but also their internal organisation (Warwick, 1974, p.14). In short, the College lecturers present a particular instance, if not type, of bureaucratic profession. This notion can be further exposed if one aspect of professionalisation is examined, which obviously, in our case, would be the concept of career.

#### Career Patterns of College of Education Lecturers

If the key to understanding the professional standing

and style of the College of Education lecturers lies in their relations simultaneously to both an established profession (university teachers) and a semi-profession (school teachers) within the context of state provision and sanction, then their careers must be shaped in terms of both structure and meaning accordingly. Given that over-arching consideration, however, we may profitably use as the basis of our approach to such careers, Hilsum and Start's scheme for analysing promotion and careers in teaching in England and Wales, viz:

- a) The supply of status levels forming a sequence of steps up the promotion ladder,
- b) The supply of actual appointments at each status level,
- c) The demand of teachers for these appointments.

(Hilsum and Start, 1974, p.34).

This scheme will enable us to explore the objective and subjective dimensions of the question.

First, then, is the matter of the lecturers' career structure. Prior to 1944, this was virtually non-existent. Hence, in evidence to the McNair committee, the Training Colleges' Association attested that:

'It was not promotion for a secondary school teacher to be appointed to a training college; and, moreover, the prospects of further promotion were reduced. Lecturers on the staff of training colleges were seldom appointed to headships of secondary schools and women teachers were seldom selected for high administrative posts'. (quoted in Taylor, 1969, p.204).

The McNair committee itself concurred, noting that transfer from school to college meant sacrificing a reasonable prospect of promotion to 'a service which is a blind alley' (McNair Report, 1944, para.234). The significant omission is, of course, any reference to prospects within higher education<sup>52</sup>, despite the fact that a majority of college lecturers were by this time university graduates (indeed, as much as 70 per cent in 1928). Much of the difficulty lay in the small size of the colleges (lecturers had to be jacks-of-all-trades), their primary school orientation, and that the majority of the staff were women. The beginnings of change in those respects saw change too in the lecturers' career structure, notably through the establishment in 1945 of the Pelham Committee which devised and operated a status and salary structure separate from that of both schools and further education institutions, (these were under the purview of the various sections of the Burnham Committee).

Under this arrangement, eventually three levels of lectureship existed - lecturer, senior and principal lecturer level for particular responsibilities such as

52. Although the Committee recommended that the salary scales should 'approximate to university levels' (McNair Report, 1944, para.237).

head of department, and which gave the lecturers a decided advantage over the higher grade school teachers. Indeed, in terms of salary, all lecturers tended to score over school teachers (in 1969, for example, 76 per cent of college staff earned over £2,000 compared with 12 per cent of teachers in primary schools and 22 per cent in secondary schools), and although this was partly due to the difference in average age of the members of the two occupations, it meant that non-graduates in colleges were particularly well-placed compared with their counterparts in schools (these did not gain promotion as readily as graduate teachers).

From 1942, the lecturers were represented in these matters by their own association, ATCDE, which stressed from its inception that college work and school teaching were different - in fact, lecturers were in a crucial position, that is, they were 'experts at the point of entry to teaching'. However, the college lecturers were equally distinct from the career structure of university staff which in salary terms alone was superior to that of the colleges. This position was reversed, however, following the 'Houghton award' in 1975, when the Pelham Committee was abolished and the colleges were placed under the aegis of the Burnham (FE) Committee (a comparable award for the universities was made later but not implemented immediately on account of pay policy restrictions). At almost the same time the ATCDE was merged with the major association representing the further education institutions (Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, ATTI),

forming the National Association of Teacher in Further and Higher Education, NATFHE (the implications of this merger will be discussed shortly).

Plainly, however, while the occupation had its own salary structure and promotion ladder, the crucial issue for individual lecturers was the supply of actual appointments at each status level. Here the college lecturers were heavily (though not exclusively) dependent on national policy concerning teacher supply and training. Accordingly, after the introduction of the three-year training course in 1960 and the rapid increase subsequently in the number of students undergoing training, the colleges required many more members of staff and offered greatly improved opportunities of promotion. One result was a dramatic increase in the number and proportion of men college lecturers (Table 1).

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF COLLEGE OF EDUCATION ACADEMIC STAFF BY SEX<sup>53</sup>

YEAR	TOTAL NO. of Staff	NO. OF MEN	% of TOTAL	NO. OF WOMEN	% of TOTAL
1938	696	181	26	515	74
1954	2,296	671	29.2	1,625	70.8
1966	6,692	4,027	60.2	2,665	39.8
1975	10,810	7,420	68.6	3,390	31.3

But the change was not only on account of the

53. Figures here and elsewhere (unless otherwise indicated) are taken from the relevant year of 'Statistics of Education' published by DES.

increasing number of student teachers, but also, as Warwick notes, because of 'cultural change resulting from structural pressures which enable members of appointment committees to change their norms about the suitability of men teachers for women students, at the same time receiving many more applications for jobs from men than women'. (1974, p.10).

In addition to the increased number, policy changes in the type of training affected recruitment patterns. The introduction of B.Ed. in 1965, for example, was accompanied by the development of academic subject departments (and academic orientations within the education departments) which created many senior posts and attracted graduate staff with academic subject specialisms. While proportionately graduate members of staff did not increase (for figures see Taylor, 1969 p.211), the opportunities for non-graduates became more restricted. Hence, in 1975, 32% of graduates held principal lecturer posts and above, while 23 per cent of non-graduates held similar positions.

Such developments naturally affected the demand among teachers for these appointments. Younger and more highly qualified school teachers saw that the colleges offered them excellent promotion chances (Shipman in Butcher and Rudd, 1972, p.338), as well as the opportunity to teach their own subjects (see results of survey in 1964, in Taylor, 1969, p.207). This academic consideration, coupled with that of teaching mature students (and the bonus of some

post-graduate students), clearly presented a major attraction for work in the colleges. Here, the improvement in the entrance qualifications of students (40 per cent with 2 or more 'A' levels in 1975), and the improvement<sup>in</sup> attainment of students completing their course (in 1975, 75 per cent of 9627 B.Ed. graduates achieved first and second class Hons. compared with 39 per cent of 2872 B.Ed. graduates in 1971) were of considerable importance.

Moreover, while the colleges exercised no research function themselves (Taylor, 1969, p.216 and Young, 1965, p.110), as they expanded so many individual lecturers pursued such study and recently have been encouraged by the colleges to do so<sup>54</sup>.

The colleges were attracting, therefore, in increasing proportions younger men who were academically qualified and orientated. Moreover, these men were increasingly located in the secondary sphere of education (although a sizeable minority had no experience of schools, Taylor, 1969, p.213), and while teachers from Grammar Schools pre-dominated in this respect (half of all grades had had this experience according to NFER survey in 1967), the aspirations of teachers in secondary modern schools were not unfounded (Hilsum and Start, 1974, p.259, and see these authors for a national survey of the

54. Shipman noted that out of 50 staff at Worcester College of Education in 1963, 7 were taking higher degrees and 14 were engaged in research and development projects (in Butcher and Rudd, 1972, p.341).



aspirations and expectations of teachers pp.264ff). Furthermore, college work was seen by more (younger) lecturers as a stepping stone to university appointments (Taylor, 1969, p.213). Thus, the university connection not only compelled appointments which satisfied the validating requirements of the universities for the more advanced work of the colleges, but also opened an additional career line for the college staff themselves<sup>55</sup>. Of course, as the Robbins Report recognised, colleges individually differed considerably in their academic standards and achievements (see Taylor, 1969, p.214), but the general trend towards a career pattern based on the university model rather than that of the school was very evident from 1965 onwards. Nonetheless, it is equally plain that as in the case of school teachers, it would be 'misleading to construct an overall profile' (Hilsum and Start, 1974, p.37) of the career of the college of education lecturers. Crucial variables would appear to be sex, age, academic qualifications, length of service and orientation to work. But even these might not finally be decisive factors in the determination of the lecturers' careers, because, largely on account of the short history of the career structure, many of the career lines are still tentative and fluid, a case of emerging patterns rather than of established and well-trodden paths. In consequence, the crucial question of control of careers should be a relatively open one.

55. Taylor noted that the other side of 'a two-way flow between universities and colleges' was the appointment of 'more senior university staff into principalships' (1969, p.213).

College of Education Lecturers and Control of Their Careers

The career of the college of education lecturer is not a settled issue because it is primarily the product of differing (often competing) interests not only between administrative and academic groupings but also within these groupings themselves. Hence, while the DES dictates the number of staff and the universities are influential in determining the levels of their academic qualifications and experiences, the local authorities and voluntary bodies, individually and collectively, can affect DES policy (if only by the method and manner of its implementation), and likewise the schools (through their national associations) can affect patterns of appointments. Indeed, while it has been noted that the local authority colleges have three masters - local authority, DES and university (Taylor, 1969, p.79), it is widely acknowledged that their relation is far more that of conflict than of consensus (Taylor, 1969, p.78; Warwick, 1974, p.11; Hewett in Lawlor, 1972, p.20). The major sources of disagreement appear to be over differing claims of national and local interests, and between differing views on the academic and apprenticeship functions of the training (in the latter respect, the dispute is not so much between universities and schools, but rather between the state and the educational institutions because 'the administrators prefer to regard the colleges as extensions of the school system they were created to serve' (Hewett in Lawlor, 1972, p.20); that is, as 'manpower-supply institutions' (Lukes in James, 1975, p.60 and Craft in Tibble, 1971, p.19).

Given such a political situation, it could be assumed that the college lecturers would exploit it to their advantage, but this presupposes an existent capability in the colleges both in organisational and dispositional terms.

At the dispositional level, while there were signs of a change of mood during the 1960s (see Shipman's description of Worcester College of Education in Butcher and Rudd, 1972, e.g. p.342), traditions die hard and generally the culture of the colleges has been antithetical to (or at least unsympathetic towards) political bargaining and manoeuvring. In Taylor's terms (1969, p.12), the colleges were imbued with 'social and literary romanticism' which was expressed 'as a partial rejection of the pluralism of values associated with conditions of advanced industrialisation; a suspicion of the intellect and the intellectual; a lack of interest in political and structural change; a stress upon the intuitive and intangible, upon spontaneity and creativity; an attempt to find personal autonomy through the arts; a hunger for the satisfactions of the inter-personal life within the community and small group; and flight from rationality'. The size, social composition and geographical location of the colleges promoted and supported that outlook.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, the notion of college

56. Craft noted that at the beginning of the 1960s, only one third of the colleges were co-educational and that over two-thirds were residential (in Tibble, 1971, p.13).

as community (with all the value assumptions which that involves) has been one of the major planks of the college lecturers claim for professional status (Warwick, 1976, pp.27-9).

Inevitably, therefore, the college lecturers adopted a passive and conservative stance. They neither saw themselves as innovators nor welcomed change. Even after the expansion of the 1960s, Taylor found that while there was 'a fair level of readiness to innovate' in teacher education, there was also 'the general belief in the permanence and desirability of aims' which suggested 'that innovations which threaten deep-seated beliefs may well meet staff resistance' (in Burgess, 1972, p.158)<sup>57</sup>.

The isolation of the colleges was, however, not simply a matter of disposition and choice, but also arose out of the bureaucratic nature of the colleges' relation to each other and to the national and local administrative bodies (Taylor, 1969, p.80). The result was the individuation of the colleges which meant that the lecturers' profession was characterised largely by self-contained organisational units, only tenuously related to

57. Taylor found considerable differences among the staff in their attitudes towards a major revision. The 'Arts' teachers were opposed; 'Science' said, maybe; and the 'Education' staff were in favour. In all departments, however, lecturers were more disposed to change than principal lecturers, and women generally were very conservative (in Burgess, 1972, p.159).

On the other hand, Tibble argues that the demands of the expansion gave no time 'for a fundamental review of purpose and structure' (1971, p.2).

each other (e.g. in Area Training Organisations, but even this was generally regarded as little more than an administrative connection). Hence it was extremely difficult for the college lecturers to formulate general policy collectively. In this respect, the role of their association, ATCDE, was crucial.

The ATCDE, while it was the officially recognised body for the interests of the college lecturers, always suffered from the restrictions imposed by a small membership and inadequate resources (Hencke, 1975, p.28). Following Prandy's view that 'it is their (professional association's) attitudes which will determine their behaviour, rather than other people's opinions of whether or not they are a 'profession' (1965, p.85), it is not surprising that the activities of the ATCDE approximated more to the status type of association rather than to those of a class type (op. cit, p.62). Indeed, in terms of promoting the professional status of college lecturers, the school teachers union, NUT, frequently was both more alert and active (Hencke, 1975, p.29)<sup>58</sup>. Perhaps the clearest indication of the views and approach of the ATCDE was seen in its response to the proposals for re-organisation where its executive took 'a civil service view', hoping for 'co-operation from the Government and sympathetic treatment for members' (Hencke, 1975, pp.28-9).

58. Tropp (1957) in his analysis of the development of the school teachers as a profession, does not mention the ATCDE at all.

Broadly, the ATCDE seemed to regard this issue in educational terms rather than as an exercise in resource planning, and accordingly, while not subscribing to the view of the Select Committee on Education and Science that the general solution lay in a unitary system of higher education (see Warwick, 1976, p.9), it favoured the view that the future of the colleges lay with the universities (in terms of federation), despite its claim that the colleges could expand provision in the public sector of higher education (Hewett in Lawlor, 1972, p.31)<sup>59</sup>.

In brief, the ATCDE not only hedged its bets but tended to remain on the sidelines as far as the power issues were concerned and consequently there was little hope of its survival. Thus, in 1976, it merged with the far more instrumentally orientated ATTI, forming NATFHE. Nonetheless, the final major act of the ATCDE was that of a class-type association, namely, the securing for its members favourable compensation terms (Crombie Code) within the policy for reorganising the colleges (Hencke in Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, p.35).

At root, however, the weakness of the lecturers'

59. The general approach and specific ideas of the association were spelt out by its general secretary, Stanley Hewett, in his article 'The Colleges: Prospects and Possibilities' (in Tibble, 1971, chap.2).

position lay in the monotechnic function of the colleges. This exposed them not only to the policies of their paymasters<sup>60</sup>, arising from the implementation of policies based on political ideology or administrative criteria, but to the more over-riding constraints of demographic and economic change. Moreover, the monotechnic nature of the colleges made the lecturers ill-equipped to be producers of knowledge (they were heavily preoccupied with practical aspects of training). In fact, this activity was left largely (in an institutional sense) to the University Institutes (Schools) of Education (including the Faculty of Education in the Open University), and the college lecturers could not base their claim for autonomy on the grounds of their knowledge-monopoly except in terms of the management of their curriculum and courses (although Warwick notes that the 'progressive' paradigm of education was used by the college teachers in the enquiry of the Select Committee on teacher education as legitimation for their gatekeeper role, and thereby autonomy in higher education, 1976, pp.20.3)<sup>61</sup>.

60. The McNair Report (1944, p.90) noted that the state 'has subsidized training for the profession of teaching for a hundred years. It has never subsidized training for any profession in the same way or to the same extent'

61. In Warwick's analysis of the evidence presented to the Select Committee, he makes no reference to the origins of knowledge such as the 'progressive' paradigm. Indeed, he makes no distinction between college and university teachers in education, and accordingly does not distinguish between producers and users of knowledge.

In Jamous and Pelouille's terms, this meant that their case for autonomy rested mainly on the technicality aspect of the organisation of their knowledge, which while carrying some weight was open to contention and intervention (the schools, for example, could and did claim a greater say and part in this aspect of the student teacher's training). Moreover, while it may be conceded that skills are necessary, the context in which those skills are imparted is also open to question. In this regard, the polytechnics staked their claim (Calthrop and Owens, 1971, p.5). In any event, the subject of skills cannot be divorced from that of the number of persons who are required to exercise them. Thus, while teachers are always required, thus assuring the college lecturers of a guaranteed clientele, the number of them who are required fluctuates, affecting considerably the size of the colleges' population and thereby their structure and status.

Given such knowledge and man-power considerations, the college lecturers could mount little resistance either to the principle of diversification of their teaching functions or to the merger of their colleges with other institutions of higher education, particularly with the polytechnics which were not dissimilarly related to the state through local authorities.<sup>62</sup>

62. Hencke notes that even the general secretary of the ATCDE 'accepted the economic and academic logic of the DES arguments' (in Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, p.36).



In consequence of their colleges' isolated position, single function and cultural tradition, and their own lack of organisation of knowledge and political acumen the control which the lecturers exercised over career structure was essentially that of a passive kind - letting others fight over it. Their preoccupation was more with career style particularly in attempting an imitation of cloistered Oxbridge. Accordingly, in the past decade when confronted with change both in respect of the organisation of higher education and the (unsought) rapid growth of their colleges the lecturers reaped for a time the benefits of easy promotion, but could not resist the realignment of their career structure with that of the public sector (that is, Burnham (FE)), as opposed to the university career structure.

The fact of the matter is that college lecturers assumed that their careers were secure. This was one consequence of their association with the schools where job security figured highly among the attractions of the work. More especially, the college lecturers did not feel threatened in this respect by change because not only had they been long accustomed to all manner of change (Newton et al, 1975, p.1), but also in that, while this has been of an involuntary kind, it had worked consistently in their favour. Moreover, they considered that their achievements afforded them good prospects in terms of their careers (Hewett in Tibble, 1971, pp.39ff).

Thus, they read the signs of change as advancing

their case for professional status and rewards, especially as their growth appeared to give them the opportunity to mark out the peculiar properties of their occupation on which they could base their claim (Warwick, 1976, p.2). A prime example of this was the creation and operation of academic boards in colleges in as far as they gave the college lecturers a degree of autonomy in both academic and administrative matters, and in so doing lessened the measure of control of the local authority (see Warwick, 1976, pp.17-9). Hence, within the colleges staff saw themselves as gaining greater control over affairs directly related to their careers such as the introduction, organisation, equipping and staffing of college courses.

In point of fact, college government did not take a pure democratic form (despite assuming some of its features), because the principal's traditional authority was, if anything, enhanced by these developments. The continuing isolation of the colleges meant that traditional values held sway even as the emerging bureaucratic organisation meant that official sanction of a rational-legal kind was given to the principal's power. Thus, a recent report on developments in size of colleges of education noted that 'most of the principals appear successfully to fulfil the feudal role of benevolent dictator in which their colleges cast them' (Newton et al 1975, p.13). Indeed, it is this 'perceived dominance of the principal' not least in respect of policy and method in the appointment and promotion

of staff, which accounts in part for both the structure and style of lecturers' careers (and as such is an important element in the patterns of their career change), but perhaps more importantly it helps to explain why much of the involuntary change was not welcome<sup>63</sup> (see Cammaerts in Calthrop and Ownes, 1971, p.68).

The recent re-organisation has shown, however, the other face of involuntariness, namely the feature of redundancy and (unsought and unwelcome) re-deployment, and with it the fragility of the bases of the college lecturers' security.

In addition to the fundamental flaws we have already noted in respect of their undeveloped professionalism (that is, concerning the indeterminacy of their knowledge) and their total reliance on a guaranteed clientele for single-purpose training, the re-organisation has demonstrated that the college lecturers were specially vulnerable to administrative change based on a strategy which dealt with colleges individually, although ostensibly this was on the basis of a national policy on teacher supply. This situation was achieved through the

63. It is curious in Warwick's (1976) analysis of memoranda submitted to the Select Committee on teacher education that he did not differentiate between principals and other members of academic staff. Rather he employs several quotations from principals as though they were representative of staff opinion (a possible exception is given on p.18) which imputes to the colleges a democratic form of government which is not confirmed by other studies of the colleges.

invitation of the DES to local authorities and voluntary bodies to submit their own proposals for re-organisation while both limiting the options available and emphasising its own preferences through its reduction and allocation of the number of students for teacher training. Thus involuntary change on this occasion was not of a broadcast kind which benefitted all and sundry, but rather of a piecemeal kind which was experienced variably by the colleges, particularly in respect of the direction it took. Essentially, therefore, this piecemeal approach to the exercise categorised the destination of the colleges and this affected the lecturers experience of the involuntary change.

In broad terms, these categories were retention, merger and closure, but these were not discrete categories because some of the colleges have retained a separate identity only through merging with other colleges (forming Colleges/Institutes of Higher Education). In the event very few now remain as monotechnic colleges, whereas the majority have been involved in merger situations, mainly with polytechnics and each other, and to a much lesser degree with colleges of further education and universities (see Hencke in Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, pp.30-1). More detailed analysis will be given in due course, but for the moment the point to be noted is that the acceptability of career change has varied considerably according to the 're-organisation' category in which the lecturers have been placed. Plainly the most unacceptable has been the closure situation and here a distinction needs to be drawn between

local authority and voluntary colleges because in the latter case, the staff have had no legal recourse to their immediate employers for alternative employment. Indeed, the grounds of their appeal for employment have been narrowed from those relating to legal obligations and political expediency to those of a professional or moral kind. Both the sphere and extent of the lecturers' control of their careers have been affected accordingly. Moreover, this is the case at both collective and individual levels.

On the collective side, we noted earlier that the isolation of the colleges militated against the lecturers' political unity and effectiveness making them subject to control, and this political incapacity was further exposed and exploited by the piecemeal manner of the re-organisation of the colleges. Indeed, this exercise led the lecturers' association to declare that

it would be difficult for the Association as a national body, to give automatic support to the aspirations of any particular college. We might well find that in supporting the aspirations of one institution we were cutting across the aspirations of another. Any piece of institutional re-organisation is bound to impact in neighbouring colleges' (ATCDE, 1974).

Accordingly, colleges were left to their own devices

and could offer little effective resistance to DES plans without gaining support from their providing body - although on the other hand, if they were in agreement with DES plans, they could resist alternative proposals from their local authority or voluntary body.

But even as the acceptability of involuntary change at the collective level differed according to the destination of the college, so too at the level of the individual it differed on the same basis. The obvious example is that of the distinction between subject specialists and education specialists. In the merger situation, especially with polytechnics, the education specialist could expect to continue a similar career path, while the subject specialist might not only have to re-align or retrain in his subject but might find much reduced prospects of employment in his specialism. In the closure situation, however, certain subject specialists could expect to continue their specialist teaching in other educational institutions, whereas the education specialist could have little hope of such alternative comparable employment. For the individual the crucial question centred, therefore, on the availability of career lines and career positions, both in terms of their existence and his access to them. Clearly as far as access is concerned he has been restricted not only on account of what is or is not required (e.g. college experience could prove to be an hindrance in that connection), but also by virtue of the usual constraints associated with career change such as age, sex, length of service, academic qualifications, family obligations and so on.

Commentary and Conclusion

The professionalisation of college lecturers has shown that professional status 'is no static and well defined attribute assigned to particular occupations assuring them of suitable rewards and a high standard of living in return for valued service to the nation' (Warwick, 1976, p.1). Indeed, their experience shows that professionalisation is related (if not integral) to a number of other processes, all of which are associated with a changing social order. In this, demographic, economic and technological change are intermeshed with processes of rationalisation, status mobility, and moral and/or ideological change.

In as far as it is within this complex that changes in broad educational provision and requirements occur, the colleges of education have always been behind-hand because, essentially, they have serviced the school section of education particularly in quantitative terms, that is, training the number of teachers deemed to be required. Consequently, as education has undergone considerable expansion in the past generation both in terms of its extent and content, the colleges have been in a continual hurry to meet those requirements. In this way college lecturers may be said to have had professionalisation thrust upon them, and while (despite the contracting requirements of school education) this status has not been just as swiftly taken from them, the process itself has for many of them been deflected into other directions.

One important aspect of these developments for the professionalisation of the college lecturers (and thereby for their careers) has been the sheer speed of it (Newton et al, 1975, p.9), because this has brought about a condition of 'cultural lag'; that is, whereas the organisation of the colleges was transformed and established into a bureaucratic form, the professionalism of the staff tended to remain vested in traditional values associated with the collegiate form of organisation. Thus in respect of the careers of college lecturers, the structure was radically revised and elaborated, but the style was only slowly and mildly modified. Moreover, when in the early 1970s clear signs of a movement towards a new professionalism were apparent (especially in respect of knowledge-monopoly, or, as Warwick puts it, 'being a gatekeeper in the field of knowledge', (1976, p.2)), the major contraction and administrative re-organisation took place, and the colleges existed no longer in their previous form.

The other major aspect of these developments for the professionalisation and careers of the college lecturers is that they have been concentrated mainly on the size of the guaranteed clientele of the colleges, which has meant that they have been largely outside the control of the lecturers themselves, and in that sense (whether welcome or unwelcome) have been involuntary changes.

An examination and understanding of this state of affairs is possible if the college lectures are regarded



in terms of a bureaucratic profession and themselves as salaried professionals. This is because these concepts allow the possibility not only of a lack of synchronisation between the organisation and values of professional career, but also the possibility of involuntary career change partly on account of their bureaucratic context, (relating to the size of the guaranteed clientele) and partly because of their professional context (relating to the technicality/indeterminacy ratio of the organisation of their knowledge). Moreover, these considerations while providing the grounds of involuntary change also set its boundaries. For even where the technicality/indeterminacy ratio favours the technicality side, this still gives the professionals themselves considerable bargaining powers in terms of providing and inculcating technical skills. Furthermore, on the bureaucratic side, while changes in the size of the guaranteed clientele can be implemented mainly in administrative terms, it raises also moral and political issues which restrict the scope and scale of such change (thus, as we saw earlier, taking a crisis to bring about fundamental change). For the college lecturers themselves, therefore, their careers are safeguarded to some degree not simply because of their professionalism but because the bureaucratic context of their profession is a self-limiting factor in the kind and degree of change of their careers.

In this respect, the safeguard is not only a general one, that is, one which seeks to minimise or overcome their resistance generally (e.g. by suitable financial

compensation), but also individual in that the varying bureaucratic contexts of colleges give rise to varying degrees of political interest and activity, and consequently for the college lecturers differing capacities for negotiating their position. In this light, the impact of administrative change on the careers of salaried professionals may be expected to be minimised where the bureaucratic context is such that the issues become largely regarded in political terms. In any event given these several safeguards in the bureaucratic profession, career change is more likely to be in terms of re-direction than termination.

Accordingly, while the duality of the bureaucratic profession is a crucial consideration in understanding the changing situation and condition of the lecturers in the colleges of education, the bureaucratic/political context of that duality is a vital factor in understanding the form and direction which that change takes. For the college lecturers that context is at once the structure of their colleges' relation to the DES and local authority (or voluntary body) and its own internal structure in terms of the organisation of the staff and role of the principal. It is in the light of such considerations that the career of the college lecturer can be understood because it is within that framework that his career is primarily shaped and controlled. Thus his career path essentially follows the changing status and structure of his college. Consequently, for him,

involuntary change of an unwelcome kind is best resisted at the college level. Where and when that is no longer possible or desirable then constraints of a more personal and domestic kind will determine his response to such involuntary change. Hence, his control of his career is primarily of a negative kind (that is, defining what is unacceptable and then resisting the imposition of it), whether that is in the legal and political dimensions of his career or, when they are superseded or abandoned, in the moral and psychological dimensions. Thus, in the final resort, the individual college lecturer will attempt to control his career on the basis of his professionalism (usually referred to as commitment), subject to personal considerations.

On this note we can conclude our survey and analysis of the theoretical aspects of the subject of involuntary change in professional careers. Our next task is to attempt to identify some of the key features of this over-view which may be presented in propositional or hypothetical form and then examined and tested in the light of the experience of the college of education lecturers.

PART II. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF THEORETICAL MODEL AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Our survey of the literature on careers and professionalisation showed that to answer 'What is happening to careers?', one needs not only to ask 'Whose career?' but more especially, 'Who makes what happens in which way to whom?'. Thus while we identified professional careers, and particularly those relating to bureaucratic professions, as the major form of careers, we saw that the nub of the matter lay in the question of how they were controlled. For the professionals themselves this meant asking not only whether they were in control or under control as far as their careers were concerned, but also whether or not these opposites were linked and somehow co-existent if not united. Hence, the fundamental issue centred on how professionals were at one and the same time both in control and under control in respect of their careers - the kind of paradox summed up by the phrase 'freedom within constraint'. In this way not only could both the subjective and objective dimensions of career be catered for, but we could also avoid the over-simplification of issues relating to control such as who are the powerful, how much power do they have, what activities do they control and what is involved in terms of resources, skills and costs.

Our own concentration on the phenomenon of invol-

untary change in professional careers, particularly in relation to college of education lecturers, serves to clarify and open up these issues. Accordingly, on the basis of this review (coupled, as we shall see shortly, with my initial reflections on my own involvement in such involuntary change) we are in a position not only to compile a list of pertinent theoretical items and issues but more especially to construct a scheme connecting them with each other.

To this end, the logical procedure would be, first to select from the list of propositions the one(s) which is/are central to the main issue of the control of career change in a bureaucratic profession. Secondly, on the basis of major aspects of that issue to categorise the remaining propositions. Finally, and as a consequence of the preceding stages, to construct a conceptual scheme or model which indicated and formulated the connections between such items and propositions. Thus, in the light of the development of this theoretical model, we could complete our overall methodological task by describing the development of the research design and other 'technical' methodological procedures.

In fact, we will follow this outline in as far as we will deal first with the theoretical matters and then the 'methodological' ones, but we will revise the stages of the 'theoretical' section. Accordingly, we will select and elaborate the crucial variable, but will then present the

model and finally the categories of propositions. I found this revision necessary purely on the grounds of the presentation of ideas, partly in order to improve the clarification of them but also to avoid cognitive indigestion. Hence, although I followed the logical procedure myself, it was apparent that without the help of the model a reader would find the categories of propositions extremely difficult to assimilate.

### Theoretical Propositions and Model Relating to Control of Career Change in Bureaucratic Professions

Our description of professional career showed that for analytical purposes it is helpful to view it not only in macro and micro terms (roughly corresponding to societal and individual levels) but also in intermediate terms (notably that of the local group or organisation) and we will follow that line. But, first, it is necessary to identify the pivotal variable on which the whole analysis turns, and while this may be baldly stated as change in the rate and scale of the guaranteed clientele, it may be more helpful to elaborate it in a series of assertions. . These will provide the basis and boundaries of our thesis.

#### 1. Core Assertions

- i. In a bureaucratic profession the crucial variable determining its career structure and style is the

size of the guaranteed clientele.

- ii. Change in the career structure and style of of a bureaucratic profession is contingent upon change in the size of the guaranteed clientele, especially the rate and scale of that change.
- iii. The main agent deciding the size of the guaranteed clientele is the state.
- iv. The decision of the state concerning the rate and scale of the change in size of the Guaranteed clientele is contingent upon social trends (demographic, economic, technological moral and ideological) and organisational objectives (especially those relating to rationalisation).
- v. Control of the change of career structure and style of a bureaucratic profession is to be understood in terms of the structure of the relation between the profession and the state on the basis of the change in the rate and scale of the guaranteed clientele.

While, it would now be logical, as we said, to follow these assertions with a check-list of propositions and to categorise them, for the purpose of aiding understanding

we will instead present a model relating to the control of career change in a bureaucratic profession based on change in the rate and scale of the guaranteed clientele. We will then follow this with the categories of propositions.

2. Model of Control of Change of Career in Bureaucratic Profession

(see next page)

We will leave comment on the model for a moment and instead pass straight to the theoretical propositions which were the source of its components and processes. Thus, by this reversal of order of presentation, they can be taken as an exposition of the model. As we said earlier, a profession needs to be viewed at various structural levels (namely, macro or aggregate, intermediate or group, and micro or individual) and these will comprise the categories. Furthermore, we will couch them in definite terms as they are intended to be ideal-typical.

3. Theoretical Propositions

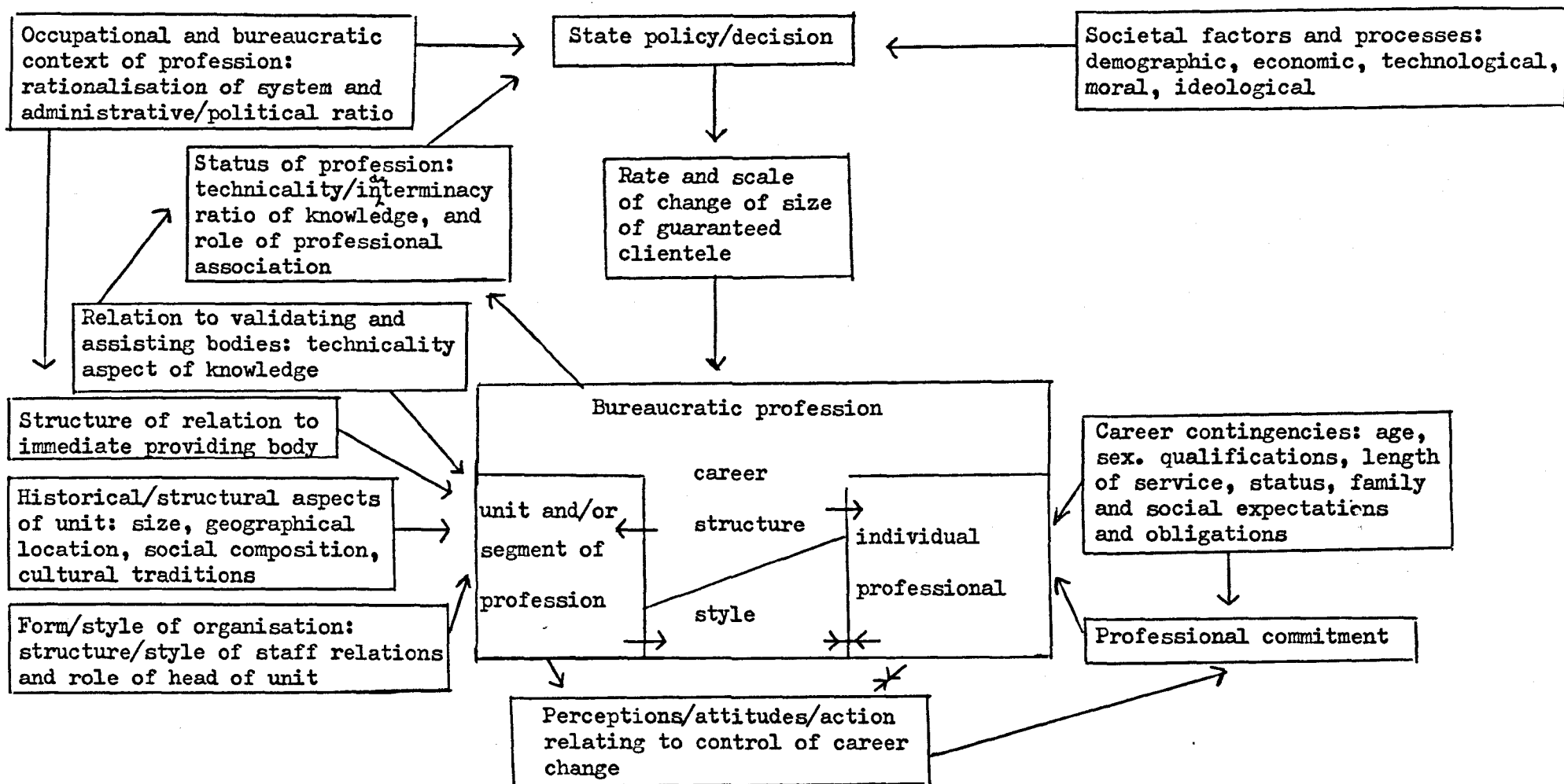
i. Macro Level or Aggregate Profession:

a) Concerning types of career change:

- where a profession is characterised by the existence of a guaranteed clientele, change of career structure will be essentially an involuntary process for the professionals concerned,



Figure 2. Model of Control of Change of Career in a Bureaucratic Profession.



Arrows indicate major directions of control

- this involuntary process will be perceived in both favourable and unfavourable terms by those professionals, and although generally it will be viewed favourably when the clientele is being increased and unfavourably when it is being reduced, segments of or groups within the profession will not necessarily fit these patterns,

b) Concerning career emphasis of the profession:

- where career structure is determined on the basis of a guaranteed clientele the professionals concerned will view their control of their careers mainly in terms of the style of their careers,
- a profession characterised by a guaranteed clientele will not necessarily experience congruency between its career structure and style,

c) concerning the relation of career and professional knowledge:

- where a profession is characterised by the existence of a guaranteed clientele, the organisation of its knowledge will

in the first instance be focused on the technicality aspect,

- where the organisation of knowledge of of a profession is focused on the technicality aspect, the career structure and style of that profession will be susceptible to interference from the clients concerned,

d) concerning the relation of career and professional service orientation:

- where the organisation of knowledge of a profession is focused on the technicality aspect, the service orientation of the profession will be conceived by the state and the clients in terms of performance of skills,
- the service orientation of a profession will be conceived by the professionals as directed to wider welfare concerns of their clients than those relating to the performance of specific technical skills,

e) concerning bureaucratic control of careers:

- the development of a bureaucratic form of organisation of the whole and of the units of a profession is related to increases in the size of its guaranteed clientele,
  - this bureaucratisation will be primarily of an administrative kind and the control of the career structure and style of the profession will be in those terms and will be exercised by strategically placed officials (e.g. administrators in the providing body, and the head of the unit of the profession).
- f. concerning conditions for radical career change:
- when the guaranteed clientele of a profession is substantially increased, the clients will correspondingly be able (and prone) to intensify their criticism of the technicality aspect of both the organisation of knowledge and service orientation of that profession,
  - when proposals for the substantial reduction of a guaranteed clientele of a profession coincide with increasing

criticism of the technicality aspect of both the organisation of knowledge and service orientation of that profession, a condition of crisis will be perceived.

- where a condition of crisis in a profession is perceived, the career structure and style of that profession will be susceptible to radical change,
- where the bureaucratisation of a profession is focused on administrative control, radical change of career structure and style of that profession will be achieved through the state dealing with individual units separately (and arbitrarily) within an over-all policy.

g. concerning counteracting processes to radical career change:

- the development of the indeterminacy aspect of the organisation of knowledge in a profession will be retrospective to change both in respect of the size of its guaranteed clientele and to the degree of criticism of and interference with the technicality aspect of its organisation of knowledge,

- the establishment of the indeterminacy aspect of the organisation of knowledge will achieve a negotiating position for the profession in respect of its career structure and style.
  - where professionals conceive their service orientation in terms of the full welfare of their clients, they will advance their claim to control their careers on that basis,
  - the professional association of a profession will negotiate with the state over the career structure of the profession on the basis of its knowledge monopoly and service orientation,
  - the increasing bureaucratisation of a profession will develop political interests within the profession and among and between its interested parties, and these will provide constraining influences on and bargaining positions with both local and national administrators,
- h. concerning the minimisation of the consequences of career change:

- where involuntary career change occurs for a profession with a guaranteed clientele, the existence of the indeterminacy aspect of the organisation of its knowledge will minimise the unfavourable consequences of that process.
  
- where involuntary change occurs for a profession with a guaranteed clientele, the existence of political constraints on the administrators of that change will minimise its unfavourable consequences,
  
- the minimisation of the unfavourable consequence of involuntary change on account of both the knowledge monopoly and political context of a profession will take the form of re-direction or transformation of the career structure and style of the profession with a pronounced emphasis on prolongation of that process.

ii. Intermediate Level or unit of profession:

- a. concerning development of career structure and style of the unit:

- where the state control of the size of guaranteed clientele is exercised administratively through local government or voluntary organisations, the units of a profession will develop independent of each other,
  - where units of a profession are administratively independent of each other they will develop distinctive career styles relating to their social origins, size, geographical location, social composition and cultural traditions,
  - the career structure and style of units in a bureaucratic profession will have certain common features where units are grouped for external supervision and validation of the technicality aspect of their knowledge,
- b. concerning shaping careers within the units:
- where the size of the guaranteed clientele of units of a bureaucratic profession increases substantially, segmentation of orientation to the technicality aspect of knowledge will accompany, although not necessarily be allied to, increasing bureaucratisation (as in 'academic' departmentalisation),



- where professional segmentation and organisational bureaucratisation are linked the career structure and style of a unit of a bureaucratic profession will be affected radically,
  - the shaping of career structure and style of a unit of a bureaucratic profession will be perceived generally by those professionals on the basis of the form and style of their own organisation and specifically on the basis of the role of the head of that unit,
- c. concerning career change within the unit:
- when the size of the guaranteed clientele of a unit of a bureaucratic profession is reduced substantially, collective resistance to the change will occur based on a common perception of and common policy towards the situation,
  - collective resistance to career change will be most effective where the career interests of the unit of a profession coincide with the political interest of the immediate providing body and the administrative interests of the state,

where collective resistance to career change of a unit of a bureaucratic profession is unsuccessful, the degree, and direction of career change for segments of that unit will vary according to wide (and external) occupational constraints and opportunities,

iii. Micro level or individual professional:

- a. concerning perception of career change:
  - involuntary change of a professional's career will be resisted by that professional when it is perceived in terms of loss,
  - a professional's perception of career change as loss will initially be on the basis of definition by the groups and segments within the profession to which that professional belongs,
- b. concerning resistance to career change:
  - a professional's resistance to career change of a loss nature will initially be through involvement in collective action relating to that professional's immediate work situation,

- a professional who is subject to involuntary career change of a loss nature will conceive the supportive role of his/her professional association in legal terms, specially pertaining to financial safeguards and compensation,
- c. concerning the relation of professional commitment and career change:
- when collective action against involuntary change of a loss nature is perceived to be inadequate or abortive, a professional will resist change on the basis of his/her definition of his/her own professional commitment,
  - a professional's definition of his/her professional commitment will be retrospective to change (actual or anticipated) both in regard to the general career structure and style of his/her profession and to his/her own personal career line,
- d. concerning the relation of career contingencies and career change:
- the degree and direction of a professional's resistance to career change of a loss nature on the basis of his/her professional

commitment will be conditioned by his/her perceptions of the consequences of such change on his/her career aspiration and social expectations obligations (particularly in respect of his/her family),

e. concerning the relation of career change and professional identity:

- when a professional's resistance to career change of a loss nature is perceived by him/her to be unsuccessful, he/she will retain his/her professional identity through attributing his/her lack of control to structural constraints such as age and sex, the incompetency of those involved in the decision-making, and the arbitrary nature of the involuntary process itself.

Looking at the model in the light of these theoretical propositions it is apparent that their major contribution is to indicate the nature and direction of control to and from the career structure and style of a bureaucratic profession at all its structural levels. On the other hand there are obvious deficiencies. For instance, in addition to including highly diffuse components (e.g. that of societal

factors and processes) the model avoids and begs several important questions, particularly those relating to the relative strength of control of the various components and those relating to the mechanisms and strategies of such control. Nevertheless, in as far as it clarified both the factors which are involved in this question and the connection between them it provides a theoretical tool for at least a descriptive analysis of the subject and, on that basis, the production of substantive theory. From that point, at least clues should be given to lines for developing formal theory on the subject. The issue at this stage of understanding is, however, essentially a 'technical' methodological one. Given our theoretical model what procedures can turn it into a vehicle of enquiry? Indeed, what forms of enquiry contributed to the formulation of the theoretical model itself? Here a history of this research undertaking will clarify the interplay between theory construction and development of research design and at the same time outline and examine the research design and methodological procedures themselves.

### The Development of Research Design and Methodological Procedures

To avoid the irrelevancies or omissions of a chronicle of a research project, I will arrange the detail of the development of this research undertaking in accord with key methodological interests (this will, if anything, make the chronological stages of the research process more apparent than would be possible through a diary-type

narrative). The interests themselves centre on the research topic, the concepts, hypothesis and model, research sites, research techniques, recording and processing data, and questions of validation and verification.

1. Choosing the research topic:

Essentially the choice of topic was governed by my theoretical orientation to sociology and by my practical interest in what was happening to me and my colleagues.

On the theoretical side, I am disposed to the idea of the one-ness of sociological understanding along the lines of unity of opposites and dialectical processes (as opposed to viewing it in dichotomous terms). Indeed, my view of social phenomena is basically in terms of paradox and accordingly I am far more sympathetic to the approach of theorists such as Berger and Luckmann (1967) and Giddens (1976) than of that of Dawe (1970). A prime instance of my standpoint is my fascination with the notion of 'changing order', and because I consider that this can best be examined through intermediate or linking concepts such as role (a central idea of my earlier research (Portwood 1969) and career, my choice of research topic is clearly related to my theoretical orientation.

Equally my choice is governed by my personal practical interests. These centre heavily on my occupation and in this connection not only have I previously been involved in two radical changes of career, but I am currently involved

in the career consequences of the re-organisation of the Colleges of Education. Alongside a sociological curiosity in this matter, I am concerned with the implications (not least in terms of social policy) of this situation for the occupational structure generally and other (similarly placed) occupational groupings in particular.

ii. Concepts, Hypotheses and Model:

The facet of my current career change which arrested my attention was that of its involuntariness. Formerly, I had regarded career primarily in terms of voluntary decision ( a view reinforced by my own experience). My attention was riveted further because the situation challenged other taken-for-granted knowledge such as that expressed in assertions that 'professionals can look after themselves' and 'professionals are looked after'. (Given the confusion, fear and struggle of colleagues and myself, the propositions seemed dubious in the extreme). Nonetheless, my interest remained with it in the sense of the capacity of professionals to 'negotiate' their careers although at the outset I tended to see this mainly in terms of patterns of reaction to events.

Thus, I was captivated by the concept of involuntary change in professional careers. Yet while I was able at the outset to produce an adequate theoretical and methodological scheme to investigate it, it was only in the

course of reviewing the literature and engaging in empirical investigation that the core of the matter became apparent.

This arose out of a fuller appreciation of the notion of bureaucratic profession, especially in respect of its central variable of guaranteed clientele and in this connection with a recognition of the two-sidedness of involuntary change - formerly I had regarded it solely in negative 'loss' terms. Such understanding brought a sharper focus on the question of control and the fuller realisation that the nub of the matter was to do with the control of career change in a bureaucratic profession. At that point the listing of theoretical propositions and the construction of a theoretical model became possible. Furthermore, this development confirmed my earlier supposition that while the question needed to be approached at all levels of social structure, the crucial one in this case was the unit of the profession (that is, the individual colleges). This was not only because the college was the meeting point of national policy and individual decision over career, but more especially was the point where that national policy was translated into structure and style of career and where that individual decision was framed and shaped by the collective perception and operation of that structure and style.

iii. Choice of Research Sites:

Even with my initially superficial knowledge of what



was happening in the Colleges of Education on account of their re-organisation, it was clear that differences of policy and strategy abounded. Furthermore, I was aware that re-actions of lecturers within a single college were far from uniform. In the light of such observations, I decided that my chief hope to investigating the subject in any depth was through 'case studies' at both college and individual lecturer levels.

Practical considerations naturally affected my choice of colleges but the main influence was the methodological considerations of representativeness and significance (though this was in a philosophical, not statistical, sense). I considered that both these factors were important to a comprehensive but critical examination of my thesis that the consequences of involuntary change in professional careers would be minimised on account of the structures of control which were involved. Thus I looked for colleges which would by virtue of their size, history, status and location not only cover a full range of possible features and processes of such involuntary change but would exhibit many of them in an extreme form - in this way I would most searchingly explore my thesis.

With these ideas in mind, it appeared that the colleges virtually selected themselves because the most serious aspects of involuntary change were most evident in two of the major forms of college re-organisation, namely, those of closure and those of merger with a polytechnic, and even

as I was employed in a college which eventually underwent such a merger, so another local authority college in the same Area Training Organisation (ATO) was marked for closure. But appearances deceive as I found from my attempts to engage in research at the college which was being closed.

After obtaining permission from my own Principal, I wrote to the Principal of the other college presenting my credentials, my scheme of research and my hopes regarding the theoretical and practical outcomes of it. I asked for a personal interview to talk the matter over. When three weeks had passed without reply, I acquainted a colleague with the situation (he was involved with the other college), and asked him to support my request on a personal basis in as diplomatic a manner as possible, mainly concentrating on personal qualities! Subsequently he reported that while senior staff initially talked freely on career matters especially in regard to legal obstacles in respect of redundancy settlements, the subject was closed the moment he mentioned in a general manner that research into such career change might be desirable. With this response he saw no point in mentioning my name let alone extolling my virtues. A week later the Principal<sup>64</sup> informed me that he

64. In view of our identification earlier of the role of the principal as a key factor in the question of control of career change, it is not without relevance to note that the principal in this case was an education officer of the local authority who had been seconded for the purpose of effecting the closure of the college.

had consulted his staff and regretfully they were unable to assist me. To complete this story, I approached the same college some six months later asking if I could be allowed to obtain information on careers of a simple statistical kind which would be of help for comparative purposes but which would guarantee complete anonymity for both the college and members of staff. The Principal told me to look elsewhere because 'your area of enquiry can be a very delicate one'.

I have recounted this tale at length to illustrate the kind of constraints and considerations which affected my choice of research sites and techniques. Indeed, they affected my approach to another college (once more in the same ATO) which was being dosed. Hence, in this case, I 'phoned the Principal for a personal talk, and from the outset stressed that interviewing would be of an unstructured kind on a voluntary basis and that I would use all possible research ploys to preserve anonymity both of individuals and of the institution itself. The outcome was positive: agreement by the Principal and Academic Board that 'the investigation was an excellent one which they would fully support'. I will return to this situation later when discussing my role as researcher but the important consideration here is that this college was a voluntary one. It became plain even in my first contact that this meant that involuntariness in this instance whilst not dissimilar in form to that experienced in local authority colleges was more acute in many respects because of differences in the structure of relation to

the local authority and DES. Thus even as this college met the criteria of size, status and location, so it had the extra advantage of exhibiting features of involuntary change in an extreme (but not idiosyncratic) form. Plainly the thesis of 'minimising consequences' would be tested severely in this case.

As for my own college, I felt that this too met fully the methodological considerations of representativeness and significance. This was because the merger was a complex one. First of all, two local authorities were concerned. Secondly, three colleges of education (two within the local authority of the polytechnic) were involved. Thirdly, the colleges were of different types - mine was in the traditional mould, but the others were more specialist: one was a Day College for Mature Students and the other was a Technical Teachers' College. Thus not only did this merger embrace a variety of situations of mergers with polytechnics but its peculiar form sharply defined many of the features of involuntary change in such situations as well as adding features of its own.

Given then the basis of the choice of research sites, it was hoped that while case studies have a limited place in the generation of theory, these particular ones would be as fruitful as any in that respect, and also would provide suitable situations for examining hypotheses and propositions connected with the thesis.

iv. Choice of research techniques:

The nature of the central concept of career and especially my approach to it meant that not only was the research design diffuse but also literary and qualitative in character. Accordingly, the major elements of the research design were the use of secondary sources, particularly to obtain historical data and perspective; content analysis of reports and records; interviews, particularly individual interviews of a loosely structured kind, and participant observation. These elements roughly corresponded to the levels of social structure at which the notion of the control of career change in a bureaucratic profession was investigated.

Thus at the national or macro level at which the professionalisation of lectures in teacher training/ education and notably the development of their career structure occurred, reference to secondary sources predominated, although content analysis of government reports was also used. At the intermediate or college level, secondary sources were again used, particularly for clarification and comparative purposes; so too was content analysis of reports and records, but additional features at this level were those of interviews with the principals of the colleges under investigation, and participant observation in one of the colleges at meetings of the staff, professional association and certain college committees. At the micro or individual lecturer level, participant observation was used once more, especially

in senior common rooms of the colleges, but the main technique was that of relatively unstructured personal interviews. Across all levels reference was made to journals, newspapers and other published work on the subject, notably that of the professional associations NUT and ATCDE/NATFHE, and that of David Hencke of the Guardian and Times Higher Education Supplement who made the subject of the re-organisation of the colleges his special area of study and reporting.

As the population of the research consisted of 224 lecturers (plus 4 principals and 4 vice principals) from the four colleges it was plain from the outset that sampling was necessary not least as involuntary change was recognised to be a process which necessitated more than one interview. The following procedures were adopted. (The figures exclude the principals and vice-principals all of whom were interviewed):

Voluntary College: (52 staff; 45 interviews). The aim was to cover as many of the staff as could be contacted and were willing to be interviewed. The main reasons for this policy were to enable account to be taken of (a) the fullest possible range of career contingencies which lecturers took into consideration, and (b) the attitudes and strategies they adopted when confronted with the most extreme form of involuntary change.

Local Authority College: (85 staff, 32 interviews).

Stratified random sampling was framed and used in the following way:

lecturers were separated into two groups: those employed in academic subject departments and those in the education department in order to take account crudely of differing orientations to their work (professional segments), although care was taken in interviews to note differing 'work orientations' both within the academic and education departments. These categories were then sub-divided by academic qualification (graduate/non-graduate), sex, age and status. At least one-quarter in each stratum were interviewed and this was exceeded where strata had few members and/or 'exceptions' were present (notably married couples, non-graduates and 'solitary' women). Thus representativeness was attempted.

Day College: (42 staff, 17 interviews). A similar procedure to that used for the local authority college was adopted.

Technical Teachers' College: (45 staff, 15 interviews). As this college did not engage in academic subject teaching and would largely continue its present functions, selective interviewing was conducted on the basis of those likely to lose most from the merger (e.g. heads of department, and younger members of staff who would find promotion 'blocked').

Summary tables, based on these procedures, together with numbers of staff interviewed are given in Appendix I.

The interview itself was intended to elicit information and views in as free a manner as possible. This approach was dictated by several considerations:

- a. the subject was intensely delicate and the interview was not to aggravate or compound the 'hurt' that was commonly experienced<sup>65</sup>.
- b. the subject was highly personal and 'freedom of disclosure' was possible through listening techniques rather than through questioning ones.
- c. the subject was fluid by nature and perceptions and actions of individuals were undergoing almost continuous review and revision and the interview accordingly needed to reflect this shifting scene and recognise that priorities and emphases would vary from time to time.
- d. the subject was developmental by nature and the interview was both an end in itself and a means to further interviewing (in this respect an attempt was made to interview individual lecturers before and after he/she

65. The question was not raised by staff during the period of the interviews but it was apparently in the forefront of the minds of many of them according to a long-serving member of the church college staff who wrote to me after the closure of the college.



left the college).

Given such considerations, it was plain that the key factor to collecting data was the question of confidence. The strategies involved in securing this were as follows:

- a. the presentation of credentials: it was freely known that I was working on a Ph.D. project and that I had the full support of the hierarchy of the institutions involved (although it was stressed that information was strictly confidential and there would be no 'passing on' of information to the hierarchy).
- b. the winning of sympathetic support: it was freely known that I was directly involved in involuntary change myself, and that colleagues were co-operating with me (I found friendship groups particularly helpful for securing introductions).
- c. the context of interviewing: my invariable practice was to go (after securing the individual's agreement) to the lecturer's place of work (which particularly in the case of the voluntary college, involved very considerable travelling - many lecturers commented on this and saw it as a sign of the seriousness of my intent).
- d. the style of interviewing: while I used an interview schedule (see Appendix II) as an (unseen) guide for outlining my interests or for prompting purposes, I

did not stick to it rigidly and in no instance did I impose a set order of topics. Even 'core data' such as age, marital status, career biography, etc., were obtained in the course of conversation. Hence I made notes on a blank piece of paper and later transferred this information to the schedules.

e. the length of interview: while I asked for something over half-an-hour in my request for an interview, I neither hurried them nor let them 'drag on', and this meant that interviews varied in length from 30 minutes to 3 hours (the mean being 1 hour).

f. duration and frequency of institutional contact: my acquaintance with the colleges concerned has been lengthy (5 years with my own college and 2 years with the others) and I have called in at the other colleges as often as possible (at least once a week for lengthy periods), and have mixed among staff in senior common rooms where in the voluntary college in particular I was able to act as messenger between colleagues who had left and those who remained. Group conversations and discussions in this context have helped to clarify and check my knowledge from the personal interviews.

v. Recording and Processing

My main method of recording information in both formal and informal situations at both group and individual level was that of note-taking. I decided on this approach rather

than that of tape-recording because it was unobtrusive on account of being a familiar technique to the people concerned (lecturers are accustomed to colleagues or students scribbling notes in all manner of places). Having once emphasised the principle of confidentiality in this connection, I met neither objection nor embarrassment. My own 'short-hand' techniques meant that I was not engrossed in this activity. As stated earlier, I transferred the information gained in interviews to schedules as soon as possible afterwards, and added further details such as place and length of interviews.

Processing of the schedules which essentially were of a case study nature, (although organised on certain topics especially those relating to career contingencies) followed two routes. One was the collation of data which lent itself to (elementary) statistical analysis and presentation. The other was the 'content analysis' of these 'studies' on the basis of 'testing' theoretical propositions and model, and also the analysis of them with a view to generating such theory. The main method used was that of reading the 'case studies' many times followed by extrapolation of relevant material to the topics and themes which were being either 'checked' or identified.

vi. Validation and Verification:

Comparative studies provided a check on the evidence at the intermediate level of the research, so the crucial question of validity of evidence centred on the information

given in interviews, that is, whether or not it reflected the meanings that people attach to their situation. Here the question of the role of the researcher was specially important, and particularly the question of my objectivity and dependability. In this regard the expectations of my (researcher) role set were vital. These appeared to be of two kinds. One, and this clearly if not overwhelmingly pre-dominated, was that the work should be of a serious academic kind but one which might have a pragmatic outcome. My own expressed hopes about the implications of my study for other groups of professionals found a warm welcome on all sides, and, indeed, was the persuasive argument in gaining me a year's study leave to pursue this research.

The other expect<sup>at</sup>ion was more hidden and was perceived mainly by the senior staff in the colleges (perhaps exclusively by them - certainly this was the case in the expression of it). It concerned a 'counselling' function of the research, described by the principal of the voluntary college as 'a cathartic opportunity', that is, giving his staff a situation where they could legitimately and freely 'talk through' their ideas and experiences concerning their careers. Hence my earlier remarks on confidence and confidentiality. Indeed, I found it immensely difficult on occasions to distinguish between collecting and giving information, and especially in separating learning of and supporting lines of action. My own check-list of topics helped me to avoid narrow pre-occupations. Nonetheless my own involvement in the situation meant that I needed

consciously to be on my guard against allowing 'giving information' to become 'giving advice', but even so I found no safeguard against 'giving encouragement'.

Yet the fact that these were genuine problems for me in attempting to be as unprejudiced and unbiased as possible is an indication of the level at which many of the interviews were conducted. It is this 'stage of access' where I was not only a familiar but also a trusted colleague that must provide the main ground of validity of evidence at the micro-individual level, provided that it is seen in the light of the 'academic role' which was expected of me and which I attempted to perform. As a fuller check against 'incomplete' information (and biased interpretation), I found the remarks of colleagues about each other especially helpful (this formed part of 'natural' conversation, especially where colleagues were employed in different places). At the collective level, I found that the co-operation of a colleague who also took notes during meetings was a healthy corrective to any of my impressionistic views, and was also a valuable source of data (he had access to some committees which were closed to me).

On the question of verification, the major issue centres on the replication of the study. In as far as the establishment and re-organisation of the colleges of education was an unique historical occurrence (despite the facile comparison of it by some politicians with the dissolution

of the monasteries), this is not possible. In this sense the study is of an idiographic kind. But if the research is seen in terms of the construction of an ideal type, it has a nomothetic nature and the situation and experience of other groups and individuals should provide illustrations and 'test cases' of it. Indeed, it is in this sense of the construction and examination of the model that our description and analysis of the empirical dimension of our thesis can now take place, because it is on this basis that the results of that empirical investigation can be translated and applied to other situations.

PART III

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

Strategy of Empirical Study

Our earlier theoretical exercise at least bared, collected and assembled the bones of our thesis. Indeed, in as far as it led to the compilation of a list of propositions and the construction of a model, it gave both point and direction to an empirical investigation of that thesis. To remind ourselves, this was that the consequences of involuntary (unwelcome) change in professional careers are minimised on account of the structure of control of such careers. Moreover, in that the theoretical overview of the matter was achieved through approaching it at distinct, though interconnected, levels or dimensions of structure - what we called macro, intermediate and micro, or societal, organisational and individual - it gave also an indication of a possible approach on the empirical side. In fact this will be our empirical strategy. Hence, at the macro level we shall examine the development of a bureaucratic profession (that is, the lecturers of the colleges of education as an association, using secondary sources of information from

a historical perspective<sup>66</sup>, whilst at the intermediate and micro levels we shall engage in situational analyses of involuntary change at the level, first, of the units of the profession (that is, some of the individual colleges) and then at the level of the members of the profession (that is, some of the individual lecturers). In the latter cases, we shall continue to use some secondary sources of data but in the main our description and analysis will be from primary sources.

66. Compare Tropp's assertion that 'it is impossible to analyse the evolution of the profession (school teachers) without, at the same time tracing the history of education' (1957, p.2). In this instance, 'the history of education' will be taken as the history of the colleges of education.



CHAPTER FIVE

DEVELOPMENT OF A BUREAUCRATIC PROFESSION

Introduction

In order to establish guidelines for this descriptive analysis as well as avoid undue repetition, we need to identify, from our earlier historical sketch of the college lecturers as a bureaucratic profession, the key issues raised and relate these to our theoretical propositions and model.

The overriding contention at that stage of the study was that the peculiarity of the college lecturers' professional status was the consequence of their involvement (primarily in the context of their colleges) in the matrix of relationships between DES, LEA and/or voluntary body, universities and schools particularly within the past 30 years. The 'peculiarity' itself was identified, first, in terms of dualities within their colleges' structure (a) regarding the organisation of their colleges ('an alliance of sorts between bureaucratic and collegiate principles') and (b) their own orientation to their work (along an academic-professional axis); and, secondly, in terms of their ambivalent attitudes towards interested parties, notably the universities (on the score of academic respectability) and the LEAs (on the score of financial viability). It was recognised that this condition and situation was largely on account of

the nature and function of the colleges in as far as they were single-purpose institutions with a strong emphasis on values (especially those relating to the notion of community). This meant that while the college lecturers would advance 'property' claims for professional status this was always in the context of and subject to the size of their colleges' guaranteed clientele. In our subsequent construction of a model of control of careers in a bureaucratic profession, we identified the rate and scale of change in the size of the guaranteed clientele as the crucial variable in the interaction between the state and bureaucratic profession as far as determining the career structure and style of that profession is concerned.

Accordingly, our 'macro' view of involuntary change of professional careers will examine the development of the college lecturers as a bureaucratic profession with these considerations in mind. Thus, in as far as the lecturers' claim to professional status is inextricably tied to the context of their professional status (i.e. their colleges), we will look, first, at the stages of development of the colleges as this will highlight the formation and implementation of state policy in respect of change in the size of the guaranteed clientele. Then, we will look at the college lecturers' side of the development, particularly their 'negotiation' on the basis of 'property' claims, as this will highlight the structure of their relationship with all involved parties over issues raised by changes in the size of the guaranteed

clientele. And, finally, we will examine the consequences of these processes on the development of their career structure and style.

### Stages of Development

To set the scene and fill in some of the detail of the professionalisation of the college lecturers through the development of their colleges, particularly from the State's point of view we will engage in an exposition of and commentary on Warwick's (1975, p.59) tabulation of the number of colleges. This is especially helpful to us because it shows the distribution of colleges in terms of both their providing bodies and methods of certification. In this way, the table identifies the two major areas of state concern regarding the colleges, what we could call the administrative and academic aspects of teacher training. More precisely, the table provides a means of access to understanding the formation and implementation of state policy regarding higher education, notably as the state attempted (more often than not this was in the sense of was compelled to attempt) a resolution of the conflicting interests of the local authorities and universities regarding teacher training.

(see table 1 on next page)

#### Up to 1900

The obvious feature of the table is the dominance of teacher training in its early stages by the religious

Table 1.

Colleges, Their Providing Bodies and Methods of Certification

	Providing Bodies				Total	Methods of Certification
	LEA	Church of England	Roman Catholic	Others +++++		
1900+	-	30	8	23	61	By H.M.I. and some internal university assessment
1921+	22	30	8	12	72	As in 1900
1938	28	30	8	18	84	Joint Boards of College and university teachers
1950	76++	26	10	11	123	ATOs based on universities, with representatives of LEAs, colleges and universities
1974	112+++	27	15	9	163	As in 1950, with the addition of B. Ed. courses validated by university faculty boards and senates.

Source: Min of Edn.: Report for 195), HMSO, p. 213 for years to 1950, and ATCDE Handbook of Colleges, 1974, London, Lund Humphries, pp. 100f for 1974.

Notes: + Does not include specialist colleges offering home economics or physical education.

++ Includes 3 colleges offering one-year courses for technical teachers.

+++ Includes 7 departments of education in Polytechnics offering initial teacher training, and 4 colleges offering one-year courses for technical teachers.

++++ 'Others' include colleges provided by the Methodist Church, the British and Foreign Schools Society, Universities and other educational trusts.

demoninations. The legacy of this origin is mainly (as we shall see and discuss shortly) in terms of the cultural values of the colleges, not least their definition of and attitude to moral values (Dent, 1977, p.1)<sup>67</sup>. But the churches monopoly also accounted in part for the tardiness of the state in becoming involved in teacher training. It had no wish or stomach for confrontation politics - a condition of mind, incidentally, that characterises if not explains much of the state's dealings with the colleges now as well as then. Accordingly, state involvement began with no more than certification of teachers in 1846 through H.M. Inspectorate (Craft in Tibble, 1971, p.7), and as late as 1890 the state still avoided the issue by encouraging the Universities to set up Day Training Colleges (these account for 16 of the 23 'others' in 1900 in Warwick's Table). But the move was fateful because it not only ended religious monopoly in this field but opened up many of the issues which would become central to the debate over teacher training. Briefly, these revolved round what is the relation of teacher training to higher education, and, more particularly, what is the relation of the colleges to the universities because this development heralded a split between training for elementary and secondary schools (the latter becoming the prerogative of the university departments of education). Hence, the status of the colleges became a live issue. Moreover, the development raised the question of the grounds

67. Apart from Dent's own summary of the history of teacher training in England and Wales, other helpful historical sketches are given in Burgess, 1971, chap. 7 (the emphasis is on teacher training in higher education) and in NUT, 1971, pp.1-12 (for teachers' union perspective).

of that status in that it exposed the tension, if not distinction, between academic and professional aspects of teacher training.

In this way the die was cast and the state could not avoid confrontation with the religious bodies much longer, especially as they could not match teacher supply with demand. Hence, following the formation of the Board of Education in 1899, the Education Act of 1908 established local education authorities and encouraged them to provide their own colleges.

#### Up to 1921

Under the impetus of meeting the needs of schools and responding to the growth of esteem given to education generally, the local authorities did not hesitate and by the mid-1920's provided a third of the colleges. In this way the question of the status of the colleges was firmly tied to developments in the school system and not surprisingly, therefore, a Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers for Elementary Schools was set up 1923 shortly after what Tropp (in Musgrave, 1970, p.211) described as 'a peak year' for the teaching profession (i.e. the establishment of Burnham Committees on salaries in 1920). For the Committee itself two issues predominated: one concerned the source of finance of the LEA colleges and the other the function and examination of teacher training. The question over finance was urgent because the LEAs

with colleges were unable to meet their share of the cost (50%). The ultimate solution was to share the burden between all LEAs (known to-day as the 'pooling' system), but it meant that the financial control of the colleges remained firmly in the state's hands. On the training issue, the question of the relation of academic and professional elements split the committee but they were agreed that the responsibility for final examinations should be transferred from the Board of Education to the universities through a system of Joint Examining Boards (known as Joint Boards) which should consist of a university and a group of colleges (formed on a regional, geographical basis). Once more the academic/professional division obtruded because the Board of Education retained the assessment of practical teaching (Dent, 1977, p.100), but the 'university connection' was now established despite considerable caution on the part of the universities. For the college lecturers it was their first major step into higher education. The LEAs' attitude was that they were not concerned with the mechanisms of examinations, but with 'the training and supply of teachers' and in that regard they were 'not willing that control of their own colleges should pass from the hands of LEAs either to a university or any other body (on this whole section, see Niblett et al., 1975, pp.15-75). Thus the academic/administrative division was introduced, and the strong emphasis by the state on the quantitative aspects of teacher training was to provide the main determination of its policies in that connection.

Up to 1950

The first century of the teacher training colleges ended with substantial increases in the number of colleges (i.e. in the immediate post-war (1939-1945) period). By this time their outstanding features had become (a) that they were preponderantly LEA colleges (60% of them) and, (b) that they were organised academically in relation to the universities (through Area Training Organisations - ATOs).

Once more these developments were occasioned by changes in the school system (especially the 1944 Education Act), but a major shift was evident in that the status of the colleges was seen to depend more on their association with the universities than on their relation with the schools. This was the main consequence of the McNair Report, 1944, and was so important that the Report has been said to control 'the shape of teacher education in Britain for 25 years' (Turner in Lomax, 1973, p.149).

The McNair Committee itself had been set up 'to investigate 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' (p.5). While trying to concentrate on principles, the Committee quickly found that numbers were crucial to their considerations (p.6). Some of their arguments and proposals will be dealt with elsewhere and for the moment we will concentrate on their attempt 'to produce



a coherent training service' (pp.48-9) which was made necessary by the 'chaotic' state of existing arrangements (p.18), largely due to the poverty (p.13), small size (p.74) and isolation of the colleges (p.48). The Committee, while recognising that such a service depended on the relation of the colleges and universities, were evenly divided over what form that relation should take. Half the members advocated 'partnership between equals' through Area Training Councils which would not be established by the universities and the other half proposed Schools of Education which would be an 'organised federation of approved teacher training institutions working in co-operation with other approved educational institutions'. In the event a modified version of the latter proposal was adopted and ATOs were established. The college lecturers were well satisfied because their recently formed professional association, ATCDE, saw that 'the status and freedom of the profession can be assured' only through 'close and integral association with the universities' (Niblett et al., 1975, p.116). Indeed, this view was borne out when the college lecturers' salary scales were separated from that of the schools (through the creation of the Pelham Committee in 1944) and in this way met the Report's recommendation that they should be higher 'than that of schools and should approximate to university levels' (p.72).

The universities, on the other hand, were as cautious as ever, no doubt on account of the analysis of the state and status of the colleges and argued that the colleges should cease to be monotechnic (Niblett et

al. 1975, p.93). However it may be that uncertainty over this development on all sides was due to the question of the function of universities in regard to professional training (Niblett, et al. 1975, p.112).

Nonetheless, the ATOs were established and by 1951 16 were in operation, all of which were serviced by Institutes of Education which were also responsible for the university teacher training departments. But state control was undiminished because not only was the constitution of the ATOs subject to the approval of the (now) Ministry of Education, but also provided representation 'of any LEA concerned with that area' (Niblett et. al. 1975, p.185). The LEAs, in fact, far from seeing the ATOs in terms of 'real partnership' continued to regard themselves as owners of colleges, not agents (Niblett et. al. 1975, p.204). In any event the Ministry retained ultimate control over the supply of teachers and in this respect consulted the providing bodies not the universities.

Such powers were eventually formally defined in the Teacher Training Regulations 1967 (Regulation 5 (2)) but in the meantime the Ministry established the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers (NACTST) to 'advise the Minister on national policy in training and conditions of qualifications of teachers, and on their recruitment and distribution in ways best calculated to meet the needs of the schools'. The Council itself produced a series of reports from 1949 to 1965 and encouraged the 'massive expansion' of the colleges during

this period, not least through securing the 3 year course of training in 1960. Indeed, the council was forward looking enough in its Eighth Report in 1961 not merely to note the difficulties which would arise out of the continuing division between academic and professional elements in teaching training (Section IV para. 51), but also anticipated the 'binary system' debate (Section V). (see Niblett et. al. 1975, pp.212-4). But the Ninth Report of 1965 was the Council's last, not least because it could come to no common mind. Indeed, its collapse has been attributed to the fact that it was 'ideally structured to produce an impasse, since it consisted of nominees of the various interests concerned' (Niblett et. al., 1975, p.218). One consequence was that the Ministry could now deal with the various pressure groups one at a time (including the universities).

We are now somewhat ahead of ourselves, yet this peep into the next stage of development no more than confirms what we have already noted concerning the colleges' structure of relations with their 'clients' and 'masters', and also the characteristics of the patterns of change which the colleges were undergoing<sup>68</sup>. It will be helpful at this

68. Here 'college' can frequently be taken in two senses. One is as an educational institution. The other is as a collective noun for (a local unit of) college lecturers. The fact that in several instances it is very difficult to distinguish between the two meanings is indicative of the close relationship between the development of the organisation of the one and the professionalisation of the other. Indeed, where any 'negotiation' on the part of the colleges took place, the two meanings are indistinguishable because it is the college lecturers (with the Principals as their leaders or representatives) who were primarily (and often exclusively, see Newton et. al., 1975, p.37) involved.

point to summarise these matters.

i) The colleges' structure of relations with 'clients' and 'masters':

- a. The development of the colleges was closely tied to broader developments in education, especially, up to this stage, with the schools, and this notably in terms of the numbers of teachers required, particularly in the primary sector. The colleges attempt to distinguish themselves from the schools gave emphasis to the academic aspects of their work.
- b. Furthermore, to enhance their status and at the same time to achieve a degree of autonomy, the colleges tried (although with no great enthusiasm) to strengthen their links with the universities, while simultaneously seeking (with increasing fervour) to loosen their ties with LEAs .
- c. Both the Ministry of Education and LEAs regarded the colleges primarily as sources of manpower supply, with LEAs stressing local interests in this connection. Hence, the relationship was essentially administrative in character with financial considerations predominating.
- d. The universities were always most cautious of the relation with the colleges largely because

of its effect on their status (the academic/professional duality of teacher training did not square with their purely academic approach) and on their autonomy (the large measure of state control of teacher training at national and local levels was seen to be inimical to their independence).

ii) Characteristics of patterns of change:

- a. Change was regarded in terms of expansion (in number and size) of the colleges (despite a temporary check to growth in the 1930s). Indeed, because this was the 'dominant characteristic for at least 100 years' (Lomax, 1973, p.3), it became an assumption on which colleges based their expectations. For the colleges, to use Vaizey's catch-phrase, 'stability means growth' (in Taylor, ed. 1969, p.77).
- b) For the colleges this expansion meant not only administrative change but also qualitative change 'affecting such intangible and essential characteristics of the institution as its social cohesion, the extent to which staff and students 'know what is going on', and the extent to which they feel themselves to be members of an academic community' (Butcher and Rudd, 1972, p.5). In brief, the tensions and conflicts experienced in an institution which is at once a professional community and a bureaucratic organisation.

- c. There was no coherent policy behind the development, rather change was of a piecemeal and unplanned kind. This, as Lomax observes (1973, p.v), was in step with the British tradition but it meant that the arrangement of teacher training was 'the product of piecemeal reform and of ad hoc decisions made in response to inadequately foreseen events' (Taylor ed. 1969, p.ix). The question plainly was not so much if as when expansion without coherent policy would compel increased State intervention. In the event it took more than a decade of growth of an unprecedented rate and scale.

#### Up to 1974

Looking again at Warwick's Table we see that the expansion had now taken place. During this period the number of colleges had increased by one-third and almost all of these in the LEA sector (including the significant development of 7 departments of education in polytechnics). Student numbers were far more spectacular, having doubled and doubled again to a total of 114,000 in 1974. Thus the size of colleges had changed dramatically from under 10% with 500 students and over in 1958 to over 70% with those numbers in 1974 (see Warwick, 1975, p.72 for fuller details). A further major development was the introduction of B.Ed. degrees ( a fourth year being added to the 3 year course in the mid-60s, and a new B.Ed. structure (3/4 years)

being introduced in the mid-70s). In these ways the colleges tried to meet the demand of schools for many more and better qualified teachers. Yet the keynote during this period was numerical expansion as was plain from the main assumption of the Robbins Report on Higher Education (1963) through to the White Paper of 1972 which carried that message in its very title: "Education: a Framework for Expansion". But this was the era of expansion in all parts of higher education and the crucial factor for the colleges development was that they were increasingly recognised to be one of those parts. Accordingly, the dominant question concerning the colleges centred on their position and role in higher education, In this way they found themselves to be the centrepiece not only of educational debates but of political debates on education, and notably in this connection the State's involvement at national and local levels in the organisation and control of higher education.

The Robbins Report set the ball rolling. Asked 'to review the pattern of full-time higher education in Great Britain', the Committee devoted much attention to the training colleges because they 'feel themselves to be only doubtfully recognised as part of the system of higher education, and yet to have attained standards of work and a characteristic ethos that justify their claim to an appropriate place in it' (p.107). As a remedy, the Committee recommended that within the wider proposals for a unitary system of higher education which would be university orientated, the colleges should 'go forward in closer association with universities not only on the academic but

also on the administrative side' (p.119). The latter proposal proved to be the bone of contention reviving old controversies. The LEAs again asserted themselves as owners of colleges, the universities were decidedly luke-warm, and while the colleges evinced enthusiasm, they had to settle for a promise concerning an investigation into the independence of their governing bodies, the introduction of a four-year B.Ed. and their own redesignation as Colleges of Education.

Perhaps the limited degree of action, however, was significant in itself in as far as State policy was concerned. Clearly alternatives would have to be found. The colleges themselves were not alert on this political front, but rather were preoccupied with the implications of emphasising the academic side of the old academic/professional duality (seen, for instance, in no teaching practice being included in B.Ed. fourth year), particularly as expansion hastened this process not only in terms of increasing departmentalisation in colleges but sharpening the dichotomy between education and the main subject (Tibble, 1971, p.2).

Other groups were not inactive, however, and here the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI) was prominent. Since it was concerned only with further and higher education controlled by the local authorities, the ATTI predictably was strongly critical of the Robbins Report and played a leading part in the development of the binary system (Niblett et. al. 1975, pp.231). This system was espoused and expounded by Anthony Crosland, Secretary of State, at Woolwich in April, 1965 (see Niblett et al 1975, pp.234f). Government



policy on the structure of higher education thus emerged.

One stage of the fuller articulation and implementation of that policy occurred quickly in the guise of the Weaver Report (1967) on 'The Government of Colleges of Education'. Somewhat contradictorily the Study Group itself, while advancing the independent status of the colleges through concentrating on their academic freedom (p.3) and to that end recommending the re-constitution of governing bodies and the establishment of academic boards (p.6), emphasised the notion of 'partnership' and even stressed the relation between the colleges and the local authority not least through underlining the connection between the colleges and schools (pp.24f). In the event, the local authority's control was restricted largely to the financial sphere, but in that the articles and instruments of government of the colleges were to be approved by the Secretary of State the link with central government was strengthened (see ATCDE, 1968). The outcome, therefore, was to place the colleges firmly on the 'non-university' side of the binary system (Calthrop and Owens, 1971, p.61). The colleges scarcely seemed to notice this wider implication, they were too preoccupied with the internal reorganisation entailed by the new regulations<sup>69</sup>.

69. There are exceptions, e.g. Cammaerts identified 'the shift of power from local to central government in matters of professional innovation' as one of the significant aspects of the future of the colleges (in Calthrop and Owens 1971, p.77).

The scene at this stage (late 60s), then, was of the State forming, clarifying and hardening its policy over the organisation of higher education, while the colleges were almost totally occupied with their own local and domestic affairs.

This self-contemplation was to be short-lived, however, as a storm of criticism grew and broke. While able to ignore the first rumblings of it in the minority recommendation of the Plowden Committee (1967, p.362) and also accustomed to criticism throughout their history (see Porter in Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, p.49) the colleges were suddenly submerged by attacks from every side - partners, clients, even colleagues. No one, it appeared, agreed that 'more means better'. Indeed, the impression was that nothing was right - 'the entire system was out-of-date, the ATOs were ineffective, the government of the colleges authoritarian, the teaching poor, the curriculum irrelevant to the work of the schools, and the standard of the Teacher's Certificate low' (Dent, 1977, p.149; and for the sources of complaint see Warwick, 1976, p.76). The consequence was a spawning of committees, conferences and forums, official and unofficial, but all intent on diagnosis and prescription.

In view of our concern with the State's interest in the matter we will concentrate on official enquiries and reports, noting other contributions only incidentally. The first of these was the Select Committee on Education and Science which noting the widespread demand for a thorough

investigation asked in its session 1968/69 for an extension of its tenure in order that it might look into teacher training and particularly its status and role in higher education. We shall return to the detail of the enquiry shortly, but it is pertinent to note now that the theme of the Committee was that of a unitary system of higher education. This betrayed the dominant concern of all official enquiries, namely, to settle the place of the colleges in higher education.

Hence, the request by Edward Short, Secretary of State, in 1970 to Chairmen of Governing bodies of ATOs to review their procedures was in essence a query over the validity and usefulness of the university connection. Indeed, a Committee of Inquiry into teacher training set up by Margaret Thatcher, Secretary of State, a year later drew heavily on that review (and that of the Select Committee) and recommended major modifications to the existing relationship between colleges and universities on the grounds that higher education had undergone significant changes since the establishment of the ATOs (James Report, 1972, p.49 - the significant changes were: 'the development of the binary system, the designation of polytechnics and the growing interest of the polytechnics in teacher education').

Retrospectively, the James Report proved to be a watershed in the colleges' fortunes. Starting from the premise that 'the system is no longer adequate to its purposes' (p.1), the committee sought proposals which

would be 'capable of speedy implementation' (p.1). To this end, it recommended a new structure of training (i.e. three 'cycles' which effectively separated academic and professional elements) but one which spelt an end to the university connection in a full sense (Holmes in Lomax, 1973, p.34). Furthermore, while anxious to enhance the status and independence of the teaching profession and colleges (p.1), the Committee saw that this could no longer come from increasing the size of the guaranteed clientele; indeed, as they said, 'to put it bluntly, the supply of new teachers is now increasing so rapidly that it must soon catch up with any likely assessment of future demand, and choices will have to be made very soon between various ways of using or diverting some of the resources at present invested in the education and training of teachers' (p.75). It is reported that some of the Committee were asked to carry out a private planning exercise on a possible future reduction in numbers and the effects on the future of particular institutions but this was not published (Hencke, 1975, p.22). Thus the 'numbers issue' was much to the fore, but the power of the James Report lay in the academic case it had made for change (Hencke in Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, p.26).

The White Paper (1972) was free, therefore, to present the same case only in terms of 'scale, organisation and cost rather than educational content' (para 3). Accordingly, it advanced a clear policy line on the restructuring of higher education in combination with an adjustment of

teacher supply (Eggleston, 1974, p.79). For the colleges, their full integration 'into the family of higher education' was to be in line with the Government's preference for expansion of the polytechnics (para. 154) and could include the closure of some of them. Thus, the White Paper 'skillfully ended the isolation of the colleges by extending government control into planning the whole structure of the public sector of higher education' (Hencke, 1975, p.22).

In tune with the 'principle' of the James Report, speed was now of the essence of things. Hence, Circular 7/73 (significantly titled, 'Development of Higher Education in the non-University Sector') which was issued in April, 1973 and was concerned with 'not merely the planning of the marginal expansion of higher education ... but a major consideration of the future role of the colleges of education up to 1981 and beyond' (para 4) asked for submissions from the local authorities within seven months and final proposals within a year. A possible reason for the haste was the scheduled reorganisation of local government in 1974 (acknowledged in para. 8), although this had been interpreted by some as support for a 'conspiracy' thesis on the part of the DES (e.g. Lukes in James, 1975, p.79). Whatever the merits of that argument, it is plain that the timetable (in conjunction with the criteria to be used in the planning exercise) ensured strict government control (Hencke, 1975, p.25). Thus while the DES consulted the local authorities, voluntary bodies and the ATCDE, Hencke concludes (1975, p.25) that it was 'this detailed control

which affected the future of individual institutions and jobs of lecturers, rather than any national announcement of Government plans for the future'. This is a most important observation because it indicates that not only was government policy arrived at in a piecemeal way but its implementation followed a similar path.

#### After 1974

The stage then was set for 'radical' change and the 'numbers game' began to be played. Circular 7/73 had suggested a 25-30 per cent cut in the number of teacher training places by 1981 (40% if only initial training is counted). Evidence of a 'surplus' of teachers made opposition to the proposal difficult, despite calls for more in-service training and the reduction of teacher-pupil ratios (NUT, 1973). But other social and economic logic made general resistance impossible. By the spring of 1975, a continuing decline in numbers of births (from 900,000 in 1970 to 650,000 in 1974) and ever-worsening economic problems (contingent on the 'oil price crisis') endorsed emphatically the DES call for swift and substantial cuts. The situation was capped by a falling demand for higher education (Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, pp.8 and 45). 'Crisis' was now the dominant theme and legitimated even tighter control from the DES. Indeed, it justified further cuts at an accelerated pace in the size of the guaranteed

clientele<sup>70</sup>. Thus the White Paper's proposed 80,000 places for 1981 were first reduced in 1976 to 60,000, then in early 1977 to 45,000 finally ending in June 1977 at 43,000 (see Burgess, 1977 and THES, 1: 7: 77). In the process the number of teacher training institutions were reduced by more than half from 163 to 75 - the disappearing 88 colleges were split almost evenly between closure and merger (6 of these with universities). The outcome was the retention of 19 monotechnics (with 7,000 students on initial and in-service teacher training), 26 polytechnic departments or faculties of education (17,000 students) and the creation of 30 institutes or colleges of higher education (21,000 students) (see Porter, 1977). In broader institutional terms, the colleges were now firmly part of the system of higher education but were located in the non-university sector.

Yet, despite this development, it would be oversimplistic in the extreme to imagine that the colleges had now exchanged 'three masters' for one. Obviously a radical change has taken place in their structure of relations: indeed, to the extent that the question regarding the professionalisation of the college lecturers is no longer 'Who controls the colleges of education?' but 'Who controls teacher education?' We will explore shortly some of the implications of this development for the professionalism

70. The reason given for this by Gerry Fowler, former Minister of State in DES was that the 'pruning process' started 'too late'. (THES, 2:9:77).

of the college lecturers, but will now conclude this part of the historical analysis of the colleges with a summary of the consequences of their reorganisation on their (and the lecturers') structure of relations with their 'clients' and 'masters'.

- i) The schools as such have played little part in the reorganisation. Certainly their wishes were not considered (NUT, 1973, p.3); indeed, the DES adopted something of a paternalistic stance towards the schools over the whole affair, stressing the benefits of it for them in terms of increased in-service training and improved teacher: pupil ratios (Guardian. 25:1:77). In view of the strong movement towards a 'consecutive' form of training (corresponding to the existing post-graduate form), the schools' direct involvement in and influence over initial teacher training appears to be on the wane. The current stress on the academic side of the academic/professional duality is unmistakable.
- ii) At first sight reorganisation has severed the university connection. ATOs no longer exist; colleges and departments of education in polytechnics now refer mainly to the CNAA for validation of their courses and awards. Yet the universities' direct contribution to initial teacher training remains quantitatively the same (5,000 places), and its hold on the form and style of teacher education is if anything strengthened. Thus NATFHE has



complained that in 1981, there will be a similar number of post-graduates undergoing teacher training in the universities to that of those in the colleges. Moreover, the university form of training will predominate in that there will be 10,000 post-graduates compared to 9,000<sup>an</sup> B.Ed. courses (see Judd in THES, 18:2:77). In any event the universities are well represented on the CNAAC courses committees. In these ways, reorganisation has demonstrated not only the weakness of state control of the universities but also that in matters academic and professional, the universities are at the very least a considerable power behind the throne.

- iii) The control of the LEAs over the colleges and teacher education is now almost entirely of a passive kind. The strategy of the DES in Circular 7/73 of dealing individually with them (thus observing the letter of the law) and particularly at a time when they were at maximum weakness (Lukes in James, 1975, p.79) exposed that their lack of an organised power base, their preoccupation with local interest and their function of implementing (as opposed to initiating) Government policy makes them susceptible to state manipulation. This is notably the case where political interests are not at stake<sup>71</sup>. Thus the

71. See Hencke, 1975, p.27, and compare the situation in Scotland where the Government was compelled to modify substantially many of its proposals regarding college contraction and reorganisation (THES, 11.3.77).

resistance of the LEAs to DES proposals was never concerted and ultimately took such forms as not taking up places in the colleges for in-service training (THES, 11:3:77). Currently the question of the relation of LEAs and institutions of higher education in the public sector is under debate following an investigation by a Committee chaired by Gordon Oakes, Minister of State in DES., on the management of higher education in the public sector. Reports indicate that the Committee favour the formation of a national body advised by regional councils, thus ending local government control of the institutions of higher education. Furthermore, changes in financial arrangements would give tighter Government control over college expenditure (see Guardian, 15:12:77 and THES, 16:12:77, and for a view from a union official, Knight in NATFHE Journal, No, 3, 3:4:78).

- iv) While the reorganisation of the colleges has palpably demonstrated the power of the DES., it is far from certain that that should be described as 'total, monolithic' (as by Lukes in James, 1975, p.48)<sup>72</sup>. Instead, a fair appraisal can come from looking more closely at the context and scope of that power in

72. This could be related to the nature of the State's relation to 'education' generally. Thus in the case of the school teachers, Tropp noted 'the equivocal nature of their relationship to the State' (1957, p.31).

this case. Here it is instructive to look at the (reported) views of Hugh Harding, under-Secretary at the DES from 1967 to 1977, and central figure, if not chief architect of the reorganisation.

Harding recognised in the early days of his appointment that 'fundamental decisions would be taken in the field of teacher education within the next few years', but he saw these mainly in terms of 'the development of new and experimental curricula' (Chanan, 1972, pp.9f). Indeed, even when later he changed his emphasis to 'educational expenditure generally and on capital programmes in particular' (see Hencke, 1976, p.6), it is possible that he did not see the full extent of the final outcome (e.g. in 1974 he told the Principals' panel of ATCDE that there would be 'around 100 teacher training institutions in 1981' THES, 22:4:77). But the important point is not his prophetic powers but that his emphasis did switch. He wrote that this was on account of 'the changing situation arising from the oil crisis' (Hencke, 1976, p.6), but plainly the move from 'educational context' to 'efficient use of physical resources' suited him (not least because of his previous service in the Treasury). Moreover, despite the frequent changes in his political masters (four Secretaries of State and 4 Ministers of State during this period), there was no apparent disagreement on their part with this approach (e.g. Gerry Fowler, former Minister of State in DES, favoured it on the grounds that it would promote 'easier planning', THES, 2:9:77). Thus it could be argued that while administrators initiated as well as implemented decisions in this instance (Hencke in Raggett and Clarkson

1976, pp.28-34), this was primarily in the context of response to larger social and economic events and trends.

Yet even as the scope of power of the DES was limited mainly to the financial and administrative area,<sup>73</sup> so too it was not simply a matter of logistics.

In the matter of size of colleges, for instance, the White Paper proposed that this should be 1,000+ (although later 'a viable teacher training unit' was reckoned to be 600). However, the DES, given its own criteria of geographical location, in-service work, transport opportunities and problems, and range of courses offered, had to keep open some small colleges, especially to secure 'regional balance' (Guardian, 25:1:77). Moreover, on account of 'consultations', the DES had to change its mind over its proposed final batch of closures and 'retrieved' five of them (THES. 1:7:77).

Accordingly, one can find some sympathy with David Hencke's view that the reorganisation was not some carefully devised and cunningly executed plan by the DES, but 'it seems more likely to be a whole series of haphazardly made decisions in the shortest possible time to achieve the cheapest solution' (in Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, p.43). But this is to regard the whole exercise solely in terms

73. This was brought out repeatedly in disclaimers by the Ministers concerned that no political considerations were involved (e.g. Gordon Oakes reported in THES, 1:7:77; but for the contrary view see that of Keith Hampson in Guardian, 19:7:77).

of the efficient use of physical resources and particularly of manpower planning, whereas from the mid-1960s the logic of the binary system of higher education had to be taken into account<sup>74</sup>. In this sense the reorganisation of the colleges had a political dimension and this gave direction to the administrative proposals which were based on financial considerations. Given the complexity (and delicacy) of the inter-relationship of such considerations, it is not surprising that the DES attempted the firmest control possible, using to that end such strategies as 'secrecy' and 'divide and rule' (we shall examine these more closely when we study individual colleges shortly).

In the light of such observations it is clearly very difficult to pin-point any 'final cause' as far as the development of the colleges lecturers as a bureaucratic profession is concerned. Plainly DES policy in respect of changes in the rate and scale of the size of the guaranteed clientele is crucial, but that policy is produced through such a complex decision-making process (from within and outside the education system) that it usually takes conditions of 'crisis' to bring a marked degree of coherence and force to it. Thus the development of the college lecturers as a profession is characterised by a series of unevenly spaced jerks, all of which are

74. Robinson observes that the striking feature of the debate on the James Report and White Paper was 'the sudden general recognition given to polytechnics and the CNAAs' (in Lomax, 1973, p.117).

related to changes of policy over teacher supply but which until the current reorganisation of the colleges meant advancement of status for the college lecturers. In this way there was a linear progression, but the recent change marks a complete re-direction for the profession. Indeed, the question must now be if the college lecturers constitute a separate profession at all, but rather should now be seen in terms of a major segment of the profession of teachers in higher education - non university sector. We can explore this issue and at the same time balance our examination of the development of the college lecturers as a bureaucratic profession (we have emphasised the state's policy towards colleges so far) through studying the college lecturers' own part in their achievement of professional status.

### The College Lecturers' Claim to Professional Status

Implicit, if not explicit, to our analysis of the professionalisation of the college lecturers has been the proposition that they themselves have seen that process taking place through the attainment of academic and administrative autonomy which meant in practice the creation of 'gaps' between them and schools, LEAs, and universities. But such 'gaps' could only be created if the college lecturers on the one hand could secure acceptance that they had distinct properties (i.e. sets of theories and practices to which only they had real access) which gave them the right to be gatekeepers at the entry

to the teaching profession, and on the other hand could attain control over the structure and procedures of their own organisation (see Warwick, 1975, pp.1, 348). In fact these have been the two strategies of the college lecturers in their 'negotiation' for status, and have been pursued by them at aggregate and collective (individual college) levels. Thus, we will examine the question of the college lecturers claim to professional status, first in terms of the role of their professional association from a historical perspective (hence, providing a bridge with our earlier analysis) and secondly in terms of an analysis and assessment of their 'property' claims.

(i). The Role of the College Lecturers' Professional Association

Chronologically, the picture of the college lecturers professional association is as follows:

1891 The Training Colleges' Association was formed and drew its membership from those 'concerned with education' and its main focus was on educational matters (issuing a Bulletin, three times a year). It attempted to develop a policy role but was severely restricted because of the existence and role of a Council of Principals which 'functioned as an independent body concerned with the administration of the colleges and with carrying out regulations of the Board of Education concerning them' (Warwick, 1975, p.78), although

it was a Joint Standing Committee (representative of TCA as well as the Council) which negotiated with the Board of Education.

One consequence of this arrangement was that the TCA carried little weight. Hence it could not gain an improvement in lecturers' salaries, let alone secure a separate salary scale from that of the schools, and it could offer little effective resistance to cuts in the number of lecturers during the 'depression' (from 8,909 in 1931 to 6,608 in 1934) (See Browne, 1977, pp.74f).

1945 ATCDE was created by a merger of TCA and Council of Principals but old divisions persisted. Thus the association included a Panel of Principals which administered on a central basis the application of candidates for student places in training colleges, and it was not until 1957 that a Lecturers' Panel was formed to deal with lecturers' business.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, the association continued to place considerable stress on its function as a study association - hence, the first objective of its

75. On the role of the Principal's Panel, Hencke (1978, p.102) noted that it thought it was in 'a privileged position' vis-a-vis the DES, but it learned otherwise when the reorganisation of the colleges took place. Nonetheless, the presumption could partly explain why the colleges did not anticipate or prepare for the reorganisation.



constitution was 'improvement in the training of teachers',<sup>76</sup>.

Nonetheless, the association was more cohesive than its predecessors not only because the two panels were subject to its Executive Committee, but also because it was compelled, by virtue of being the sole body recognised by the Government and local authorities for negotiations in the field of teacher education, to involve itself in policy matters relating to the interests of its members (for instance it had five places on NACSTT). In any event the association was deeply involved in salary negotiations following the creation of the Pelham Committee in 1944.

Despite this, its membership adopted a casual attitude towards the association and this was reflected partly in no urgency over recruitment (e.g. while the aggregate number of lecturers increased, the proportion of them who were members of the association fell from 75% in 1964 to 60% in 1970), but more particularly in not regarding it in political terms at all. By virtue of being wedded to the collegiate principle and the sub-culture of 'social and literary romanticism' which went with it, the college lecturers were far more concerned with the separate identities

76. It was a repeated complaint of the ATCDE that all research and discussion on teacher education was on questions of supply and not on the nature of professional training.

and 'life'style' of the individual colleges than with their overall professional status<sup>77</sup>. Hence, even the Weaver Report whose proposals were made after 'a strong lobby' by the ATCDE (Robinson in Burgess, 1972, p.177) was seen by the college lecturers in terms of their relationship with their own local authority, and its implications for a new relationship with the DES were largely ignored. This preoccupation of the lecturers with their own colleges meant ultimately that the ATCDE had to stand by helplessly when the colleges were dealt with individually by the DES under its plans for their reorganisation. The association simply had neither the policy nor the means to counter such a strategy. Instead it had to concentrate on legal safeguarding of its members tenure and income (see Hencke, 1975, p.28), and faced with declining numbers and restricted to this narrow frame of reference it lost its justification for continued and separate existence, particularly when the Pelham Committee was merged with the Farms Institutes' Committee and old Burnham FE Committee into a new Burnham Committee for FE in 1976 (Dent 1977, p.155).

1976 NATFHE was created by the amalgamation of ATCDE

77. In Tropp's (historical) analysis of the development of the school teachers as a profession, he makes no mention of ATCDE despite many reference to the colleges as important in that connection (e.g. the colleges 'helped greatly in the emergence of a sense of professional unity', 1957, p.25).

and ATTI with the orientation and objectives of the latter (class-based) association predominating. Thus the first objective of the constitution of NATFHE is 'to protect and promote the professional interests of members individually and collectively' (NATFHE, 1976a). In any case, given the form and content of the reorganisation of the colleges, pragmatic considerations have over-shadowed all else, particularly in respect of the 'fight to safeguard members' tenure ... (and) safeguarding of salary' (NATFHE, 1976b). New directions for the former ATCDE are evident in that NATFHE is affiliated to the TUC (a move previously rejected by ATCDE) and NATFHE has a strong base in the polytechnics (ATCDE never seriously countenanced colleges as part of the polytechnic structure, see ATCDE, 1970). The outcome is that lecturers in teacher education no longer exist organisationally as a separate professional association.

Reviewing then this historical outline and commentary on the role of the college lecturers' professional association, several crucial considerations emerge regarding their claim to professional status. First, by virtue of the isolation and mode and structure of internal authority of their colleges, the lecturers created divisions within their association, thereby considerably weakening its bargaining position. Secondly, their collegiate life-style and their engrossment with 'educational' matters minimised, if not precluded, political activity both within the association

and between it and the powerful groups in the educational system. In short, the professional association could pursue the college lecturers' claim to professional status only on a very narrow front and that from a weak position. This becomes more apparent when we examine the 'property' claims of the college lecturers for professional status.

(ii) The 'Property' Claims of the College Lecturers

In his analysis of the evidence received by the Select Committee, Dennis Warwick (1976, p.17) identified four property claims of the college lecturers, namely Academic Board, curriculum and courses, teaching practice and social life: the college as a community. If we relate these both to the major characteristics of professionalism which we described earlier and to the strategy of creating 'gaps' with relevant institutions, the following scheme emerges:

Characteristic of Professionalism	'Property' claims of college lecturers	Institutions from which seeking independence
Knowledge monopoly	Curriculum and courses	Universities
Specialist skill and service orientation	Teaching practice	Schools
Work autonomy	Academic Board	LEAs
Indeterminacy	Social life: college as a community	All of above

(a) Knowledge Monopoly: Curriculum and Courses

To have any hope of claiming knowledge monopoly, the college lecturers had to secure recognition that their field of study was of a high level and in as far as in this connection they still have to vie with the universities, that their educational ideology was distinctive.

Taking the latter case first, the dominant liberal ideology of the universities emphasised personal development on the basis of academic subject-centredness, and in so doing tended to denigrate the pursuit of vocational training as of lower status (Warwick, 1976, p.20). The dilemma of the college lecturers was plain, they engaged in both academic study and professional training and for the liberal ideology this was a contradiction in terms. Hence, in order to secure professional status, the college lecturers could either side with the liberal ideology or develop one of their own which would justify and distinguish their practice. This alternative was the child-centred approach to teaching training. But the college lecturers while acknowledging its attractions never fully embraced it (the Plowden Report complained at length on this score)<sup>78</sup>. Consequently, as we noted earlier, they tended progressively to emphasise the academic side of the academic/professional axis.

78. Pertinent to our main interest Dennis Warwick suggests that among the possible explanations for this lukewarm attitude college lecturers did not want to impair their career prospects through giving up their specialisms or subjects (1976, p.23 and see him on this topic generally pp.20-3).

Despite (indeed, in line with) their adherence to the dominant liberal tradition, the college lecturers could still claim knowledge monopoly if they could secure recognition for the subject of education as a high level field of study. Here the ATCDE proved its worth because in the conferences it organised with the DES (especially the Hull Conference, 1964), it achieved that end (see Taylor, ed., 1969, p.28). The study of education became a recognised route to academic excellence. Yet for the college lecturers the snag was that the universities tended to give only grudging approval to this development and, moreover, to monopolise whatever research flowed from it. Accordingly, the college lecturers had to settle for knowledge monopoly at the under-graduate level through the creation of B.Ed. degrees, but validation requirements made them highly dependent on the universities.

Thus the main arena of the college lecturers' struggle for professional status on the basis of knowledge was the structure of their relation with the universities in respect of the B.Ed. degree (the extension of the Certificate course in 1960 was not regarded by the universities in the same light). Here, Jennifer Nias' study of the progress of that relation (in Page and Yates, 1975) is invaluable not least because it showed that while the form of dependence shifted over a long period (in the situation she studied it took six years), it did not advance beyond interdependence. Moreover, her study indicated that that interdependence was of a low-level kind which emerged mainly from the 'pseudo-participation' of college staff as they engaged with uni-

versity staff in sorting out details of running and examining the courses (p.25). Indeed, this form of interdependence was regarded as a problem by the 'inner circle' (consisting of the Principals of the colleges and university staff) who controlled the courses because it involved them in political management (p.25).

In no ultimate sense, therefore, could the college lecturers claim knowledge monopoly on the basis of the B.Ed. degree (not least when some universities would not initially grant honours to B.Ed. candidates). However, according to Nias, this did not appear disagreeable to them because of their allegiance to 'collegiate' principles and practices. It was these, rather than the 'major alliances' which formed along the academic-professional axis (p.23) that tended to shape their 'perceptions of reality' and determined which 'goals were given official backing' and thus inhibited the development of the kind of political 'wheeling and dealing' necessary to achieve a degree of independence from the universities (pp.24, 27).

In this way, while it could be said that 'an alliance was slowly forged' between the college and universities and that they became 'more like' equal partners' (Tibble, 1971, p.5), it was never more than an uneasy alliance and the partnership was often over peripheral matters. Accordingly, when reorganisation and contraction occurred, the B.Ed. degree was an early casualty and even where it was validated by CNAAB it came under question both legis-

tically and qualitatively (THES, 25:2:77 and 9:12:77). Thus on this occasion the DES did not have to use its formal powers in respect of the availability of the range and type of courses because its control of student numbers was sufficient.

Seen in this light, the college lecturers claim to knowlege monopoly on the basis of education as a specialist subject must be heavily qualified because it is both shared with the universities and also limited in its exercise through DES control over the size of the guaranteed clientele.

(b) Specialist Skills and Service Orientation: Teaching Practice

Vocational training in the colleges has held a double meaning: one is the reference to training in specialist occupational skills, and the other is to moral commitment to that occupation. The latter has had particular force in the colleges not only on account of their religious origins and connections but also because their students are being prepared for a special kind of moral responsibility in their professional/client relationship in that their clients will be children. Accordingly, college lecturers have been expected not only to have had school experience but to present a role model of a moral kind which goes beyond professional integrity to personal moral probity. The connection of this with a view of the college as a community will be apparent shortly.



On the practical training side we have noted repeatedly the tension between this and an academic orientation and also the recent trend to place greater emphasis on the latter. Nonetheless, the college lecturers have staked a claim to professional status on the basis of the specialist skills they inculcate through their 'methods' teaching and supervision of teaching practice. Following widespread criticism of their part in both these connections (from students as well as schools, e.g. Warwick, 1976, p.26)<sup>79</sup>, the college lecturers have tended to soft-pedal this approach and to concentrate more on their attempt to reconcile the theoretical and practical aspects through their concurrent form of training (Warwick 1976, p.24). Arguing that this approach is beyond the capability of the schools themselves, the college lecturers have seen this as one of their 'property' claims which separate them in terms of status from the schools.

On the other hand they have not been able to answer satisfactorily the criticism that this claim has been little more than a rationalisation of the monotechnic function of their colleges and certainly it has not withstood new trends in 'consecutive' training such as that advocated in the James Report and in the recent emphasis on post-graduate training. Ironically, from a 'calling' viewpoint such changes have been widely welcomed on the grounds that they enable students to delay and

79. Perhaps this is why Principals nominated teaching practice as one of their main 'sources of anxiety' (Eason, 1970, p.11).

consider more carefully their choice to become teachers.

Thus the college lecturers themselves have been uncertain of the strength of their case on the grounds of skills and service orientation and this may partly account for their preoccupation with initial or pre-service training. Certainly until the James Report little was heard (and not much was done) regarding in-service training. In the event, however, if the college lecturers wanted 'gaps' with the schools for status purposes then this was an astute policy because in-service training has been shown to depend heavily on 'secondment' policies of schools and LEAs. Once more it appears to be a case of the control of the guaranteed clientele because it seems that without direct funding from the Government it is unlikely to happen on any significant scale (THES 11:3:77 and 9:9:77).

(c) Work Autonomy: Academic Board

Our earlier references to the Weaver Report and to the tendency of colleges to bureaucratise their organisation during the period of their expansion illustrate another of the lecturers' property claims. Here the accent is on academic autonomy on the basis of independent administrative units. Internally the development which has taken the form of 'the standardisation of tasks, the specialisation of tutors in particular subject areas, the centralisation of control, the development of departmental hierarchies and the formalisation of procedures and communications' has been an

attempt 'to establish recognisable and recognised wholes for the members of large organisations' (Warwick, 1975, p.348). Clearly this structure affected the collegiate principle and the authority structure, especially the power of the principal himself. Externally, the bureaucratisation of the colleges on the basis of self-government further formalised (while reducing) areas of contact and control between colleges and LEAs. Crucial to both developments was the formation of Academic Boards in the colleges (following the acceptance of the Weaver Report by the Government in 1968).

For the college lecturers themselves, the creation of Academic Boards was seen as a major step towards full work autonomy (Warwick, 1975, pp.18-9), but as it transpired the means was not entirely suited to the goal.

From the LEA side, concessions were made by them over the scope of their control but even as they kept exclusive control of the crucial area of financial management so too they had a large (even decisive) say in policy matters through retaining power of appointment of a majority of members of the governing body of the college (Warwick, 1974, p.12). Following the lead of the Weaver Report they saw the Academic Board as providing academic freedom only.

From the college lecturers' side as well, bureaucratisation was not synonymous with democratisation, even in the academic field. Earlier we mentioned Nias' study of the introduction of the B.Ed. degree and how in this case policy

control was maintained by an 'inner circle' and the staff's involvement was of the nature of 'pseudo-participation'. In Warwick's study of a northern college he painted a similar picture but on a wider canvas, noting that vital definitions, especially those relating to 'the interpretation of the legal structure', were made by 'the most senior members of the academic hierarchy' (Warwick, 1974, p.13). In that such definitions heavily conditioned negotiations, he concluded that 'changes in the official structure giving it something of the status of an autonomous organisation restricted the experience of that autonomy to a few of the members only' (p.14). But as was the case in Nias' study, he noted that the staff appeared to be generally satisfied with this arrangement because it seemed to be serving their own end (p.19). In short, the issue of control is not contentious until the lack of it is perceived in terms of disadvantage or loss.

Such a proposition may account for the anomalous situation in the colleges where bureaucratisation ousted neither collegiate ideals and practices nor the traditional authority of the principal. Of course, it substantially modified them, On the collegiate side, for example, new social divisions were created, notably between academic and administrative staff (contingent on the appointment of senior administrative officers in the colleges) and between staff and students (especially over the question of student assessment - see Warwick, 1974, pp.17-8). Yet the urge for 'community' remained.

(see Shipman's study of Worcester College of Education, 1969), and even after reorganisation commitment to that concept was undiminished in some instances (e.g. at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, see Wyatt, 1977). We shall return to this subject shortly.

From the principals' side, bureaucratisation has undoubtedly changed the form and style of their work. Thus in Eason's survey at the end of the 1960s, 93 per cent of them saw their job as 'wholly, or mainly, administrative in character' and regarded this as a threat to their 'direct personal participation in the conduct of college work and maintenance' (Eason, 1970, pp.29, 62). Accordingly, they view themselves as attempting to live with the tension between leadership and chairmanship<sup>80</sup>, but in the staff's view this meant little diminution of their traditional power (Eaton in Chanan, 1972, pp.83-7).

Seen in this light, the bureaucratisation of the colleges marked by the creation of Academic Boards advanced the independence of the lecturers but mainly in the sense

80. A college Principal described it in this way: 'The Principal in particular must eschew the traditional decision-making function of the head of a college and rely partly on his work in small committees and in informal personal relations, but more especially on his role as a chairman who obliges decision-making bodies to probe into the implications of their proposals in the most detailed manner and thus avoid sliding into ill-considered policies' (Collier in Lomax, 1973, p.182).

of exaggerating the isolation of their colleges. In effect the process served to make the college lecturers more self-conscious and preoccupied their attention and energies during the very period when plans for the wholesale reorganisation of the colleges were being laid elsewhere. Thus the issue of the self-government of the colleges, through concentrating attention on the negotiation between colleges and LEAs of the drawing of boundary lines, blurred if not avoided the central question involved in work autonomy, namely the dependence of the college lecturers on DES policy over the size of the guaranteed clientele - a dependence marked in this instance by the requirement of DES approval for the colleges' instruments and articles of government.

Here then, as with the other two 'properties', the claim of the college lecturers for professional status is far from irresistible. This leaves the key element of their case: the claim for indeterminacy, on the basis of the college as a community.

(d) Indeterminacy: Social Life - College as a Community

The importance to the professional aspirations of the college lecturers of the idea of the college as a community lies in its dual role. At once it is the base on which other claims are founded even as it constitutes a claim on its own. Shipman's (1969) seven year study in the 1960s of changes in participation and

staff-student relations at Worcester illustrates the point. Thus, on knowledge grounds, he sees community as vital because it adheres to the British tradition of 'a community of scholars sharing a common experience in which academic and social interaction were inseparable' (p.1). Likewise, on the grounds of professional training and attitudes he notes that 'close staff-student relations are important in professional preparation' (p.1). Moreover, the gemeinschaft principles and practices meant not only that the college had a distinctive culture (p.12) but by implication that the harmony of the relations which this produced was a strong claim to autonomy - the college could run its own affairs satisfactorily because of its gemeinschaft structure and policy. Accordingly, it was on this basis that the Principal analysed and tackled 'the tensions of change' brought about by increases in the number of staff and students (p.33). Shipman's comment that 'the College was fortunate' on this score (p.33) betrays the value assumption on which his whole research was based - community is good-in-itself and thereby is self-justifying. Hence, he welcomed the use of his own research to promote it (pp.17, 23). Clearly for him college as a community was not simply a pragmatic affair but the core of its distinctiveness, mystique, and indeterminacy. It was a commonly held belief among the college lecturers.

The question that arises, however, is the validity of the assumption itself. Did it rest on no more than the outcome of such historical 'accidents' as the particular

ideological links, structural characteristics, mono-technic function and geographical location of the colleges? Moreover, what was the definition of community itself? Given the stress on harmony was it something akin to that of the 'gentleman's club'?<sup>81</sup>

Shipman himself never answered this question: he appeared to think that it is self-evident that effective teacher training and the notion of the college as a community are inseparable. Nonetheless, he acknowledged the importance of the Principal's attitude<sup>82</sup>, and the variables of location, size and residence in achieving that goal.

His view is echoed on all sides, particularly in relation to the residential principle. Originally this was based on a religious view of a training situation but was perpetuated even when secular authorities entered the field (Dent, 1977, pp.8, 57). A range of moral considerations undoubtedly influenced the practice but the basic justification appeared to be that this arrangement 'facilitated personality development and intense

81. This appeared to be the root of the complaint in a recent survey of colleges where it was remarked that 'not least among the concerns of those who remain as part of the reorganised larger institutions is the disappearance of the warmth and co-operation that characterised many colleges of education, and their replacement by management processes in which confrontation and conflict are prevalent' (Ass'n for Science Edn., 1977).
82. Here it is worth mentioning that women Principals appeared to be particularly enamoured of the idea (Eaton in Chanan, 1972, p.82) and Warwick (1975, p.110) remarked that women Chairmen of ATCDE were specially noted for mentioning it at the Christmas Conference.



pastoral activity' (Taylor, ed. 1969, p.27). The argument, of course, is functional and relates to questions of socialisation and social control but even in this respect is suspect. Warwick (1975, p.331), for instance, noted that 'the experience of college for many students, as far as being a teacher in the future was concerned, was one which can be captured more in terms of an interlude than as a period of professional socialisation'. This, he adds, is not surprising if the colleges did no more than reinforce the liberal ideology of education with which the students already concurred. He himself sees the references to the idea of community as evidence of a desire for a 'quiet life' rather than to promote 'active exploratory community' (Warwick, 1975, p.110).

Yet, whatever the debate over the residential principle, the conclusive question for the college as a community is its size. Shipman acknowledged this (Worcester trebled numerically during the '60s) in noting that the increased size 'simultaneously reduced the consensus between staff and students and reduced the contact between them in informal situations' (1969, p.31). Warwick (1974, pp.10-4) put it another way in relating the expansion and bureaucratisation of the college he studied. Perhaps this is the reason why Principals resisted the proposition that colleges of more than 1,000 students should become the norm (Eason, 1970, p.16), but their argument was in vain when opposed with the 'cost-effectiveness' approach of the White Paper and Circular 7/73.

Hence, even without the damaging consequences of the 'diversification' principle of the James Report (ending the monotechnic function which was at the base of the communality of the colleges - see Ross in Raggett and Clarkson, 1976, p.57), change in the size of the colleges placed their ideals and practices of community in jeopardy, not least because it introduced new categories of students and staff. Yet while such developments questioned if not invalidated this property claim, the college lecturers themselves retained this concept as the major source of the definition of their identity and life-style. Here, as we shall see, is the basis of their conception of their careers. Ultimately we shall analyse what happened to that conception when it was subject to involuntary change during the contraction and reorganisation of the colleges. But what is already clear is that while on professional grounds the lecturers could expect to maintain some aspect of that conception, their position from both the side of their professional association and their 'property' claims was far from secure and consequently they were relatively open to involuntary change of an unwelcome kind. Once more the prime factor was the rate and scale of change of size of the guaranteed clientele.

Nonetheless, it is also apparent from our historical survey that from both the state and college lecturers sides a crucial aspect of the development of the college lecturers as a bureaucratic profession has been the isolation of individual colleges. This, we have seen, has meant that the college has become the unit of the profession; indeed, each one has been a microcosm of the

whole. The significance of this situation for the professionalisation of the college lecturers is that the dilemmas of a bureaucratic profession have been faced by them at this level, and the division and disruption contingent upon such dilemmas have consequently been contained if not overcome. Thus over the question of control, while generally the state has exercised that largely in structural, administrative terms and the colleges have controlled themselves predominantly in expressive, life-style terms, this has not produced a dichotomy between the structure and style of the profession. This is because the colleges' isolation has meant that the key intermediary groups of LEA and university have been able to interpret and implement state (administrative) policy and college (professional) preference in such ways as to make the two sides of the bureaucratic profession compatible if not complementary. Indeed, the role of such groups has been to fudge the boundaries between bureaucratic and professional principles of organisation. Thus, the duality of a bureaucratic profession in the case of the college lecturers has not been perceived or experienced by them in untenable or unworkable senses, even if it has produced degrees of dissatisfaction and frustration among them regarding their professional standing and performance. All of which adds up to the consideration that to understand the development of the college lecturers as a bureaucratic profession it is necessary to examine the peculiar relation of the structure and style of their colleges on account of their isolation. This we can now do, as well as pursue our interest in careers, through

examining the structure and style of the careers of the college lecturers.

### The Career Structure and Style of the College Lecturers

While there is no need to repeat the detailed description we gave earlier of the structure and style of the lecturers' careers, it is pertinent for this stage of our study to recall some of the general observations we made then.

First, we noted that the control of the careers was an open question mainly on account of the differing and often competing interests which were involved but also because of the short history of their more elaborate structure. Thus career lines tended to be tentative and fluid and at least left the impression that there was the opportunity of considerable mobility. Secondly, we observed that the college lecturers did not exploit this situation politically because of dispositional and organisational considerations which were rooted in a college-centredness and expressed in a preoccupation with career style and a passive attitude towards larger structural change. In both respects we can see the correspondence with two of the major themes of our present historical survey, namely that the college lecturers have not initiated change in structure but have developed a distinctive sub-culture expressed in a collegiate life-style.

We went on to note that the lecturers' sense of security which was derived partly from their association

with the schools and also from their experience that involuntary change of career structure was directed in their favour, meant that they tended to take their careers for granted. Accordingly, only the recent contraction and reorganisation of the colleges have lent urgency to the question of control and have thrown into jeopardy the whole approach of the lecturers to their careers.

It is on the basis of such observations that we can explore more fully the notions of the structure and style of the lecturers' careers and particularly the question of the relation of that structure and style.

(a) The Structure of Lecturers' Careers

Bucher and Strauss (in Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p.194) advocated that an investigator 'must be prepared to see changes not only in the stages of career but in the ladder itself'. It is timely advice in this case because as we have seen, the lecturers' career ladder has changed twice in a little over a generation. Thus, in 1944 the creation of the Pelham Committee marked the separation of the colleges' career structure from that of the schools and in so doing not only ended the 'blind alley' situation of the lecturers but opened up entirely new career lines. Mainly, of course, these were within the colleges themselves especially as in due course increased size was accompanied by departmentalisation of subjects, thus, for

instance, giving head of department status to over 10 per cent of a colleges' staff (see our subsequent analysis of colleges undergoing change). But 'switching points' to other career lines outside the colleges became available as well, notably that of teaching in university schools of education (and more recently in the Education Faculty of the Open University). Thus the structure tended to give a pronounced emphasis to academic career aspirations.

Thirty years later in 1976 the creation of the new Burnham FE structure while paralleling many of the former stages of career gave them a new direction through placing them in the non-university sector of higher education. Furthermore, the truncation of teacher education and the tendency to adopt consecutive forms of training, have recently curtailed not only the number of opportunities of mobility but also the range of opportunity (especially in the academic field).

The difference between the two career ladders are characterised by the distinctions between a profession and a professional segment. In consequence, career aspirations in teacher education have become restricted largely to education itself in both its academic and professional senses.

All the same it is important to stress that this change has occurred solely because of the reorganisation of the colleges. Without that, the new salary structure, even

with its 'binary' implications, would have altered little in the lecturers' approach to their careers, This is because both career ladders, while initiated and formulated nationally, were implemented locally. It was this feature that gave flexibility to the structure. For, despite the constraints of 'establishment' criteria, the implementation itself could take varying forms and therefore was the product of 'negotiation' between the college and LEA. In this respect the role of the Principal was crucial for although he could be influenced by heads of department over promotions and appointments (Eason, 1970, p.27), he had a decisive say in as far as he had the 'power to recommend' (Cammerts in Calthrop and Owens, 1971, p.68). Moreover, as we saw in the case of Worcester, the Principal exercised considerable influence over the life-style of the college itself.

(b) The Style of the Lecturers' Careers

The colleges' 'feeling for gemeinschaft' affected the staff in several ways. The particularistic form of social relations, for instance, led to a stress on informality both in staff-colleague relations and in staff-student relations. Indeed, while the latter tended to become more formal as colleges increased in size and adopted more bureaucratic forms of organisation, the relation between the staff persisted in the old style<sup>83</sup>.

83. Obviously this was one of the effects of creating Academic Boards (Warwick, 1976, p.18), but this was also the period when student bodies attempted to gain distinctive identities through establishing Student Unions.

Professional equality was the key-note, whatever the official status of the staff, barring, that is, the Principal and (perhaps) the Vice Principal.

No doubt, the staff's desire 'to keep the atmosphere of liberal education in pleasant, unrushed conditions' (Warwick, 1975, p.86) contributed substantially to this end, not least because it was buttressed by the incidence of college residence of staff<sup>84</sup>. But whatever the lecturers' sentiments and arrangements<sup>85</sup> two other factors appear to be crucial for the perpetuation of their traditional career style.

The first of these was that the organisation of the college followed the principles of professionalism. This was essential because not only did it produce feelings of satisfaction on account of the sense of equality and autonomy it engendered without inhibiting career advance (Warwick, 1974, p.19) but also it induced an unquestioning attitude towards career through achieving compatibility between structure and style. Thus all the lecturers could be involved in and committed to their bureaucratic profession because they perceived and experienced the

84. Shipman made much of this in his study of Worcester (1969, pp.3, 6).

85. Warwick (1974, p.13), for instance, noted that in addition to an Academic Board there was in the college he studied an academic council which was a meeting of all college teachers.



college organisation as following the principles of professionalism (see Thornton in Dunkerley, 1975, p.65).

The second factor was perhaps more important because it involved the perception and experience of change in favourable terms. Thus while expansion led to the creation of sub-groups which often were in competition or conflict with each other (Newton et. al. 1975, p.17), the various splits and struggles did not destroy consensus because there were still 'prizes for all'. Only when change veered into the opposite direction thereby threatening the isolation of the colleges and the goals of their career style did the divisions assume greater significance than the consensus for the lecturers' careers (Newton et. al. 1975, p.15).

(c) The Relation of the Structure and Style of the Lecturers' Careers

It is clear then that while the isolation of the colleges remained the lecturers were broadly content with their careers not only because that isolation allowed local implementation of career structure and local development of career style but more especially because it enabled these two aspects of career to be reconciled. Hence in the colleges there was a reduction (even removal)

of the tension inherent in a bureaucratic profession<sup>86</sup>. More specifically, in the case of career mobility the colleges were both large enough and sufficiently organised on professional lines for the lecturers to minimise if not avoid the dilemma posed by whether to attempt career advance within an organisation (as appertains to large-scale bureaucracies) or between organisation (as appertains to 'isolated' professionals). The colleges blended these two forms of mobility. Moreover, this blending resolved many of the difficulties experienced through differing class and status orientations to the work situation. Thus, for instance, Gouldner's (1957, 1958) 'cosmopolitans and locals' (cf Hughes' (1958) 'itinerants and home-guards') could not only develop and sustain their respective career identities in such a setting but could also follow identical career lines without feelings of inconsistency. Accordingly, college lecturers were relieved of some of the psychological and social problems which can occur when professionals work in a complex organisation (Dunkerky, 1975, p.62). But as we have indicated the only trouble with such a frame of mind is that it does not induce a questioning attitude to career and therefore may be ill-equipped to supply the rational, calculating and self-conscious attitudes which may be desirable at times

86. This throws further light on Noble and Pym's thesis (see p.39) that there is an accommodation of conflict in an organisation with a high proportion of professionals.

of career crisis (Mansfield in Child, 1973, p.111). In short, the colleges' isolation could lead the lecturers to insular attitudes and a sense of group and individual insulation, all of which would have limited value and use if that isolation ended.

In fact this was the case for the lecturers' careers when contraction and reorganisation of the colleges occurred. But rather than deal in generalities in that respect we can now turn to case studies of colleges undergoing involuntary change during that reorganisation. In view of our historical survey of the development of the college lecturers as a bureaucratic profession we shall be particularly interested to study not only what direction the profession took when the colleges were merged or closed but more especially what happened under those circumstances to the structure and style of the lecturers careers, and particularly if that peculiar relation of structure and style served to minimise the effects of such changes on the careers of both groups and individuals.

CHAPTER SIX  
COLLEGES UNDERGOING CHANGE

Teacher education as a professional activity has been in the main both located in the colleges of education and also localised there. Thus while the colleges have exhibited some common features of organisation (chiefly of an administrative kind), they have been immensely varied in their interpretation and implementation of their monotechnic function. This localisation, of course, has been the consequence of their peculiar set of relations with their providing (LEA/voluntary organisation), validating (usually local university) and assisting (local schools and their professional associations) bodies, and more particularly the peculiar structure of that set of relations largely arising from historical connection and local custom. Furthermore, the relatively free hand the colleges have been given to run their affairs within the broad framework of DES provision and authorisation of staff/student numbers and the number and range of courses has meant that the structure (to some extent) and the style (to a large extent) of their social relations and activities have been internally determined. Accordingly, any detailed knowledge and understanding of the profession of the lecturers in teacher education, and especially the professional careers of individual lecturers must be reached at the college level. It is here, as we have previously noted, that professionalisation

is realised and individual careers are shaped and controlled.

On this account I shall embark on a description and analysis of the four colleges of education I mentioned earlier. My approach will be that of natural history, partly gleaned from official records and reports (notably the minutes of Governing Bodies and Academic Boards), but supplemented by interviews (with Principals and Deputy Principals) and by direct observation and personal involvement (the latter especially in the case of the local authority college). The question uppermost in my mind will be what has been happening in the colleges of education (from a 'factual' official standpoint) with a view to understanding what has been happening to careers there. Accordingly, I shall first describe the historical development of the colleges with special emphasis on recent changes arising from the general reorganisation (in view of our earlier analysis, the notion of college as community will be of particular interest here), then I shall concentrate on the questions of the structure of control and changes in careers in the colleges. This should at least set the scene and provide the guidelines for a subsequent analysis of what individual lecturers in these colleges have been making of involuntary change in their professional careers. At best this examination of the four colleges will 'test' and illustrate our model of the control of change of careers in a bureaucratic profession, and at the same time

further the analysis of our central thesis that the consequences of involuntary (unwelcome) change in professional careers are minimised on account of the structure of control of such<sup>h</sup> occupations.

For comparative purposes I shall rely on similar studies of change by six sociologists in their own colleges of education (Newton et. al. 1975). Of particular interest for our understanding of the control of careers will be to see if our own study parallels and confirms that one in as far as it asserted that despite the diversity of the colleges, there were 'some common strands', namely the perceived dominance of the Principal and the finding of conflict situations (Newton et. al., 1975, p.13). In a similar vein I shall refer to Nias's study of changes in power and authority in a group of colleges consequent upon the introduction of the B.Ed. and in particular examine her contention that the conditions of instability through the re-organisation of teacher education are 'only different in degree' from what was experienced with the introduction of the B.Ed. (in Page and Yates, 1975, p.20). Here we can examine the distinction I have made between different forms of involuntary change. Finally, for illustrative purposes I shall use a series of reports in the THES of the effects on colleges brought about by their re-organisation.

General Introduction to the Four Colleges

As we have seen, all four colleges are set in a single conurbation but are placed in three different local authorities. The specialised colleges for Day Students (called by us Day College) and for Technical Teachers (called by us Technical Teachers' College) are in one of those authorities. This authority also contains the Polytechnic where the merger of these colleges and the other (more general) College of Education (called by us local authority college) has taken place. The local authority is situated in a neighbouring metropolitan borough some 10 miles from the other colleges. The Voluntary College of Education (called by us church college) is sited in a major city some 15 to 25 miles from the other three. All were members of the same A.T.O.

Some basic data will enable a first comparison to be made between the four colleges:

	Date of Foundation	Max. no. of students between 1972-1975	Max. no. of staff between 1972-1975
Church College	1850	700	66
Local Authority college	1909	1,000	94
Day College	1961	500	46
Technical Teachers' college	1961	400	48

Given our preoccupation with the size of the guaranteed clientele of a profession and especially the rate and scale of its change, the first and most obvious question which arises from this tabulation is why did the church college not grow much larger? This becomes more pertinent and urgent when it is known that both the church and local authority college had student populations of about 250 when the specialised colleges were founded in 1961. It is this question which will direct our description and analysis of the development of the four colleges. We shall follow our previous strategy of organising our material into stages of development which, conveniently in view of the date of foundation of the specialised colleges, can be taken as pre-1961 (the introduction of the 3-year training courses in 1960 was a crucial event for the growth of the other two colleges), then up to 1972 (the White Paper was another vital landmark), and finally since that time.

### The Development of the Colleges

#### a. The Church College

##### i. 1850-1960

The remarkable feature of this very long period is that the college changed so very little. Even evacuation during the Second World War proved to be no more than an interruption, and the all-male, all-



residential college varied only between 200-250 students, at least for a major part of the present century. Certainly the cause of this stable, if not static, situation did not lie in the lack of demand for teachers because in the same city three local authority colleges and two voluntary ones were founded after (and most of them long after) the church college. Why then the lack of growth?

Financial considerations were plainly a major factor. By virtue of its foundation the college was completely autonomous but this meant that it was totally responsible for its own finances. But inasfar as it was established with few endowments, it relied for its income on grants, gifts and fees. In this respect it became increasingly dependent on state support not only for student fees but also for grants towards capital expenditure (these ultimately reached 75 per cent on capital projects). Financial stringency bred caution and stifled growth, as we shall see shortly.

Another major factor was the site of the college itself. Small in the first instance, it became impossible to enlarge when the college was hemmed in with industrial development and high density, low-grade housing. This effectively immured the college (symbolised by high walls which almost completely surrounded it). Such physical constraints were important because not only did they make further building difficult but strongly reinforced isolationist attitudes which in any case are prevalent in such specialised institutions. Reminiscent a little of

Oxbridge colleges with its enclosed trees and lawns, the college boasted the only open space for miles. No wonder a recent Principal described it as an oasis. But the situation lent itself to dispositions of self-containment, even as was alleged at Academic Board, of self-satisfaction, all of which are inimical to growth. Some confirmation of such sentiments lay in the low turnover of staff. Tutors in residence were generally 'there for life'.<sup>87</sup>

Somewhat ironically this isolation of the college supported its aspirations to be considered in national terms - a Principal spoke disparagingly of local authority colleges as 'locals for the locality'. Thus it never developed a strong local identity, despite its reliance on local schools for teaching practice. At the same time, the college could lay no firm claim to national identity, (the nearest it came to it was through specialised courses, especially handicraft). Its staff were not national figures in the education world.

No doubt contributing to the enclosed nature of the college was its single-sex population and more especially its religious values and practices which centred on worship in the college chapel. Here attendance was compulsory until 1947, and even up to 1960 more than a quarter of the students attended services. Once more

87. An invaluable source of information in addition to the minutes of the Governing Body and Academic Board has been a history of the college compiled recently by a former Vice-principal and which I was allowed to read in its draft form.

the emphasis was on strengthening their own social bonds.

ii. 1960-1972

The significant feature of the decade following the introduction of the 3-year course was not so much the expansion of numbers (from 250 to 700 students and for 30 to 66 staff), but its slow momentum until 1966 and its rapid acceleration afterwards.

The causes have already been indicated. Tight finances were a primary factor and the college Board of Governors exercised extreme caution on this score, with the result of not only losing the opportunity of acquiring new sites but also of being unable to respond to overtures from the LEA for provision of many more student places. Both consequences ultimately proved conclusive regarding the college's survival.

Caution predominated also on account of traditions in the college and here the admission of women students was crucial. Despite strong staff support for the proposal, the Principal resisted it for several years until he nearly reached retirement. However, the shortage of men students (especially post-graduates) and the recognition of the suggestion in the Robbins Report that colleges should have at least 750 students finally won the day and 58 women (out of a college population

of 580) were admitted in 1967 (the first women tutors appeared at the same time)<sup>88</sup>.

A less specific but undeniably significant factor was the mood of the Church of England generally regarding the Church colleges. Throughout this period criticism of them grew within the Church and questions were raised concerning their particular contribution. One tangible outcome was the reluctance of the Church Assembly to invest financially in them (clearly this also inhibited the Governors of the college).

Thus the church college was sluggish in its initial response to growth opportunities and consequently never reached the size which would have helped to safeguard its future. Instead its short burst of rapid growth in the late '60s tended to make it preoccupied with itself not least in terms of revising its customs and organisation consequent not only on the admission of women but on elevating academic values, as seen in the development of departmentalisation (within the education department as well as between it and the subject departments).

iii. 1972-78

The item 'Future of the College' appeared in official

88. By 1971 there were almost equal numbers of men and women students, but women tutors comprised only 20 per cent of the staff

minutes in early 1971. The reference itself was to the submission of evidence to the James enquiry but already it was recognised that the college would have to undergo substantial change and the new Principal (appointed 1968) observed that final decisions would depend on financial and political, not educational, grounds.

The outlook, however, was optimistic. Even following the James Report when it became clear that the college could not survive in its monotechnic form, not only was there a policy of diversification within the college but also there were actual possibilities of merging or federating with three other institutions: local polytechnic, other local voluntary colleges and the neighbouring university.

a. Polytechnic:

a negative attitude was adopted towards this possibility and that despite plain speaking by visiting ATCDE officials (including its General Secretary) on the implications of Government policy on the binary principle. The ostensible reason was the introduction of non-advanced academic work, but larger status questions also loomed. When the LEA prepared plans on the basis of Circular 7/73 and consulted with the voluntary colleges, the

church college tended to emphasise its national identity (indeed, it was partly on account of this orientation that it did not take part in the A.T.O. enquiry). Hence even when the LEA announced that it would not recommend the inclusion of the church college in its plans for merging its own college with the polytechnic, the hierarchy of the college did not challenge the decision - later they were to regard this as a cardinal error. In any case, they considered that they had better alternatives.

- b. Voluntary colleges: this was always a stop-gap proposal and emerged when other alternatives failed. In the event the other colleges were scarcely interested - their own futures were assured<sup>89</sup>.

89. This was because one of them was the sole Free Church college in the country and the other was a Roman Catholic college which had been opened recently at the request of the LEA.

c. University

this was much favoured by the Principal but the proposal itself was made in the early stages of the college's thinking and negotiations over its future. In that period it never countenanced the possibility of closure and adopted a policy of keeping its options open. Hence, in its negotiations with the university, it laid down strong conditions over the leasing of its buildings and the safeguarding of its staff. In the event the proposal was vetoed by the Universities' Grants Committee, but generally the college was not dismayed<sup>90</sup>. These were still early days (late 1972) and the alternatives were not exhausted.

The final one of these arose in early 1974 with a proposal to develop a new college in a rural area in the north of England. The Principal, who by this

90. One of the many ironies of the situation was that this university purchased the college buildings after its closure.

time was aware that this was their final chance for survival, secured approval from the Governors and staff for the move, not least on the grounds that the Church of England Board of Education supported it. The DES was less than enthusiastic and raised questions over the sale of the existing buildings. It had good cause because by the end of 1974, it was announcing the latest round of cuts and gave the Church to the end of 1975 to make its decision on the allocation of student places but intimated that the Church would need to close 4 or 5 colleges of which this college should be one. After a national Conference on the general subject and a report of a working party had in effect endorsed DES ideas, the Church in September 1975 acceded to the closure of the college.

In response, the college itself mounted a pressure group type of campaign, based mainly on the college's inner-ring situation and particularly its contribution to its surrounding multi-racial community. The result was sufficient to have the issue debated in General Synod in November, 1975, but the earlier decision was confirmed.

The final intake of students, accordingly, was in 1975, and in the official minutes the item on 'the future of the college' was replaced by 'College run-down programme'. The college closed in July 1978.

Such is the bare chronicle of the college



and the question it poses is why the college took the path it did. Much of the answer would appear to lie in the notion of the autonomy of the college. For it is here that not only the structure of its relationships, but, more pertinently, the college's perception of that structure can be examined. Some of these aspects can be left until we look at the structure of control, external and internal, of the four colleges, but here we can usefully conclude the history of the college by noting the main lines of its relationships.

a. with DES

while a clear link existed in terms of finance and number of student places, the college was never able to negotiate directly with DES except over the question of redundancy of individual members of staff. This was on account of DES policy to deal with individual church colleges in the context of their local education authority and globally (on the basis of the aggregate number of students allotted to the Church) through the Church Board of Education. Thus the DES

while offering its own opinion on the future of individual church colleges placed the responsibility for them on the Church Board of Education within the constraints of the size of the guaranteed clientele.

The significance of the state connection was not always recognised at the college, but its crucial role had become plain when closure was announced<sup>91</sup>. The question was voiced at Academic Board, "Why is the DES against us?. We shall note shortly the implications of the Principal's reply: "Posh places with support and influence will survive: places where there is little support die". In his opinion the college found itself where it was 'because we had no friends'.

91. Indeed by mid-1977, the Principal had come to appreciate (expressed in a speech to the Standing Conference of the Church Colleges of Education) that the rationale of the DES over re-organisation (falling birth-rate, etc) was 'a cover story' for 'a radical change in the nation's higher education provision'. To this end, he observed that the 'numbers game' had been played to the Church's disadvantage and criticised the Church Board's acceptance of the DES myth of 'the historic proportion of places'.

- b. with the Church Board only representation to rather of Education:

than negotiation with the Church Board was available because the Board adopted the policy 'to give aid and encouragement to the Colleges as they work out their own salvation and grasp the creative possibilities inherent in a situation of change'. (Church Board of Education, 1974).

Given the constraints and 'directions' imposed on it by the DES, the Board felt its hands to be tied. Thus (atleast for appearances' sake) it reached its decisions through the recommendations of a national Conference and a subsequent working party. In line with the Board's previous policy of not consulting colleges over increases in their size or the basis of the allocation of money, its representatives never visited the college itself. Generally the staff reckoned the Church to have an in-bred preference for 'rural' colleges.

- c. With the LEA: here the influence of the autonomy and national aspirations of the college were pronounced. Only very late in the day was the importance of the LEA's role recognised and even then its ruling went unchallenged. The college simply did not want the local (state) connection and in return the local authority, mainly on account of its over-supply of teacher training places, did not want the college.
- d. with the university: in point of fact there were two local universities, one which validated the college's courses and the other with which the 'merger' was proposed. The college's hesitation, which we mentioned in the latter case, was paralleled by a degree of coolness in the former especially as far as the A.T.O. was concerned (the college openly criticised its size, geographical dispersal and administrative emphasis).

Rather, the college favoured a national association of church colleges which would have its own validating authority. Thus the university connection was far from strong.

In this light the college's impotence is plain. Equally clear is the decisive authority of the DES not only on account of its control of the size of the guaranteed clientele but also through its structure and strategies of control of the allocation of those numbers.

b. The Local Authority college

i. Up to 1960

Founded in 1909 largely through the efforts of the Mayor of the borough, the college was sited less than a mile from the town centre amongst side streets consisting of poor quality housing. The key-notes of the college were thus struck. Firstly, it was physically and sentimentally very much part of the local scene - hence, it was a subject, if not source, of local pride (not least because it was one of the first local authority colleges). Secondly, its site was capable of considerable expansion, largely through the demolition of the surrounding houses.

In the event, the college was not further developed for more than half-a-century and its student population remained under 200 until the late 1950s. Under a combination of religious/humanitarian values and a residential principle, the college comprised a tightly-knit community, especially after the Second World War when the influx of many mature students achieved strong staff/student relationships.

ii. 1960-72

The growth of the college closely paralleled that of the borough itself which in 1951 had a population of 64,000, but through boundary changes increased to 150,000 in the mid-50s, 185,000 in the late 60s, and, by virtue of local government re-organisation exceeded 300,000 in 1974. Given such growth, enhancements of civic status were top priority for the borough and included in the list was the development of its main centre of higher education (especially as the borough was short of suitable buildings for public functions, and the main hall of the college helped to fill this gap).

Hence, the college was fully prepared for the introduction of the 3-year course and (with local support) seized every opportunity to increase its size. Thus from 200 students in the late '50s, the college advanced to over 600 in 1964, over 800 in 1968 and reached 1000 in 1974. The scale and rate of increase brought many of the administrative and academic changes

we noted in the case of the church college. Thus, from full residence the proportion dropped to one-third. Also a departmental structure based on academic subjects was developed (12 departments existed in 1974). Finally and consequent on the Weaver Report, the government of the college was revised but the struggle to achieve a degree of autonomy was a protracted one and finally was decided in favour of the college only by the intervention of the Secretary of State herself. Features of the old style of community (e.g. weekly assembly, staff/student plays) persisted until the mid-'60s as did a patriarchal form of authority. But disputes between students and Principal (following the formation of the student union in the mid'60s) and developing bureaucratisation produced a more apparently organic form of organisation. The process was sealed with further increases in size and appointment of a new principal in 1967, particularly as his leadership style was pronouncedly different from that of his predecessor (he himself had been a chief education officer). Nonetheless, old attitudes and customs persisted, notably a paternalistic approach towards the students.

iii. 1972-78

Although several of its staff held national reputations in teacher education, the college was recognised generally as one of the better local ones. Certainly it did not spearhead innovatory policies but rather tended

to adopt modifications of those of others. Thus it made no submission to the James enquiry, but instead stuck a pragmatic stance towards it - at Academic Board it was agreed that,

'we must get the best bargain we can get as a college'.

Indeed, the college's approach was characterised by a 'wait and see' philosophy which itself was connected to a sense of security arising from the college's special status and treatment locally. Without challengers, there was no 'need' to bestir itself but rather every inducement to please itself. Hence while its Academic Board responded to the White Paper by forming sub-committees on issues of (i) a local and political nature, (ii) a professional nature and (iii) academic relevance, it was the latter which absorbed its energies. Throughout 1973 and most of 1974 the hierarchy of the college including its Governors not only recommended that the future of the college should be as an independent institution, but saw its achievement in terms of academic development. The local authority (both administrators and politicians) strongly concurred.

The DES had other plans. Its preference was the merging of the college with two neighbouring specialised colleges of education into the neighbouring polytechnic. To this end the DES suspended negotiations which were well advanced between the specialised colleges and the



polytechnic. To reinforce its view the DES announced that the intake for initial training at the college in 1978 would be reduced by two-thirds.

It was this knowledge which gave form and force to an unease amongst less senior members of staff about the proposed independence of the college. Centring on informal conversations in the senior common room and formal meetings of the branch of ATCDE, the desire and rationale of an alternative proposal for a polytechnic merger grew. In November 1974, the secretary of the ATCDE branch wrote to the General Secretary of ATCDE notifying him of staff support for the merger on the grounds that the independent diversified college was no longer realistic. He argued that only the merger could keep teacher education in higher education and provide adequate resources and career prospects. If the college was not in higher education then 'it would drift'.

The college hierarchy were cautious about such views and certainly did not embrace them at this time. Partly this was on account of the diametrically opposed view held by the local authority. Dominated by the Mayor who was also chairman both of the education committee and of the college governors, the local authority wanted to retain the college and although it set up a working party on the future of the college (again with the Mayor at its head), its slight (and slighting) contact with the neighbouring authority revealed its clear intentions. The intransigence of the Mayor (he

refused twice to visit and speak to the staff) as well as the arguments of the small group which favoured the polytechnic merger steadily eroded the position of the college hierarchy and altered the view they held.

A conclusive event in the process was a visit by Mr. Hugh Harding, under-secretary at the DES, in April 1975. Both the senior staff and staff representatives who saw him were left in no doubt that independence was not a viable proposition and that the choice lay between merging either with local further education colleges or with the polytechnic. The status consideration was decisive: consensus among the staff was achieved immediately and shortly afterwards the DES was notified of total commitment by all staff to the polytechnic merger.

The local authority was equally adamant for its proposal for a merger between the college and the local education colleges. Later in 1975 it went further. If this proposal was not acceptable then the alternative was closure of the college (its places going to another local authority college of education in the region). But pressure group tactics by the staff (consisting mainly of lobbying local councillors and propagating its views through the local press) had helped to split the local politicians along party lines. In July 1965

proposals to re-consider the polytechnic merger were lost narrowly at sub-committee and full Council levels.

The staff responded by intensifying their lobbying at local and national levels, and with the two specialised colleges also urging the DES to resolve the matter, the outcome was a visit in late 1975 by the Minister of Education himself. Ostensibly this was 'a fact-finding mission' but latently at least it served to impress the DES preference. This was reiterated by formal rejection in the following month by the DES of the local authority proposal for a further education merger and left the options between polytechnic merger and closure. In the meantime college staff had secured legal opinion on the local authority's capability to dispose of the college buildings (identified by the local press as the authority's crucial interest in the whole affair) and they made it known that at best this was severely restricted.

The local authority responded by setting up another working party to conduct discussion with the neighbouring authority but the decisive event was a change of majority party in the Spring elections, 1976<sup>92</sup>. While itself cautious about the economic and political

92. Compare the situation at Coventry where a reversal of policy resulted from the death of the Mayor who had held the casting vote - here the decision was changed in favour of a merger with the university (THES. 6:5:77, 27:5:77 and 11:11:77).

implications of the polytechnic merger, it agreed that discussions should begin between the three colleges and the polytechnic 'at an academic level'. We will fill in some of the details of this period when we consider the development of the other colleges, but here it is important to note that after initial agreement in October 1976 by the two authorities to effect a merger, the Principal of the college was appointed Dean designate of the proposed faculty of education. Around the same time (December 1976) a succession of decisions in the colleges and local authorities approved the proposal and DES signified its own agreement.

The date of merger was set for September 1977 but disagreement between the two authorities on such items as representation on the Governing Council of the Polytechnic and the name of the polytechnic delayed the legal enactment of the decision. Hence, uncertainty persisted until these items were settled (or mutually agreed to leave unresolved) in late 1977, but even then the matter was made open to review in 1980. For the staff key words during this period were interim, provisional, temporary, and for the staff of the local authority college, there was further uncertainty through a policy of secondment from their own authority to the polytechnic until they were either permanently appointed there or reached 1980 when their position would be reviewed. In any event both authorities in negotiation with NATFHE agreed a policy

of no compulsory redundancy until 1980.

For the local authority college the immediate effects, were partly obscured by the need to continue 'business as usual'. Thus an inter-improvisional allocation of staff to the various Faculties of the polytechnic roughly along academic subject and education lines was for most no more than a paper exercise until September 1978 when their new departments became responsible for their 'timetables'. Of more significance to their organisational identity and structure and thereby their career prospects than this actual re-allocation was the import of the underlying decision itself. Not only was this that subject teaching should be conducted by subject departments but that despite proposals for a new B.Ed. (the university link was to be severed by 1979 and CNAAB would become the validating body), the tendency was towards post-graduate teacher training. Thus the 'parent' institution achieved very early a resolution of the academic-professional dilemma through their segregation - academic subject teachers on the B.Ed. for instance, need not be qualified teachers let alone have school experience<sup>93</sup>. The distinction and division hardened considerably in October 1978 when

93. At the final meeting of the former college staff, the ex-Principal laid great stress on a resolution passed by the Academic Board of the polytechnic that specialist subject teachers would have 'appropriate experience' for teaching students in the Faculty of Education. In the event, this 'guarantee' was given little consideration by subject departments themselves.

many of the subject teachers from the colleges were not only housed on the main polytechnic site but began teaching on courses based there.

Reviewing the development of the college since its future was thrown into question in Circular 7/73 the key issue unquestionably was the perception by the various parties of changes in the size of the guaranteed clientele. Here the DES role was decisive, not only because it reduced the college number by more than two thirds but also because it consistently linked them with an allocation to the Day College within the context of the polytechnic, thereby making explicit that viability depended on the merger taking place. Both the college staff and local authority were slow to come to this realisation (each hoped for viability through diversification). However, the status consideration of being linked with further education led the lecturers to make the numbers issue the main plank of their argument for the polytechnic merger (but this was as late as May 1975).

Equally, for a long time, different status considerations led the local authority to ignore the numbers issue or at least to present it optimistically (the Director of Education presented a plan for a 2000 strong college and declared that its achievement was partly a matter of faith and will). Ironically, the self-same issue when accepted in its DES version became the main justification for the authority's agreement to

the polytechnic merger - the approach became pragmatic, a case of 'half-a-loaf is better than none': thus the local authority argued that by this means it retained a stake in higher education and did not lose the economic and social benefits of part of the polytechnic being sited in the borough, etc. Indeed, the centrality of the question of the size of the guaranteed clientele compelled both the college and local authority to shape their perceptions and actions strictly on pragmatic lines. Only in this way could the lecturers save their skins and the authority save face.

Nonetheless, the allegiance of the college lecturers to the DES preference and their opposition to the wishes of the local authority spelt the end to the isolated, local identity of the college. The vital question arising from the merger for the college lecturers therefore, was their subsequent perception of the college. Was this to be in survival terms, that is a diminished, truncated but nevertheless recognisable form, or was it to be in transformed terms? This question looms large when we look at what happened to the other two colleges.

c. Day College

In the early 1960's the extension of the teacher training course together with a rising school population meant that expansion of existing colleges could not meet alone the demand for teachers. Moreover, with shortages both of younger students and teachers in primary schools, not to mention the need to keep costs

of training to a minimum, that strategy needed supplementation. To this end, colleges in large centres of population with easy access by public transport and catering for older students on a non-residential basis were established. The Day College was one of these.

Accordingly, the college was small (it peaked in 1971 at 500 students), its students were mature (average age was lower 30s) and preponderantly female (women outnumbered men 4 to 1), it was highly specialised (training for the primary sector which meant a heavy emphasis on the professional aspect of training and this in moral terms suited to the teaching of the very young) and it was strictly local. Given also the short history of the college, it evinced a pioneer spirit.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the college lecturers always had a *gemeinschaft* style of relationships even though the formal structure of the college was bureaucratic. However, the latter which was displayed partly in advanced departmentalisation (12 departments at one time for a staff which did not exceed 50) and partly in a highly structured Academic Board (it had 15 sub-committees) appears to have been devised not so much on the principle of efficiency as on that of egalitarianism (while meeting status and career considerations).

In such ways the college comprised a community



(or rather, as we shall develop later, a bureaucracy of low constraint), especially as it adopted a policy of involving the families of its students on every occasion and in as many activities as possible<sup>94</sup>. Nonetheless it was never a settled community on account of the temporary nature of its accommodation. Housed in old schools buildings which were scheduled for demolition, a doubt not so much over its continuity (this was allayed by the DES in 1969) but rather over its separate identity always hung over it. On this account, the college was not entirely unprepared for a proposal from the local director of Education in late 1972 that it should be merged with the local Technical Teachers' college into the local polytechnic. We will follow the course of that proposal after a preliminary sketch of the Technical Teachers' college.

d. Technical Teachers' College

Hard on the heels of the recommendation of the McNair Report in 1944, three Technical Teachers' colleges were opened in major centres of population. However, increasing demand both for pre-service and in-service

94. The Principal in one of his annual reports remarked 'The college is very conscious that for mature students to work happily, activities should when possible involve the family, whose support is so essential'.

For their part the students in their annual report responded by referring to 'a closely knit team of tutors' and added, "The atmosphere of co-operation, understanding and awareness of problems in different areas of student studies and personal life is something which must be preserved".

training of teachers in technical and further education colleges coupled with no local provision in the conurbation with which we are concerned led eventually to the establishment of the (fourth) Technical Teachers' college in 1961 within the local College of Technology (designated a polytechnic in 1969). The college became fully independent a few years later when it moved to its own building on a separate campus.

The college itself developed slowly and had reached only 250 students by 1970, but with DES policy encouraging the training of technical teachers especially through day release courses, the number climbed to 400 in 1975. The students themselves were mature (e.g. average age of 33 in 1973) and often were qualified in industry or commerce. While established specifically for the conurbation, recruitment was national - helped by residential places for 150 students. Yet, despite this provision and a mutual respect between staff and students on the basis of their experience and expertise, there was little scope for developing the college on community lines on account of the nature and duration of its courses (pre-service training was for one year and in-service training was either through a 4-term sandwich course or a 2-year day-release course).

In any case the background of the college and

its staff<sup>95</sup> meant that its organisation was bureaucratic (6 departments at one time for 40 staff) and the group identity of the staff as a whole was achieved largely through their professional association<sup>96</sup> (this was the ATTI and the whole situation was in contradistinction to that of the Day College where the influence of the ATCDE on staff relations was negligible<sup>97</sup>). In this way the college had some affinity to the polytechnic but at the same time identified itself with the Colleges of Education (it was a member of the A.T.O.), although it was acutely conscious of its separate and national identity in this respect on account of its specialised interests and connections with the other Technical Teachers' colleges<sup>98</sup>.

Hence the Technical Teachers' college despite its siting in the same borough and its identical date of foundation was markedly different from the Day College on many scores, notably those of the grounds of its

95. A fair proportion of the senior staff had been Heads of Department in Technical Colleges before their appointment.
96. But this very union-mindedness coupled with the small size of the college meant that the staff expected (to use the phrase of the vice-principal) to be able to 'see the chap at the top'. Hierarchy was accepted but only on the basis of personal communication.
97. The distinction in terms of authority styles and structures was shown clearly in the difficulty one of the Principals had in adjusting to it after his previous College of Education experience.
98. The four colleges had a common policy over matters of recruitment and course provision and engaged in joint advertising.

identity and the style of its relations. Furthermore, there were no doubts over its future - its re-housing in purpose built accommodation, its experience of gradual growth and the direction and content of DES policy made it self-assured on this count. Accordingly, it approached the proposed merger in a different frame of mind as well as with a higher competence in union-type bargaining skills from those of the Day College.

e. Day College and Technical Teachers' College - Merger in the Polytechnic

The proposal to merge the two colleges into the polytechnic was precipitated by the need to re-house the Day College but as the Director of Education pointed out it was prompted also by considerations of rationalising higher education in the borough. Already to this end the College of Technology (founded in 1920s) and College of Art (founded in 1851) had merged in 1969 to form the polytechnic, but due largely to the different traditions and status considerations, this had not been a smooth transition. Thus the further merger was placed in the context of a somewhat disturbed political scene, with the former Art College discontented with its position as a Faculty on a parity with four other Faculties.

Hence while both colleges saw advantages to themselves in terms of enhanced prestige, additional resources and extension of scope of work, the major struggle they faced was over the question of faculty

or department status. The day college 'negotiating' team learnt from but was not enamoured with the experience<sup>99</sup>. Even when faculty status was conceded, their unease continued because of 'differences with the polytechnic over the philosophy of teacher education' and over 'the structure of relations' which they saw as 'vertical in the further education structure compared with horizontal in the colleges of education'.

Nonetheless, the knowledge of the temporariness of their accommodation coupled with the local university's withdrawal of validation of their courses in early 1973 (the Technical Teachers' college was similarly treated) forced their hand to agree with the merger. For them survival considerations were paramount.

On the other hand the Technical Teachers' college was preoccupied with status and career considerations<sup>100</sup>. The former were satisfied largely because the new faculty was to be developed on their own site. But the

99. The chief member of their team described them as 'little innocents in the Polytechnic Council Room, totally unused to these kinds of negotiation' (they had thought of it in terms of an educational discussion but found it was 'a political game'). However, they fought back and were nastier ... they screwed out an agreement, but the process was bitter hard, and acrimonious'.

100. Compare the Day College where a strongly worded resolution along these lines which was moved at Academic Board in December 1973 and 'deferred until next term' was never subsequently raised again formally.

staff were concerned that the arrangement would mean 'they were one more step away from power' and that in 'a degree-conscious polytechnic' their own academic qualifications (or rather lack of them) might damage their career prospects. In any event for both colleges the Pelham grading structure was more favourable than the corresponding Burnham structure for the polytechnic (the polytechnic was allowed 65 per cent of its staff on higher scales compared with 82 per cent in the colleges). But with assurances over safeguarding the position of existing staff both colleges prepared for the merger in September 1975 by re-organisation into three departments. At this point the merger was suspended to allow consideration to be given to the DES proposal for the larger merger.

Suspension, indeed was the operative word because from mid-1975 to mid-1976 when discussions between all the colleges were allowed 'at an academic level', the two colleges and the polytechnic had little option but to watch the political manoeuvring in the neighbouring borough. Certainly all of them and their local authority signified to the Minister of Education during his visit in November 1975 that they preferred the larger merger but they could do little else than register a demand for an early solution.

In the meantime the two colleges were experiencing difficulties arising from their departmental re-organisation. The new appointments were on a

temporary basis pending the implementation of the merger and former high-status staff were far from satisfied with what many regarded as demotion, despite re-designations such as section leaders and course coordinators. . The morale of the Day College's staff was further lowered by a summary rejection of their proposed new B.Ed. by the CNAA. At the same time their spirits were bolstered by assurances (and some action, e.g. employment of staff in the local authority's services) from the LEA. Indeed, throughout the years of uncertainty the relation between the LEA and the day college remained firm and positive.

On the larger merger itself, the day college showed most enthusiasm mainly because it considered that allying with a college with similarities in interests and values to its own would give it a firmer stake and larger say in the new Faculty than would have been possible otherwise. Hence, it took the earliest opportunities to collaborate with the local authority college over recruitment of students and in teaching activities. The technical teachers' college was far more cautious suspecting that the large college would effect a take-over. On this score it regarded the appointment of the Dean of the new Faculty to be the crucial issue and when this fell to the Principal of the local authority college many of its fears were realised and were not dispelled even when one of the three departments in the new faculty was geared entirely to its interests. In the

event such fears were not groundless because at the outset in the initial allocation of staff scarcely a third of those from the technical teachers college were placed in that department (only vigorous action by the new head of department - the former vice-principal of the college -and by the professional association of the college succeeded in obtaining a virtual 100 per cent transfer), and latterly on account of a proposal of the Academic Board of the polytechnic to move this new department to the site of the former local authority college<sup>101</sup>. Also, in the event, some of the hopes of the day college have not been realised partly because none of their staff obtained the chief posts in the new faculty (the other two heads of department were from the local authority college and had figured prominently in the merger 'negotiations'<sup>102</sup>) and also because they found they had to integrate into the existing work of the local authority college. Moreover,

101. The importance of the physical or territorial aspect of mergers was demonstrated at Sunderland Polytechnic where the former department of education was merged with the local College of Education to form a new Faculty of Education on the site of the College and a senior member of staff declared that this location of the new Faculty was 'the key to the whole question of amalgamation'. (Issac, 1977, p.180).

102. One had been Academic Registrar and the other Head of post-graduate studies at the local authority college. Hence, in as far as other senior staff were 'passed over', their appointments were not universally welcomed even by the local authority college staff themselves.



the lack of a permanent physical base weakened their bargaining position, and indeed they lost their corporate identity when their college buildings were demolished in July, 1978.

In view of such varying perceptions of and attitudes towards the merger by its constituent parties, we may usefully conclude this descriptive analysis of the development of the colleges by summarising their respective positions and views:

a. Polytechnic:

this was not a settled institution partly because of initial merger difficulties but also because of the protracted negotiations (from 1973) to institute and incorporate a new faculty of education - it was hoped that the appointment of a new Director in September 1977 would facilitate this process. All the colleges were doubtful over the polytechnic's capability and willingness to understand and cater for their distinctive professional values and practices. On the other hand the polytechnic adopted a consistent positive

approach to the merger, largely because it considered that this would remedy personnel and course 'deficiencies' in the polytechnic itself and advance its standing nationally<sup>103</sup>.

b. Local Authority College:

consensus was reached among the staff very slowly concerning the desirability of the merger and then only in the face of threats over first its status in higher education and more recently its continuing existence. Hence, for many of its members the merger was an unavoidable but second-best choice. However, the primary need to survive meant that it regarded the polytechnic as something of a haven, if not as an ally. Rather its energies were geared to opposing and circumventing its local authority's policies. Consequently it was in no mood

103. The former Director also expressed the hope that it would help to resolve some of the difficulties still being experienced over the integration of the Art Faculty with the other Faculties.

or position to strike hard bargains with the polytechnic e.g. over the principle of concurrent professional training. Nonetheless given its greater size and the position of 'sittingtenant', it had the larger say in the constitution of the new faculty, especially vis-a-vis the day college which had no guarantees over either the validation of its courses or over alternative accommodation. Furthermore, the local authority college's preoccupation with its local authority and the polytechnic meant that it tended to regard the technical teachers' college's protestations over their specialised role and aspirations as somewhat unrealistic and certainly troublesome.

c. Day College:

the precariousness of its position academically and physically had been accentuated by the protracted nature of the successive merger proposals. Its initial welcome of the

larger merger was tempered quickly when it found its new ally, the local authority college, was not only unversed in organisational bargaining (such as it itself had been engaged in) but was also unprepared to learn from or lean upon the day college in this respect. Following its failure to secure a senior appointment in the new faculty and the imminency of the demolition of its buildings, the day college staff began to regard the whole exercise as a take-over by the local authority college. In conjunction with the loss of its buildings, its identity had disappeared.

d. Technical Teachers' College:

in a similar vein but along different lines, the technical teachers' college while seeing advantages in the larger merger came to regard it as a take-over by the local authority college. Its minority role in the new faculty contrasted with its position in the

earlier proposals - indeed, its very insistence on its separate identity and distinctive functions and the expression of its views through its professional association led to the other parties to label it as 'an awkward customer',<sup>104</sup>. Its own fears that the merger would take it 'one more step from power',<sup>105</sup> were both justified and realised when in effect it was given no more than departmental status in the new faculty and more recently when without consultation it was announced by the polytechnic directorate that the former college would be moved to the site of the former local authority college<sup>106</sup>.

104. Much of the resistance to change can be explained by this perception that the 'crucial dependency' would take the form of absorption rather than amalgamation.
105. The weakness of the Technical Teachers' college was demonstrated when despite securing the attendance of the Director of the polytechnic at an 'emergency' staff meeting (in June, 1978), the practical outcome was no more than slightly improved clerical assistance and some concession over travelling expenses.
106. Compare the Madeley College experience where resistance to the polytechnic merger had a similar basis (Newton et. al., 1975, p.111), and Nias (in Page and Yates, 1975, p.22) on the implications of entering into 'a coalescing dependency'.

Structure of Control in the Colleges

The study of change in six colleges of education (Newton et. al., 1975)<sup>107</sup> while concentrating on the early part of the '70s (up to September 1974) provides not only comparative material which can assist our arguments but hypotheses which can further our study, especially if we make additional links with Nias's study on change in a group of colleges consequent on the introduction of the B.Ed. (in Page and Yates, 1975).

To be more explicit: the overview of the study of the six colleges led to a realisation that change in the colleges was characterised not only by being rooted in political and economic expediency but also by recognition of the colleges as powerless pawns in the hands of powerful masters (p.1). At least for the authors of the reports this appeared to be the case for colleges generally and historically, but the individual studies revealed that changing situations give rise to issues of power and conflict both internally and externally to the colleges (p.13). In this respect the main processes

107. The colleges concerned were Brighton, Chorley, Loughborough, Madeley and Worcester (all LEA colleges) and St. Luke's, Exeter (voluntary church college). To avoid undue repetition, references to the study of the six colleges throughout the remainder of this chapter will be in respect of page number only.

involved in the colleges' 'ongoing adaptations to change' are the definition and pursuit of dominant goals (p.17f) and here 'the perceived dominance of the Principal and the influence of different leadership styles' (p.13) and the bargaining processes among the groups involved (p.17) seem to be vital considerations. However, in the authors' view these goals are difficult to locate, although in two of the reports career survival or advancement appear to be of fundamental importance (p.18). It is here that Nias makes her contribution in that she found 'the ideal of institutional traditions and identities, a very potent force in shaping perceptions of reality and in determining which goals were given official backing' (Page and Yates, 1975, p.24). Thus values rather than expediency and utilitarian considerations would for her be the main source of the goals. In our terms this would be the notion and ideal of college as community.

Of additional interest are Nias's further observations that the external pressures and negotiation of internal power relating to the introduction of the B.Ed. was different only in degree from what was later experienced as a result of the Houghton restructuring of gradings and salaries and the change of government policy towards teacher education. All instances, she argued, were characterised by instability and uncertainty which was manifested in unwelcome feelings of dependency. Thus, for her, the central issue was the solution of crucial dependencies (Page and Yates, 1975, pp.20-22).

For us these studies can assist our analysis if we take up their central themes of the notion of powerlessness and the process of the solution of dependencies. But first we must temper, if not refute, Nias's contention that the various changes in the colleges have been different only in degree because this ignores the distinction we have made between two forms of involuntariness and the differing attitudes and strategies which are taken towards them. The four colleges we have examined, for instance, largely took involuntary change in their stride when it was in expansionist terms. This would be expected because from a career viewpoint alone it meant swift promotion with little need to move to other colleges, while at the same time the growth of the colleges did not seriously impair the conditions and style of work. On the other hand, involuntary change where contraction and redundancy were emphasised not only created anxiety but fundamentally altered or removed career structures and lines, while also undermining the community values on which career style had been based<sup>108</sup>. Clearly the main direction and likely end of change affects fundamentally the manner and method of response to it. Yet, despite this criticism of Nias's contention, we may still usefully refer to her study because she did concentrate on the unwelcome aspects of the introduction of the B.Ed.

108. In addition to the cases we have described - the church and day colleges were extreme examples - see also the case of Madeley (e.g. pp.97 and 112) and especially that of St. Luke's (p.127).



First, then the notion of powerlessness and the experience of 'demoralisation and apathy' marked by the six authors as a consequence of the staffs' 'realisation of relative helplessness over the ability to control their destiny ' (p.7). In Nias's terms, this is the situation where extreme (unwelcome) dependency is realised.

With one exception the four colleges reached this point through a new appreciation of the central importance of the state connection and especially the crucial significance of the size of the guaranteed clientele. The exception was that of the technical teachers' college but even here while its own numbers were not reduced it was directly affected by the wider contraction in teacher training because the DES linked this with the re-organisation of teacher education, thus involving all colleges.

Yet, in every case the appreciation of the state connection came very slowly partly because a guaranteed clientele was perceived in terms of a sure or certain clientele (hence, it, and thereby the security of their position, were taken for granted)<sup>109</sup>, but also because the colleges perceived themselves in professional terms which emphasised knowledge, service and autonomy and

109. Issac noted in the Sunderland merger that 'the college staff had their own view of reality which did not include massive cuts and those expressing most despair were ex-college staff (1977, p.214).

made little of state support. Indeed, their isolation was achieved not only through regarding the state in remote and anonymous terms at the national level, but also, as we have seen, through treating the state at the local level as of little consequence to the 'essential' (i.e. academic, professional and social) life of the college. A degree of administrative autonomy disguised the political and economic implications of the local state connection. Indeed, for the church college the realisation of the importance of the local authority came only in retrospect when its self-dependency was shown to be self-defeating.

Thus the crucial dependency in practical terms was between the colleges and DES, with the local education authorities as vital intermediaries. So much depended here on harmony between national (state) policy and local (state) sentiments. Where these coincided the colleges had no decisive say over their future (as in this case of the church, day and technical teachers' colleges) but the opposite occurred where there was disjunction of national and local state views and interests (as in the case of the local authority college )<sup>110</sup>. In the latter instance the countervailing

110. This was seen in its extreme form in the case of the colleges of education in Scotland where the DES had to change its position substantially - even to 'repealing' two colleges. (THES., 13:5:77 and 27:5:77).

powers of the college were apparent and took the form of pressure group identity and tactics. Here consensus among the staff about its goals (at least in public)<sup>111</sup> was the crucial factor and career interests rather than educational principle largely determined these. In fact the effectiveness of the local authority college's campaign for the polytechnic merger largely rested on its presentation of its case in pragmatic and utilitarian terms (the local paper, for instance, seized on the observation that there would be a heavy loss of revenue to the borough if the college was closed).

Thus the structure of control for a bureaucratic profession hinges on the state connection, with the local authority playing an important part<sup>112</sup>. Hence, for the lecturers in the colleges of education everything depended on with whom they sided as far as their influence over their future was concerned<sup>113</sup>. Thus we can trace the paths of the four colleges:-

111. The staff were so convinced of the need to present a united front that when allegations from unknown sources were made that there was divided opinion among the staff over the polytechnic merger, a letter totally refuting the allegation was sent to the DES and another letter signed by all staff was sent to the local Mayor (also chairman of the education committee).
112. For instance, at Darlington College (which was closed) Hencke noted that 'the college was not to participate in the final negotiations which took place between the Department and the local authority', and at Brighton the DES and LEA agreed on a polytechnic merger, contrary to the College's wish for a university merger (1978, pp.83 and 93).
113. The importance of the local connection was demonstrated at Loughborough where a 'triumvirate' of vice-chancellor of the university, director of education and principal of the college persuaded a cautious DES towards a university merger (p.73).

a. Church College: the DES and local authority were agreed from the start over its closure. Accordingly the college was a powerless pawn, particularly as it totally underestimated the importance of the local authority and made no attempt to fit in with their plans for other colleges in the city. For this college the prime consideration was not to solve their crucial dependency but rather to recognise and accept it<sup>114</sup>.

b. Local Authority College: the DES and local authority disagreed over the future of the college but the DES view prevailed. The college did not take sides until they realised the (unacceptable) implications of the local authority's proposal. Even then they did not so much

114. It should not be assumed that local authority colleges were always preferred to voluntary colleges, compare the north-west where church colleges tended to be favoured at the expense of local authority colleges (even to the ending of initial teacher training at Preston polytechnic). THES., 22:4:77.

support the DES view as oppose that of the local authority. Hence the influence was mainly in terms of countervailing powers. Accordingly they did not exploit the support for the DES proposal which came from other interested parties in the neighbouring borough.

c. Technical Teachers' and Day Colleges:

the first initiative came in this instance from the local authority which in turn supported a later DES initiative to extend their proposal.

The colleges concerned never demurred over the principle of it. Power issues and conflict situations arose solely in the context of the implementation and formalisation of the proposals.

These varying positions taken by the colleges to their state connection plainly were on the grounds of their perceptions of its advantages and disadvantages. The vital question thus becomes how they arrived at such perceptions, and here we may refer to the other studies and their identification in this regard of

first the role of the principal, and secondly of the bargaining process between groups (we will concentrate here on the role of the professional association), but both of them (to employ Nias's observation) within the influence of institutional traditions and identities.

### The Role of the Principal

Each of the authors of the reports on the six college undergoing change were insistent on the crucial influence of the Principals on the patterns of adaptation and this despite varying leadership styles<sup>115</sup>. All identified him as the key figure in the formulation of perceptions and making of decisions. Partly this was on account of his positional power in the college which enabled him to 'hire and promote'<sup>116</sup> but also in part to his pivotal position in the college's relation to other parties and agencies (e.g. it gave him 'great powers of manoeuvre especially in the timing and formulation of initiatives', p.130)<sup>117</sup>. Yet despite the editors assertion that 'what the Principal decides in the privacy of his office is more important than what

115. e.g. at Worcester this was <sup>in</sup> expressive terms (p.148), at Loughborough it was instrumental (p.67).

116. At Brighton this was reckoned to account for the lack of formalisation to the university merger (p.34) and in any event was extended to the choice of the negotiating team by the Principal (p.26).

117. Equally this made him an 'opinion leader' or at least an 'agenda maker' in that it gave him access to privileged information, e.g. at Loughborough where the Principal advised against independence on the grounds of cut-back in numbers even before these were officially announced (p.79).

is discussed at the Academic Board', the picture that emerges from the reports themselves is not of a lonely monarch but rather of a chairman with limited executive powers<sup>118</sup>. Indeed, in most cases only by virtue of the constitution of Academic Board which generally gave a majority membership (and potential decisive vote) to ex-officio heads of department could Principals obtain and secure their hold over college policies<sup>119</sup>. Moreover, in some cases it is plain that the Principal relied on an inner cabinet in the formulation of such policies<sup>120</sup>. In this connection it is clear from many allusions and hints (e.g. at Madeley, p.111 and at Chorley, p.47) that the Principals were subject not only to administrative constraints (e.g. at Brighton, p.23) but also traditional values, customs and procedures. Our analysis of the four colleges will make this plain.

118. The tendency to bureaucratic organisation and the use of strict bureaucratic procedures by 'top management' to control negotiations occurred at Loughborough (p.74).

119. e.g. at Brighton (p.24) and at Madeley where they formed 'a power bloc' (pp.98 and 113).

120. Usually consisting of senior staff as in the case of 'the magic circle' at St. Luke's (p.123).

a. Church College: given the peculiar structure and traditions of what amounted to an independent charitable trust, the principal's role in shaping the college's perceptions of its 'crucial dependencies' was decisive. In the words of the recently retired vice-principal, the principal 'although supported by the Governing Body, bore (and still bears) a quite unusual personal responsibility for the formulation of strategy and a total responsibility for its detailed implementation. He could at one and the same time be Chief Executive, Treasurer, Secretary and Architect; all communication with the Central Government and with the Church Central Board of Education was conducted through him; only in academic affairs, where he shared responsibility with the College academic staff and where he worked on equal terms with other Principals was his scope to exercise his own initiative limited'.

Yet this does not mean that the current office holder could have swept all before him as soon as he was appointed. Rather it is apparent that the future of the college was largely determined by the policies and strategies of the previous incumbent who resisted change to the point where even when it happened it was too late to make amends for lost opportunities (e.g. failure to develop early - to a large size - which clearly affected the future of other church colleges such as St. Luke's, p.124 - and especially the failure to achieve strong links with the LEA). Furthermore, the new



principal in the interests of the morale of staff<sup>121</sup> had to consider sensitively the views and sentiments of long-serving older members of staff who themselves had to adjust to a new form of college government, the admission of women and post-graduate students, and the introduction of the B.Ed. In any case these innovations led to incipient groupings of 'old guard' and 'newcomers' or 'young brigade' (almost exclusively consisting of male lecturers) which crystallised when the larger question of the future of the college emerged<sup>122</sup>.

Hence, the principal himself although committed to the democratic ideal could do little more than be alert to and sympathetic towards the views and aspirations of the younger staff. In practice, therefore, he tended to heed the opinions and wishes of the older (and senior) members of staff. This no doubt biased him towards caution and may well have been reflected in his policy of 'keeping as many options

121. On account of experiences in the Second World War, the Principal laid great store on the matter of morale and gave it the highest priority during the final years of the college.

122. In this way it differed from other work organisations where such a division is not uncommon at any time (e.g. Burns (1955) distinguished between 'cabal' (comprising younger men eager for organisational change and career advancement) and 'clique' (comprising older men adopting largely defensive strategies in organisational politics).

open as possible<sup>123</sup>. . Certainly he always remained optimistic in public about the college's future, but he could scarcely have been otherwise in view of the fact that he conducted all negotiations himself (accompanied only by the vice-principal).

Moreover, his own discernment of the decisive significance of the DES viewpoint and especially the implications of its strategy in relating the re-organisation of higher education with contraction of teacher training was subsequent to the final decision to close the college. In this sense he was no prophet (but over this matter very few were) nor was he a politician (he relied entirely on personal moral persuasion in his 'negotiations'), rather he conceived his leadership role in pastoral terms. Thus he sought to allay anxiety among his staff which ironically served to delay political action on their part until irrevocable decisions had been made. However, given the concord between the DES and LEA over the future of the college and the political inertia within the college itself on account of its self-dependency, it is highly questionable whether or not any effective pressure group

123. Shaw's approval of this strategy for independent colleges (i.e. 'take up a flexible negotiating stance and wait upon events' p.131), was evidently based on his experience at St. Luke's. The root question is the political realism of such a stance. Is any other influential body dependent upon or responsible for that college's survival? In brief is there a crucial dependency? If not the strategy should be not to wait and see but to set about creating one.

tactics could have been mounted let alone have saved their situation. Yet it is clear the the principal's conception of his role (mirroring that of many of his senior staff) contributed to blocking that possibility.

b. Local Authority College: the Principal was appointed in 1968 when the former community style and organisation of the college were under severe strain if not approaching breakdown. Only the exceptional personality of the former principal had held the line but even his patriarchal authority had been rejected by the students. With the college nearing its maximum size and adopting the form of government recommended in the Weaver Report, the new principal (he had been vice-principal for a short time) sought to achieve a combination of democracy and paternalism through moving the college towards 'a bureaucracy of low constraint' (see Newton et. al. pp.11f). By this means it appeared that he hoped to retain links with and vestiges of the former community style while administratively operating on bureaucratic lines. Presumably the wish was for the best of both worlds. To these ends he conceived his role in terms of administrator (he had formerly been a Director of Education) and preacher (he was a lay preacher in the Free Churches). Thus he ruled through committees (relying heavily for support on ex-officio heads of department) while asserting his leadership of the whole college through regular staff meetings where he presented 'reports' in an exhortatory tone and on local, personal

(often trivial) matters. The staff acquiesced to this structure and style presumably because such arrangements and rituals were not experienced as seriously restrictive or oppressive.

In the event the committee approach and the custom of regular staff meetings meant that 'messianic leaders' who emerged during the crisis period were included in the college's negotiating team and the staff meetings gave a platform for the expression of individual views as well as a chamber in which to formulate collective views. At the same time, however, such 'consultative' practices slowed down the decision-making process which by the same token was primarily in the form of reactions to initiatives from outside the college.

This, of course, sited the innate caution of the principal as administrator while also giving him scope for controlling the staff by keeping them on tenderhooks. His 'preaching', for instance, centred on the metaphor of the opening or closing door which served to sustain a high level of anxiety among the staff and thereby their communality and compliance. Even when he was appointed dean designate of the new faculty he perpetuated uncertainty by stressing the insecurity of his own position. All this could be taken as a skilful use of formal and informal power (see Nias in Page and Yates, 1975, pp.25-7).

After the merger was finalised and the college lost its former identity, he assumed the role of administrator only, which the other colleges found disturbing because this made him anonymous and inaccessible.

c. Day College: Here again the organisational characteristics were those of a bureaucracy of low constraint. In part this was the product of the lack of a permanent address which meant that policy could be short-term only but also it was the result of the leadership style of the former (and original) principal. For him 'informal processes maintained group sentience' (see Newton et. al. 1975, p.12) and achieved the gemeinschaft goals to which he was committed. Hence he conducted college affairs in a highly personalised manner. He moved when the initial merger was being mooted and left his successor (the former (woman) vice-principal) with policies and procedures totally unsuited to what turned out to be a fierce political battle. Her own position was made more difficult by the initially temporary nature of the appointment (it was made permanent after two years).

She responded by making three of the senior members of staff into a negotiating team, while attempting to retain the old community style of the college through social techniques. However, perhaps as a corollary of the nature and content of the merger negotiations, there was a marked tendency towards increased bureaucratisation culminating in the

re-organisation of the departmental structure of the college. Members of the negotiating team filled these new posts, confirming that a cabinet-type government was in control and that the principal had adopted a prime ministerial role. This raised suspicion among women staff in particular that she was biased against them (the other members of the inner circle were men).

However, it was her (and her team's) career destinations, rather than her sex, that were of significance to the future of the college when the merger finally took place. Both she and her vice-principal retired, while of the other two one expected to retire in two years' time and the other (he had taken the dominant part in the negotiations) was offered and accepted the post of assistant director of education in the local authority. Thus the college staff were left leaderless when the merger was implemented. For them the vital issue was not so much the role of the principal as the vacant role of the principal.

d. Technical Teachers' College: the first principal (presumably on account of his previous experience) attempted to model the organisation and authority structure of the college on conventional College of Education lines. It was an alien approach to his staff who with their background in further education were accustomed to highly defined duties and powers and a vertical line of authority.

Thus the heads of department tended to be autocratic, giving priority to their departments at the expense of the development of the college as a whole. No doubt this discord between the principal and his senior staff was a primary factor in the slow development of the college.

The principal's own preference for the ideal of a college as a community was achieved, therefore, only in a narrow social sense. Innovatory policies at a college level were thereby stifled.

With this foundation, subsequent principals (all short-term) tended to fit in with these conditions and arrangements especially as the college staff as a whole adopted a union-type attitude to their work situations and expressed it through the vigorous actions of their branch of ATTI. Nonetheless, despite the principal's weak control of college management, new patterns did emerge subsequent to the implementation of the Weaver Report proposals, and a shift was discernible from the rigid hierarchical pattern to the more open type of a bureaucracy of low constraint. In this way informal communication began to play a more significant part in planning and running the college's activities. Concomitantly, the principal's role took on an expressive emphasis - his accessibility to all members of staff came to be regarded as a vital concern.

Yet the old attitudes and procedures remained as was evident when reorganisation of the departmental structure was proposed during the merger negotiations, but the new college identity had now become sufficiently strong to carry through the principal's wishes (or rather his and those of his senior staff who comprised the negotiating team).

One legacy of the college's experience of its leadership was a strong concern over the appointment of the new dean - for instance, the staff formally asked the Director of the polytechnic through their union officials for a say in the appointment<sup>124</sup>. But as in the case of the day college, the retirement of their principal weakened their bargaining position in respect of broad policy and practical matters<sup>125</sup>. Their specific short-term interests were helped, however, by the appointment of their vice-principal as a head of department in the new faculty.

124. The critical significance accorded to this subject was illustrated by the prominence it received in a dissertation on the implications of the merger submitted (for a Diploma of Educational Management) by a senior member of the college. He even produced a highly detailed 'personnel specification and job description' in this respect. (Note: I am indebted to this writer for some of the data I have used in connection with the initial merger).

125. Especially as two other members of the former negotiating team retired or were on the brink of retirement. Compare Loughborough where the departure of key staff 'shocked' staff and lowered their morale, pp.84f.



Looking generally at the Principals of these four colleges, it is clear that our earlier elaboration of the views of Newton and his colleagues is justified. Indeed, the actual examination of these four cases add other features to their observations on the 'power' and 'style of leadership' of the college principals.

The main difficulty which the Principals experienced appeared to be the achievement of balance between instrumental and expressive expectations of their role, particularly in relation to their teaching staff. This was largely because of the bureaucratic-collegiate nature of the colleges where control necessarily had formal and informal features. As we saw, the Principals tended to emphasise one side or other mainly on the grounds of their previous work experience. Nonetheless, whatever their interpretation of and 'success' in achieving a 'balance', it remained a firm requirement of their position.

What our study has exposed, however, is that fundamental organisational change alters that situation dramatically. Reorganisation demanded skills of the Principals, especially of a political kind, which none of them possessed and could scarcely be expected to acquire at short notice and under such forms of degrees of pressure. The plain fact was that none of them had been appointed on the basis of such qualities or attributes. Furthermore, the uncertainty surrounding

their staff's careers laid heavy demands on the expressive side of their roles which again was not always within their competence, yet because of the immediacy of the problem was inescapable.

Thus they made their varying responses. All the Principals, in the merger colleges for instance, attempted to resolve the 'instrumental' demands through the creation of negotiating teams (this was a development of their previous administrative policy). On the expressive side, however, the same strategy was inapplicable and these Principals accordingly were not of much assistance partly because of the confused nature of the situation but also because of their lack of skills in this respect. On the other hand, at the church college where the Principal was expected to work on his own and to be a pastor, the Principal plumped heavily for the expressive side in which he was not only highly competent (in the eyes of his staff) but was given little alternative by virtue of his inability to save his college.

Thus the overall picture is of men and women whose various talents were simply not suited to the political arena. Reorganisation of their colleges made unexpected and unreasonable demands of them. On a personal level alone it is not surprising that in

colleges and elsewhere they took the opportunity to retire<sup>126</sup>.

Furthermore, the difficulties of their role in a situation of imposed change with its inherent conflicts, brings to the fore that some kind of bargaining was possible. It is to that aspect of the changing situation of the colleges that we now turn, and especially to the role of the professional association in that connection.

Bargaining within the Colleges: The Role of the Professional Association

In as far as the four colleges developed as bureaucracies of low constraint where 'hierarchy' and command are not emphasised, staff treat one another as peers, and traditions, habits and personal understandings govern much of what is done' (Newton et. al. 1975, p.11), it is understandable that the role of the professional association was seen as supportive of such arrangements at the corporate level. Indeed, in the case of the technical teachers' college the

126. Even the Principal of the local authority college who became the Deap of the new Education Faculty did not survive the first two years of the merger but retired on health grounds in May, 1979. However, the unwelcome sources of the opportunity does not necessarily mean that the opportunity itself was unwelcome - the others in the merger situation who retired early did not seem unduly dismayed by it.

ATTI actively promoted communality, thus counteracting the divisiveness of departmental loyalties. However, this emphasis in this instance tended to be on pragmatic grounds especially when merger negotiations began.

A similar approach was developed at the local authority college when opinion was divided over its future. Here the ATCDE which up to that point had been little more than a source of information on such topics as salaries and conditions of service became the locus of the alternative minority view in favour of the polytechnic merger, and eventually when its view was adopted by the whole staff the focus of pressure group tactics, but again the outcome was the dissipation of sectional interests and the achievement of a united front<sup>127</sup>. At the church college the ATCDE played an insignificant political role and was regarded mainly as a limited version of a study association in as far as several individual staff belonged to its study groups and attended its educational conferences<sup>128</sup>: In

127. Compare the experience at Madeley where the committee of ATCDE tried to slow down the option for independence and to raise the question of the polytechnic alternative. Not only were their various proposals defeated at Academic Board but when they conveyed their views by letter to the Governing Body a motion of censure of them was supported by a large minority of ATCDE members. In all this the principal's preference was carried chiefly through the support of heads of department (pp.113-7). The matter was taken out of the college's and local authority's hands when in the succeeding 'round of cuts' the DES proposed a polytechnic merger for Madeley and in view of their truncated numbers the college lecturers had to acquiesce. See THES 27:5:77.

128. Compare Brighton where the part played by the students' union and ATCDE was 'muted' - they played 'no part in the mobilisation of opinion or activity' (pp.37f).

the case of the day college, however, when its official leadership retired or was redeployed, individuals looked to the officers of NATFHE for some guidance and support. In fact in all the colleges there was a general movement among the staff to join their professional association (especially marked in the ATCDE on the grounds of personal career 'insurance'). This was unquestionably seen by staff to be the association's dominant role (notably when ATCDE and ATTI were merged into the union type NATFHE and legal and professional matters were raised with regard to redundancies and redeployment). Nonetheless, in the case of the three colleges involved in the polytechnic merger, NATFHE served once more to minimise the impact of sectional (college) interests through the united approach of its coordinating committee. Bargaining in this instance was not within the colleges but between them and the directorate of the polytechnic and the two LEAs.

Yet divisions were apparent in the colleges. Commonly these were related to the age groupings of staff and thereby to their length of service in the colleges, their status, their academic qualifications and to their work orientation (i.e. to professional training or to academic teaching). In the church college, for instance, there was an open split between the 'old guard' and the 'young brigade' with the latter setting up its own working party to formulate and present an alternative plan to that of the hierarchy for the college's future. But the group consisted

mainly of those with an academic orientation<sup>129</sup> and in the event it served mainly to convince its own members that they should move quickly from the college in order to preserve a maximum degree of career continuity. Similarly at the technical teachers' college the younger members of staff spearheaded proposals for change. On the other hand at the local authority college the age factor was far less important than the work orientation. Here those committed to either extreme - professional training or academic teaching - tended to join forces and support the polytechnic merger<sup>130</sup> while the other (uncertain or reluctant) central grouping consisted of those who were ambivalent in this respect<sup>131</sup>. The day college was remarkably cohesive perhaps largely because of the general commitment to the professional training aspect. Indeed, in all the colleges the degree of active and organised internal conflict was slight perhaps mainly because of the common cause to survive.

129. Calling themselves 'The Long Range Planning Committee' they advocated diversification with a decided academic bias. Plainly they regarded the survival of their professionalism to be on the grounds of 'knowledge monopoly'.
130. The two major leaders of this grouping were drawn from each extreme.
131. Perhaps a similar grouping was present at Chorley thus accounting for Price's observation that 'though Mains staff tended to see joining the Polytechnic as more of a necessity, many of them were as concerned as Education staff about the effect on the college courses and ethos'. (p.60).

### Career Change in the Colleges

Several watersheds in career terms can be identified in the colleges. The first was the introduction of 3-year training because this not only substantially increased the number of posts available at all grades but accelerated the pace of mobility between them. In that seniority in terms of length of service became a major criterion in such career advance the outcome was low staff turnover and extended length of service<sup>132</sup>. This stabilising influence greatly assisted the fostering and adoption of collegiate principles which led staff to regard their work not so much as a career but more as a way of life. Career security and advance thereby became taken for granted<sup>133</sup>. Moreover, in as far as the emphasis of the college courses at this stage was on professional training, recruitment was not simply from those with school experience but also from those

132. At the technical teachers' college 4 of the original staff were still in office in 1977, and of the 36 staff in 1967, 17 of them remained in 1977. At the day college, of 35 staff in 1967, 23 of them remained in 1977. At the church college nearly all of the staff in 1953 (25) were still there in 1967, and of the 33 staff in the final year of the college, 17 of them had served more than 10 years. At the local authority college, of the 85 staff in 1977, 46 of them had served more than 10 years.
133. But compare the situation at Chorley where 'promotion was a source of discontent' - perhaps because the principal used it as 'means of social control'? (p.51) - yet even here lecturers were usually upgraded to SL in 2 years and of the 33 appointed before 1965, 19 were PLs in 1974 (p.74).

without academic qualifications.

The second major development was the introduction of post-graduate and under-graduate training. Many new senior posts were created on account of the increase in the number of academic departments and the development of academic disciplines within the education department itself. Recruitment policy changed (notably at the church and local authority colleges) to an emphasis on academic qualifications rather than school experience. In this connection the tendency was to appoint younger men some of whom were 'cosmopolitan' in social, political and occupational outlook and subsequently were highly career conscious<sup>134</sup> - thus they evinced a greater willingness than their predecessors to be mobile between institutions for career advancement. The result was to shift the colleges towards a more definite bureaucratic career structure while lessening the hold both of collegiate principles (e.g. institutional loyalty and status deference) and of the philosophy of regarding the work as a way of life. This change was particularly noticeable at the church college where large expansion and academic development coincided<sup>135</sup>. At the vocationally

134. Newton noted at Madeley that many of these had extra-organisational goals both in terms of political and professional commitments (p.96) but Shaw at St. Luke's observed that most colleges of education staff tend to be locals rather than cosmopolitans (p.125).

135. In the church college in 1976, 22 of the 52 staff were under 40, 17 of these were men and 16 of these were graduates, and only 3 of these had been appointed before 1970.



orientated day and technical teachers' colleges, the shift was even more delayed but gathered momentum when merger proposals were mooted. Yet in all the colleges the initial impetus to higher qualifications was seen in the changing emphasis of the professional commitment of staff from that of skills to that of knowledge<sup>136</sup>. Only lately was the tendency reinforced by considerations of career 'insurance'. The colleges themselves aided this movement though adopting 'secondment' policies in the late '60s and also by giving financial support to those engaged in improving their qualifications. But in all four colleges such provisions were not generous. Secondment was often for one term only and financial support (the norm appeared to be 50 per cent of tuition fees) was for lecturer grade only<sup>137</sup>. Nonetheless staff pursued such goals despite the lack of material encouragement and little prospect of material reward, e.g. the situation at the local authority college in 1973 indicates that advanced study had as much to do with personal development and professional commitment as with considerations of career security or advance:-

136. Musgrove noted that obtaining a M.Ed. degree had a 'confirmatory function', that is, it demonstrated 'fitness to fill the post' (in Dale, 1976, p.85).

137. But the practice varied widely between colleges. Hence in a survey of 27 colleges conducted by the Academic Registrar at the local authority college in 1973, he found that 23 of them had more favourable arrangements than those of his own college.

	LECTURER GRADE			
	PL	SL	L	TOTAL
No. of staff	26	43	23	92
Those taking higher degrees	5	11	7	23
Those taking Open University degrees		2	3	5

All the same the trend did acquire a stronger utilitarian base when the next major development occurred. This, of course, was the reorganisation proposals of the DES. Career uncertainty then led to attempts to take out career 'insurance' and one such attempt was the attainment of initial or further academic qualifications. The group most affected was that of the non-graduates<sup>138</sup> who foresaw that in 'degree-conscious' higher education generally and polytechnics specifically their career prospects were not rosy<sup>139</sup>. The technical teachers' college felt particularly exposed in this respect as 16 of the 44 staff in 1973 were non-graduates, but at least 5 of these immediately or subsequently sought to remedy this 'deficiency'.

138. In 1975 nearly half of the staff of colleges of education were non-graduates (4,600 of a total of 10,810). DES statistics of Education, 1975, Teachers, Volume 4.

139. Such anxieties were pronounced among non-graduates at Loughborough where a merger with the university was proposed, although some regarded their specialist skills (35 of the 46 non-graduates were in physical education and Creative Design) as affording them security. In the event they were justified in that only 13 of 111 staff were not offered post when the merger took place, and 7 of these were to retire. (pp.69, 77, 81).

Nevertheless, the significance of academic qualifications for career security was differentially perceived in the colleges. For a start younger academics generally saw them as vital. Hence, in the church college this group was in the main the first to leave largely because they wanted to be in the 'market' first, but also because they regarded themselves as the most 'marketable' among the staff (for schools as well as for the various institutions of higher education). On the same premise the younger academics in the merger-colleges stayed put because they reckoned that not only would their specialism be welcomed but also that their accompanying low status grading could be easily accommodated.

Yet non-graduates generally did not see themselves as unemployable or readily dispensable mainly because there were no graduate competitors in their specialist fields. Many of them were located in the 'methods' section of professional training<sup>140</sup> and most of the remainder were in subjects usually thought to be on the fringe of the academic area, e.g. physical education, secretarial skills, certain areas of art and design, and handicraft. However, this grouping with its emphasis

140. Staff from the technical teachers' college resisted (successfully) their allocation to subject departments in the polytechnic on the grounds that they were 'methods' rather than 'subject' teachers.

on skills naturally depended heavily on the continuing provision of initial teacher training and considered itself to be highly at risk where such training was discontinued or severely curtailed. In such an eventuality the problems of this group were very acute partly because it consisted to a considerable extent of women but most of all because its members were in the older age categories.

The problem on the sex aspect was the range of career parallels or alternatives for women lecturers. In that many of them were at SL or PL grades and were concerned in the main with primary school education, a comparable school situation would be that of head teacher or at least deputy head in a large school. Not only were such posts in short supply but college experience was not generally regarded as an appropriate preparation for them.

Of far greater significance for career continuity or switching, however, was the age structure of this group. Almost without exception it was over 40, with a substantial majority in the late 40s and early 50s, the chances of alternative employment for this age group were extremely slim.

Indeed, of all the factors involved in career change during the reorganisation phase of the colleges -

academic qualifications, status, work orientation, demand for skills, and age - that of age was by far the most important<sup>141</sup>. This was because of the main line of the state's approach to the lecturers careers. Inevitably its policy of contraction meant substantial redeployment and redundancy. To minimise the financial consequences of such experiences, the state adopted for the colleges the provisions made for similar circumstances in the local government reorganisation of 1974.

These were issued in the form of Colleges of Education (Compensation) Regulations (1975)<sup>142</sup> - known as the Crombie Code - and contained two special rights for those who lost their posts and/or suffered diminished emoluments 'due to a direction of the Secretary of State to diminish or discontinue initial teaching training provision in their college'. We will examine later the implication for our thesis of an assumption underlying such provisions, namely that the creation of a professional body on the basis of a guaranteed clientele placed the state under an obligation

141. For an analysis of the four colleges' staff population on the basis of age, membership of education or academic subject departments, sex and status grading, see Appendix 1.

142. For guides to these, see DES guide to the Colleges of Education Compensation Regulations under Circular 6/75, dated 25 July, 1975, and NATFHE Information Series No. 3, December, 1976.

to minimise the material consequences for that profession when it reduced or removed that guaranteed clientele. For the moment we will simply look at the implications of the provisions themselves.

The first of these was safeguarding of salary and it effectively gave more flexible career mobility in that lecturers could take up posts in other educational institutions (covered by Burnham Salaries Documents<sup>143</sup>) without loss of salary even though the posts themselves carried a lower salary grading. The problem for staff in this connection, however, centred on considerations of status and work satisfaction, particularly as they were not entirely free to decide the desirability of such alternative posts - these could be offered by their LEAs and staff had not to make 'unreasonable refusal' in order to retain the right of safeguarded salary<sup>144</sup>.

The second provision concerned a system of compensation for loss of employment. Although there

143. Thus apparently excluding universities but exceptions were not unknown on this score.

144. In consequence individual cases which were referred to Industrial Tribunals under the Regulations were in the main concerned with matters of 'suitable and comparable' alternative posts. Up to July 1978 of the 33 cases referred to Tribunals 24 of them were on this subject (and all but 3 cases so far settled (19 in all) have been in favour of appellants. See NATFHE memo ref. 0427 - 78, dated 7:7:78, and for further details of actual cases see Education, 5 August, 1977, pp.80-1.

were various forms of compensation, namely re-settlement (lump sum), long-term, and retirement, the basis of calculation was on age and length of service with favourable weighting being given to staff over 40 and especially those over 45. The key age, however, was that of 55 in as far as other pension provisions applied from that stage<sup>145</sup>. Once more the crucial factor was the availability of alternative employment and particularly offers of this by the employing local authority. If staff did not try for alternative posts or unreasonably refused offers their compensation rights were placed in jeopardy.

Such provisions and conditions gave local authorities a central stake and say in questions of redundancy and redeployment for staff in their own colleges. Many responded with a 'ring-fence' policy which severely restricted career mobility in that it served to give priority to local candidates for any posts with the local authority. This meant that staff from voluntary colleges were specially affected in that their own organisations did not adopt similar policies.

145. Local authorities were inclined to treat 55 as the dividing line where they were prepared to receive requests for 'voluntary retirement' under the Crombie Code. The significance of the provision for individual lecturers lay in giving a socially acceptable means for ending one's career as well as the necessary economic security for retirement. In these respects this provision followed a trend in British industry where early retirement of managers has become an accepted form of 'numbers reduction'. (see article, 'Looking Forward to Early Retirement, in Guardian, 23:11:78).

Furthermore, the Crombie Code was interpreted and implemented for them directly by the DES itself and this led to charges of unfavourable treatment compared to that of the LEAs. In point of fact the church college reported 'generous' treatment from the DES especially over applications for secondment for younger staff in the early stages of the college run-down<sup>146</sup>.

The upshot of the Crombie Code was to place the matter of the lecturers' careers firmly into a legal context and plainly the role of the professional association became crucial. NATFHE itself responded by offering its services to all college lecturers irrespective of whether or not they were members because it recognised that each contested case provided a precedent. Inevitably for the staff in the colleges matters of career structure began to outweigh those of career style.

But this new outlook developed gradually in all the colleges and unevenly between and within them. At the college level the determining factors appeared to be first if the college was likely to survive and secondly if it was likely to survive in a form similar to its present one. Hence the legal approach to careers

146. A further gesture by the DES in this case was the withdrawal of staff-student ratio requirements during the run-down.

However, the salaries official of NATFHE continued to make allegations of DES 'restrictive attitudes to paying compensation' and asserted that 'by comparison local authorities are being much more generous'. THES, 17:2:78.



quickly gained ascendancy at the church college but was given little credence or attention at the local authority college<sup>147</sup>. Yet within the colleges themselves this emphasis was differentially appreciated. Here the distinction was between groupings who were considered to be either at risk or relatively secure. Broadly these groupings can be characterised as follows:-

<u>At Risk Group</u>	<u>Relatively Secure Group</u>
Older age group (combined with extended length of service).	Younger age group (combined with short length of service).
High Status	Low Status
Low Academic qualifications	High academic qualifications
Skills in low demand	Skills in high demand

Nonetheless, whether or not a legalistic approach was being adopted, prospects of change generated unease and anxiety. Such feelings were at their most acute for the At Risk groupings, although these too were differentially experienced. Once more the age factor was vital, with the mid-40s to early-50s age grouping the most vulnerable. This was because they considered themselves generally to be too young to retire but career parallels or alternatives were unavailable not

147. Clearly other factors also played a part in such perceptions, e.g. Shaw noted at St. Luke's that 'little systematic market intelligence' was available and that 'the forward perspective of most staff was a short one'. (p.125).

only because these were few in number but also because mobility to them is usually along vertical rather than horizontal lines (the preference is for 'younger' candidates).

Hence status considerations played an important part in career decision taking. At the church college in particular, some of the middle aged and high status staff did not try unduly hard for posts for fear of rebuff<sup>148</sup>. Indeed, in all the colleges it was such considerations that produced highest resistance to change. The outcome was that the high status staff tended to lay increased emphasis on the career style aspect and sought to prolong existing arrangements. This was specially noticeable at the day and technical teachers' colleges which had gone through two sets of merger negotiations and had been reorganised at the end of the first one.

Obviously such problems were recognised at national and local levels and various ploys were used to overcome them. The major one was the appointment of administrative staff to give information and to offer advice and assistance to staff faced with redundancy. To this end, the ATCDE set up a Redeployment Bureau in

148. The principal noted a marked difference between his younger and older staff in this connection and observed that the latter 'cannot stand insult' but as we shall see shortly the reference is to those who stayed until the college closed and even then was not as simple as he indicated.

1975 (funded jointly by them and the DES and later taken over by NATFHE) while the Church Board of Education appointed an officer with a similar purpose for its own colleges. In both cases these services were little used by individual lecturers<sup>149</sup>. Instead the staff relied on local provision - this was evident in the merger colleges because they took full advantage of an offer to gain detailed knowledge of their 'Crombie entitlement' from officers of the local authority who had been appointed for that purpose.

Yet these provisions were at the level of gaining information and a far more important issue for the staff was the basis and operation of decision making machinery over the question of whom and when staff were to be redeployed or made redundant. Here we return to our earlier analysis of the structure of control and especially the roles of the principals and professional associations, because while the change had been started by 'central decisions of a strategic kind' its detailed implementation was left in the hands of the colleges themselves (see Newton et. al. 1975, p.9).

At the church college these matters were vested clearly in the hands of the principal although he worked

149. The Church Board officer did not visit the college until October 1977 when most of the staff had made their arrangements. But even his 'opposite number' at the Redeployment Bureau who had visited the college in late 1975 had had to speak in general terms and the staff remarked on the lack of specific guidance from that source.

within a Staffing Panel which consisted of the two staff Governors and the clerk of the Governors. However, in that it never made public the criteria of its decisions but spoke generally of 'the problem of combining long-term career prospects with maintaining a viable institution', a degree of suspicion was generated among the staff over possible preferential treatment but the principal sought to minimise or remove this by his own 'personal concern and help',<sup>150</sup>.

At the other extreme, the day and technical teachers'<sup>colleges</sup> made no formal provision, while the local authority college fell somewhere between the two when it established a Deployment sub-committee which included representatives from ATCDE and the general staff as well as the principal and nominees from Academic Board<sup>151</sup>. In the event the matter was taken out of the hands of these colleges when the Assistant Director of the polytechnic who was responsible for staffing undertook the allocation of their staff in 'the new polytechnic'.

150. He had secured information from each individual regarding 'themselves and their aspirations' to assist him 'in planning arrangements'. Moreover, he gained grants for the re-training of some of his staff from the National Society.
151. The recognition of the need to allay anxiety as well as to formulate policy was made clear in the committee's terms of reference viz. 'to collect and publish information without creating undue concern or alarm to individual members of staff; to initiate discussion on re-training to meet the new situation; to consider long-term implication on careers of staff; to consider the establishment of a counselling service for changes and redundancies'.

Although this was supposedly on the basis of curriculum vitae information which he had obtained from them, it comprised little more than a rough division between education and academic subjects. Certainly staff could indicate their preference before the allocation took place and afterwards could request a review, but the broad lines had been drawn despite references to 'temporary' and 'initial'. This, as we mentioned, did not end the uncertainties experienced by those staff who could not categorise themselves in terms of the education/academic dichotomy.

Anticipating and acknowledging such misgivings and anxieties, senior polytechnic staff undertook various public relations exercises to reassure the former college lecturers<sup>152</sup>. The main message was hope of avoiding any significant degree of redundancy, apart from that of a 'voluntary' nature (in any case the local authorities had agreed with the professional association that there

152. These were reinforced by the former principal of the local authority college who in his final speech to his staff declared that he did not envisage 'big changes being forced on you'. This was echoed by the Director of the polytechnic in a letter to all staff where he declared that in the placement of individuals 'the polytechnic will have regard to the preferences of staff so far as is possible for the efficient working of the institution'. Those with objections 'will have the opportunity of discussing the matter with senior staff in order to find a more acceptable placement'. Practice, as we shall see, did not completely match this ideal, and, indeed, in another letter a year later he spoke of staff finding posts not only in the polytechnic but also 'within the service of the local authorities'.

would be no compulsory redundancy for 3 years)<sup>153</sup>. But after a year had elapsed (i.e. in Autumn 1978) groups of staff (in education as well as in some of the academic subjects) were being met by senior staff to be told where 'surpluses' existed and the need for further voluntary redundancy or re-training<sup>154</sup>. Hence<sup>for</sup> the staff involved in such 'discussions' career uncertainty remained a dominant issue<sup>155</sup>.

153. Compare Sheffield polytechnic where mergers occurred in 1976. Of 100 staff who were surplus in July 1977, there were only 15 - 35 whose futures were uncertain. Thirty-five had volunteered to retire and there was a policy of no compulsory redundancy. The director of the polytechnic observed that it had all been handled in a humane way - 'though some college staff have lost status, none has lost money'. THES, 29:7:77.
154. Criteria agreed with NATFHE for 'the selection of staff in the determination of the firm polytechnic establishment' was published in October 1978 and was as follows:- age; length of service; commitment to the polytechnic; teaching performance; academic needs - present and future; qualifications; possibility for redeployment and/or retraining; career expectations; willingness to be considered for redundancy/early retirement. On this basis a staff 'surplus list' was to be drawn up.
155. The whole situation was seriously aggravated by a substantial short-fall in applicants for the B.Ed. A temporary remedy was achieved in 1978/79 by opening all former Certificate courses but this could not be repeated when validation was ended by the University (scheduled for 1979). Thus staff in the Education Faculty who had considered themselves secure became at risk and several of the younger ones with academic expertise responded by applying for transfer to academic subject departments. Their 'education connections', however, proved a disability in that their own departments did not want to lose them and the subject departments regarded them with some doubt over their 'pure' academic commitment (not to mention what subject matter they could offer).

The problem for them now was to whom they could refer. The range of influential contacts had been reduced by the retirement of the principals of the day and technical teachers' colleges and also on account of the new role of the former principal of the local authority college, who though declaring himself to be available for consultation tended to emphasise official procedures, i.e. references to head of department and especially to the Assistant Director responsible for staffing. Hence, personal consultation tended to switch to that between individual staff and officers of the professional associations (notably NATFHE). The problem for NATFHE, however, was that it had to serve the interests of the staff of the former polytechnic as well as those of the staff who had joined it. On this score, the role of NATFHE was at best ameliorative for the staff generally rather than problem-solving for them individually.

Accordingly, primary career change for the college staff was that of the context of their careers. In effect they had moved from bureaucracies of low constraint to a more highly bureaucratised organisation. For them there had been a marked switch in the emphases contained in the notion of bureaucratic profession. At least as a temporary phenomenon formal,

rational , legal features had become pronounced<sup>156</sup> .

Thus for a considerable proportion of them involuntary change had not only taken an unwelcome direction but had taken them to an unwelcome destination. But we may more expeditiously explore these and other aspects of involuntary change by referring to the perceptions experiences and actions of individual lecturers who underwent it.

156. Clearly this stage was not a final one and 'once things had settled' or 'they had become familiar to their new colleagues' this emphasis would be modified, but the sheer size of the new organisation and its multi-sites as well as its professional orientation would not allow a return to the former collegiate principles and style. Thus this case can be taken as a sharp focus of the more general 'continuing and deep debate about the nature of educational institutions with, particular reference to Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft'. (see Porter, 1977, p.81). We will examine the consequences of involuntary change on the structure and style of a bureaucratic profession in our concluding chapter.



CHAPTER SEVEN

COLLEGE LECTURERS: INVOLUNTARY CHANGE OF PROFESSIONAL CAREERS

Career, we noted earlier, may be defined as 'a dialogue between private plans and public expectations'. This dialogue has been described by us as the structure of control and so far we have concentrated on the 'public expectations' part of it. For the college of education lecturers, this has meant that their primary say over the direction and shape of their careers has been within their localised sphere of work where the state connection at both national and local levels has been determinative on the grounds of the rate and scale of changes in the size of the guaranteed clientele. Moreover, the college lecturers' collective response at this level has been structured generally not so much on democratic as on bureaucratic-collegiate principles where the preferences of the Principal (or rather a cabinet or cabal of him and his senior colleagues) has usually held complete sway, not least because he has been able to reject, accommodate or switch to any alternative proposal from sub-groups such as professional associations.

Apart from deference or acquiescence born of traditional values, this neutralisation of internal bargaining processes and the securing of at least low-level consensus has been achieved largely because lecturers have perceived contraction as meaning that their situation requires to be saved or at least salvaged. Such common cause not only does not brook differences but requires a

presentation of a united front. All this, as we said, is at the college or 'unit of profession' level and the question that arises is what happens when events leave behind the 'save us' stage (through dissolving or transforming the corporate identity) and individuals are presented and confronted with a 'save me' situation? Here the emphasis is heavily on the 'private plans' side of the career dialogue. Thus 'situational adjustment' (p.18) has moved from its collective to its individual dimension, and in many instances has reached a stage of 'career crunch' (p.14), that is, 'where the expectations that individuals hold concerning their present and future occupational activities are inconsistent with the expectations that the reality of the situation presents'. This, of course, is the difference between welcome and unwelcome forms of involuntary change; that is, not so much between benefits on the one hand and misery on the other, as between 'prizes for all' and 'no equalisation of misery'. (Newton et. al. 1975, p.127). Hence, the vital consideration for the individual is how he can take advantage or at least minimise the disadvantages of such circumstances. The central question becomes in what ways and to what extent he can control not only his career destination but also the path to it? Here issues of career contingencies and professional commitment come to the fore equally with other career structural factors such as the range and availability of career parallels and alternatives.

To reach an understanding of such matters we will

analyse and interpret the 117 personal interviews (including 4 principals and 4 vice-principals) which I conducted with individual lecturers in the four colleges and utilise as well other observations I was able to make through more general meetings with staff and especially through personal involvement in the colleges' affairs (notably those of the local authority college). In that our central theme is the control of the career destination of individual lecturers within the context of enforced institutional and organisational change, we will describe and analyse the experience of lecturers within the closure and merger situations separately because the former compelled to an ultimate degree all staff to face the question of career change. Thus in the church college, career could no longer be taken for granted whereas in the merger situation not only were career lines retained within the same physical and professional contexts, but the assumption (if not presumption) of career continuity remained intact for the majority of staff. Here was the cardinal difference between the 'at risk' and 'relatively secure' groupings in the closure and merger situations. In the church college all staff were plainly at risk and some of them were relatively secure only within the wide educational system, whereas in the merger colleges a majority of the staff were plainly relatively secure within their former institutional, professional, even physical, spheres of work, whilst an (ill-defined) minority was at risk.

Hence, we shall need to treat the two cases separately when we ask what has been/is happening to the lecturers' careers, how do the lecturers see their personal situation, and what are they doing about it? In the light of that information and its interpretation, we will, however, be able to 'test', elaborate and illustrate our model of the structure of control of career change and examine further not only the concept of involuntary change of professional careers but also our thesis that the adverse consequences of such change are minimised on account of the structure of control of it.

In that all our references and analyses so far have indicated that age is a (if not the) crucial variable in understanding career change, we shall make this a fundamental feature of the analysis. Our own age categories will generally follow the emphases of the Crombie Code.

### Church College

The official announcement of the closure of the Church college was made in September 1975, and we can gain a preliminary view of the staff's response to it in career terms by tabulating the date of their departure on the basis of their age groupings, viz:

DEPARTURE OF STAFF FROM CHURCH COLLEGE,  
1976-78, BY AGE GROUPINGS

Age grouping	Total*	For jobs	Left 1976+ on secondment	For jobs	Left 1977 on secondment	For jobs	Left 1978 on secondment	Retired or unemployed
under 40	22	5	2	3	3	1	8	
40-49	20			4	2	2	7	5
50-54	6				1		2	3
55 and over	4							4

\* excludes Principal and vice-principal

+ 2 staff who retired in 1976 are excluded because their decision was not brought about directly by the closure of the college.

Thus the falling numbers of the college created a series of waves and those who rode the early ones proved to be the most successful in continuing their careers. Here younger staff were conspicuous, as a further tabulation will indicate:

CAREER DESTINATION OF STAFF FROM CHURCH COLLEGE BY AGE GROUPINGS, AUGUST 1978

Career Destination	Under 40	40-49	50-54	55+	Total
Career advancement (universities)	4	1			5
Career maintenance (poly., schools, advisory posts)	8	6			14
Career extension (on secondment)	8	7	2		17
Career undecided (unemployment)	2	2	1		5
Career terminated		4	3	4	11
Total	22	20	6	4	52

We will attempt a fuller analysis and understanding of these patterns of career decisions and outcomes through a description of common features within the age groupings themselves, illustrating these from individual case studies.

#### Under 40

The first wave of younger staff<sup>157</sup> who left college comprised the long-range planning group which had formulated and proposed alternative plans to those of the hierarchy for the future of the college. Their perceptions of the situation had been sharpened by the opposition of senior staff as well as by their own leader's local political and university connections (a relative held high office in a local university). With one exception they had been at the college for 5 years or more and were academically-orientated and amongst the most highly qualified of all staff. Moreover, they considered themselves to be mobile both on the grounds of the 'flexibility' of their academic subjects - these gave the possibility of a range of teaching posts compared with the narrower choice available to teachers of subjects such as music, physical education and handicraft - and also geographically - this group contained three of the total of 5 members of staff who took up posts a long way from the city. The one woman member voiced the general opinion of the group when she spoke of her commitment to her career and her determination

157. They were all in the 35-39 age range.

to pursue it - 'even if it means living in two places'. In fact we will outline her case because it pin-points common characteristics of this group and gives us guidelines for analysis and comment.

She was appointed in 1967, aged 29, after 8 years in secondary school teaching. After 3 years she was promoted to senior lecturer. Subsequently she took a higher degree. She was married with one child (teenager) and her husband was a teacher.

She had entered college with no coherent career plan but considered that she could have attained head of department status if the college had not closed. College life had been extremely attractive to her, no less than 'a little paradise'.

In her view the college's future had rested with 'DES mandarins' whose prime concern had been with administrative efficiency; they preferred large units and in any case had seen the colleges as educational anachronisms. Despite great efforts from staff, including herself, the college could not resist DES decisions, partly because of its lack of friends with power but also on account of its own poor academic record which itself was due to an emphasis on low-level work. The Church itself had not helped partly because it favoured newer colleges (in which it had recently invested financially) and in any case it did not appear to care. The professional association had been of no help beyond

advice on her salary rights.

The Principal, she said, had tended to be optimistic about the college's future but when closure had become inevitable his gloomy picture of the general career situation for staff had crystallised the urgency of her own position (she had already formed a realistic view of it through her membership of the long-range planning committee). With the encouragement of her husband she had applied for posts throughout the country, aiming initially at those in higher education. The reaction (or, rather, lack of response) to these applications had convinced her of the importance of age and high qualifications in this sphere, but at the same time it had made her more determined 'not to postpone the evil day'. This was despite the possibility of 'two easy years' because she could not accept 'going through the death throes of the college'. Hence, she had begun to apply for senior posts in schools but once more had experienced severe limitations owing on this occasion to the 'ring fence' policy of LEAs. Nonetheless, she had fairly quickly secured the post of senior mistress in a local comprehensive school. Here conditions of work were much inferior to her former ones - she had a 'broom cupboard for an office'. Moreover, the school staff had tended at first to be suspicious of her, even 'full of trepidation', but after a year it appeared that she had become accepted. She continued to try to keep up her studies because she hoped that after about 3 years she might obtain a more academic-orientated post in a sixth-form college.



From this account it is apparent that certain processes were vital to the initiation, formulation and implementation of her career decisions and are thereby crucial to any understanding of her ultimate career destination and her evaluation of it. Consequently, we will identify and outline these processes at this stage of our analysis in order to provide points of reference for our analysis and interpretation of the other case studies. The processes themselves were:-

(a) the realisation of her career commitment: this emerged in an emergency situation when it became clear that her present career path would shortly reach a dead end. In turn that understanding had been reached gradually through discussions with members of her peer-cum-pressure group but conclusively through the Principal's authoritative statement on the matter. The outcome was a decision to take prompt action to achieve career continuity.

(b) the clarification of the structure of control of her career: this was achieved as a consequence of her and her colleagues efforts to save the college. Here she had become aware not merely of the role and respective powers of the DES, LEA, Church, Principal and professional association as far as the college was concerned but in addition she had begun to discern the implications of this structure of control for her own career path. These combined with an assessment of career contingencies (notably that of age) made her switch her career aspirations to what appeared to be in the light

of such considerations 'a realistic sphere' for job applications.

(c) the assiduous pursuit of her career interests: this spirit of determination was attained and sustained largely because her family were as much committed to her career interests as she was herself. Such emphatic support was partly accounted for by her husband's empathy which itself resulted from his experience as a teacher. Hence there was a kind of household professional commitment. The assiduity was expressed not only in the considerable lengths she went to in order to secure alternative suitable posts but also in the way she kept alive aspirations for future career advance even after securing that post.

Thus, for her, involuntary change of her professional career meant that not only did she become more sharply aware of the 'dialogue between private plans and public expectations' with the accompanying requirements to define such plans and expectations and to discern the structure of control of the dialogue itself, but also that she actively engaged in that dialogue not least because of the socially derived and sustained belief that she could affect its outcome if only in terms of minimising the adverse consequences of it. In short, the experience of the unwelcome form of involuntary change heightened her career consciousness to the point where she took decisive action to control its future directions and shape within her appraisal

of the possibilities and limitations of career development for her. In her own estimation she succeeded: her career destination had not been taken out of her control.

A similar picture unfolds for the other lecturers who left for jobs during this period<sup>158</sup>. All considered that they had achieved career continuity with a minimum of status and financial disadvantage. One of them, in fact, who had been appointed to a university (faculty of education) post saw it as decidedly advantageous not only because it satisfied his academic and status aspirations but also, on account of the provisions of salary safeguarding, it carried a distinct financial advantage to that of a similar appointment in 'more usual circumstances'.

Indeed, in every main respect these lecturers replicated the woman lecturer's views and approaches. All were highly articulate in their perceptions of factors in the reorganisation of colleges generally and the closure of their own in particular. All agreed on the lack of interest and care by the Church and on the impotence of the professional association. Equally they doubted the Principal's capability, especially in view of his regard for the 'old guard', to create and carry through proposals which could have saved the college.

158. Or rather the 3 (of the four) I was able to interview.

All considered their college appointments to have been somewhat fortuitous but had much enjoyed the work and life there, although none of them wished to be part of the run-down of the college. The two who gained senior posts in schools were satisfied with their new appointments and saw them as career stepping-stones (realised by one of them who was appointed deputy head teacher two years later). Their family had supported their moves - indeed, one of them who had moved a considerable distance had returned to his and his wife's 'home territory'.

Much the same could be said of the other two lecturers who went on secondment in 1976, although their views tended to be even more sharply defined and expressed. For instance, they portrayed the Principal as a more crucial figure in the college negotiations than the others had done. They themselves had opted for secondment in order to improve their academic qualifications with the hope of securing posts in higher education. Here they were unquestionably influenced by their wives who in each case were themselves university lecturers. After their secondment both of them had had to rely on the provisions of the Crombie Code because they could secure no more than irregular and piecemeal work in universities or polytechnics. This led to a period of disillusion expressed in bitter feelings against what they saw as the clumsy, heartless and incompetent handling of the

situation by the DES and their own college hierarchy. Both experienced strain in their family relations and in one case this was acute<sup>159</sup>. At this stage both realised the severe limitations and inhibitions imposed by age - as one of them put it, 'it determines not only what one can do but also what one thinks of what one can do'. This phase characterised by 'a lot of pain' soon passed as both of them devised a career strategy mainly consisting of cultivating personal contacts and taking on 'bits and pieces' in higher education. Their philosophy became a positive form of stoicism on the grounds that 'natural processes in time' (18 months was their speculation) would open up 'suitable' positions and their own access to them.

In point of fact the latest report (August 1978) is that their hopes have been realised, with one of them securing a full-time university post and the other substantial part-time university work. Career consciousness for them was thus tied to career goals which were defined largely on the basis of career expectations within their families. Given this consideration they underwent career discontinuity in order to achieve their

159. The bone of contention in this case, however, was not so much over the proposed sphere of work as over the approach to it: the lecturer's wife favoured a 'settled' job whereas he was inclined to an 'entrepreneurial' approach. Her view prevailed partly because he thought his own was 'a little unrealistic' but mainly because he could not jeopardise her support.

desired career destination. Once more this illustrated the crucial significance of family attitudes and expectations within the structure of control of careers and thereby the manner and methods by which involuntary change of career is regarded and handled. Furthermore, these cases illustrated the processual nature of involuntary change, but whatever the stage there is the underlying theme of the structural minimisation of adverse consequences. Hence, one of these lecturers observed that he had come under no pressure from any source to take on work he did not want, but rather the agencies or parties concerned, notably the local authority, had tried to be helpful in his attempts to obtain suitable work.

The second wave of younger staff who left in 1977 differed in several respects from the first wave:-

- (a) they were younger - all in the 30-35 age category;
- (b) they were not homogeneous in terms of status and length of service - those who left for jobs were senior lecturers and had served 7 or 8 years whereas those who went on secondment were L IIs and only one of them had served more than 3 years.
- (c) those with jobs had had to accept career switches to allied interests within the educational system but these had little or no teaching element.

- (d) those on secondment regarded the year as a 'breathing space' or 'gift of time' but were not optimistic about employment after it.
- (e) All tended to emphasis pragmatic aspects of career change with salary considerations coming to the fore.
- (f) they tended to harbour 'bitter feelings' about their situation.

Some of these differences were undoubtedly related to the contracting job situation both in the schools and higher education and the staff's realisation of its implications for them. On this score those with jobs considered themselves lucky (a sentiment they echoed in interviews a year later when employment prospects had become even more restricted). Of note in their case was their strong emphasis on the interests of their family and the effect this had had on their decisions (in one case the influence had been so strong that the lecturer had not moved to another part of the country where he had been offered a far more desirable post than the one he eventually settled for locally).

On the other hand those going on secondment tended to emphasis their career loss and accordingly two of them who had been appointed immediately prior to the closure announcement questioned the morality of

such appointments seeing that they had been given no indication then of the insecure future of the college. However, all of them regarded the provision of a year's study leave as at least a career palliative, and a highly qualified education specialist hoped it might give an opportunity to make research contacts which would bring him employment afterwards (he did in fact secure a university post a year later but the other two became unemployed).

One conspicuous difference between these and all other staff we have mentioned is that they had little or no knowledge or understanding of what had been happening in the colleges generally. The one woman among them (married to another member of staff who went on secondment in 1978) confessed herself to be 'confused' on this matter.

It was an ignorance shared by the majority of the 8 younger staff who were in the final wave of staff who left in 1978<sup>160</sup>. Indeed, apart from the one lecturer who left for a job (only tenuously 'educational' and more in line with another professional qualification which he

160. Here though in addition to those who were 'under-informed' two lecturers evinced indifference to what had been happening nationally and locally (both of these envisaged a future outside education), but my own observation was that some of these staff were putting on an air of affected bravado or cynicism as a defence against feelings of career insecurity.



held), this grouping had much else in common with those who had gone on secondment in 1977. Thus they were young - only one of 8 was over 35 - and had a minimal length of service - only one exceeded 3 years; they regarded the year's study leave as a career sop or as a delaying tactic before having to take a critical career decision; the consideration that was uppermost for several of them was their financial position - none regarded the compensation provided under the Crombie Code as adequate, although some of them said that they would not be desperate in this respect because of their spouse's earnings.

New general features which did emerge were a repeated willingness to be mobile even to the point of emigration (4 of them mentioned this) and an attitude of calculative hedonism towards their present situation. In fact nearly all of them declared they had stayed 'until the end' on the basis of 'making hay while the sun shone', rather than for any consideration of professional commitment or job satisfaction. Some were even more specific. Thus the most highly qualified member of this grouping had used the run-down period for career insurance purposes by engaging in an ambitious research programme (with appropriate publication of his work) which gave him the guarantee of a research fellowship after his year's secondment and two of the women lecturers had taken the opportunity 'to have a family'.

All in this grouping were extremely reluctant to consider the possibility of returning to school work and, as we mentioned, two of them preferred the alternative of leaving education altogether. Accordingly, this section's perception of involuntary change of their careers was rather nebulous and generally took the form of a possible career loss, but most of them at least nursed hopes that they would salvage their careers (e.g. by 'mobility' tactics) and achieve a semblance of career continuity. In this connection they were sustained by the attitudes and wishes of their husband/wives who themselves were teachers (7 of the 8 were so employed). Hence, there was in this section also a sense of household professional commitment, although this was not so highly defined as in the first wave of younger staff and therefore did not result in such vigorous and clearly directed action.

In fact looking over the younger staff as a whole the similarity and compatibility of the professional careers of husbands and wives is one of the most striking features (of the 20 married lecturers, 17 of their spouses were teachers). Hence, the lecturers' professional commitment was rarely a solitary matter and the informed concern and support of their spouses considerably helped them to wish for and pursue career

continuity<sup>161</sup>. Yet the existence and composition of the 'waves' indicated that professional commitment was also a personal matter based on length of service - it was noticeable how the first wave of lecturers contained several who could face the return to school posts with equanimity whereas the final wave contained no one with that frame of mind, despite their references to salary worries. However, longer service (and older age) may have contributed more to the 'realism' of the professional commitment than to the 'idealism' of it because the first wave of lecturers were distinguished by the lucidity and depth of their analysis of the structure of control of their careers and thereby the limitations as well as the possibilities of change in their careers.

#### 40-49 Age Grouping

In view of what we have already found about career contingencies, we will set the scene for our examination

161. In their analysis of dual-career families, the Rapoport's say nothing on this question of household professional commitment, despite presenting the cases of several husbands and wives who work in the same profession as each other. Perhaps this was because such commitment is articulated only when one of their professional careers is threatened. However, the Rapoport's seemed to be interested mainly in the husbands' 'motivations' towards their wives' careers and paid little attention to the reverse 'motivations' or to combined 'motivations' (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, p.27).

of the middle-age grouping with a summary along those lines: (see next page).

Straightaway we notice some dissimilarities between this and the younger grouping:

(a) Distribution of status gradings:

here only 2 of 20 were L IIs; for the younger staff, 11 of 22.

here 4 of 20 were PLs; no younger staff were PLs.

(b) Length of service:

here 9 of 20 served over 10 years; no younger staff served that long.

here 5 of 20 served under 5 years; for the younger staff 13 of 22.

On the other hand there is a remarkable similarity between the two groupings on the matter of the spouses' occupation. Once more there is a pronounced tendency for both husbands and wives to be teachers. Moreover, many of those in this position highlighted the influence of their spouse in their choice and pursuit of either career continuity or work which was allied to it. Yet on this family score the two groupings also differed in that the middle-aged emphasised the constraints imposed through consideration of their childrens' stage of schooling. It became a refrain in interviews that lecturers were not geographically mobile for this reason.

CAREER DESTINATION AND DATE	TOTAL NO OF STAFF	STATUS			AGE		LENGTH OF SERVICE			MARRIED STAFF WHOSE SPOUSE IS TEACHER+
		LII	SL	PL	40-44	45-49	Under 5	5-10	Over 10	
For jobs	4		4		1	3		2	2	4
<u>1977</u> On Secondment	2	1	1		1	1	1	1		1
For jobs	2		1	1		2	1	1		1
<u>1978</u> On secondment	7	1	4	2	2	5	3	2	2	4
Retired/ unemployed	5		4	1	1	4			5	2
Total	20	2	14	4	5	15	5	6	9	12

+ Marital details are not known for 2 lecturers in this grouping who were not interviewed - thus these figures are for 18 staff (of whom 15 were married).

Moreover, more than half of them stressed their 'immobility' on account of other domestic, social and community ties - this issue was scarcely raised among the younger staff.

To be more specific and to explore some of these matters in greater depth we will again outline the case of one of the lecturers who characterises in an ideal-typical manner many of the experiences and views of this grouping.

In his mid-40s, he was a principal lecturer (head of an academic subject department). He was married and his wife was a nurse but she had not worked for most of the child-rearing period; they had two children who were engaged in 'O' and 'A' level studies. He himself had been in teacher training since 1960 but had moved to the church college in 1970 for career advancement (he could get no further in his former college despite improving his academic qualifications in his latter days there). He had had hopes that after about 5 years service at the college, he would gain a vice-principalship.

His time at the church college had been most satisfying, particularly in the early days when he had 're-vamped' his department, and despite what had happened he had no regrets over his move to it. He had found the college's ethos and style in relations to his liking.

As for what had happened to the college, he saw it as directly determined by the DES, with the Church Board of Education being unable or unwilling to stand up to it - although he suspected it was not so cut and dried but rather that the DES had 'played a crafty game' and the Church may well 'have done a deal'. However, he did not exonerate the college in that it had failed to respond years ago to overtures from the LEA and to opportunities for growth (N.B.: he passed no judgement at all on the present principal). All the same he felt bewildered and hurt by the Church's lack of care and help for the staff. But they were all powerless - including the ATCDE (NATFHE) which might be of some legal help to individuals but after 1978 there would be for him and others in his position no means of communication with it and then 'they could be picked off one by one'.

He himself had stayed at the college until the end because there were neither further stages of his career path nor career alternatives, and he was going on secondment during 1978/79 for the same reason (not to mention that it would improve his compensation position). He wanted to stay in higher education and had submitted at least 20 applications for posts but a few 'nibbles' and two interviews had come to nothing. This experience had amounted to a career crisis as far as he was concerned. Certainly he intended to persevere but thought it was hopeless - his age, length of service, high qualifications and high status were dissuading

factors, especially when allied to the disadvantage of visibly needing a job. He could not envisage returning to schools after such a lapse of time and he had to face that he had 'reached the end of road in education and may have to change horses'. He hoped that this would not be too difficult because 'it had not come on suddenly'.

In view of his situation he needed to make the most of 'Crombie' and accordingly had sought the advice of a private accountant. He had no hesitation over 'capitalising on the state' because his position was 'no fault of his own'. All the same he had his worries because while at college he had been able to keep a balanced viewpoint, but when it closed 'he would be on his own'.

From this account several processes regarding career decisions in respect of career destination are plain:-

(a) the clarification of his future career path: the possibility of redundancy had jolted him out of taking his career and its 'natural progress' for granted and at the same time had made him realise the context and line of his professional commitment. This was not simply in teacher training but in higher education generally on account of his academic orientation. It most certainly was not in schools. Hence, he wanted career continuity in these terms or at least a career switch



which would be compatible in academic or 'responsibility' respects. He saw his length of service as the vital factor in shaping his preferences.

(b) the realisation of the significance of career contingencies for his career chances: here age was once more the predominant consideration, but others, notably length of service, qualifications and status, also came strongly into the reckoning. Yet the over-arching consideration was unquestionably the stage of life-cycle of his family and in this connection the stage of his children's schooling.

(c) preparation for the possible end of his career path: he took all possible advice (including professional) to secure maximum financial advantage from his position. Furthermore he saw his wife's fairly recent return to employment (not simply because of his own uncertain prospects) as guaranteeing them an acceptable standard of living. His main concern, therefore, was related to his sense of identity in the event of becoming unemployed. Already he had analysed and interpreted it in such a way that he could conclude that it was not his fault, but he tried not to anticipate the eventuality and instead 'simply hoped'.<sup>162</sup>

162. Compare the case of Mr. Eric Svenson and his experience of redundancy, e.g. 'For my wife and family it's a very traumatic time. They want to know where it is that the family is going to settle down'; 'the Crombie settlement has been a satisfactory economic safeguard'; 'I do not regard myself as a failure because someone else has got their sums wrong'; 'I am hoping against hope that something will dick and that I will be able to remain in the sort of education that I do the best'. (Reported in THES., 17:2:78).

In short, this lecturer's experience of involuntary change had gone beyond career anxiety and uncertainty to career crisis owing to his inability to achieve either career continuity or a career switch. He had partially overcome the crisis through resolving the financial aspect of it and was now seeking to deal with his anticipation of loss of identity. To this end he had established at a cognitive level in rational terms that it was not his fault and also at an irrational level he did not exclude the possibility that 'something would turn up' or that he could embark on an (unspecific) career alternative.

Looking at the waves of those in this age-grouping, it is clear that his experience of career anxiety was common to all of them, only their reaction to it varied, and only in a few cases had it reached crisis proportions.

Thus in the first wave of departures in 1977 (corresponding to the second wave of the younger staff), the threat to their careers had compelled them to engage in an intensive search for jobs - the most extreme was a lecturer who had made over 100 applications, had been interviewed 10 times, had obtained a post in a school, but settled finally for work linked to his other professional qualification (and only loosely connected with education). Of the other three who got jobs, two went into schools and the other switched

to an 'adviser's' post<sup>163</sup>. In this way this section corresponded to both the first and second waves of the younger staff who got jobs, not least because they opted to leave early on the grounds that they 'could not put up with the decline' at the college. However, they were more in accord with the sentiments of the second wave of younger staff in that they heavily emphasised financial considerations and linked these with their own version of acceptable identity - 'I will not be a kept man', said one of them. Interviewing this section a year later, I found that they all still experienced a sense of career loss when they recalled their 'happy days' at the college ('staggeringly happy', to quote one of them) but equally all felt they were doing worthwhile work and their new situation was satisfactory if only because they recognised that many of their colleagues were 'much worse off' than themselves.

Yet those who stayed at the college until it closed did not envy those who had obtained school posts. Very few of them wanted such work and several of them applied for it only because they needed to meet the

163. This was in what the DES termed 'one of the shortage subjects' and the other lecturer at the college who obtained a similar post (one of the two in this age grouping who went on secondment in 1977) was also qualified in one of these shortage subjects.

requirements of the 'Crombie' regulations. Most of them considered that their school teaching had been a preliminary phase to their present career stage and they could not cope (not least physically) with a return to it. In any case several of them mentioned the matter of 'pride' - how could they become junior to those they had trained?

However, the deteriorating job situation in schools closed the option in any case and with similar conditions existing in higher education as well<sup>164</sup>, the final wave in this age grouping split into two groupings: those who went on secondment (7) and those who 'retired' (4) or 'went unemployed' (1).

Those leaving on secondment did so with little relish for the actual study and one of them remarked

164. Although not completely because one of this group obtained a university (education) post. In our interview he had presented highly detailed and well documented analyses of the reorganisation of the colleges, the closure of his own, and the consequences of both for his personal career. It added up to an extremely pessimistic appraisal of his career chances. Asked why he then persevered in job applications, he responded that he had adopted a 'Micawberish outlook'.

The other member of the group who obtained a job did so because the specialised one-year course for which he was responsible (once more a shortage subject) was transferred to a local polytechnic and he was retained by them.

that he had chosen something which 'would least disqualify' him for future work. For most of them it was a tactic 'to buy time'.

The remainder of the grouping (5) were not so disposed. Either they had no desire for further study (or could see no point to it - the two who said this were non-graduates) or they had alternatives to their present work in mind<sup>165</sup>. Hence to all intents and purposes four of this group ended their career paths when the college closed and the other one 'gave until Christmas (1978)' before seeking work outside education. Apart from this last member, this group placed the highest possible premium on the financial aspect of their careers. As far as they were concerned this was the only realistic view they could take of the constraints placed on them by career contingencies. In this they simply carried to an extreme the viewpoint of the whole age grouping which placed heavy emphasis on such constraints, especially giving prominence to those associated with age (or rather middle-age). Thus contrary to the younger age grouping, this middle-aged grouping saw a combination of age, high qualifications and high status as placing their prospects of career continuity in complete jeopardy.

165. They spoke guardedly of becoming 'self-employed' (the Crombie regulations were restrictive on this score) but one intended to become involved in a family business and the other to extend his 'spare time' professional activities.

However, it is clear that another factor associated with age, namely length of service, also affected their outlook and decisions. Thus all those in the 'unemployed/retired' category in 1978 had served longer than 10 years, whereas of the 7 going on secondment in 1978 only two had served that long and 3 of them had served under 5 years. It seemed that the professional commitment of those with long service at the college had become localised to that institution and accordingly they were unable to entertain the prospect not so much of another job as of another place of work. Thus, while, without exception, the staff spoke highly of the 'career style' of the college, for the longer-serving members this had become part and parcel of their identity and way of life. For them it was a case not so much of being too old to change as of being too long at the college to change. This was a theme which was repeated and elaborated in the older age categories.

#### Over 50s

None of the 55 age grouping (4) contemplated any alternative to 'Crombie' retirement<sup>166</sup> when the college closed and in that all of them considered the compensation

166. In 1978, the LEA offered 'voluntary retirement' provisions (with 3 years enhancement of 'pension' rights) for those in teaching posts and aged 55 and over. 'What hope for employment in view of this?' asked one of the group.

provisions to be adequate (if not generous) we will not delay over their cases. However, it should be noted that for two of them, the enforced termination of their careers was not unwelcome on health grounds alone - one of them had a severe physical disability and he was specially grateful for the financial security which 'Crombie' afforded. Nonetheless, they had a sense of career loss mainly because 'they would miss this place which gets into your gut'.

This was a sentiment echoed but not totally endorsed by the 50-54 age grouping (6) because the professional commitment of at least two of them extended beyond the college itself<sup>167</sup>. These two went on secondment in 1978 and had distinguished themselves from the remainder of the group by the nature and range of their search for other jobs. Yet they, as well as others in the grouping, tended to adopt a cynical attitude to what had happened to the college and themselves. In this respect they were particularly cynical about the role of the Church in the whole affair. One of them put it that not only did the Church not care - 'it didn't even know what was happening to them'. However, all were aware of their slender career

167. One because he had a young family and the other partly on account of his national academic reputation but also because his wife was a lecturer in another college.

prospects and therefore were intent on taking every possible advantage of what was offered - not simply the 'Crombie' provision, but in the case of the woman lecturer who went on secondment in 1977 to gain the satisfaction of a graduate qualification (she recognised that it would not be marketable').

This grouping, accordingly, went through a stage of disillusionment unequalled in any of the other groupings, particularly in the case of one (non-graduate) lecturer who had made his college work his 'whole life'. Ironically they had come to terms with it mainly through accepting that they themselves had little or no part in the structure of control<sup>168</sup> and therefore they were not finally responsible for what happened to their careers and themselves. In this connection the Principal had played a key part in helping at least one of them to reconcile himself to this position. Indeed, it was apparent that the Principal adopted a counselling role generally with his 'at risk' staff and used informal meetings with small groups and individuals in the senior common room to this end.

#### Involuntary Change and Career Processes and Outcomes

Looking at the staff as a whole it is possible to

168. 'We are in the grip of something we cannot control'; 'we are something the wind can blow about', were comments from this grouping.



trace their career outcomes and the processes involved during the 3-year period since the announcement that the college would close. We will do so as this will expose further facets and functions of involuntary change:

First, then the career outcomes of involuntary change:

CAREER OUTCOMES OF CHURCH COLLEGE STAFF AT AUGUST 1978

CAREER OUTCOMES	CAREER PLACEMENT	NO. OF STAFF	CHARACTERISTICS OF STAFF
Advancement	Universities	6 (includes one appointment promised after secondment)	Men, very high academic qualifications; 5 of them under 40; Four obtained posts after secondment and in 2 cases after temporary part-time university work following secondment. Of 5 married lecturers, 4 of their wives were teachers (occupation of other lecturer's wife not known) and two of these were university teachers; service at college 3-5 years.
Maintenance	i. Polytechnic	1	Man; retained former status and work on account of transfer of (shortage subject) course for which he was organiser.
	ii. Schools (heads of department or equivalent)+	6	2 women, 4 men; high academic qualifications; all under 40; all left in 1976 or 1977; all academic subject teachers; all married and 5 of spouses were teachers
	iii. Advisory or administrative	7	Men; mixed range of qualification but all posts linked with professional qualifications and

and experience. 2 advisory posts in 'shortage subjects' (both these lecturers in late 40s, otherwise under 40s). All served over 5 years in college, all married, 5 wives were teachers.

Replacement	'Self-employed'	2	Men; late 40s; long service at college.
Extension (temporary)	Secondment	16 (excludes one who has been promoted university post afterwards)	Completely mixed - sex, age, status, qualifications and length of service.
Loss	i. unemployed	5	4 women, 1 man; 4 following secondment in 1977; 4 LIIs.
	ii. retirement	9	1 woman, 8 men. Older age grouping (2 in late 40s otherwise over 50; all (except woman) long serving at college.

+ In addition to these the woman vice-principal (middle-age) secured the Principalship of a Girls' (private) Secondary School. Although highly qualified she had no success in applications for a wide range of jobs in higher education.

With 16 of the 52 staff on secondment and another 5 unemployed but seeking work it is still (in August 1978) far from clear what the final pattern of career outcomes will be, but even at this stage it is possible to trace the lines, strategies and tactics of the lecturers' reaction to the termination of their existing career paths. Particularly it is possible to mark the

stages of the various lines of reaction if we employ the notion of status passage which we noted earlier raised the issue of the management of the phasing and timing of the constituent actions of the passage.

Indeed, the reference to status passage is more widely applicable to this analysis because not only does it lead us to consider how individuals handle and cope with such change but poses other key questions, such as the composition of the grouping of status passagees (aggregate, collective, solo), how long the passage takes, and how far it can go.

On the composition of the passagees grouping, we have already mentioned that the announcement of the closure of the college switched the career interest from an aggregate to a solo concern. Yet this was not readily apparent in all the immediate reactions to the announcement. Our task will be to identify when and for whom such an awareness arose and to trace its influence on the eventual career outcomes.

As for the question of the duration of the passage, this was specially important in this case because it could have lasted as long as 4 years (September 1975, to August 1979) which not only gave a protracted period for the formulation and pursuit of private plans but also gave scope and opportunity for psychological and social adjustment. Here was a major (structural) contribution to

the minimisation of the consequences of involuntary change.

Finally, the extent of the status passage raises the questions, first, of its limits which according to our analysis of career outcomes could stretch from advancement to loss, and secondly, of the degree of these gains and losses. For instance, we noted that even in the case of career loss the provisions of the Crombie Code were at least ameliorative at the financial level. In any case self-respect in that situation could be partly salvaged by reference to the compulsory and involuntary nature of the career loss itself.

Clearly such questions are of vital concern to the whole subject of involuntary change in professional careers and to our thesis in particular. Thus features of the involuntary process such as its prolongation and limitation make some of our earlier (theoretical and substantive) references to reactions to redundancy somewhat inappropriate. For instance, these features throw into question the accuracy or adequacy of the listing of reactions both by Johns (shock, fight or flight, gradual acceptance and adjustment) and by Sofer (removal from stressful situation, tolerating emotions, and construction of defensive ideologies). The response of the lecturers at the church college appeared to be far more complicated.

For a start the announcement of the closure was received not so much in a state of shock as in a condition of confusion. The lack of shock may well have been due to the length and tenor of the college negotiations which had at least 'half-prepared' many of them for this possibility. More subtly it may have been because their approach to career security and progression had gone beyond that of assumption to presumption and this state of mind was not fundamentally undermined by the bald announcement of the college's future. For them there was an underlying conviction that 'there would always be jobs for teachers',<sup>169</sup>.

Thus they were thrown into a condition of confusion which meant for most of them that for once in a long time (indeed, for some, if ever at all) the private plans aspect of the career dialogue became a prime concern. Their response in this connection largely determined their own part in the final career outcomes.

169. Compare the experience of the workers at Casterton Mill where a sudden and unexpected announcement of redundancies came as 'a complete shock' - was this simply because they had been assured by management earlier that the merger would not necessitate redundancies or because they did not hold presumptions about job security and continuity which inured them to realising the direct implication of the announcement? (Martin and Fyer, 1973, p.119).

Broadly, there were three responses. The first was an attempt to define and exercise control of the situation. The second was to accept it as providing a possible solution to other career difficulties or uncertainties. The third was to let the confusion continue. In brief, three policies emerged, those of control, acceptance and drift.

The control policy centred on deliberate action to achieve at least career continuity but this was approached in two ways: one was to go all out to make an immediate change while the other was to take things a little more slowly. Thus the differences between the two approaches lay in how far the lecturers viewed their career situation in emergency terms. In turn, this view primarily arose from their perception of what was happening in the colleges and higher education generally and also of what would happen in their college in particular. Those who were most pessimistic on the one score and most intolerant on the other acted quickly. Hence, the younger academics whose policies for saving the college had not been adopted moved first. Their radical plans for the college had attuned them to make urgent and radical plans for themselves. Moreover, as we saw a further (major) contributory factor in their case was the realisation of their professional commitment on a household as well as on a personal basis - clearly the actual careers of spouses heavily influenced their views and judgements. Thus while their political undertakings in the college had clarified for them the context and direction of their careers, their empathy with

their spouses on the subject spurred and sustained their determination to obtain at least career continuity and at least career advance.

The other grouping which adopted the control policy was itself divided into two sections. The distinction here lay in how long they were prepared to wait for what they considered to be an acceptable career outcome. The difference was between short delay and 'as long as possible' delay. Their problem, of course, rested on their definition of what was acceptable and the difference between the sections was, therefore, partly to do with the clarification of their professional commitment and career expectations. This was achieved mainly through the response they received to their job applications and their interpretation of its implications for them. Thus while all in this grouping wanted to delay a career decision until they found what was right for them, some hastened the process through altering their career expectations and taking what appeared to be available and accessible to them.

Naturally some were more fortunate than others in this regard because their particular qualifications, experience and skills were in short supply but all of those who, despite 'needing time' to sort themselves out, were prepared to move at the earliest opportunity (even if in some cases this meant 'lowering their sights') were characterised by intense career activity. Their spur was both their reading of career contingencies and

family obligations. Thus the grouping which consisted mainly of middle-aged men became acutely aware of the disadvantages attached to their age and length of service while at the same time they urgently realised that, for standard of living purposes, they required the safeguarded salary provisions of the Crombie Code rather than its redundancy compensation.

But while most of those who used a 'delaying' strategy on a short-term basis succeeded in obtaining career parallels (10 out of 14), some did not. For them career anxiety flared into career crisis. Acceptable jobs were either not available or they could not obtain what were. For them this was a situation of 'career crunch' and resulted in every case in reduced career activity. All looked far more carefully at the compensation provisions and two sought professional advice regarding them. Furthermore, all began to develop 'defensive ideologies' concerning their impending career loss and thereby their change of professional and social status and identify. Two decided to prolong the process as long as possible (hoping in the meantime that 'something might turn up'), while the other two settled for retirement at that stage (with the possibility of 'self employment' afterwards).

The second section of those who adopted a policy of control on a delayed basis wanted to take as long as possible over their choice of career outcome. This was



because while all of them wanted career continuity the younger ones (3 of the 8) felt this would take considerable time and could involve improving their qualifications while the middle-aged (none was over 50) wanted to ensure by this means the maximum compensation benefits if they could not get another post. Hence this grouping was marked first by fewer and a slower flow of applications for jobs than the others and secondly, with one exception<sup>170</sup>, opting for secondment. By August, 1978, three of this section had secured posts (2 in universities and the other as an adviser), 4 were on secondment and the other 'temporarily unemployed'.

The grouping which adopted an acceptance policy did so because they felt they had little choice over the termination of their careers. In their view their age in particular was decisive (all 6 were over 50 and 4 of them over 55). Moreover, in the main they welcomed this development<sup>171</sup> considering that they had had 'a good run for their money' (even in the case of the only woman among them who had been recently appointed - she

170. The exception was the only woman in this grouping (she was middle-aged, single and a non-graduate). She wanted to stay until the college closed but applied for a variety of teaching posts before then (without success) and gave herself a term after the closure before seeking work outside education (in her view she became temporarily unemployed in August, 1978).

171. The one exception was a 53 year old non-graduate. He accepted the ending of his career not only because his career chances were slim but also because he simply did not want any other post in any other place. In our terms his identity was physically located. Rather he began to explore what 'voluntary' work he could undertake in education.

had been aware that her job would be 'short-lived'). In any case two of them were on the brink of retirement and this simply foreshortened the process and another two were glad of the opportunity to retire on health grounds. Thus this grouping simply waited for the college to close.

In this respect they differed from another small grouping (3 men) who similarly saw early retirement (without previous secondment) as a desirable end. Yet in as far as they could not justify it in age terms only (they ranged from 45 to 52) they were rather in the position of the 'long term' section of the 'control' grouping in that they needed to secure it on as favourable terms as possible. Thus their actions were highly calculative and accordingly they applied for the minimum number of posts they thought would 'satisfy the regulations'. For them financial considerations predominated but all of them had 'other irons in the fire'. However, in their view they were simply making the most of a situation which was not of their choice or creation. In terms of our analysis they can be placed as a hybrid control-acceptance grouping.

The last grouping adopted a drift policy or perhaps, more correctly, they simply drifted. Most of them had been recently appointed to the college (only 3 of the 12 had exceeded 4 years service.) and consequently they were only at the beginning of a new stage of their career when the closure of the college was announced.

Hence, they were completely uninformed about it and unprepared for it. None of them knew what to make of it because none of them had more than a faint knowledge of why and how it had happened. Moreover, in that they had only just made the transition from school to college on the grounds of career promotion they could not adjust themselves to return there immediately. Thus they 'just sat tight' and adopted an attitude of 'wait and see', although taking the precaution in every case 'of prolonging the day' by obtaining secondment. The nearest that any of them came to career plans was to contemplate emigration or setting up their own businesses.

The grouping itself was predominately young (8 of the 12 were under 40) and female (7 women of whom 4 were under 40)<sup>172</sup>. On the women's side, 2 of them 'took the opportunity to have a family' while another older woman gained (unmarketable) graduate status. Indeed, all three of the older women entertained few hopes of employment in education whereas the younger ones thought that 'something might turn up'. But whether women or men there was very little or no career activity. Certainly there was a degree of career anxiety among them but it was insufficient to make them take positive steps to overcome their career uncertainty. Unquestionably this

172. Compare Whyte's observation on 'organisation man' at the beginning of his career: "When he is on the lower rungs of the Organisation the young man feels himself wafted upward so pleasantly that he does not think high-pressure competition really necessary ..." (1965, p.174).

state of career inertia was fostered by the possibility of career extension through secondment but even at that stage career activity was still lethargic (the reason advanced was 'nothing available' - this may well have been the case because all 4 who had completed secondment in August 1978 were unemployed). Yet among the younger men in particular there was an air of optimism about finding work, although just what that would be was decidedly vague<sup>173</sup>. What was conspicuous for this grouping was first its lack of developed personal professional commitment<sup>174</sup>, and secondly that it was the nearest of all the groupings to a somewhat carefree attitude towards career contingencies<sup>175</sup>.

Looking then over the college as a whole we can summarise in the following diagrammatic form the reactions of the lecturers to involuntary change in

173. Several remarked in passing that just 'to hedge bets' they might contact schools.
174. Often there was a vague household professional commitment as several spouses were teachers but even where personal commitment existed (e.g. among the older women) it did not bestir career activity because they considered their career position to be 'hopeless'.
175. Three of this grouping were single and had no family obligations but the main reason for this attitude appeared to be the confidence that many of them had that their various skills (professional and otherwise) would stand them in good stead. Nonetheless there was a fair amount of disquiet about their financial position despite a few of them reckoning that their spouses' earnings kept them from a 'make or break' situation.

their careers in terms of the policies they adopted and the consequences of those policies. (see Figure 3, next page).

Finally, for still further clarification of these lecturers' response to involuntary change as well as to provide a point of comparison with the lecturers' experience in the merger colleges, this chart could usefully be read in conjunction with our earlier elaboration of Maslow's classification of 'hierarchy of need'<sup>176</sup>. From such an exercise at least the following observations could be made:

a. Physiological needs: clearly this was a concern for all staff but assumed critical importance for the middle age category and especially those with children. Those least affected by it were older and younger married women. Single staff too generally played down this consideration<sup>177</sup>.

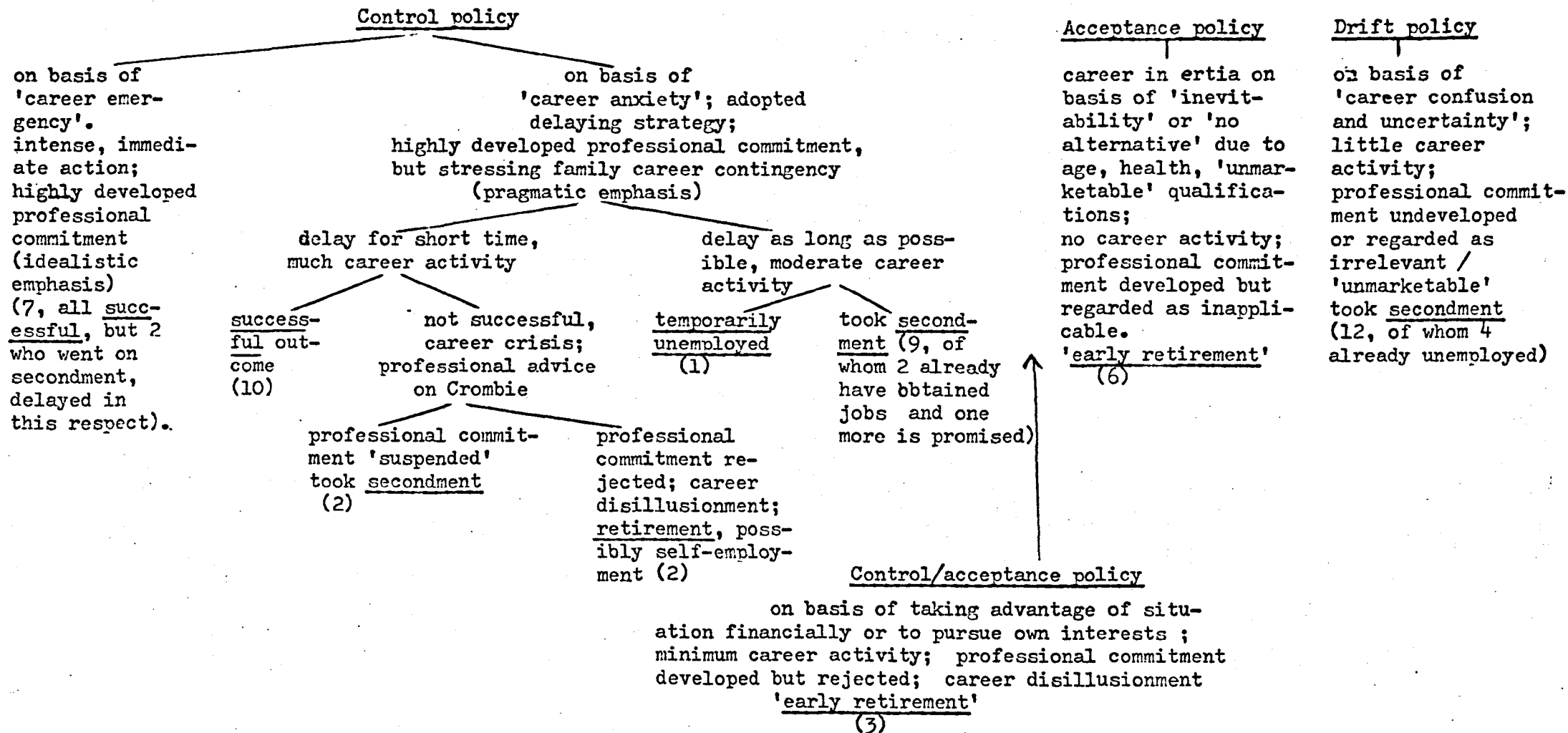
For all staff the provisions of the Crombie Code helped to minimise anxiety. Thus the provision of safeguarding of salary meant that the younger staff in particular felt that they had a fall-back position if they could not obtain their first-choice appointment. Whereas for the older staff the compensation provisions made retirement an attractive proposition.

176. In our study 'need' could more appropriately be termed 'consideration' or more fully 'physical, financial, and socio-psychological contingencies'.

177. One of these wrote to the THES saying how well they were provided for compared with their students who faced unemployment after training. This provoked considerable resentment among the staff, particularly the middle-aged men.

Figure 3.

Chart of the Directions and Consequences of Career Policies of Church College Lecturers, August, 1978.



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The middle age grouping vacillated between <sup>these</sup> two provisions with the over-45s tending to gravitate towards the compensation side. But in that the regulations stipulated that evidence should be given of attempts to secure alternative work all were compelled to make job applications, but for some of them this was an empty ritual.

However, for the 35-50 age grouping the consideration of a safeguarded salary was of no greater importance than 'a decent job'.

The further provision of secondment was used by some staff as a stepping-stone to their career aspirations but for many of them it served to prolong existing conditions and to delay a critical career choice.

None of the staff considered that they could improve their physical conditions of work. Indeed, apart from those moving to universities and a polytechnic, all staff remarked on inferior work conditions.

b. Safety and security needs: the search for permanent posts was intense in the 35-50 age category but lack of

response and rebuffs<sup>178</sup> tended to disillusion those at the older end of this grouping and they turned to the compensation provisions (several of them taking professional advice on this matter). Indeed, of all the age groups those in the late 40s and early 50s figured as the careful planners, keenly aware of the need for financial budgetting.

But while the knowledge of imminent redundancy with its implication of the end of job security galvanised this group into career action, it appeared to stultify the youngest members of staff or to lead them into engaging into wishful thinking. Most of them simply did not register the future implications of the closure of the college but tended to adopt an attitude of 'make the most of what you've got while you've got it'.

Very few of the staff were willing to make ad hoc or temporary job arrangements after leaving the college not only because these could jeopardise the Crombie provisions but because they served to underline the end of job security. The two lecturers who actually did this were using it as a stepping stone to securing higher appointments but came under heavy personal and family

178. Fear of rebuff proved to be a major inhibiting and disillusioning factor especially when it was fuelled by accounts in the senior common room of the abortive (and in some cases embarrassing) interviews for jobs. Indeed, this fear was said by several to have contributed to extraordinary tension and nervousness during interviews which in turn made them 'interview badly'.



strain while doing it. Even the one who had advocated an entrepreneurial approach to work abandoned it on account of the strains produced by this uncertain existence.

c. Belongingness and love needs: those of the staff who sought to work did so with a view to achieving at least career maintenance but apart from those who were appointed to universities and a polytechnic, there was a general acknowledgement that they had 'lost out' in terms of valued colleague relationships although all of them in new posts emphasised their acceptance by their new colleagues (after initial and, in their view, 'understandable' suspicions). Yet this grouping had served in the main between 4 and 10 years at the college and those who had served either less or more than this period found the prospect of change on this score daunting. For the short serving staff this was because they were still in the early stages of creating valued relationships and wanted to make the most of them while they could, while for the long serving staff the colleague relationships were part of a larger established scheme and philosophy of life for which they could see or desire no substitute (especially as it was located in the 'place' itself). Thus for them the notion of early retirement had a particular appeal in that it neatly, even if abruptly, rounded off their career.

d. Self-esteem and status needs: some staff (mainly younger, well-qualified) took secondment to enhance their knowledge and skills but invariably with status goals in mind (primarily university posts but also in one case an adviser's post). But status advance was generally reckoned to be unrealistic and unrealisable. Far more of the staff (especially senior, long-serving) attempted to guard against status loss. Here early retirement once more proved its worth. Where they considered themselves to be too young (e.g. early 40s) to take this option, they decided to delay redundancy as long as possible and began to develop a defensive ideology concerning their lack of responsibility for their situation as well as to entertain ideas (and formulate plans) about self-employment outside education.

Many of the staff of all ages thought that the Church was highly culpable in the whole affair not simply for agreeing with the DES that the college should close but more particularly for showing no care and giving no practical help to them after making that decision. The 'dedicated churchmen' among them (especially those in the middle-age category) felt very deeply on this apparent indifference.

Plainly questions of self-esteem and status were of such intimate and delicate concern that they were usually voiced only in private (and 'confidential') conversation. But the staff were highly sympathetic towards each other on this score as was demonstrated both by the pastoral care shown by the Principal and also by the reluctance of some of the staff who had secured 'good positions' to return to the college for fear of making the others feel badly,<sup>179</sup>.

It was clear too that feelings of 'pride' helped to govern the range of jobs which the staff applied for (in particular such feelings inhibited the idea of returning to the schools)<sup>180</sup> as well as helped to prompt and sustain such career activity. However, self-esteem was salved for many of the staff because of the empathy they experienced from their spouses who were also teachers. Indeed, few of them felt they had any need to justify themselves because of wide public awareness of the difficulties being experienced in education generally at that time.

e. self-actualisation, self realisation and sense of achievement needs: for most of the staff their self-

179: In point of fact I found that the staff who remained were always keen and pleased to hear of their colleagues' progress. I found no evidence of envy or 'sour grapes' - they were genuinely glad that some of their number had 'come off reasonably well'.

180. In my view not least for the youngest members of staff who publicly affected an air of unconcern on the matter.

conception and sense of achievement as professionals was intimately tied to their professional commitment which in turn had been defined and clarified mainly through their efforts to save the college. Thus their attempts to justify and explain the nature and function of the college had driven them to define their own role and to legitimate it. Furthermore, when they related these varying collective definitions (notably those between 'the old guard' and 'the young brigade') to their personal career contingencies they arrived at policies based on their definition (in its actual and ideal dimensions) which determined the goals, lines and tactics of their career activity.

The chart on their career policies has already shown the outcome of these variations of commitment and activity, but more especially it has indicated that the quest for (acceptable) professional identity under conditions of involuntary change is a highly complicated process.

At the very least it involves tracing the courses of career action (from intense to minimal and to none at all) to the lecturers' perception and apprehension of involuntary change (e.g. we noted career emergency, anxiety, disillusion, crisis, confusion and inertia) and their definition and attitude towards their professional commitment (e.g. we noted (a) highly developed in idealistic and/or pragmatic terms and regarded as a vital concern,

(b) developed but regarded as inapplicable or unacceptable, and (c) undeveloped and regarded as irrelevant or 'unmarketable'). Combinations of these led to varying attempts to manipulate their situation or to the adoption of a laissez-faire policy. Thus professional identity was variously regarded as something over which they had either considerable, or some, little or no control and the importance they gave to it varied accordingly. Involuntary change thereby exposed whether or not and to what extent these lecturers regarded their professional careers as integral and necessary to their self-conception and sense of achievement.

#### Merger Colleges

Turning from the church college to the merger colleges one is struck immediately by the differing approaches to careers in the two contexts. Thus while careers at the church college were in a state of suspension during the negotiations about its future and then broke into waves of activity when the closure was announced, careers in the merger colleges stayed in a state of suspension even when the merger was sealed. In their cases career activity became little more than isolated and uncoordinated flurries on the part of individuals. Clearly, the assurance of the local authorities that there would be no compulsory

redundancy for 3 years and even then that it was expected to be of a minimal kind took away much of the urgency for action, but the phenomenon of career immobility or stand-still which has generally gripped the colleges needs further explanation and will figure largely in our analysis of the responses of these lecturers to involuntary change. Our particular interest will be to see if and in what ways the structure of control (especially the lecturers' own part) has created and sustained this mood, and if and how this mood is minimising the adverse effects of involuntary change<sup>181</sup>.

To investigate this matter as well as to study other facets of the lecturers' response we will follow our earlier procedure of analysis on the basis of age groupings. However, in order to expose and clarify the influence of the lecturers' differing professional contexts on their perceptions and actions we will take the three colleges in concert as we study each age grouping.

#### Under 40s

An analysis of this age grouping (Table 1 shows that their greatest proportion of total staff

181. Of course, only just over a year has lapsed since the merger was effected and career disturbance on a larger and more intense scale could occur when the 'guarantee' of no compulsory redundancy runs out. However, this seems most unlikely as this event is being anticipated through policies of voluntary retirement and redeployment which themselves are not seriously altering the prevailing career mood.

TABLE I

## ANALYSIS OF UNDER 40 AGE GROUPING IN MERGER COLLEGES, AUGUST 1977

COLLEGE		EDUCATION DEPARTMENT												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENTS												TOTAL	% OF TOTAL Staff FROM RELEVANT COLLEGE	
		GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE								
		MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN					
		LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL			
LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLEGE	TOTAL	1	1		3	1						1			7	6								1			22	25%
	No interviewed	1			1	1								2												1		7
DAY COLLEGE	TOTAL		1			1								2	1			2									7	17%
	No interviewed		1			1								1	1			1									5	
TECHNICAL TEACHERS COLLEGE*	TOTAL	3	3			1		1	2	2	1																13	29%
	No interviewed	2	1			1				1	1																6	
TOTAL		4	5		3	3		1	2	2	2			9	7			2	1						1		42	
No. INTERVIEWED		3	2		1	3				1	1			3	1			1	1						1		18	

\* In that no subject teaching as such took place at the Technical Teachers' College all staff from there are included in the Education Department Section.

in the single college is at the Technical Teachers' college (29% compared with 17% at the Day college and 25% at the local authority college). This may partly account for their greater sense of collective identity than is apparent in the other colleges (i.e. the size of their group gave them a significant role in college decision taking). But this identity may also have been created both by their large influx in recent times (of the 6 interviewed, 4 had served less than 2 years) and also that several of their number were acknowledged 'academic' leaders in the college (particularly in connection with devising and gaining approval for a CNAA B.Ed.). The younger staff at the other colleges had no such sources of collective identity but rather saw themselves in college terms (especially at the Day college) and secondarily in departmental terms (especially those in the education department of the local authority college).

Yet whatever the source and sphere of their collective identity these lecturers throughout the colleges tended to regard their careers in that way, which meant that they took very little action on their own personal account. The only clear exception was an 'academic' at the Day college who after relating that college's abortive attempt to gain approval for their CNAA B.Ed. to the anticipated minor role of the



college in the new Faculty decided to move to a senior post in a comprehensive school nearer his home. In this he was highly reminiscent of the 'first wave' at the church college especially when he declared that the run-down of the college would destroy his self-respect: 'I did not want to occupy a sinecure for many years', he commented. In any case he reckoned that the merger would effectively end any hope of career development and advance.

Thus this lecturer was exceptional not only because he was the only one of all age groupings who moved as a direct consequence of perceptions of the implications of the merger but also because he placed special significance on his career development. In that regard he emphasised consideration of his age (late 30s) and that he was still 'in touch' with what was happening in schools.

Yet his contemporaries did not follow his example. Indeed, several of them found the prospect of returning to schools most unattractive<sup>182</sup>. Moreover, on the subject of career development, although over half of this age grouping was still on the LII grading, the Houghton creation of a combined LII/SL grading meant that they

182. Two of those interviewed at the Day college and one at the local authority college doubted if they could cope physically with that work and several of the others considered that their decision to leave the schools was too recent to be reversed immediately.

had only to sit tight for progress to occur (one of them added, 'and keep my nose clean').

In fact this philosophy of 'sit tight' characterised the whole of this age grouping. None felt threatened in the least at the 'physiological' level; the only serious questions they had were 'where' and 'in what style' they would be employed. In as far as none of them could envisage anything more desirable than what they already had or what the polytechnic was offering they were confirmed in the policy 'to stick together'. For them status passage was clearly in aggregate or collective terms. In that way they felt they could meet their 'safety' and 'belonging needs'.

The latter were plainly important to them and this in the sense of not wanting to break existing colleague relationships. This was conspicuously the case at the Technical Teachers' college where an attempt to transfer some of them into academic subject departments in the initial stages of the merger were strongly resisted. At least one of them later regretted this decision when he realised that they would be transferred to the site of the local authority college and that opportunities for developing his subject interest in the new Faculty were very slender. His attempts to reverse his decision were coolly received in the academic subject department who now doubted his academic

commitment. Indeed, only a strong professional commitment in terms of academic specialism was sufficient for staff to welcome a transfer to other departments in the polytechnic. Thus on these grounds one of the staff at the Day college despite admitting that she would 'miss the staff' considered that she 'had done better out of this merger than by moving'. Two other staff (one from the local authority college and the other from the Day college) were not so sure about their transfer because their academic commitment did not exclude a desire to engage in professional training as well. It was noticeable that these lecturers were undergoing a weaning process but even up to Christmas 1978 were still tending to emphasise their colleague relationships at the Education Faculty rather than those in their new departments.

Hence, the question of belonging rested in the first instance on the relative weight placed on the academic and professional aspects of teacher training<sup>183</sup>. Difficulties arose for those who more or less balanced these. In their

183. Compare Issac's comment on the Sunderland polytechnic merger where he contradicts his contention that 'the majority saw survival in personal terms' with his observation that 'whole groups' joined certain departments 'as a defence against anxiety' (1977, pp. 216 and 169). This is probably because he does not first categorise and then analyse the lecturers' views and actions. Indeed (to put our other references to his study in perspective), his whole study is marked by a lack of differentiation and classification, even to the point where he does not distinguish between teachers from a comprehensive school, sixth form college, college of education and polytechnic, but simply designates them all as being involved in change in educational sites.

case what they were already familiar with especially in respect of the style and setting of their work was decisive. Repeatedly they stressed the pleasantness of their working conditions and how they had come to appreciate them far more after finding out the stark, utilitarian conditions on the main site of the polytechnic. Accordingly for them the merger had not affected their view of their career structure rather it was seen largely in terms of career style. Hence, the Day college lecturers who had to move physically favoured the local authority college site because of its 'civilised' conditions as well as joining there with 'like minds' (such attitudes may partly account for the rapid and easy manner in which these staff 'settled in' to their new surroundings).

Thus for this grouping the merger generally did not sharpen or upset their conceptions of their careers. Certainly there were some isolated misgivings about the outcome but none of these were of a 'make or break' kind. The staff generally swiftly adapted to the change - their main (and often emphatic) grumble about the leadership of the new Faculty (8 of them mentioned this) was no more than an echo of their views before the merger took place.

The question, of course, is why this was so. Partly

the cause lies in their length of service. The protracted nature of the merger negotiations (especially at the Technical Teachers' and Day colleges) meant that many of them had been appointed after these had begun and therefore they themselves had not been versed or involved in them. Only two of the whole grouping who were interviewed had any clear picture of the national reorganisation of the colleges and less than half were more<sup>than</sup> superficially acquainted with what was happening locally<sup>185</sup>. Many of them said that they had been too preoccupied learning their new jobs to concern themselves with such matters and furthermore that the merger itself had increased their work-load to such an extent (e.g. devising new courses) that they had 'no time to worry' even if they wanted to (12 of the 18 who were interviewed mentioned this).

Ironically the major exception to this viewpoint and experience was a lecturer at the Technical Teachers' college who had been completely versed and immersed in all aspects of the merger but had found it eminently satisfying

185. In view of the significance given in this respect to the household careers' of the younger lecturers at the church college, it is interesting in this case that the 18 lecturers interviewed, 11 were married and only 5 of their spouses were teachers.

and 'no problem' because his main interest was 'not promotion but gaining power and putting ideas into practice'.

Hence for this grouping the merger had simply by-passed them in terms of their careers or they floated along with it. Certainly it had created little serious disturbance for them<sup>186</sup>.

40-49s

This grouping had marked dissimilarities from the under 40 grouping. In addition to those shown by the (overleaf) general analysis (Table 2, N.B.: this group's proportion of the colleges' population and the lecturers' status) the most prominent were length of service and proportion of spouses who were teachers. The following tabulation makes the latter contrast plain:

	Total interviewed	Length of service			Married staff	
		under 5	5-10	over 10	total	spouse is a teacher
Under 40	18	13	5		11	5
40-49	25	2	7	16	20	12

Coupling such career contingencies with family

186. One of the Technical Teachers' staff who confessed himself to be in somewhat of a quandary over his future career directions and that they may be adversely affecting his relations with his wife still maintained that he had no regret over his (very recent) move to the college.

TABLE 2

## ANALYSIS OF 40-49 AGE GROUPING IN MERGER COLLEGES, AUGUST 1977

COLLEGE		EDUCATION DEPARTMENT												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENTS												TOTAL	% OF TOTAL <sup>STAFF</sup> FROM RELEVANT COLLEGE	
		GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE								
		MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN					
		LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL			
LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLEGE	TOTAL	1	1	3					1						2	16	10	1	3	1				2		41	48%	
	No interviewed		1	1											7	3			1	1					1		15	
-365- DAY COLLEGE	TOTAL		3	1		1			1	1		1			7	3			1	1					1	1	22	52%
	No interviewed		1	1		1									1						1					1		6
TECHNICAL TEACHERS COLLEGE*	TOTAL		11	2					3	1		1														18	40%	
	No interviewed		2	1						1																	4	
TOTAL		1	15	6		1			5	2		2		2	23	13	1	4	2						3	1	81	
No. INTERVIEWED			4	3		1				1					8	3		1	2						1	1	25	

\* In that no subject teaching as such took place at the Technical Teachers' College all staff from there are included in the Education Department Section.

obligations which severely restricted career mobility (16 of the married staff had children, all of whom were in their teens'), it is neither surprising that like the younger lecturers this grouping adopted a career outlook of 'stay put', nor unexpected that there was a distinct difference between the two groupings in the manner in which this outlook was held.

The under 40s tended to assume that 'sitting tight' would eventually pay dividends - at the very least there was automatic progress along the incremental scales and up one status grading. Hence in monetary and prestige terms their careers were bound to improve. Only career style, as we saw, was likely to suffer. On the other hand the 40-49 grouping tended to be on the defensive about 'staying put'. For them it was literally a question of maintaining status quo. Not only could they generally not envisage career advance but they could anticipate (if they were not already experiencing) career loss, particularly in terms of facets of status. Thus they had adopted clear strategies 'to keep things as they are', variously expressed as 'watch and see what happens', 'play it cool', and 'stay quiet and keep smiling'.

An outline of the case of one of the lecturers will make the point plain as well as provide leads for variations in perceptions and actions.



In his early 40s, this senior lecturer (promoted 3 years after his appointment) had been in a (fringe) academic department for 11 years. During that time he had taken a higher degree (during secondment) but while he was tending to stress nowadays the academic side of his discipline, he retained a clear sense of the importance of professional training. But he had detected that the college generally had veered heavily to the academic side (especially with the introduction of the B.Ed. degree), thereby creating divisions between academics and practitioners. He saw himself as attempting to straddle the two.

His own commitment to the college as such was considerable, partly on account of long involvement in student affairs through wardenship of a residential hall for several years and engagement in student social activities, but also through the style and tenor of colleague relationships. For him the college 'really was a snug existence; most pleasant situation in education one could have'.

But the merger was changing it. Perhaps the most noticeable feature was the lowering of the morale of staff. Yet there did not appear to be any better alternative. As far as he was concerned, the new organisation might give opportunities for growth of work outside teacher training but his main fear was a

fall in the quality of his work, especially in view of changes being made in the B.Ed.

For him personally the merger virtually ended any hope of promotion - he had been a senior lecturer for 8 years and he must now accept that as his career grade (this was not easy because in 'old circumstances' promotions would have been 'almost certain'). He did not expect to move and in any case his children's schooling did not incline him that way. Moreover, he could not afford to take risks as his salary was his family's sole source of income.

So it was a case of 'carry on'; the merger would not apparently affect him all that much. At most it appeared that he would be involved a little in teaching on the main site, but he did anticipate a deterioration in the quality of teaching standards and conditions and thereby less satisfaction from his work. However, he was not dissatisfied with the situation. Although he had not been consulted about his career wishes and hopes, what was on offer was reasonable enough and his present heavy work load was an indication that he warranted his job.

Some features of this case can be pin-pointed and then enlarged in the light of the assumptions, views and actions of other staff in this grouping.

Of particular interest to us are those relating to career continuity, identity, paths and rewards and losses, professional commitment and career contingencies and aspirations. In that all of these depend on the perception of the desirability of the merger itself we will start there and then (still using the case of this lecturer as our starting point) itemise and comment on the other factors.

a. The verdict on the merger was guarded approval, therefore, the appropriate response was 'to go along with it' in terms of restrained support. Generally this was the viewpoint of the whole grouping, many of whom wanted to reserve their final judgement - 'give us another year' was a recurrent phrase. However, while the majority fell into the more or less guarded approval category, a few were less reserved. These were all placed on the clear or strong support side - no one opposed the merger. In itself this one-sided attitude is interesting because it gives an indication of the control of these lecturers' perceptions. All of them regarded change as inevitable and the merger as the only acceptable 'realistic' option. This was because they subscribed to a view of DES omnipotence and that its policies (of which they knew very little) were outside

their control<sup>187</sup>. At best they could tussle with their local authority, 'the poly.' or each other to get as good a bargain as possible within what amounted to a pre-destined situation. In this respect NATFHE had a part to play but most of them belonged to it for personal 'insurance' purposes.

But, as we said, a few of them (3 in all and solely from the local authority college) saw this merger as positively advantageous either because of a high attraction to the polytechnic on academic grounds<sup>188</sup> or a repulsion from the local authority college through antipathy towards its leaders<sup>189</sup>, or, as in the final

187. One lecturer put it, 'I accept what cannot be altered; the DES is in control. Once they make decisions (despite hiccups from the LEA), the outcome is inevitable'. It was a commonly held view.
188. This lecturer was the only one to change the subject of his teaching as soon as the merger took place. This suited him because it was not only his main academic interest but had also been the area of his recent research.
189. The strain in this connection was so severe, according to the lecturer concerned that it contributed to his ill-health. Indeed, he avowed that if he was given the choice of 'poly, college and leaving, I would take poly, leaving and college in that order'. Yet this disenchantment with the leaders of the college, especially the Principal was in personal terms in this case and this grouping did not echo or endorse the younger lecturers' dissatisfaction with the leadership of the new Faculty.

case, because of a combination of these two factors<sup>190</sup>. Such experiences and dispositions clearly set this small number apart from the rest but, nonetheless, even these had much in common with their colleagues, as further analysis and comment will show.

b. The merger had not undermined the assumption which bordered on presumption concerning career continuity and thereby job security. This attitude was most clearly seen at the Technical Teachers' college where each lecturer rested on his college's 'indispensability and specialism' for his personal sense of security. 'We're further education; there's no competition from elsewhere', they declared. On the other hand those at the Day college drew their assurance from their confidence in the favourable disposition of the local authority towards them<sup>191</sup>. Indeed, 4 of the 6 interviewed thought that they might obtain posts with the local authority (2 of them already have). At the local authority college, however, the assumption had no such clear-cut basis. Rather it rested

190. This lecturer who had been 'passed over' for promotion had also recently been engaged in advanced research. He saw the polytechnic as satisfying status needs in both these areas (a year later events justified his hopes). The strength of his personal views towards the merger are significant for understanding the compulsion of the minority group at the local authority college for it to take place. He was one of the leading proponents and the other chief advocate for it had equally suffered status frustration at the college. Both these men 'took on a new lease of life' when the merger was implemented.

191. One of the leading 'negotiators' from the Day college described the relations with the local authority as 'fluid but good; they are very supportive. If the worst came to the worst, jobs would be found'.

there on vague notions of professionalism and a faith in the permanence of the institution (i.e. the college in its teacher training aspect) born of long involvement in it.

Indeed, 'staying put' physically meant that many of the staff did not question their assumption about career continuity. One of them put it succinctly, 'The merger has made no impact; the college at present continues'. Ironically, the threat of the closure of the college had strengthened collective bonds and identity ('we huddled together for warmth'), and these had served to convince individuals that if the college survived they would too. The only ones in this age grouping who came anywhere near to questioning the career assumption itself, were those who were keen to move away from the college.

c. The merger was viewed in strictly local terms and career identity was still strongly linked to old definitions which had a college and departmental basis. The creation of 'new poly., new faculty, and new departments,' through the merger was more 'a paper reality' than the lecturers own perception of the situation (we will discuss the new heads of department under the next age grouping). Thus those who physically moved to academic subject departments 'had joined the poly', whereas those who stayed at or physically moved to the site of the new faculty 'Were at (that) college'.

New names did not produce new identities. Hence the Technical Teachers' staff resisted the physical move to the new faculty not simply on grounds of physical inconvenience but rather because it signalled a loss of their 'F.E. orientation and ethos'. Similarly the Day college staff felt keenly their enforced move because they were made 'strangers' by it. 'We are forever being asked, How are you settling in?' commented one of them.

In short, the merger negotiations and its implementation had sharply developed their localised identities, and 'profession' for at least those in the new faculty, was even more heavily biased towards the actual site of the professional training aspect of their work. The polytechnic hierarchy unknowingly reinforced this tendency, first, by referring to the polytechnic in terms of three (named) sites and then by adopting a policy of turning them into single-purpose sites. Thus this age grouping's perception of their profession was if anything even more localised than previously. Now it became 'department on x site'<sup>192</sup>. However, for those who moved to and had become involved in new subject departments their identity became subject-orientated within polytechnics (by and large these were also the ones who

192. Those who had been transferred to subject departments but still taught some of the time in the education Faculty made little effort in the main to break old ties and form new ones. Clearly their identification (in spirit if not in letter) was 'Faculty on (former college) site'.

had the clearest and fullest conception of the reorganisation of the colleges on a national basis).

d. The merger was seen not so much as diverting the course of careers as diluting the content of it (especially qualitative aspects). The constant refrain throughout this age grouping, including those now identified with subject departments was that the quality of their work had changed and, in some respects, for the worse<sup>193</sup>. For those in the education Faculty this was in terms of weakened colleague relations (many references were made to 'low morale'), decreased administrative assistance, and reduced satisfactions from teaching itself. Not only was there a general fear of a lowered standard in the new B.Ed., but also there was a recognition that over-work meant reduced effort on present courses, above all, there was a suspicion that professional training itself was given little esteem in the polytechnic as a whole. Indeed, in qualitative terms, no one in the education faculty listed a single improvement achieved by the merger, although two of them referred vaguely to 'future prospects of research'. On the other hand those transferred to the academic subject departments remarked on the deterioration in the aesthetic aspects of their work conditions. 'No culture', said one of them alluding

193. One former head of department said, 'Certainly we needed to go into the BEd to survive but what is survival?'



to absence of pictures and plants. However, far more serious to his mind was the narrowness of the academic approach through its concentration on 'producing qualifications'. This coupled with 'servicing courses' and 'piecemeal contact' with students led him to the terse description of the polytechnic as 'a learning factory'. All the same he and the others in the subject departments thought that the new opportunity to give single minded attention to their subjects more than compensated for 'the losses in civilised living' of the change.

e. The merger threw into relief status considerations and tended to 'freeze' statuses in their existing state. Whilst this was not generally unacceptable, it was a possible source of career loss.

Clearly those who experienced this sense of loss were former heads of department, but amongst them the former head of education at the local authority college in particular. He had not secured a senior post in the new Faculty but moregalling for him was the appointment of a colleague (with whom he had competed successfully for the former 'head of education' job) as head of the new educational studies department. His own allocation to 'an area of responsibility' within that department was small compensation. Hence his 'needs' were of a self-actualisation kind rather than of a prosaic status kind. He identified them as 'loss of control, now I can be countermanded'. He attempted to cope with them in three

ways: (a) 'no fault of my own' (he put his 'demotion' down to historical factors' and to his own short tenure of the former post - 3 years: 'Not here long enough'), (b) 'others were worse off' (he cited the case of the vice-principal of the local authority college), and (c) 'the new is not better than the old' (he himself and to his mind many others had little confidence in 'the top management'). For him the crucial aspect of the change was its speed; his case was almost that of career anomie - 'I have no clarity for the path ahead'.

Other former heads of department similarly identified 'loss of control' as the major change but while they spoke of themselves as 'no longer master of oneself or of others', they related this more to the management of their work than to their personal identity<sup>194</sup>. Thus one of them remarked on how the loss of his official position 'made it more difficult to run the shop'. He himself saw his own position as 'a blocked spiralist', and

194. The departmental reorganisation of the Technical Teachers' and Day Colleges prior to the merger meant that not only was the scale of the change less than at the local authority college but also that there was familiarity with the social and psychological aspects of the change and consequently some clues of how to deal with them at organisational if not personal levels.

considered that he must now seek 'more satisfaction from my life and activities outside work'.

Apart from the few who had become thoroughly integrated into subject departments, the rest shared his views. They recognised that their advance was blocked<sup>195</sup> and, therefore, they would look elsewhere for new sources of satisfaction. A former head of department spoke of adopting 'an hedonistic approach', three others mentioned their 'cottage in the country', two that they would 'start to write' and yet another of developing a hobby into 'a small business'. Equally they were phlegmatic about their position. Thus there were numerous versions of 'I've got to latch on to the positive things, and make the best of it'. For them, therefore, a major career consideration was not simply status maintenance at work but an allied (partly compensatory) style of life outside work. One consequence of the merger for them was to separate more distinctly their work and leisure.

f. The merger did not throw into question their professional commitment but evidence of that commitment was necessary to justify a place in the new organisation. Here as with the younger lecturers the emphasis was on 'over-work'. Hence the former head of education, while acknowledging that in his new position he could 'sit

195. The most extreme expression of this was: 'we no longer have careers, only jobs'.

back and do very little', contended that his work-load had doubled (staff kept referring to him in his former capacity). It was a common theme but some of the staff in the education Faculty recognised that it was largely the consequence of transition and they did not want to rest their commitment on such pragmatic grounds. Several speculated about 'two years hence' and that not so much in terms of what they would be doing as how they would 'keep fresh'. The references to research and further qualifications were made in this context. All this, however, was for those remaining in the education Faculty, for those transferred and involved in the subject departments such career developments were taken-for-granted.

g. The merger brought into focus the importance of certain career contingencies including those associated with the family and in this way defined the limits of career opportunities and aspirations.

The outstanding contingencies from the point of view of these lecturers were their age and their children's schooling. They regarded both as major obstacles to career mobility and thereby to attempts to compensate for career loss<sup>196</sup>. In any case most of them seriously doubted if their age (and length of

196. e.g. the former head of education mentioned his children's schooling as a major reason for staying where he was.

service) would make them eligible for other posts. Moreover, the over 45s in particular considered that their age placed them at risk both in respect of future redundancies<sup>197</sup> and decreasing satisfaction from their work<sup>198</sup>.

Hence the mood of this grouping, especially those remaining with (or not completely dissociated from) the education Faculty, was 'to stay put and make the best of it'. For them their own path in the control of their careers was summed up by one of them as 'dignified retreat', but as we saw, in many cases the intention was to place less reliance on it for identity and satisfaction purposes and instead to develop other interests outside work.

50-54

The major differences between this age grouping

197. One of the lecturers from the local authority college who was transferred to a subject department which already had a full complement of staff thought 'my head will be on the block' on this count. In the event he was proved correct but he was offered (and took) the chance of re-training in a subject with which he had considerable experience outside his college work.
198. This was variously expressed, e.g. 'I can see my self going downhill from 50' - hence the references to 'keeping fresh'.

and the other two we have described appeared to be that whereas they assumed career continuity and only career advancement through 'automatic' structural progression, this one assumes career continuity only if career advancement or development actually occurs, otherwise it accepts career discontinuity. The actual point of difference appears to rest on what is seen to be available either in terms of favourable career prospects or acceptable Crombie provisions. Hence we will analyse this grouping along the lines of actual career advancement and foreseeable career termination (for an analysis of this age grouping see Table 3).

To take career advancement first, the most obvious group is the three lecturers who obtained the posts of head of department in the new education Faculty<sup>199</sup>. But others can be included in this section particularly two lecturers (one each from the local authority and Technical Teachers' colleges) who considered they had good prospects of creating new academic sections in the polytechnic structure.

All the new heads of department saw their major

199. I am including the head of department which covered the further education section even though he is not quite 50, because this gives the opportunity to compare their respective approaches and styles.

TABLE 3

## ANALYSIS OF 50-54 AGE GROUPING IN MERGER COLLEGES, AUGUST 1977

COLLEGE		EDUCATION DEPARTMENT												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENTS												TOTAL	% OF TOTAL Staff FROM RELEVANT COLLEGE
		GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE							
		MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN				
		LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL		
LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLEGE	TOTAL			1								1				3	4								13	15%	
	No interviewed			1								1					2										
DAY COLLEGE	TOTAL		2						1						1	1									5	12%	
	No interviewed		2													1									3		
TECHNICAL TEACHERS COLLEGE*	TOTAL		4	2							1														7	15%	
	No interviewed			2																					2		
TOTAL			6	3					1	1	1				4	5									25		
No. INTERVIEWED			2	3							1					3									11		

\* In that no subject teaching as such took place at the Technical Teachers' College all staff from there are included in the Education Department Section.

task as creating new collective identities. Yet they all differed in their conceptions of and approaches to such identities. Thus while they all subscribed to the notion of 'unique institution' in terms of the teacher training aspects of the new Faculty (i.e. it spanned further education to nursery), they clearly differed in what they considered to be its unique characteristics. This was because they placed their departments in different contexts within the polytechnic. Thus the head of educational studies held a vision of 'a new poly' and the education faculty and his department within that. On the other hand the head of department from the local authority college who had a sizeable proportion of former Day college lecturers in his department saw the 'duality' of the education faculty and his department. Finally the head of department from the technical teachers' college took that as his primary focus and thus his concern was to fit it in with the larger structure - he was strongly in favour of moving to the site of the former local authority college on this single score.

It was plain that the previous career interest and styles of these lecturers were continued, though developed, in their new appointment. Hence, the head of educational studies found ample scope for his political talents and energies and he adopted a structural approach to the development of his department. He was keen, for instance, to create 'a career structure' as quickly as possible in



order to give his younger staff opportunities for career achievement (presumably with the intention of consolidating and increasing their commitment). The other two heads of department favoured an emphasis on style. The one concerned with schools saw this in terms of developing a philosophy of what it is all about'. To this end he organised meetings and seminars with 'appropriate topics for discussion'. On the other hand the one concerned with further education saw the question of style largely as a matter of personal communication and devised an organisational structure to achieve that end. Moreover, his advocacy of moving the former Technical Teachers' college to the other site of the education Faculty was mainly based on this consideration.

All three heads of department therefore saw their new appointments not only as personal career advancement<sup>200</sup> but as affecting substantially the careers of former and new colleagues. However, their policies in this regard

200. Although in pure status terms the head of the further education department was uncertain on this point - he had been vice-principal of his college. Perhaps career enhancement was more appropriate in his case because he recognised that the scope of his work had been enlarged.

was based largely on their previous conceptual and organisational approaches to teacher training/education. The only difference from that career stage appeared to be that they had now to take account of a larger, more bureaucratic, organisational structure. But the heads of schools and further education departments in particular were determined to recreate within those constraints some aspects of the 'college as a community'<sup>21</sup>. Nonetheless all three of them admitted that they had 'little time to sit back and think' of such issues because of the immense number and variety of practical problems which the reorganisation was creating. Thus they found their new appointments not only exciting and challenging but also excessively demanding especially in regard to 'the great deal of ad hocery at a micro level'<sup>202</sup>.

In contrast the other two in this section of

201. The new head of educational studies found the poly-technic approach not incompatible with his own. Hence in conjunction with his self-allocated 'major task' of 'perceiving the poly identity and the congruency of the 3 departments with that', he saw a vital need for 'constructing a new management structure'. This, he added, must also take account not only of caring for and teaching present students but also academic matters which were focussed in the re-validation of courses.
202. For the record, one of these heads of department went on 'lengthy' sick leave in Autumn 1978. The Dean of the education Faculty was on sick leave most of that term as well.

career advancement tended to live more in hopeful expectation than actual realisation. Yet they did not consider themselves unrealistic because not only had they expertise to offer in undeveloped academic areas in the polytechnic but also they were aware of the Director's own support for the interests they represented<sup>203</sup>.

The other major section of this age grouping (7 lecturers) held no such expectations. Accordingly they not only took early retirement into consideration but viewed it with varying degrees of positive enthusiasm. Here the closure of the Day college proved to be a crucial factor because the Crombie provisions took on a far more favourable aspect when seen in the light of the need to make both a physical move and a psychological adjustment to a new environment. Hence the three lecturers who were affected, while themselves disposed to continue their careers, all investigated their 'Crombie rights' and concluded that this was not an unacceptable alternative<sup>204</sup>.

203. The situation at the end of 1978 is that the academic interests themselves will be developed and that both of the lecturers will be involved. The only question that remains is if one of them will lead the development in his particular area.

204. In the event only one of them and he the most dismayed by the merger - he listed 'll losses' and 'nil gains' - was not found an acceptable post in the new education faculty and he retired.

Yet all of them while reassured in this respect felt a degree of career loss because none of them was consulted regarding career aspirations (let alone counselled on career anxieties). It was a common complaint in the whole section of this grouping. The lecturer at the Technical Teachers' college, for instance, was allocated without his consent to a different department on the basis of supposed expertise (he had no formal qualifications in this respect), while a lecturer at the local authority college found her area of specialised work (to which she had been recently appointed) was being phased out, with<sup>no</sup> reference to her at all. The first lecturer reacted vigorously and sought (and gained) early retirement; the second adopted a policy of 'see how things work out'.

The remaining two lecturers at the local authority college (both women and married to retired college lecturers) simply 'wanted to depart'. Crombie gave them 'a reasonable deal' and they had other interests to develop.

Thus the question of the personal control of careers for this section was largely forestalled by the desirability or acceptability of ending their careers. All felt they had some choice in the matter simply because they could 'afford (financially) to leave' - hence they could decide whether or not to leave. However, several of them realised that this was a negative form of

control and were saddened if not embittered by the lack of consultation which would have introduced for them a positive element into the process. In every case they identified this 'lack of concern' with the loss of the values and relationships contained in the notion of 'college as a community'<sup>205</sup>. Moreover, in that their professional commitment was rooted in that concept and was exercised within the actual colleges themselves, the disappearance of both the concept and the colleges left them with neither spirit nor sphere to pursue that commitment. Coupling this with what several of them saw as the hierarchy's lack of appreciation of their professional commitment, 4 of them thought that it was 'time to consider going' and the other three that 'now is the actual time to go'. However, it needs to be stressed that all had full information on their individual Crombie entitlement and none of them found it unsatisfactory.

#### 55 and Over

The sole question for this age grouping was not

205. This was variously expressed, e.g. 'we have lost informal ways of doing things'; 'we have lost strong relations with staff and students'; 'there are umpteen lines of communication but we cannot get to the head'; 'graciousness had gone out'; 'social contacts with staff are truncated'; and 'all is now a tactical game'.

if but when they were to retire early (for an analysis of this age grouping see Table 4). Involuntariness for them meant they were the grouping marked for the early stages of staff redundancies. Within that context they could take up the offer of 'voluntary redundancy' prior to 1980 when except for the odd one or two of them who had specialist skills which were in high demand<sup>206</sup>, all who remained would be made compulsorily redundant.

The lecturers reacted in three ways. Of the 12 interviewed (including 2 former vice-principals), 4 welcomed the opportunity, 6 resigned themselves to it and 2 resisted it. We will examine these reactions shortly but in order to appreciate what being placed in this position meant for many of them (and thereby their interpretations of involuntary change of career) we will describe the case of one of them who at first was highly resistant to the idea of the premature end of his career but later became resigned to it.

206. One of these was 'ignoring' the merger. 'I am here to lecture', he declared. The former local authority college continued to exist unchanged as far as he was concerned. He intended to retire, as he had always planned, in 2 years time. He and his wife (who was a SL in the same department and much younger than he) had not been consulted at all over their career wishes. She herself thought she might leave when he did. In any case she was aware that she would have to change her orientation to her work for both of them up to the merger had tended to treat it 'as a way of life'. But for the present she 'didn't' know what to do' so she was trying to continue 'exactly as before'.

TABLE 4

## ANALYSIS OF 55 and OVER AGE GROUPING IN MERGER COLLEGES, AUGUST 1977

COLLEGE		EDUCATION DEPARTMENT												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENTS												TOTAL	% OF TOTAL FROM RELEVANT COLLEGE
		GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE							
		MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN				
		LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL		
LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLEGE	TOTAL			1							1			1	2					2	1		1		9	10%	
	No interviewed			1											1						1	1				4	
-389- DAY COLLEGE	TOTAL		1	1				1			1			1	1		2								8	19%	
	No interviewed			1				1						1												3	
TECHNICAL TEACHERS COLLEGE*	TOTAL			3			1			3															7	15%	
	No interviewed			2						1																3	
TOTAL			1	5			1		1	3			2		2	3		2			2	1		1		24	
No. INTERVIEWED				4					1	1					1	1					1	1				10	

\* In that no subject teaching as such took place at the Technical Teachers' College all staff from there are included in the Education Department Section.

He had been a senior member of the Day college for over 10 years and had held several senior posts including that of head of department after the reorganisation in 1975. His experience of the college had been extremely satisfactory because not only was it a 'pleasant life' but he had enjoyed 'being in a position of power in the merger negotiations'. Moreover, the emphasis of the college on professional training fitted his own inclination. Thus he was thoroughly committed - to teacher training, particularly within the context of the Day college.

His involvement in the local negotiations had made him acquainted with the wider reorganisation of the college but equally had coloured his view of it. To his mind the whole exercise was one of administrative rationalisation and political expediency. Both aspects had been confirmed locally through inclusion of the local authority college in the merger proposals.

Generally he had favoured both mergers. The first because it gave the Day college an identity with the polytechnic and the second because it strengthened the 'school' side of the proposed education Faculty. Yet he was disappointed over the turn of events.

Internal disputes between the three colleges, for instance, had meant that they 'had not ganged up on the poly and had wasted battle energy'. Moreover, the isolationist attitude of the local authority college



led to a weak Faculty and so far it had 'won no battles' (e.g. over retaining academic subject teaching). He thought that the (undercover) leadership style of the new Dean was inappropriate to this situation. In his view the Day college had lost on every score.

He too had derived little benefit. The protracted nature of the negotiations had pushed him 'on the wrong side of 55' and had made him ineligible for the new posts of heads of department. At the time of the merger he felt 'professionally suicidal' partly because he was unaware of his Crombie entitlement or even that it would be available but mainly on account of his loss of status - this was 'the hardest thing to bear'. Six months later, however, he viewed his situation 'with equanimity'. His finances were all right and he had alternative work outside education in mind. 'I am ready to go when required', he said, but for the present he was enjoying himself again because he was serving as 'a link man between the poly and the faculty' - thus he was once more 'central to the political game'. His changed outlook included 'a new respect' for some of the local authority college members of the education faculty.

The case illustrates two key features common to this grouping in respect of their careers. First, there was an intense personal realisation of the importance of their careers to them. Secondly, structural arrangements

served to compensate for career disappointments and loss.

Of all the age groupings, this one felt most keenly at a personal level the effects of the merger. This was because it touched all levels of the 'needs' we mentioned earlier, from physiological to self-actualisation. The collapse of their own positions and particularly their debarment on account of their age from comparable alternative ones ended conclusively the identity and satisfaction which had been derived from collective definitions and arrangements. It was a case of each man looking to his own interests. The unavoidable status passage with which they were confronted was strictly in solo terms. This in itself was enough to bring home to them the dimensions and levels of reliance they had placed on their careers for their individual fulfilment. But the experience was made more acute because they had made their heavy career investment<sup>207</sup> in the college which continued to exist at least in modified form but in which they no longer had any decisive say. The core of their dismay was that they had become dispensable. The irony of that situation was that nearly all of them had been deeply involved in the merger negotiations which had had this personal outcome for them.

207. Notably the length of service - shortest span was 9 years and the longest 30 years, most of them fell in the 12-18 years range.

However, it was not all loss because those self-same revised structural arrangements carried compensations for these lecturers. Thus they could select when they wanted to go in the next three years. Moreover, in the meantime old colleague relations remained and their experience and expertise were still respected and required. Advisory roles, if nothing else, were available to them, and without exception they found the Crombie provisions were a distinct improvement on what would have been available under normal pension conditions.

Nonetheless, there were, as we said, three distinct lines of reaction to their changed status and career prospects in the merger situation. Of those interviewed 4 of them after little more than passing regrets over 'the ending of a golden era' positively welcomed the change for 'voluntary' retirement. Two of these did so partly on health grounds but also because retirement would give them the opportunity to develop their literary interests. The development of interests outside work was also a major factor mentioned by the other two but in their cases one was 'ready to go' because he had been too long (30 years) at the local authority college to make the transition while the other 'wanted to get out' because despite only recently establishing his academic approach at the Day College he saw that there was no scope for it in the new situation but he would be able to pursue it elsewhere on a part-time basis. These four, therefore, saw themselves as far from 'finished' (despite

being among the oldest of this grouping - from 58 to 61 years) and all mentioned that their wives fully supported their decision.

Similar strong support from a wife was given to the former vice-principal of the local authority college but in this instance to his resistance against redundancy of any kind. It was a crucial matter for him because he had young children and 'a lively mind'<sup>208</sup> and simply did not want 'Crombie'. How could he face his family as well as himself, he asked, if he had to retire 'as an old gentleman'? Accordingly, he had put forward a proposal for a clearly defined role for himself during the early stages of the transition but had received no response. Thus he had 'nothing to do' and could only 'sit tight and wait - if (he was) tough enough'. But at least the idleness had improved his health and all the time his Crombie entitlement was increasing. Yet unquestionably he felt 'let down' - he had not even been consulted - but he was philosophical. He 'coped' because he had a clear perception of what he had done and what he might do. 'This is the way the cookie has crumbled', he said, 'I came here a bit too late for promotion'.

Some of those who adopted a resigned attitude to

208. The same opinion was held by the other lecturer who resisted the change. He felt that he still had 'something to offer' but only within teacher training (he had declined a post in further education).

'voluntary' redundancy equally thought that they had missed out on promotion. This was particularly the case for 4 lecturers from the Technical Teachers' and Day Colleges who considered that they would have gained senior appointments if the earlier merger had taken place. The outstanding example was the former vice-principal of the Day college who strongly held this view. 'The whole business has dragged on too long', he said, 'everything is in slow motion and this has changed my position considerably'. Indeed, in the new situation he thought that he did not 'fit' and therefore 'intended to go'.

Others echoed his sentiments and saw themselves 'as being phased out'. Generally they were sanguine over it but one was disturbed over the lack of appreciation from the Directorate. Three of them, however, derived some satisfaction from minor or major advisory functions they were performing in the new Faculty and these induced them to remain a little longer 'before taking Crombie'.

Taking a broad view of the careers of all these lecturers from the three merger college it is plain that the merger itself entailed total upheaval for hardly any of them. Instead, the involuntary change of their careers was a matter of degrees and aspects of career change. This was to be expected because there was an element of planning in the change, not only in the

broad sense of the Crombie provisions but also in the arrangements agreed between the local authorities, polytechnic and professional association. A crucial provision in the latter respect was that of a 3 year transitional period wherein no compulsory redundancies would take place; this gave scope for the institution and individuals to assess and decide the limitations and opportunities for change.

However, the key variable on which both broad and specific 'planning' was centred was, as we have seen, that of age. Thus the main strategy of reducing staff numbers was based on a policy of 'voluntary' redundancy but this was available only to older members of staff<sup>209</sup>. A similar principle applied in most of the few cases where re-deployment was required, although here it seemed that consideration was given also to the possibility of re-training for employment in the polytechnic. The staff themselves generally acquiesced in these arrangements, partly because there was a marked degree of continuity with past organisational structures and styles but also because few of them had to face the change alone. Not only were they part of collectivities but also they could conduct their

209. This, however, gave it a 'two edged' quality because it also meant that these older lecturers could be (and were) expected by their colleagues to be 'the first to go' whether or not they wanted to themselves.

personal affairs through their professional association. Indeed, the role of the professional association became critical for any individual lecturers 'at risk' during this stage on account of its representation of their personal interests.

In summary, therefore, it is plain that while career anxiety was commonplace it rarely reached the pitch of emergency and only in the isolated instance did it take on a crisis quality<sup>210</sup>. Accordingly, many of the adverse consequences of involuntary change (e.g. over-work, vague role definitions, unfamiliar surroundings, and strange and undeveloped colleague relations) were seen to be of a temporary nature, contingent on the initial stages of any reorganisation. On the other hand some consequences were regarded as permanent features at least as far as the middle-aged in the education Faculty were concerned, notably these were blocked career advance, loss of status and thereby power (especially ex-heads of department), and perhaps most of all, a lowered esteem for the 'skills'.

210. Compare Isaac's observation of the Sunderland polytechnic merger. Despite his assertion that 'the major item the study of the people found was anxiety', it did not appear to be of an extreme nature because he included in his definition of it, 'statements about worrying, being frightened or being upset', and moreover, commented that although 'attempts were made to record the incidence of illness at the college, there was so little that the idea was abandoned' (1977, pp.168, 220, 267).

aspect of teacher training itself, hence impugning to some extent the credibility of their professionalism.

Yet the merger brought career gains, most conspicuously for those appointed to senior posts but also to academic subject specialists who gained not only more scope for the development of their specialisms but also found improved opportunities for career advancement.

But for nearly all the staff the merger threw into question not so much the validity of their professional commitment as the significance they should accord it in their self-conceptions and manner of life. For a considerable number of them, especially those of middle-age and over, there was a realisation of the value in these respects of relationships and interests outside work. It was in such developments rather than in the steering and shaping of the actual professional careers themselves that the lecturers considered that they exercised personal control. Thus for many of them the merger served to clarify and convince them that their former assumptions about career continuity and progress had a more fragile and precarious base than they had supposed. Nonetheless, in the event, such assumptions were not unjustified in as far as they mainly held intact, but all the same they had been shaken sufficiently for many of the staff to become much more wary of placing the degree of unthinking reliance on them that they had formerly. Concomitantly with this changed outlook



on their personal careers, many staff gained a new appreciation of their 'household careers'. That is, they became more keenly aware of the joint contribution of their own and their husbands/wives careers not only to their families' standard and style of living but also to the basis and degree of their professional commitment. At the very least questions about their career made them realise the significance of family considerations, particularly husbands or wives approval and support, in shaping their own career decisions. In brief, the merger heightened considerably the lecturers' consciousness of their careers especially in regard to the structure of its control and their own part in it.

Comparison and Contrast of Involuntary Change of the Lecturers' Careers at the Church and Merger Colleges

Clearly the outstanding difference between the church and merger colleges as far the lecturers' was concerned was that in the former case the emphasis was on getting another job whereas in the latter it was on keeping or developing the present one. Involuntariness, therefore, meant for the one group ~~that~~ their own choice in the matter was restricted to what alternative career paths were available whereas for the other their choice was in terms of adjustments to their existing career lines. Both were unwelcome forms of involuntariness, of course, but that experienced by the church college lecturers was more acute because it involved a radical

and more restricted choice. Or to put it another way, it involved a greater range of career questions. At the risk of over-simplification, the church college lecturers had to deal with matters of career structure whereas the merger college lecturers were mainly concerned with career style.

This was glaringly the case for the women lecturers whose career interests and prospects contrasted sharply between the two situations. Hence, we will include at this juncture an examination of their approach to and experience of the reorganization partly in order to illustrate our contention about the basic difference between the two situations but also because it is opportune in our general analysis to consider the influence of the sex factor in what happened to the lecturers' careers.

For the women lecturers in the merger situation, there were very few career problems of a structural kind - indeed, in as far as the merger afforded the opportunity for early retirement several of the older women welcomed it. Moreover, none of them even hinted that any of them sensed or experienced 'sexual discrimination' in career matters. Generally, as with the men, their concern was the losses in career style, especially the quality of relationships with colleagues and students. Otherwise, their situation had changed very little, particularly as a majority of them stayed in the Education Faculty (24 out of 36) and many of the others retained their

professional training functions.

At the church college, however, the career prospects of the women lecturers were less favourable than those of the men. Thus of 5 staff unemployed in August, 1978, 4 were women, and only 3 (including the vice-principal) of the 13 women had obtained new jobs compared with 17 of the 40 men.

Yet for some of the married women this was not a desperate situation because, as several in the younger and older age categories remarked, 'if nothing turned up' they would simply allow themselves to be 'phased out' (2 younger women and one older woman specifically mentioned this). 'We don't need to work, they commented, and while this primarily was a reference to financial income (incidentally, one of them had dependent children), it was plain too that their work was not specially important for identity purposes.

However, there were other reactions. The two single, middle-aged women, for instance, felt that due to age and lack of career alternatives their career prospects were 'extremely slender' and one of them was 'filled with dismay'. But it was not simply a case of differences on the basis of marital status because most of the married women considered their careers to be of equal importance to those of their husbands. This was emphatically the case where both husbands and wives were college lecturers (and was evident in the merger

situation as well as in the closure one). But it applied also, as we noted earlier, to those wives with husbands in school-teaching and with whom they shared a household professional commitment. Nonetheless, for the individual women themselves the crucial factor appeared to be the extent of their career investments contingent on their length of service. Thus those who talked of being 'phased out' in both the younger and older age categories had held their college appointments for only a relatively short time.

It is plain therefore, that the women's prospects generally were different only in degree from those of their men counterparts, and even this was sometimes accounted for by their lack of effort to find other posts because of the availability of 'acceptable alternatives' (e.g. 'free-lancing' or part-time teaching - this approach was adopted by a few of the men as well). Thus, the fundamental difference was not so much between men and women in one situation as between the women's prospects in the two situations.

Yet while the case of the women lecturers is a example of the contrast between the two situations in terms of preoccupation with either career structure or style, the distinction itself is often far from clear-cut. The Crombie Code provisions, for instance, applied

equally to them all and therefore was bound to create similarities<sup>211</sup>. Thus the first impression of different forms or degrees of involuntariness between the two situations needs to be qualified and this we shall do by conducting a further analysis of what all these lecturers made of involuntary change of their careers. Once more we will base the analysis on the key variable of age and in conjunction with it we will utilise the notions of status passage and Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Moreover, in that we shall be looking at the lecturers' view and reaction to involuntary change with special reference to the structure of control of their careers, we shall include the role of Principals and professional association as well as their own part in the whole matter.

#### Under 40

There was little resemblance between the young lecturers at the church and merger colleges in terms of what happened to their careers. Although one

211. The key difference here was in the level of state administration of these Regulations. For the Church college it was the DES whereas for the merger colleges it was the local authorities. This meant that in the latter case actual offers of redeployment could be made to redundant lecturers.

lecturers in the merger situation did take a school post similar to those obtained by lecturers in the closure situation, he was untypical in the extreme. Rather his contemporaries in the merger colleges were characterised by an even stronger attachment to their existing posts and a clear preference for career continuity along existing lines. Thus career disturbance for them was of a minimal kind, largely confined to matters of career style. The great majority saw no threat to their career prospects, although they acknowledged that promotion would be blocked for a while.

Very different outlooks and lines of action prevailed at the church college. Here the younger lecturers were polarised into those who took immediate and intense action to advance or secure their careers and those who drifted in a state of career confusion until events compelled them to do something. We still know little of the career outcomes of the latter group but of the former we know that nearly all of them are highly satisfied with their career outcomes - indeed, over half of them have attained the kind of career aspirations common to many lecturers in colleges of education. Hence, the closure situation for these lecturers while forcing them to face basic issues such as the source and level of income, created the conditions both for clarifying their highest needs' of self-actualisation and also for assiduously pursuing them.

In that extreme situation they could justify taking risks on that score. Thus although closure of the college undermined their source and sense of security and belonging and even put their status in peril, it also presented an opportunity to embark on extreme lines of action which under 'normal circumstances' would not have been regarded as wise or legitimate.

Thus whereas the careers of the younger lecturers in the merger situation tended to be in the position of no man's land, in the closure situation they were either in the battle line or in a state of false peace. To continue the metaphor, the outstanding features of the closure situation so far are that there have been few casualties (2 out of 22 are unemployed) and many notable victories.

Plainly for this age grouping involuntary change in the closure situation was strictly in solo status passage terms and had the effect of compelling sooner or later a clear assessment of the individual's career contingencies and a sharp definition of his professional commitment. In both these respects the notion of household career appears to be important especially where the spouse was also a teacher because this appeared to produce a household professional commitment. Thus the question was not simply utilitarian

(what was beneficial to the family) but was also moral (what was right for the lecturer himself). This moral emphasis provided a considerable incentive to pursue career continuity and furthermore legitimated it. However this aspect of professional commitment was only clearly apparent in the closure situation where the lecturers' career line and path were actually in jeopardy. Accordingly such matters easily remained blurred in the merger situation where aggregate or collective status passage were the rule.

All the same while few career choices had to be made in the merger colleges on the basis of new definitions of professional commitment, the changed conditions and relationships did arouse feelings of having to justify the existing definition of professional commitment through extra effort. In short, involuntary change for the younger lecturers in the merger colleges placed them in a relatively secure position which neutralised career decision and action, whereas for those in the closure college it placed them all at risk but at the same time created conditions for career advancement<sup>212</sup> as well as for career loss.

On the questions of the roles of Principals and professional association in all this, there was

212. e.g. academically, through achievement of high qualifications during secondment, and morally, through strong family backing in a 'crisis' situation.



remarkable unanimity between the two sets of lecturers, Thus at both the church and merger colleges there was heavy criticism of the form and style of the Principals' leadership. In the lecturers' view, they sided too far with the opinions and interests of their senior staff and erred on the side of caution at the expense of innovation. The lecturers also agreed on the doubtful usefulness of the professional association, although here consensus appeared to be with regard to ATCDE because those at the Technical Teachers' college (with ATTI) attributed some significance to it as a source of collective identity and as an instrument of collective action. Yet generally the professional association was disregarded presumably because at the church college the lecturers considered that the DES was generous over secondment and fair over safeguarded salaries and thus there was no dispute. Moreover, for all lecturers the Crombie provisions for retirement were seen as largely irrelevant, hence the professional association was not involved on that score.

The upshot of these viewpoints was that neither Principals nor professional association figured largely in these lecturers' conception and assessment of the structure of control of their careers. Both were regarded as incidental, neither assisting nor hindering them.

Rather, what did impinge on and influence their perceptions, decisions and actions were either the personal views of husbands and wives or the impersonal 'powers' of 'bureaucracies' (e.g. DES, LEA even 'the poly') and the constraints of occupational structures (national and local). But at root these lecturers tended to see themselves on their own, individually or collectively, and subscribed to the view that their careers were 'up to them'.

40-49

At both the church and merger colleges the main characteristic of the grouping was a defensive stance towards their careers. This was because they saw their position as one in which they had much to lose and little to gain. Thus while not adverse to taking action they were extremely wary on this score, fearing precipitateness and irreversibility of decision. For them the whole issue was pragmatic and they were keenly alert to both financial and status implications of action on their part. This was because they were aware that they had restricted lines of manoeuvre partly through their geographical immobility on account of their children's schooling but also through their lack of occupational marketability on account of age, sex, status, specialised qualifications and levels of income. As far as they were concerned there was no question of retirement, hence their view of the Crombie Code was strictly in terms of safeguarded salary. But this in itself was no inducement 'to make a move' before

they felt they needed to. Thus action was regarded in 'pending' terms. Generally they adopted a career policy of 'delay: play it safe'. At the church college this resulted in a bias towards lengthy delay and minimal career activity, despite the successful job applications of some lecturers in this grouping (school appointments were not highly rated). In the merger colleges it brought a 'leave well alone' attitude towards their occupational careers and a 'develop other interests' approach towards their wider 'life-plan' - a kind of supplement to or substitute for the 'style' aspect of their careers

Once more it is far from clear what will be the eventual career outcome of this grouping at the church college but already it is plain that some of them will 'develop other interests', although not in terms of leisure but, rather, livelihood. Already two of them have opted for career replacement in this way. Of those who have secured jobs the trend is heavily towards administrative posts in the education system and interestingly this is the 'career switch' most favoured by the displaced Day college lecturers. But the most seriously affected section in this grouping are those with high status. At the church college they found this to be a crippling disability in their job applications and brought at least two of them to a crisis of self-identity. In a similar vein, although not to the same degree, high status lecturers in the merger

colleges found their 'loss of control' caused some 'loss of face'. Hence in that questions of career structure as well as style arose in both situations, there are some areas of comparability in the direction and effects of involuntary change, although in every instance they were in the most exaggerated forms at the church college.

And that is the point. Clearly the lecturers in the merger colleges were specially cushioned from extreme degrees of loss. This was reflected, for instance, in differing approaches to secondment. Thus, while at the church college secondment was regarded mainly as a means 'to buy time' but also as a possible source of additional disqualification for other work (the fear was of 'over qualification'), at the merger colleges it was used solely for re-training purposes where other work was guaranteed. Perhaps such cushioning also accounted for different views of the Crombie provisions - in the merger situation they were very much 'a last resort' whereas in the closure situation the provision of safeguarded salary was frequently a first resort and obviously played a decisive part in some appointments.

The plain fact is that while all these lecturers were on the defensive over their careers, those in the

merger situation acted on the assumption of career continuity whereas those in the closure situation had the knowledge of unavoidable career discontinuity. Such underlying differences plainly affected their views of their Principals and professional associations. At the church college, they regarded the Principal largely as a counsellor although some blamed him for their present plight. In the merger colleges, the new Dean was accorded a mantle of power; to their mind he had considerable influence over their careers collectively and individually (especially as long as 'permanent appointments' had not been made) - hence, the degree of wariness or even suspicion on the part of lecturers from the Day and Technical Teachers' colleges.

As for the professional association, the church college lecturers regarded it strictly in legalistic terms at an individual level, although most of them thought of it as no more than 'a long stop' even in that respect. In the merger colleges, it had a similar role for this age grouping but perhaps of equal importance was its negotiating power for them collectively. Hesitant to speak out themselves, this grouping welcomed the professional association as their 'spokesman' (many of its officers were in this age grouping).

Overall then this age grouping experienced little career gain from involuntary change (mainly restricted to

academic development for a few lecturers in the merger colleges). On the other hand, with the notable exceptions of high status staff in both situations and for women lecturers at the church college, there were not marked career losses. For most of them involuntary change left them (in comparative terms) 'as they were'. Certainly there were few openings of career advance as in the case of the younger lecturers. However, most of them were not dissatisfied with this outcome. A common sentiment was 'it could have been worse'.

50-54

Paradoxically involuntary change for this age grouping meant either 'nearing the end of the road' or the beginning of a new one as far as their careers were concerned. Thus while the majority slowly adjusted themselves to possible if not actual early retirement, a few gained career promotion or development. The latter were all in the merger colleges (preponderantly in the local authority college) and it was apparent that reorganisation favoured those around the 50-year-old mark<sup>213</sup>. Others were not unambitious (not least 2 of those at the church college) but there were no accessible institutional means for progress either internally in the merger colleges or

213. Presumably this was because they had had the ear and confidence of even more senior staff who were involved in the new appointments (especially the new Dean in this case).

externally at the church college. Despite their conviction that age rather than capability was the major factor determining their situation, these lecturers underwent considerable career disillusionment.

In this respect they differed from their younger colleagues and the reason appears to be that they were confronted with questions over career structure as well as over career style. In this way they were the first age grouping to resemble closely all the lecturers in the church college where questions of career structure took precedence. However, once more the lecturers in the merger colleges were cushioned either through being retained (temporarily) on account of their specialised skills or through being given a (temporary) advisory role in the polytechnic. But for those at the church college they could do no more for themselves than secure the best possible settlement under the Crombie provisions (eg. through applying for secondment and thus adding a further year to their entitlement). But some of them were embittered in this connection on account of the requirement that they should have applied for other posts ('empty ritualism', said one of them). Indeed, of all age groupings this one contained those with a sense of 'being let down', that is, that their professional

commitment was being disregarded and that they themselves were considered to be dispensable<sup>214</sup>. Thus although they found some face-saving in such notions as 'early retirement' and 'voluntary redundancy', they resented allusions to themselves as 'natural wastage'.

But while those at the church college expressed themselves bitterly on this score, the lecturers in the merger colleges tended to be more phlegmatic. Perhaps this was because not only was the decision of ending their careers still largely their own but also many of them still enjoyed physical continuity of their careers. The latter consideration was very important for older lecturers with long service because for many of them their professional identities had become physically located in their colleges. Hence apart from the question of being 'too old' to move, many of them had been 'too long' at the colleges to contemplate it. The older lecturers at the Day and Technical Teachers'

214. In the merger colleges, the report from a younger lecturer that the Dean for staffing had tried to counter his complaint over his departmental allocation by saying that this was a lesser evil than redeployment or redundancy and then by adding that 'we are now looking at the 50 year olds' in those connections, helped to confirm the suspicions and fears of the 50-year olds themselves.



colleges felt dismay over moving to the former local authority college site not so much on account of physical inconvenience as on its disturbance of the physical base of their status and identity.

Yet nowhere in the colleges was there direct criticism of the Principals by this age grouping. Instead those at the church college accused 'the Church' for its lack of care and appreciation and found the principal to be 'a good friend and counsellor'. At the merger colleges the lecturers gave little thought to the role of the Principal once the appointment of the heads of department had been made. Rather they too attributed any 'poor treatment' (e.g. lack of consultation over their future) to a more general source - in their case to an erosion of values consequent on the decline of the college as a community. Moreover, they were generally vague over the role of the professional association, limiting it mainly to 'interpreting Crombie' and to safeguarding their individual personal interests.

Hence the whole 'hierarchy of needs' were applicable to this grouping. Appropriately, they felt most keenly that of 'self-actualisation' and those who advanced or developed their careers were highly satisfied in this respect. The others found solace on this score through accepting no responsibility for their position (e.g. the determinative influence of the

career contingency of age or their special vulnerability to the implications of political and administrative policies), or through exercising a choice over if and when they would 'voluntarily' accept redundancy. In these ways involuntary change for this grouping was simultaneously eufunctional and dysfunctional; indeed, individuals themselves sometimes confessed that they viewed it with mixed feelings. As one of them said, 'I could stay (plenty of challenge); I could go (plenty of other things to do); I don't mind living with this sort of uncertainty'.

#### 55 and Over

For this grouping there was no doubt that 'the end was at hand'; several of them had been preparing for retirement in any case and the Crombie provision made the prospect more alluring (especially for those with health problems). However, there was a marked difference between the closure and merger situations. In the former the lecturers knew that there was no alternative and accordingly accepted it 'with good grace'. The merger situation was different: there was a degree of continuity between past and present and many of these older lecturers had been instrumental in achieving the new form and arrangements. Accordingly it was hard for many of them to accept that they were now dispensable. These tended to stay on particularly if they were given an advisory role but even in the odd

case in a purely supernumerary capacity.

Yet most of the grouping adopted a policy of leaving at the first available moment and their dominant concern became that they should do so in a dignified manner. Nonetheless, it was not uncommon for them to think that their professional commitment had become under-rated and was insufficiently appreciated. But 'philosophical' attitudes prevailed to the extent where questions of the roles of Principals and professional associations became irrelevant.

The crucial factor for this age grouping appears to be that for the first time in both situations status passage was strictly in solo terms (retirement meant that each one would have to go his own way). Yet the ironic twist here is that individuals were helped to accept and shape their solo passages through their group experiences. Thus at the church college all 4 lecturers knew that the 'others were in the same boat' and in the merger colleges the departure of 16 of their colleagues at the end of the first year not only made a similar prospect for those who remained less daunting but also clarified the procedures for them.

### Conclusion

In comparing and contrasting involuntary change in the two situations we have seen that it can result

in both career gains and losses, although the age groupings in the two situations differ in this respect. The crucial difference, however, appears to be the composition of the passagees grouping which that change entails. In the closure situation it is of a solo kind whereas in the merger situation it is of both aggregate and (primarily) collective kinds. Hence the structure of control varies between <sup>the</sup> two situations. For the individual lecturer, the primary reference in the closure situation is to his family and here the notion of household career (and commitment) takes on new significance for him (at status and identity levels). In the merger situation the primary reference is to colleagues but other features of the lecturers' life plan (especially those relating to leisure) take on new significance (for purposes of personal stability as well as satisfaction).

Yet for all of them broad institutional arrangements such as prolonged duration of the status passage and the limitation of its effects in vital areas such as financial income were decisive in minimising the adverse consequences of involuntary change. Moreover, in the particular situations other specific institutional arrangements served a similar purpose (e.g. policies over secondment and 'temporary

promotions,<sup>215</sup>).

However, our analysis clearly reveals that lecturers in the merger situation were far more cushioned than in the closure situation. This was because career questions for them were mainly concerned with the style of their career whereas in the closure situation career structure was the vital issue. Moreover, even when in their case questions of both career structure and style arose, their ability to negotiate locally (at a collective level) as well as having a degree of continuity of former organisational structures and styles (not to mention a physical location of work) contributed to this 'cushioning'. Furthermore, individuals themselves could resist change more easily in those conditions.

Thus our empirical investigation confirms in qualified terms that 'professionals are looked after' and that 'professionals can look after themselves'. We can now turn to the theoretical and practical implications and applications of these (refined) propositions.

215. In all the colleges, lecturers found such promotions to be a source of status gratification. Even though the appointments were 'pro tem' and often unpaid, the lecturers could at least lay claim to esteemed titles. Moreover, they could derive satisfaction from the recognition of their capability - as one of them said, 'At least it shows I have done my job well'.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL  
IMPLICATIONS AND APPLICATIONS

The reorganisation of the colleges of education is an instance of social change and accordingly is such a vast subject that it is difficult to know where to begin. As with all cases of social change it raises questions of cause, direction, mechanisms and effects at all levels of social structure from societal to individual, and, more particularly, of the description and explanation of the connections between these levels. Consequently any study of the reorganisation of the colleges must be an ambitious enterprise. It requires not only the choice of concepts and hypotheses which will expose and clarify vital elements and factors but also the development of themes and construction of models which will enable description and examination of the structure of their relation.

To this end we chose the concept of professional career and centred our attention on the question of its involuntary change within the context of the reorganisation of the colleges. Our argument was that a study of what would commonly be thought of as a contradiction in terms would throw wide open many of the issues of sociological interest raised by the reorganisation of the colleges. However at the same time we sought to restrict our range of interest in those

issues by contending that the adverse consequences of such involuntary change could be minimised simply because they were professional careers (thereby supporting to some extent the popular view that professionals are looked after as well as are able to look after themselves). Accordingly, our major concern became this process of minimisation or amelioration which in our view was based on and bounded by the structure of control of the change of professional careers. Thus the study pivoted on questions of the origins, courses and limits of career change in a bureaucratic profession.

Nonetheless, in as far as these could neither be posed nor answered apart from other questions of political, social and (group and individual) professional change, the study produced more than a simple revision or elaboration of the notion of career. Instead it supplied a range of information on and insight into occupational and organisational change, and refined as well as illustrated a number of concepts allied to that of career. Perhaps the major theoretical and practical contribution of this study, however, lay in the construction of a model of the structure of control of change in professional careers because on the one hand it indicated and analysed current trends in professionalisation and on the other it indicated and suggested to professional groups and individuals how they themselves might manage and cope with involuntary

change of their own careers. In this way the particular focus of this study on the reorganisation of the colleges may be said to contribute both theoretically to the sociology of professions and practically to national, local and individual policies concerned with 'planning' and managing change of professional careers.

Already we have advanced as a guide for empirical investigation a range of propositions relating to control of career change in a bureaucratic profession, and we will discuss and assess them when we examine this study's contribution to sociological theory and its practical application. First, however, we will explore and assess the matters we have mentioned by noting the study's supplementation of existing sociological information, and its illustration and refinement of sociological concepts.

### Sociological Information

In the course of this research we not only utilised a great deal of existing sociological information but we gathered some items of it ourselves. In the context of our study this related to the subjects of professions, organisational and occupational change, and the planning and management of change. The major items in each respect are as follows:



(a) On Professions:

Freidson noted (1971, p.7) that 'We have very little systematic empirical information about most of the professions'. This study helps to supply that lack especially in the relatively unexplored field of professional training schools. In this respect the study supplies information not only on the profession of college of education lecturers as a whole, but also on the organisational units (colleges) of their profession in particular.

At the college level this study supplements information we already have on the development and organisation of colleges (e.g. Shipman, 1969; Warwick, 1975; Nias, 1975) and particularly when they are subject to reorganisation (Newton et. al., 1975). On the latter score the study examines a later stage of the reorganisation process than that conducted by any other study. Hence, new insights have been gained.

The major one here has been the stress on the colleges as units of a profession. This has not only denied the common assumption that the college lecturers are segmented into academics and practitioners (because we identified a grouping which straddled these two work orientations) but more especially has thrown light on the local organisation of the profession. Here we noted how external relations with university

and state (particularly its local authority representatives) are vital to the structure and standing of the college and that its own internal relations are of secondary importance in those respects.

More generally, this study supplied new information on the incorporation of the professional training school in the public sector of higher education, and on the effects of this on the organisation, orientation, scope and style of the professional segmentation because with the removal of academic subject teaching from education faculties in polytechnics, this gives further impetus to the existing tendency to emphasise divisions between academic knowledge and professional practice within the subject of education itself (we will return to this matter shortly).

(b) On Organisational Change

Already there is an immense literature on this subject but the specific contribution of this study was on such change within a professional setting. Moreover, an additional distinction was that this change was mainly concerned with a professional group's resistance and adaptation to externally initiated and imposed change.

Thus new information is available on the colleges as pressure groups and of particular interest here is their relation to the state. Hence, the basis, form and tactics of their 'negotiation' varies according to whether they are state or voluntary colleges. Clearly the voluntary colleges can be restricted to moral and professional arguments which are ineffective compared with the economic and political arguments of the state colleges.

In connection with such negotiation and bargaining powers, the study supplied information on the role of 'management' and 'unions', once more in a professional setting. Of interest here was the role of the college principals, especially the composition and style of their leadership (we noted, for instance, that with the increasing bureaucratisation of the colleges, the principal tended to favour a cabinet or cabal type of college leadership). Of particular interest was a changing emphasis from instrumental to expressive aspects of that leadership during reorganisation. On the role of the professional association we marked a move in the other direction, from expressive to instrumental. Reorganisation plainly accelerated a tendency towards unionisation. At the same time we saw once more the process of localisation in play - here it was the union's negotiating powers. Clearly it had little influence at an aggregate level

on the direction of the profession but obviously it was of importance at collective (as college 'spokesman') and individual (as a lecturer's adviser and advocate) levels.

(c) On Occupational Change:

A unique feature of this study is that it is the first to examine involuntary change in professional careers during the period of contraction of a profession. Thus its special contribution to occupational change is its examination of the response of professionals to reorganisation. Here the key item is the charting of policies which individuals devise and adopt when faced with redundancy or reorganisation. The new insight consists of the repudiation of simple lists of responses (e.g. those of Johns, 1973 and Sofer, 1970). Instead it is clear that categorisation and charting of responses must take account of both the occupational context and the social characteristics of those involved. In the latter respect the most vital variable by far is that of the chronological age of the individual and, then next in line, that of professional commitment.

Hence this study was illustrative of major occupational trends in our society. These include the far more precarious position of high status employees contingent on reorganisation of occupations and

occupational units. The precariousness arises from not only the reduction of size of such categories/units but also the adoption of new strategies to overcome career problems in that situation. Thus in order to provide optimum career opportunities a policy of early retirement has been introduced. But the primary outcome of this study for understanding careers is a far stronger emphasis on their age specification. Plainly those of middle-age and over are now not only at considerable disadvantage regarding career advancement but are also at high risk regarding career security.

(d) On Planning and Managing Change:

While the college lecturers as a whole had little control over what was happening to them, they were able to influence events at group and individual levels. This study gave information on that score, concentrating particularly on the lecturers' perception of and participation in the implementation of such change. The major contribution here was in respect of the lines and extent of their control in this process (centring on our main thesis of 'the minimisation of adverse consequences').

Hence, overall, additional or new sociological information from this study can be summarised in terms of what has been/is happening to professional careers.

Illustration and Refinement of Sociological Concepts

In view of our preoccupation with the notion of career and especially with its change, the main concepts which have concerned us are those associated with the analysis and understanding of the control of career change, namely, role set, situational adjustment, cooling out the mark, and status passage. We will comment on these prior to a further look at the concept of career itself.

1. Concepts Relating to Career Change

a. Role Set:

The particular aspect of Merton's notion of role set which was illustrated by this study was his 'mechanisms of articulation', especially those relating to 'intensity of role involvement' and 'differences in power'. In these respects we found it necessary to distinguish among the most involved and influential between primary and secondary 'role partners'. The distinction itself is related to the direction, form and state of change as can be seen in the following scheme:

PRIMARY ROLE RELATIONSHIPS

SECONDARY ROLE RELATIONSHIPS

Colleagues

Family

Principal

Professional Association

mainly in the merger situation where

very important everywhere but predominantly

his role varied between controller

its legal function and safeguarding

collective sources of individual identities were crucial.

so in the closure situation, but there the relative importance of wife and children was dependent on stage of life-cycle of individual lecturers.

and counsellor depending on the stage and direction of reorganisation. Counsellor was heavily emphasised in later stages of the closure situation.

of individual's interests were important everywhere, but so also was its contribution to group identity where this was integral to power relations.

b. Situational Adjustment

The study reinforced Becker's view that change is primarily aimed at a group or on a collective level and that the process of adjustment is dependent on the character of the situation. This was illustrated by both differing responses of the lecturers in the closure and merger situations and also by the universal reluctance to embark on solitary change except where this was unavoidable. Career security and maintenance of personal identity were clearly regarded as group matters in the first instance. Individual preferences and decisions were accordingly shaped and framed in collective terms and these themselves were arrived at on the basis of the exigencies and contingencies of the situation.

c. Cooling out the Mark

Goffman used the idea in relation to an individual's loss of status, but we found that it could be extended to a group situation as well. Indeed, this was the

primary focus in the colleges where status questions were invariably dealt with at a collective level - even in the church college where the principal did engage in individual counselling, his main emphasis was on perserving staff morale. Thus in the merger situation a series of public relations exercises (written and verbal) were mounted seemingly for morale purposes.<sup>216</sup>

Hence, 'cooling out the mark' was conducted on a general level and among the strategies used was that of giving the appearance of control through policies of secondment in the closure situation, advisory roles in the merger situation, and voluntary redundancy/early retirement in both situations. Largely, however individuals as such were given little help and often were not consulted let alone counselled about loss of status. Their reaction was to produce defensive ideologies centring on the proposition of 'it's not my own fault'. Nonetheless, many did accept the 'cooling out' process at the collective level with references to 'We're all in the same boat' and "Others are worse off than us'.

216. They culminated in a letter from the (acting) Dean of the Education Faculty in December, 1978 when he wrote to all staff: 'To thank each and everyone of you most sincerely for the unstinted cooperation, tenacity of purpose and never-failing cheerfulness which you have displayed in creating and developing the Faculty ... '.



d. Status Passage:

Unquestionably the concept of status passage afforded the greatest help in this research for understanding the involuntary change of lecturers' careers. Consequently it is the 'assisting' concept which this study most fully illustrates and refines. We will select the chief features of it in these respects.

i. the property of voluntary or involuntary:

Involuntariness was understood as the involvement of passagee(s) in the outcome of decisions which they themselves neither initiated nor finally controlled. Hence we developed the idea of welcome and unwelcome aspects which were broadly linked to the expansion and contraction of the colleges respectively. However, these links were not exclusive because expansion may be unwelcome as well as welcome (e. g. through the loss of community values and practices on account of increased size of colleges), and, contrarily, contraction may be welcome as well as unwelcome (e.g. 'crisis' situations may provoke and provide career advancement or lend the opportunity for early retirement).

Accordingly, while the reorganisation of the colleges was involuntary because it was state-imposed, it was not necessarily apprehended in these terms by sections, groups or individuals in the lecturers' profession. Indeed, the

lecturers generally approached the reorganisation in the sense of what they could voluntarily decide and undertake within its constraints (hence, their adherence to collective action). The question is plainly one of choice, and involuntariness in this context illustrated that this is a matter of degrees about aspects of the passage. Consequently, this property of voluntary and involuntary is closely linked to that of desirability or undesirability.

Clearly the experience of some degree of choice and control affected the apprehension of involuntariness itself. Thus while all lecturers underwent stress on account of it, not all regarded it in emergency terms and very few as crisis. This was noticeable even in the closure situation (described in the charting of the policies which those lecturers adopted) and it seemed that involuntariness only reached crisis proportions when unwelcome radical change was involved, i.e. where loss of status was virtually total and change of identity was fundamental and inescapable.

The rarity of this extreme form of involuntary change can be traced to other properties and features of the status passage itself (as follows).

ii. Duration of Passage:

Prolonged warning of change was given in both the

closure and merger situations partly because of the form of professional activities (3 or 4-year training - hence, a continuing though reducing clientele) but also because of the protracted negotiations. These lengthy discussions arose because national policies had to be translated into local terms and agreement on this had to be at least attempted among the interested parties. Thus decision-making was a slow process and subject to delaying tactics - here (local) political considerations were the major contributor. Accordingly, we noted the importance of the administrative/political ratio not only in the formulation of policies and plans but also in the rate and extent of the implementation of them.

The lecturers themselves, however, varied considerably in how they prepared for and undertook the passage, partly because they wanted to keep it at the collective level if at all possible, but also because they were uncertain of the availability and accessibility (and thereby desirability) of career destinations (and routes) for them individually. Thus the very protraction of the process tended to make them increasingly indecisive in that it promoted uncertainty and emphasised their own individual lack of control.

### iii. Control of the Passages:

While the reorganisation of the colleges was primarily an administrative exercise combining the contraction of the

size of teacher training and the reorganisation of the colleges within the binary system of higher education, it also involved political considerations at national and local levels. The local level was particularly important because once more both administrative and political considerations were involved - hence the question often was a matter of local custom and pride as well as of organisational efficiency. Thus what happened to the college lecturers heavily depended on negotiations between the DES and local authority (or voluntary organisations), even though the DES had the final say. Only where there was disjunction between national and local policies and interest could the college lecturers collectively influence the direction and course of their change.

Thus control of the status passages was primarily at the college level and individuals necessarily followed the path their college took. Hence, the destination of their college was the initial and primary determination of their career choices and decisions, not least because it basically affected the composition of their groupings.

#### iv. Composition of Passagees' Groupings:

After the publication of the White Paper it was clear that the college lecturers would be involved in an aggregate status passage. The development and implementation of that policy shifted the passage to collective or solo levels, largely depending on whether

colleges survived or were closed. Hence in our study we noted:

Closure College:

solo passages for all, even though individual decisions were sometimes based on the experience of colleagues. The nearest to a collective passage was that of the oldest age grouping (over 55s) for whom no choice but retirement was possible.

Merger Colleges:

Collective passages initially for all. These were based on divisions along the lines of crude professional segmentation (academic subject and professional training orientations) but we have seen that adjustments had to be made for some of those who straddled the two and especially those with a strong wish to remain in their former place of work. However, as rationalisation

of the merger progressed so solo passages were introduced and these were based primarily on the age of lecturers, with the oldest lecturers mainly affected. Indeed, as with the closure situation the common expectation and lack of alternatives were such that they comprised a 'retirement' collective passage.

The vital consideration of the age of the lecturers points to a major omission in Glaser and Strauss' scheme. The composition of passagees' groupings in this case while generally dependent on the destination of the colleges were more specifically organised on the basis of the stage of life-cycle of the passagees. These stages not only produced collective passages but influenced the policies and methods of those undertaking solo passages. Thus 'age' affected the shape of the passages.

v. Shape of the Passages:

The crucial question over the shaping of passages is who does it and the major agents for individual lecturers were undeniably their wives and families,

although where collective passages were undertaken, colleagues remained a major influence. On the family side, the 'age' of the lecturer was important not only for his stage of the life-cycle but equally for the stage of his family life-cycle. When for instance, the two did not fit the 'normal' pattern (e.g. he was old with young children), the family stage proved to be an over-riding consideration. In any event the stage of children's schooling was a key factor in career decisions.

Hence, the importance of the family was seen not only in restricting the choice of career destinations and thereby producing resistance to unwelcome ones, but also in reinforcing commitment to existing career pathways. This latter influence was pronounced where husbands/wives were also teachers. In their case there existed a household professional commitment which in turn affected the centrality of the passage.

vi. Centrality of the Passage:

The degree of development of professional commitment plainly rested on the household factor combined with length of service (both meant that considerable career 'investments' had been made). However, for many of the lecturers, especially those orientated to professional training, their commitment was not so much to the profession as a whole as to their college in particular. The centrality of the passage for them must be understood in that context. Indeed, this was the other

major omission of Glaser and Strauss who ignored the social context of the status passage and not least its local aspects.

From such observations it is clear that involuntary change of professional careers as an instance of status passage throws into question Glaser and Strauss's contention that in modern industrial societies the burden of articulating many if not most of an individual's status passages is placed on the individual himself. Clearly they ignore the role of the state. For in this study, even in the extreme case of the church college, the individual is heavily supported by institutional provisions (e.g. Crombie Code and secondment policies). In this way the professional looks after himself in the context of being looked after. However, this may be no more than a further omission of Glaser and Strauss who did not consider the general status of those involved in status passages.

In the light of these comments on 'assisting' concepts, we can now take a new look at the concept of career itself.

## 2. The Concept of Career

In general this study both confirms and elaborates many of the major elements commonly associated with career. At the same time it distinguishes some of them as of prime importance,



especially those of commitment and contingencies, but most of all the age stratification of careers. Refinements which the study introduces are the distinction of career structure and style, the notion of household career and particularly that careers should be approached in terms of their social and occupational contexts. In the light of the findings of this study some doubt is cast on the definition of career as 'a dialogue between private plans and public expectations'.

A major theme which emerged early in our study of the careers of the college lecturers was a distinction between their career structure and style<sup>217</sup>. It was pronounced in their case because of a disjunction between the two aspects largely on account of a rapid change of structure which had not been matched by changes in style. Hence, while their career ladder itself had been changed twice in little over a generation, the lecturers continued to style themselves on traditional values associated with a collegiate form of organisation

217. This in itself indicates the complexity of the question of control of careers and exposes the over-simplification of categorisations of careers based on an either 'in control' or 'under control' approach (e.g. Seeley's distinction between 'made' and 'taken' careers, 1967, pp.382-9).

(approximating as nearly as possible to cloistered Oxbridge) and based on a philosophy of 'social and literary romanticism'.

The distinction itself, however, was always apparent in the contrasting attitudes and stances they took towards their career structures and styles. Generally they were passive over the structural aspects at both national and local levels (the tendency was to act deferentially towards the Principal in the latter case), whereas they were highly active over the style of their careers. These approaches and interests were reflected in the activities of their professional association, ATCDE, which approximated to a study association (and in any case its policies were heavily influenced by its Principals' Panel).

The strong emphasis on career style was possible because of the ideology and organisation of the college lecturers themselves. Hence their view of professional training as involving the whole person and thereby dependent on close personal relationships (with colleagues and students), together with the monotechnic function of their colleges and their organisational isolation, all combined to produce and support their conception of the colleges as communities. With the further aid of the residential principle, they sought to give the colleges home-like qualities, reflected in the carefully tended surrounds of the colleges as well as in

the tasteful decoration of furnishing within the colleges themselves.

Moreover, their emphasis on close relationships and their common bond in the practice of teacher training meant that they organised themselves both privately (often they had individual tutorial rooms) and communally (their many social events centred on the senior common room association, but were also expressed in day-to-day 'civilised living' e.g. tea during meetings). Accordingly, lecturers developed highly sentimental attachments to their colleges, although they tended to view these in terms of professional service ideals. Hence, for many of them the major career loss they experienced during the reorganisation was in terms of career style, mainly because much of their sense of and claim to autonomy were associated with it. One consequence was a heightened awareness of the duality implicit in a bureaucratic profession - up to this point their career style had minimised or avoided the dilemmas it poses (e.g. over questions of status maintenance and career consistency). We shall return to this matter shortly, but we can note in passing that the stress on career style also produces an unquestioning attitude towards matters of career structure and this ill equips groups and individuals to deal with problems of career crisis.

In view of this distinction between structure

and style, it is clear that this study reinforced the view that career should be regarded in objective and subjective terms (although the objective side predominates), provided that these are also seen at national, local and individual levels. Hence in the case of the college lecturers the following analysis applies. (see next page).

In subjective terms these features of career structure and style become:

National	College lecturers as a whole	Apprehension of professionalism
Local	Lecturers-individual college	Sense of collegiate identity
Individual	Lecturer	Assumption of career continuity and development

As far as the great majority of lecturers were concerned the crucial component in these schemes was the local (physical and institutional) sphere and setting of their careers. It was here (in the college) that their professionalism was realised and their careers were shaped and controlled. Thus their careers were apprehended in two ways:

CAREER AS OBJECTIVE REALITY

Level of Structure	Career Structure		Career Style	
	Basis and Form	Major Providing/ promoting bodies/agent	Basis and form	Major providing/ promoting bodies/agent
National	College of Education regulations, Burnham scales.	DES	Common values/norms of the colleges	Developed by colleges independently but partly promoted by professional association.
Local	Distribution of status grades; Appointments and promotions	LEA (governing body); Principal (Academic Board)	College as a community	colleagues
Individual	Career plans and strategies	Self; Principal	Commitment and thereby focus of life-style	Self; family

a. their careers were localised: this was partly because they were directly affected in terms of both structure and style at that level. Hence, career definitions, expectations, satisfactions and aspirations were in that social context. However, another contributory factor may have been their occupational origins and history because school teachers generally tend to be 'locals'. We will comment further on this matter shortly but a possible line of future study would be to trace what happens to 'cosmopolitan' professionals when they are appointed to such places of work. From our own study it appeared that the (very few) 'cosmopolitans' considered that reorganisation had effectively localised them. All the same, most lecturers were localised already and accordingly their career commitment was to a specific task and to a particular set of colleagues and organisation.

b. career change occurred for them in that context: in as far as groups rather than individuals are invariably the target and medium of change, it was only radical change at the college level that called into question the career affairs of individual lecturers or made them doubt their career assumptions.

Where 'localised' careers were basically affected, however, the key issues for the individual became those of career contingencies and career commitment.

a. Contingencies: organisational change revealed the two-edged nature of career norms (e.g. longevity of experience, specificity of function, and hierarchically ordered occupational position). Thus while there was organisational stability, these norms underpinned assumptions about career continuity, security and even advancement, but when organisational change occurred, these same norms frequently became disabling factors e.g. too long in the job, too narrowly specialised, and too senior in status.

Hence the crucial variable, as we have already noted, is that of age. Organisational change which involves career change centres on this variable, thus confirming Sofer's definition of career in terms of age-graded stratification.

b. Commitment: this issue is closely tied to that of contingencies again on account of the key factor of age. In this instance age is related to length of service in a particular location (thus obviating the desire for, let alone restricting the physical capacity for career mobility), and also the stage of the family life-cycle. The latter as we previously noted is of particular importance both in regard to the stage of the children's schooling and also of the husband/wife's occupation. Indeed, as far as the individual lecturer's career commitment was concerned the fact of the spouse's occupation had clear practical, emotional and moral

implications especially where it corresponded to his or her own. In this case, not only did he/she receive the customary support of the family when one is in a critical situation, but the spouse's particular knowledge and empathy helped to legitimate the commitment and encouraged the pursuit of career objectives. Hence some lecturers were able mainly on this score not only to avoid career 'retreat' but more especially to achieve career 'advance'.

Thus we noted in many instances not so much a personal professional commitment as an household professional commitment and this in turn led us to the notion of household career<sup>218</sup>. Frequently we observed that career was not simply a matter for the 'head' of the household but rather it was a family concern, and thereby included both the children's schooling and the spouse's occupation. Indeed, in as far as this was

218. In this way we extended the Rapoport's analysis (1971) of 'dual career families' by stressing the mutual involvement of husbands and wives in each others' careers, especially where both of them were college lecturers. However, the high degree of this involvement may have been a function of career uncertainty produced by reorganisation of the colleges (and thereby of a temporary character). Nonetheless, it was clear that generally the married women's careers were accorded equal importance to those of their husbands both by themselves and within their families.



frequently the lecturers' dominant concern and interest, this study confirmed the Pahls' view that it is the relation of career and family (rather than career alone) which is of crucial importance to the middle class. However we did not see this relation as necessarily that of tension, often there was coherence, coordination and cooperation. Perhaps this in itself is another factor in making individuals take their careers for granted and thereby it may account for the lack of career planning.

In fact to revert to the Pahls' definition of career as 'a dialogue between private plans and public expectations', we found very little evidence of career planning. For most of the lecturers it was only when reorganisation directly affected them personally that any such planning occurred and even then there was considerable delay in taking decisions and in some cases the policy was that of drift. Thus career was seldom regarded in prospective terms. Partly the problems have been structural, that is the lack of career parallels or alternatives or even of the limited possibility of switching to them. But the problem may be more fundamental because career at a subjective level is primarily retrospective in character, arising out of the development of commitment. Indeed, even when there was some indication of project (i.e. the structuring of aspirations), this as Goldthorpe et. al. (1969) noted elsewhere was usually based on 'vindication

of important choices made at some earlier stage of their economic lives<sup>219</sup>.

Nonetheless, despite such subjective features, the lecturers generally regarded their careers in objective terms. For them career was primarily an institutional arrangement. Consequently in the ordinary run of events they were not concerned about it especially as their college appointment had satisfied their major occupational aspiration (i.e. work in higher education), not to mention that for many of them the age factor (and its contingencies) curbed their expectations.

In any case they perceived the institutional setting and patterning of their careers in favourable terms in as far as these assured them of work satisfaction and career progression. Hence they developed an unquestioning attitude towards their careers although this might also be related to the type of personality which is attracted to and produced by school-teaching itself<sup>220</sup>. But whatever the case it is clear

219. This is not exactly Sartre's (1966) notion of fundamental project or original choice but it is akin to his view that 'each act is a renewed choice of project'.

220. More specifically while it has been noted that professionals generally tend to be 'immobile' (Reiss, 1955, p.699), school teachers appear to be particularly disposed this way. Thus Duggan and Stewart observed in a study of school teachers that 'domestic and local affiliations were unambiguously of greatest importance to all teachers in determining where they wished to teach', and such factors were of far less significance for other professions (1970, p.82).

that the lecturers generally gave little attention to the career 'dialogue' - as many of them remarked, even their college appointments were 'fortuitous'.

Consequently the issue did not seriously arise except where and when it was unavoidable - thus, in the merger situation career assumptions and outlooks were generally not greatly affected, except for the older age groupings.

Indeed, if we need to hammer home the point, it was the variable of age, seen objectively, which was at the root of many of the lecturers' career perceptions and decisions. For them there was no gain-saying how old they were, especially when they had reached middle-age. With few exceptions (and these in the merger situation) the rule was that increasing age diminished career prospects. Accordingly, older lecturers were the ones most radically affected by the reorganisation in as far as their limited career prospects compelled them to consider their wide life-plan rather than a career plan by itself. In turn this led several of them to divide leisure and work and many of them to define their careers along work lines only. In consequence some of them began to query their former favourable view of career.

All the same many of them retained their professional commitment in the sense of vocation. Hence they tended to stress the 'worthwhileness' of their work even when undergoing involuntary change, and in the

colleges the lecturers supported this contention through 'over-work'<sup>221</sup>. For them this was a demonstration and guarantee of their professionalism which they regarded mainly in service terms (it focussed in all the colleges on a high degree of concern for the students' welfare). But the skill-service approach to their careers was two-edged as the lecturers in the closure situation found to their cost. For while it was highly suited to a monotechnic-community setting, it was virtually non-transferable to different occupational spheres and tasks (a factor which was under-lined by the Crombie regulations).

Thus once more we return to our assertion that the concept of career may best be used and understood in terms of an objective view of occupations. Certainly it did provide for the lecturers 'a moving perspective in which a person sees his life as a whole' but it became this reference point and source of self-evaluation for them mainly during and on account of organisational and occupational change. Plainly they had relied unknowingly on structural supports for both their career assumptions and expectations (and thereby their professional status and identities). Hence, in as far as reorganisation disturbed or removed

221. Another view is that of Purvis who saw professionals as those who needed 'occupational success' as 'a sign of self-worthiness' (1973, p.45).

these, the lecturers found that their previous career evaluations were inaccurate, inapplicable, or even in some cases, unmarketable, with obvious consequences for their status and identity. Thus it was within structural change that they experienced the two-edged character of career norms, especially those associated with increasing age.

Yet even as they discovered that their own control of their careers was severely limited, so at the same time they found that their employers' and professions' policies and provisions based on age were not entirely disadvantageous to them. But this takes us to a consideration of the notion of bureaucratic profession and in that context to the question of the involuntary change of professional careers and especially the thesis of the minimisation of adverse consequences of such change on account of the structure of control, and we may do that better as a separate item and issue.

### Contributions to Sociological Theory

The main theoretical contribution of this study lies in the field of the sociology of professions<sup>222</sup>

222. A special feature of the study was its concentration on the viewpoint of practising professionals (as opposed to students or 'management' - see Dale, 1976, pp.67 and 86).

but it also has relevance to sociological theory in general<sup>223</sup>.

## 1. Sociology of Professions

We will not retrace our analysis of and argument for the college of education lecturers as a profession, rather we will identify, examine and discuss features of professionalisation raised by their case. In particular we will look at the questions raised by identifying a new (in the sense of largely unexplored) type of profession and then comment on current trends in professionalisation.

### A. Type of Profession

The case of the college lecturers throws into doubt the thesis of professional continuum, that is, that professions can be charted progressively on the basis of the stage of development of their professionalisation. For a start, the college lecturers derived their professional status not so much from their links with other teaching professions (university teachers or school teachers) as from their connections

223. An incidental but important consequence of studies such as this are their contributions to other areas of sociological interest, e.g. the process of social mobility (Tropp, 1957, p.viii). In any case they can be seen as a contribution to the sociology of work.

with the state. This was because their professional autonomy was based on the provision both of a guaranteed clientele and of physically separate work-places which were devoted solely to teacher training. Certainly the other connections buttressed their professional claim but they were not the source of it. Hence, the professional status of the college lecturers had neither proceeded from that of the school teachers nor would it develop into that of the university teachers. Indeed, rather than revealing a continuum their case instanced a caste-like system for types of professions. This is a modification of Johnson's approach who questioned the validity of a professional continuum because of differing types of occupational control, but left the door open for the construction of continua within those different types without raising the question of how they are related (we did this in terms of aspects of professionalism, see page 42 ).

Thus the college lecturers provided a significant instance of the importance of the state connection, especially in terms of state sponsorship, for the identification of types of profession. The result of the state connection itself is the emergence of the bureaucratic profession, or, more accurately, variation of types of bureaucratic profession. This is somewhat different from Wilensky's prediction that a hybrid organisation combining elements from professional and

bureaucratic models would become the typical profession in the future. The state connection is but one type of control to be found within complex organisations and produces a type of bureaucratic profession which would differ from that produced by private industry - for instance, the service ideal would very likely be far more prominent in the case of the state (on this score the state sponsored/supported type of bureaucratic profession tends to approximate to Satow's notion of value-rational organisation).

Furthermore, the case of the college lecturers denied the view that a bureaucratic profession remains professional despite its bureaucratic setting. Rather it was a matter of professionalism on account of the bureaucratic context. This was not only because of state endorsement of the lecturers' practices but also because within the state bureaucratic framework the lecturers were able to formalise their organisation and procedures in a way which was conducive to increased autonomy (that is, they were able to separate off in certain vital respects from local state dependency, interference and control). In such ways the lecturers case refuted aspects of Haug's thesis of de-professionalisation.

In any event the lecturers gave a clear example that the values and practices of bureaucracy and



professions are not antithetical to each other, and, indeed, can be combined in the context of bureaucracies of low constraint (incidentally it may well be that 'degree of constraint' could provide the basis for continua of types of bureaucratic profession as we suggested in our theoretical overview, see p.42 ). Indeed, not only was the professionalism of the lecturers barely checked or impugned through its bureaucratic setting but rather the bureaucratic-collegiate form of their organisation allowed a disjunction or lack of synchronisation between their professional structures and sentiments which enabled them to develop a distinction between career structure and style. Of course, this did not necessarily produce an 'efficient' organisation but it was 'effective' in terms of reducing conflict between bureaucracy and the claims of professional autonomy<sup>224</sup>.

Accordingly the study confirmed the views of

224. On the 'efficiency' of collegiality, Weber observed: 'collegiality obstructs the promptness of decision, the consistency of policy, the clear responsibility of the individual, and ruthlessness to outsiders in combination with the maintenance of discipline within the group'. This is quoted by Noble and Pym in their analyses of organisations with a large proportion of professionals and which exhibit 'committee control' (Noble and Pym, 1970, pp.441-2).

Johnson, Elliott, Halmos and Gyarmati that the vital consideration for understanding professions is their social context rather than any special attributes. Moreover, it supported Gyarmati's view that to attain professional status the dominant ideology of an occupational group must be congruent with and supportive of dominant ideologies in society, although it is questionable if the lecturers are an unambiguous instance of Johnson's contention that ultimately such dominant ideologies relate to 'capitalism' because the lecturers' ideology plainly had a connection also with Halmos's notion of 'state humanitarianism'. All the same the crucial issue is that of the social context and consequently the study of professions must have an historical base. We undertook this mainly in terms of the primary relations of the college lecturers, predominantly that with the state but also with the universities.

a. University connection: any hope that any occupation has of establishing a claim to professional status on the basis of knowledge monopoly must come from its university connection<sup>225</sup>. Yet although the college lecturers were connected in this way, they were mainly consumers rather than producers of theoretical knowledge and accordingly when undergoing involuntary change fell back on the technicality or skills aspect of their knowledge and practices to

225. The role of CNAA is not sufficiently developed (or free from university influence) to provide an alternative source at present.

support their claim<sup>226</sup>. Hence, despite their dependency on the universities for the validation of their courses and awards, the lecturers experienced considerable freedom in the practice of their teaching if not in its standard and context.

More particularly, as we have seen, they posited their claim on the grounds of the link of skills and service within a community context of training. Thus indeterminacy for them was not so much on a basis of knowledge monopoly as on the imitation of stylistic

226. It is outside the scope, although not the interest of this study to speculate on the professional standing of university teachers of education in the light of the reorganisation of teacher education and the colleges. The question is whether their relative immunity to what happened in the colleges was simply a matter of their university setting or if the indeterminacy of the organisation of their knowledge was a major factor (e.g. what would have happened to 'research' in education?). Indeed, in view of their (historical) position in the universities a study of the university teachers of education would advance our knowledge of professionalisation and not least elaborate some of the issues we have raised (e.g. the problem of professional continuum). Moreover, the relation of the university teachers of education and college of education lecturers raises the question of the status of teachers in professional training schools. While unquestionably they are an elite group in relation to their own occupation what is their relative standing with each other? Clearly they do not constitute a single type of profession but can they be charted on a continuum of such training schools?

aspects of the Oxbridge tradition combined with the service ideal of school-teaching. Hence, their claim of exclusivity was founded on the notion of college as a community and it was significant in the merger situation that early attempts were being made to reconstruct elements of this approach within the new form of organisation. Indeed, their experience gives urgency to the debate about the nature of educational institutions<sup>227</sup>.

(b) State connection: professional status was accorded to the college lecturers by the state through its own provision and allocation of a guaranteed clientele. The provision itself was, of course, a constraint in as far as it affected the size and funding of the colleges and in the latter respect the lecturers were further constrained because it was administered by the local authority. Thus in administrative terms the lecturers were subject to degrees and aspects of control from both central and local government but this did not extend to their academic teaching and professional training. In these respects they were given, subject to

227. Porter in a review of recent studies on higher education observed that all of them were concerned on this issue and he suggests that we may still need 'the kind of institutional coherence, warmth and romantic infrastructure that characterised the old colleges of education'. (1977, p.82).

the constraints of university requirements, a relatively free hand to organise and undertake these practices.

Thus the lecturers were granted professional 'freedom' but only within the state's own 'freedom' to provide a guaranteed clientele. Accordingly, the ultimate issue raised by the reorganisation of the colleges is the limitation of state sponsorship. Of course, political issues were involved in this case but so too were demographic and economic trends. Under these constraints the state was impelled to contract teaching training. Thus the freedom of operation of a bureaucratic profession while dependent in the first instance on state sponsorship is ultimately subject to the limitations of that sponsorship which may well be outside state control.

However, this is always the case and more urgent is how the state arranges and implements the variations in its sponsorship. Once more we will not retrace our steps but it would be helpful to understanding what happens to a bureaucratic profession to note that broad social, economic and political constraints are placed on the state even in the implementation of its policies.

In this case they would include:

- i. a current high level of unemployment and a reluctance to increase it, together with a tendency to ameliorate the position of those facing redundancy. The latter factor was not only the subject of state legislation but was rapidly becoming the practice of private industry towards its senior management (e.g. in policies of early retirement).
  
- ii. the precedent of local government reorganisation: the irony of this situation was that not only did the local government reorganisation provide a favourable opportunity to reorganise the colleges but at the same time it gave a precedent and means of favourable treatment to those affected by reorganisation (the Crombie regulations for the colleges were very similar to those used in the local government reorganisation).
  
- iii. the introduction of the binary system on political grounds: this gave the impetus to and scope for greater administrative change than was necessitated by demographic change alone.
  
- iv. general considerations of social class especially the customary favour accorded to professionals. The question is the political acceptability of adverse treatment of professionals.

Such matters raise the subject of trends in professionalisation.

B. Trends in Professionalisation

The experience of the college lecturers throws into question theses of professionalisation and of de-professionalisation. Thus, Wilensky's typical sequence of professionalisation is at best inadequate mainly because it omits the crucial importance of the state connection (see also Fielding, 1978, p.289). Moreover, Haug's thesis of de-professionalisation on the grounds of the bureaucratisation of professional practice is equally suspect because while bureaucratisation occurred in the case of the college lecturers their indeterminacy remained. The only change was in the focus of indeterminacy which switched to the skills-service aspect of professional training within a 'community' setting. The argument of the lecturers was that teacher training is moral as well as technical, hence their stress on community values, relations and practices.

Thus contraction of the profession and reorganisation of its occupational context neither ended nor invalidated its professionalism. Rather its main effect was to change the segmentation of the profession (thus endorsing Satow's analysis of 'value-rational organisation'). This we noted had been along the

lines of academic subject teaching and professional training and included a segment which straddled the two. Reorganisation transformed this situation especially where mergers with polytechnics took place. There the academic/professional division remained but became restricted to the subject of education itself. Moreover, where colleges with different training interests were merged further segmentation of the local unit of profession occurred (e.g. between those engaged in training for schools and for further education). Hence even without data on other forms of reorganisation it is clear from the study of the merger situation that reductions and reorganisation can advance professional segmentation.

In such ways the college lecturers provide indicators for trends in professionalisation. However, it is clear that they should be regarded more as an ideal type than as a prototype, and, indeed, even this approach needs to be treated cautiously because of the limitations of this study (e.g. we have not covered the many forms of reorganisation of the colleges).

Nonetheless, the study does raise a question of immense importance for professions today. This is not so much Goode's limits of professionalisation as the limits of planned change of bureaucratic professions.



Here the interest centres on the basis of the professionals negotiating position as well as on their negotiating strategies and tactics. The college lecturers showed that this negotiating position was based not only on indeterminacy (i.e. the technical/indeterminacy ratio of the organisation of knowledge) but also on the administrative/political ratio of their bureaucratic context (this was particularly apparent where central and local government were not in agreement). At the least such 'bargaining powers' enable the professionals concerned to minimise the adverse consequences of the involuntary change which they undergo. Hence, the duality of the bureaucratic profession is important for an understanding of the form, direction and course of its change.

All of this, of course, comes down to the question of the structure of control of a bureaucratic profession and the main theoretical contribution of this study lies in this area. The model we constructed and the propositions we developed in relation to it provide the device and broad guidelines for an examination of the determination of the causes, courses and consequences of change in professions and specially in professional careers. Indeed, the particular usefulness of the model is as a heuristic device for examining

and understanding how and in what ways professional careers change and how far that change can go.

## 2. Sociological Theory

The sociological interest finally rests on the contingencies of human life and its main question, therefore, is the relation of the individual and society<sup>228</sup>. The sociological problem here (though is to go beyond approaches to this relation to actual knowledge and explanations of it (Bernstein, 1975, p.156). Clearly this study does not meet this theoretical lack but it does give description and some indications of features of the structure of this relation. Indeed, this is the primary justification of the concept of career itself<sup>229</sup> which is not only intermediary to such levels or dimensions of social structure and individual experience but delineates the intermediary

228. Variously expressed as the relation of phenomenological knowledge and structuralism, the relation of subjective and objective reality, and the relation of social reality and individual existence in history (e.g. Berger and Luckmann, 1967, pp.207-11).

229. Thus Everett Hughes asserted, 'A study of careers - of the moving perspective in which persons orient themselves with reference to the social order and of the typical sequences and concatenations of office - may be expected to reveal the nature and 'working constitution' of a society'. (1958, p.413).

level itself (e.g. as exemplified in our references to the localisation of career). Hence, career, on the basis of this study and especially if viewed in a contradictory sense as in our notion of involuntary change of professional careers, gives the orientation, means and scope for exploring matters of sociological interest.

This was seen, for instance, in our thesis on 'the minimisation of adverse consequences' where we at least described the relation of individual biography and institutional orders. Moreover, in as far as the examination of the thesis exposed factors and processes which in the context of reorganisation reduced and checked as well as promoted and enlarged aspects of disturbance and loss, we explored as well as described that relation (e.g. in functional terms alone we noted how eufunctional elements were juxtaposed with dysfunctional ones thus indicating the complexity of the relation).

On these theoretical grounds alone, therefore, this study may be seen as a justification for the re-instatement of career as a significant sociological concept<sup>230</sup>. However, in as far as the proof of the pudding is in the eating, what is the practical application of the knowledge we have gained from the use of this concept?

230. For details of its hey-day in the thought and practice of 'the Chicago School' see Dale (1976).

### Practical Applications

The applications of the study are restricted by the limitations of it. For example, it referred to a distinct type of profession and was concerned empirically with a restricted sample of the members of that profession. On the other hand the sample was exhaustively examined and the subject itself was topical in that both organisations and individuals are undergoing aspects of change corresponding to that of the college lecturers. The most obvious examples must be in the schools themselves where the reduced number of pupils are beginning to affect the security of the secondary school teachers. Nor is the study irrelevant to other state sponsored professions particularly where they are organised on a local basis e.g. in large (mental?) hospitals. Most of all the study is applicable to teachers in professional training schools, especially those outside the universities.

Moreover, on this general level the study provides data which can be used for comparative and reference purposes by political and professional leaders e.g. on the unionisation of a professional association. More specifically it provides data for planners of change, that is, both those who initiate and those who implement it.

The crucial information, however, is on careers

and the managing of them. This, of course, is of wide interest but perhaps to no one more than the individual exposed to involuntary change. Here the study is highly practical because while it endorses slogans such as 'united we stand', it questions commonsense policies such as 'keep your options open' and 'delay as long as you can'. In this regard it raises the general questions of consultation and counselling (conspicuously absent but often desired and required in the colleges we studied).

Accordingly the experience of these lecturers and especially the analysis of their experience should assist policy making and decision taking for both organisations and individuals when they contemplate or are confronted with career change.

#### Future Study

Plainly this study is incomplete even within its own limited range of interest and investigation. Further research is necessary to gain a full picture of the implications and applications of our thesis. Of considerable importance would be what happens to the younger lecturers from the church college when they complete their secondment. Equally it is necessary to follow up the lecturers in the merger situation in order to gain knowledge of career change during its full-cycle, that is, not only the stages of initiation and

and implementation, but also that of its routinisation (see Hage and Aiken, 1970, p.31).

Secondly, further empirical study is clearly required of the state connection of professions, for as Fielding has remarked this may well be 'the key variable in the understanding of professions in the late twentieth century' (1978, p.324)<sup>231</sup>.

Finally, our model and propositions should be 'tested' in other professional contexts where involuntary change is proposed or being enacted. This would not only indicate the validity and usefulness of this theoretical device but more especially would give grounds for an assessment of our contention that career warrants reinstatement as an important sociological concept.

231. The new approach that this would give to the notion of professional continuum, together with recent empirical data on professions could provide the basis and means for a revision and up-dating of Carr- Saunders and Wilson's (1933) classic study of professions.

APPENDIX I

ANALYSES OF STAFF IN FOUR COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

ANALYSIS OF STAFF AT CHURCH COLLEGE, AUGUST, 1975

AGE GROUPING	EDUCATION DEPARTMENT												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENT												TOTAL	NO. INTERVIEWED
	GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE							
	MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN				
	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL		
Under 40	2	1											4	8	1	3	1		1			1			22	21
40-49			2	1	1						1			7	2	1	1			4					20	18
50-54								1		1					2		1			1					6	5
55 and over															3					1					4	1
TOTAL	2	1	2	1	1			1		1	1		4	15	8	4	3		1	6		1			52	
NO. INT-ERVIEWED	2	1	2	1				1		1	1		4	15	5	4	2		1	4		1				45



ANALYSIS OF STAFF AT LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLEGE, AUGUST 1977

AGE GROUPING	EDUCATION DEPARTMENT												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENT												TOTAL	NO. INTERVIEWED
	GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE							
	MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN				
	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL		
Under 40	1	1		3	1					1			7	6			1					1			22	7
40-49	1	1	3				1						2	16	10	1	3	1					2		41	15
50-54			1							1				3	4				1				3		13	6
55 and over			1								1			1	2				2	1			1		9	4
TOTAL	2	2	5	3	1		1			2	1		9	26	16	1	4	1		3	1	1	6		85	
NO. INT-INTERVIEWED	1	1	3	1	1					1			2	7	6		2	1		1	1	1	3			32

ANALYSIS OF STAFF AT DAY COLLEGE, AUGUST 1977

AGE GROUPING	EDUCATION DEPARTMENT												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENT												TOTAL	NO. INTERVIEWED			
	GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE										
	MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN							
	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL					
Under 40		1			1								2	1		2												7	5
40-49		3	1		1			1	1		1			7	3		1	1							1	1	22	6	
50-54		1						1						2	1												5	3	
55 and over		1	1					1			1			1	1		2										8	3	
TOTAL		6	2		2			3	1		2			2	11	5	2		3	1					1	1	42		
NO. INT-ERVIEWED		4	2		2			1						1	3	1	1		1							1		17	

ANALYSIS OF STAFF AT TECHNICAL TEACHERS' COLLEGE, AUGUST, 1977

AGE GROUPING	EDUCATION DEPARTMENT *												ACADEMIC SUBJECT DEPARTMENT												TOTAL	NO. INTERVIEWED			
	GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE						GRADUATE						NON-GRADUATE										
	MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN			MEN			WOMEN							
	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL	LII	SL	PL					
Under 40	3	3			1		1	2	2	1																		13	6
40-49		11	2					3	1		1																	18	4
50-54		4	2						1																			7	2
55 and over			3			1			3																			7	3
TOTAL	3	18	7		1	1	1	5	7	1	1																	45	
NO. INT-INTERVIEWED	2	3	5			1		1	2		1																		15

\* In that no subject teaching as such took place here all staff are included in the Education Department.

APPENDIX II  
INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

Core Data (to be obtained and noted during the course of conversation).

Name

Address

Age

Marital Status

Husband/wife's occupation

Full/part time

No. of children

Their Ages

Family local connections - born locally

Yes/No

- immediate family living locally

Yes/No. Who?

Academic qualifications with dates(years)

Career biography before college appointment with dates

Career at College with dates

Membership of professional association/trade union. Which  
and when?

Membership of local organisations

Official positions in organisations

Opinion on changes in colleges generally, own college in particular and also on own career - past, present and future.

Check list on topics, themes and questions for personal interviews (no fixed order):

1. Perception of factors in national change:

What do you make of what has been happening  
in colleges of Education since about 1960?

Do you see a pattern?

What have been the influential 'forces'?

What has been the influence of ATCDE/NATFHE?

2. Perception of factors in local change:

a. What is your view of the change in the College's  
fortunes?

Any other alternative?

Who were key figures?

Can you identify stages of change - any  
critically decisive?

Did you play an active personal part in the  
process?

What will be the main effects - within college  
and in outside relations (e.g. with schools and  
other colleges)?

b. What has been/is role of:

(i) LEA/Church?

What considerations influenced their judgements?

LEA - do you distinguish between politicians and administrators in the decision-making?

Was the LEA/Church view finally critical?

Church - did the LEA influence their decision?

In what ways has the LEA/Church helped in the circumstances?

c. What has been/is the role of professional association?

Has it been/is it effective in local negotiations?

Is it of assistance in own career prospects?

Have any other staff associations been involved - as much influence as the professional association?

3. Appraisal of own career - past:

Why did you enter College? (e.g. previous experience, future aspirations).

What do you think of your career at college in such aspects as:-

type of work

conditions of work

colleague relations

promotion opportunities

When did you become aware personally that change would occur?

Who was influential in helping you to cope with change?

What factors did you take into account?

What effects did prospects of change have on attitudes - any stages? And in practical terms (e.g. application for other posts, study)

4. Appraisal of own career - present and future:

What would you have liked to have happened?

What did you consider would probably happen?

What has been your experience of change?

What effect is it likely to have:-

on personal circumstances?

on career aspirations?

5. Evaluation of the role of college lecturers:

What was your view?

Have your ideas changed?

What is your opinion now on a career in  
teacher education?



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