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PERSONAL CONSTRUCT THEORY AS A BASIS FOR A NON-DETERMINISTIC MODEL OF TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

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Introduction

In an earlier paper (Fielding, Cavanagh and Widdowson, 1978), an attempt was made to portray the developmental aspects of the pre-service teacher education experience as a process of role integration. It was assumed that the student integrates several new roles into personality in dealing with the tasks of becoming a teacher. The paper's main assertion was that the tasks could not be adequately completed unless they were accompanied by role transformations and integrations. In this paper further ideas are presented which may provide additional understanding of the process of role integration. The central theme of these ideas is that role integration is linked to psychodynamic processes through which individuals seek their own, largely idiosyncratic, means of 'presenting themselves' to others (Goffman, 1959: 238-255). If certain teaching skills and theoretical understandings aid in this process then so much the better; however, unless the individual enjoys a high degree of autonomous choice over which skills suit him personally, his actual experiences are likely to be counter-productive, both to professional development and role integration.

In the first attempt to explain the process of role integration, three role integrations were suggested as the ideal minimum of development that a teacher in initial training should attain by the end of the pre-service programme. These were:

1. The transformation of the role of secondary school student into the role of tertiary student (post-secondary college or university).
2. The development and integration of the role of novice teacher.
3. The elaboration of the role of novice teacher to include a range of subordinate roles typically associated with 'being a teacher'; for example, tutor, instructor, disciplinarian, parent substitute, etc.

As it stands, the role integration model suffers from the weakness that its conceptual base appeals, albeit unintentionally, to pejorative aspects of

applied functionalist social theory. Thus, by taking for granted the existence of an overarching value system — and one which is relatively unassailable — and by assuming that the value system retains its integrity in the practical affairs of institutions, the model favours institutionally-approved roles rather than roles invented and adopted by the person for himself.

In this paper I want to move away from an account of teacher education which endorses implicitly a form of social determinism as its guiding philosophy. The paper's value position is that teachers should be provided with sufficient institutional freedom and encouragement to allow them to make autonomous, selective responses to the tasks presented during the pre-service and in-service years. In such a setting teachers would have little inclination to resort to (maladaptive) role playing, since they would have the freedom to impress on their own emerging roles those qualities which they construe as significant to their individual style of professional development. In short, the position is taken in this paper that the onus for professional role integration ought to be understood to lie with the individual rather than the institution. The 'role' of the institution in teacher education then becomes one of creating circumstances through programme experiences which foster such individualised role integration. In the remainder of this paper, emphasis will be on the descriptive aspects of professional teacher development so that the intention is to outline a basis for a descriptive model of the process of learning how to teach and becoming a teacher in environments generally typical of English-speaking countries. Where reference is made to tasks, these are seen as prescriptive but flexible means of providing experiences which lend themselves, variously and in individually unique ways, to the construction, adoption and integration of roles which suit particular individuals.

'Role' as an Organising Concept in the Model

The concept of *role* is understood as a *construct* employed by the person in his attempts to establish, maintain, enhance and reconstruct his personal view of *self*. The three italicised terms are of central importance in Kelly's Personal Construct Theory (1955), and are used interpretively in this paper. According to Bannister and Fransella (1971:8), "A construct is a particular kind of category, particular in that it is unique to the person using it. Two people in the same situation will construe it differently; also, for any one person, constructs may change with the passage of time, depending on the person's development, mood, and so on . . ."

Thus, the role construct of 'teacher' may be seen to be "unique to the person using it." Each individual has his 'own' way of 'being a teacher', despite the fact that a group of trainee teachers may be provided with the same prescriptive teacher training content. Similarly, the design of training tasks — e.g., mastery of teaching techniques and classroom management skills — cannot be assumed as applicable, *en bloc*, to the role development needs of a group of trainees. If they are, then the outcome is likely to be one of generalised role playing among the trainees rather than authentic role integration.

Kelly (quoted in Bannister and Fransella, 1971:145) proposes that:

... the self is, considered in the appropriate context, a proper concept or construct. It refers to a group of events which are alike in a certain way and, in that same way, necessarily different from other events. The way in which the events are alike is the self. This also makes the self an individual, differentiated from other individuals. The self, having been thus conceptualised, can now be used as a thing, a datum, or an item in the context of a superordinate construct ...

An important extension of this account of self is given by Bannister and Fransella (1971:146):

Perhaps ... there is the self-as-a-construct as distinct from the self-as-an-element which has an allotted place along other construct dimensions. This self-as-construct could be that intuitive 'me-ness' or consciousness, that permeates all our life. The self-as-element is a series of specific distinctions which we make between ourselves and others in particular contexts — this self is a datum which sits somewhere along many dimensions.

In the context of the discussion of professional teacher development, 'role' will be thought of as typifying both these aspects of self. For example, the role of 'novice teacher' can be interpreted as a contribution to the intuitive 'me-ness' of the person, but also serving as a datum enabling the person to identify and make distinctions between all 'other' novice teachers and all other roles having different locations on one or more similar or different construct dimensions.

As a corollary, role as a typification of self-as-construct serves as a means of presenting that self to others; that is, as a transformational means

through which the person makes his essential 'me-ness' available, publicly and actively, in social discourse with others. Thus, role integration may be said to have occurred when the person interprets the role as a typification of "self as individual, differentiated from other individuals" and employs that role as a datum by which the self-as-construct can be differentiated from all other selves. A person, then, possesses a repertoire of roles, all of which contribute their particular and interdependent typifications of the construct of self. For example, the person who has integrated the role of novice teacher will experience that role comfortably in appropriate settings and he will recognise the interdependence between that role and all other roles comprising his personal repertoire. The extent of the interdependency between two or more roles will depend, in part, on the degree of psychological support one role is able to contribute to the other. For example, the role of 'parent', say, for a teacher who is a father or a mother, will provide support for the teacher role; the employment of one role will include, naturally and unselfconsciously, the employment of the other role.

'Role' and the Idea of a 'Stage of Development'

In seeking a basis for a descriptive model of teacher education, the idea of development seems particularly appropriate. In this section it is proposed that learning how to teach and the role integration process of becoming a teacher can be understood in terms of stages of professional teacher development. For the purposes of analysis, development is taken to occur incrementally, or in stage-related steps. It is realised that experience may be neither developmental nor incremental from the point of view of actual, experiencing persons. If these characteristics apply at all, they are more likely to be retrospective reconstructions of the meaning of past experience.

A stage of development is assumed to involve the integration of a new role or an elaborated earlier role. It is conceivable also that development may be accompanied by the abandonment or temporary suppression of an earlier role; for example, the suppression of the adolescent role by an emerging adult or the abandonment of the role of parent by someone who has suffered the loss of an only child. The following scheme outlines one way of conceptualising the process of development:

1. Critical self-awareness of needs related to new role — needs remain at the level of perception. Examples of needs may include: need to identify pupil learning content at appropriate level; need to master instructional techniques; need to deal with anxiety about personal competencies and communication skills.
2. Evolution of perceived needs into felt needs as critical experiences become more proximate. For example, student teachers perceive needs related to practice teaching well in advance of the practice teaching experience. Such needs become 'felt' just prior to or during the first round of practice teaching.
3. Search for, identification and autonomous self-selection of developmental tasks related to felt needs. These tasks may be prescribed by the institution for the student or they may be invented by the student for himself. For example, the developmental tasks of dealing with the critical performance evaluations of peers and supervisors, or the critical self-evaluations students typically impose on themselves.
4. Selection of means of completing developmental tasks; for example, 'rehearsal teaching', 'micro-teaching experiences'; developing sets of 'questions for pupils'; learning how to write legibly on blackboards and how to use other teaching aids and AV equipment.
5. Completion of developmental tasks in settings which offer role-related experience; for example, working with small groups of pupils or with an individual pupil; teaching a lesson to a full class; taking responsibility for teaching a unit of study over a period of several weeks.
6. Practising the 'contents' of developmental tasks thus having 'role-related' experience; for example, having further sessions of practice teaching and observation lessons with follow-up counselling sessions for feedback and continuing emotional and professional support from experienced teachers and lecturers.
7. Development of a tentative role construct.* For example; the role construct of tertiary student, novice teacher, client-centred professional and so forth, depending on the needs of the individual at a given time and his position along the career path.

8. Establishment of the role as an ingredient of the self-as-construct through further practical experience. This process may take a number of years to reach a satisfactory stage of completion from the point of view of the individual teacher.

* This location is arbitrary; such development is probably involved in all the outlined steps.

A Suggested Structural Basis for a Model of Teacher Education

In keeping with the idea of development just described — development which is assumed to be a recurring phenomenon throughout the pre-career and career years — a suitable structural basis can be found, based on six proposed stages of professional teacher development. Each stage is understood to require the completion of developmental tasks and to involve role-related experience culminating in role integration according to the scheme outlined in the last section.

For ease of description the six stages are presented as a sequence. In practice it is by no means certain that a particular individual will progress through the stages sequentially. Indeed, sequential progress ought not to be expected if the individual is free to develop his own unique role repertoire as proposed earlier. Further, each stage is construed as a transformation of an earlier role into a new or elaborated role, the transformation accounting for successful transition through the stage.

The six stages are:

Stage	Earlier Role	New or Elaborated Role
1	Secondary school student	Tertiary student
2	Tertiary student	Novice teacher
3	Novice teacher	Novice professional
4	Novice professional	Client-centred professional
5	Client-centred professional	Curriculum-centred professional
6	Curriculum-centred professional	Educational theorist

Commentary on the Structural Basis

The six stages are not regarded as an exhaustive list of all possible professional role integrations. Rather, the stages are intended to indicate

broad, descriptive categories of development which teachers may experience (or decide were, on reflection, the outcomes of particular kinds of experience) partly or wholly, or indeed not at all, as they move through their career years.

The status of the claim that the stages are adequate typifications of professional teacher development has its origins in the empirical work of Fuller and her associates (Fuller, 1969, 1974; Fuller & Bown 1975; Fuller, Parsons & Watkins, 1973; see also, Hall and Loucks, 1978) without which the present model could hardly have been conceptualised, and in the author's experience as a teacher and teacher educator in a number of countries. Many opportunities have been taken during the past dozen years to discuss aspects of the model with teachers, teacher educators and members of allied (helping) professions, and I have drawn the conclusion, in the absence of clear disconfirming evidence and contrary opinion, that the stages do seem to be in general agreement with teachers' reflections on the content and meaning of their professional experience. This is not to say, of course, that some other model — developmental or otherwise — may not carry greater authority as a descriptive account of the nature and meaning of pre-service and in-service experience. The claim here is that elements of personal construct theory, combined with Fuller's theoretical and empirical work, and both interpreted in the framework of developmental stages, provide one way of understanding the complex processes of learning how to teach and of becoming a teacher in the formal environment of schools and classrooms. If such a descriptive account, at least tentatively, provides an adequate level of understanding of some aspects of the complex processes referred to above, then a conceptual basis is available from which can be developed curriculum designs for teacher education. To propose such designs is beyond the scope of this paper. A beginning step has been made, however, in other writings (Fielding & Cavanagh, 1983).

This said, if the model is to remain 'open' according to the criteria of personal autonomy and the freedom to self-select personally appropriate developmental tasks and roles, a number of constraints will have to be identified and have their disciplining effects brought to bear on the model's ultimate form. By disciplining constraints is meant those ingredients of the model which will bring the model closer to aspects of the 'reality' this paper is trying to uncover. Any attempt to employ the ideas presented above as a basis for curriculum planning which does not take into account these constraints cannot claim to be an accurate

representation of the notions of role integration and development forming the assumptional criteria of this paper.

To date, the following constraints seem to be of importance:

1. Progress through the stages may not be sequential. The structure is not intended to imply immutability of progress. As a corollary, teachers may select variations of the stages, or indeed different stages to suit their own style and preferences for professional development.
2. Points of entry into the stages are likely to vary between individuals. An individual's 'age' or 'length of experience' may have little connection with the completion of one or more stages.
3. The stages are not intended to be hierarchical in the sense that one stage is thought to define a superior level of development to the preceding one. All stages have their focus of significance for an individual undergoing professional development.
4. A person does not discard one role in favour of another. The primary goal of development, as envisaged, is to acquire a repertoire of mutually supportive roles and, as circumstances vary, a capacity to activate an interdependent group of roles.
5. The rate of progress through stages will vary between individuals. There is no single, preferred time frame that can legitimately be prescribed for a given person.
6. A given stage will be experienced uniquely, provided individuals are able to impress the associated role with their own construction of the nature and purposes of the role.
7. All stages may not be experienced by all individuals. The model does not anticipate that there will be any conscious experience of development at the time it is happening.
8. Development may be multi-directional. Stage related needs may recur at critical points in the career years or in association with personal life situations not necessarily related to career.

9. Needs associated with all or several stages may be experienced concurrently. Joint integration of several roles may occur or if there is excessive anxiety, there may be regression to an earlier (less integrated) condition of professional development.

A Descriptive Account of the Content of the Stages of Professional Development

In this section the purpose is to describe the broad experiential content of each developmental stage. In order to do this, descriptions of associated developmental tasks will need to be given. However, it is not the intention of this writer to imply that developmental tasks so described are intended as sources of prescriptive content for teacher education programmes. It is stressed that the content of the stages must be read in conjunction with the constraints just described. In practice, where the constraints indicate the unsuitability of the content or the incompatibility of the content with the developmental needs of teachers, it is the content which must be revised, not the constraints. Otherwise, the model as envisaged cannot be employed.

Stage 1 — From Secondary to Tertiary Student

Students beginning tertiary studies typically have learned to live under the guiding and sheltering hand of the secondary school. Secondary education is carried out, by and large, under a carefully and extensively developed system of adult supervision over students. *Ipsa facto*, the secondary school acts in the place of parents, this institutional characteristic accounting to a large extent for the elaborate sets of rules, procedures and sanctions found in secondary schools around the world. By comparison, the extent of formal supervision of students in universities and colleges is small, creating for the beginning student, paradoxically, both the promise and the threat of access to expanded levels of personal, social and academic freedom. The needs associated with this freedom are resolved when the student designs and puts into practice a rather different lifestyle than that he had developed during the period of his secondary education. The main developmental task is to remove the 'threat' of freedom and actualise its promise. The fine details of this task will vary between individuals, between institutions and between social groups. They will vary also depending on the time between completing secondary education and commencing tertiary studies. Stage 1 is completed when the student has shed his dependence on a patriarchal (or matriarchal)

institution for the governance of his academic studies and for much that constitutes his personal and social life.

Stage 2 — From Tertiary Student to Novice Teacher

'Being a tertiary student' is the dominant formal role associated with Stage 1. In 'being' and 'doing' this role the student manages his own education for himself with the assistance of the human and physical resources on campus. Stage 1 development brings with it new levels of independence, self confidence and self resourcefulness perhaps most notably when the student secures academic successes which he knows are the fruits of his own exercise of personal, educational management. The availability of this enlarged self knowledge and personal management skill puts the tertiary student in a position where he can more effectively and willingly accept his personal weaknesses, thus giving him greater scope to employ his personal strengths in a wider range of situations requiring action and decisions. In particular, he may now begin to select new roles for himself, seek out the developmental tasks he will need to complete in order to achieve integration of these roles, and, if he has not previously done so, he will begin to explore the possibility of connecting the new roles with roles related to one or more professional careers.

So far as the pre-service teacher is concerned, Stage 2 is under way when he reaches critical, perceptual awareness that it is, after all, **he** who is to arrange learning experiences for pupils in the formal settings of school and classroom. Now he has to think about and come to terms with the tasks of managing the educational programme of others, not just his own. In exploring these prospects the student perceives new needs related to his deficiencies in skills, understandings and allied teaching experience. As the perceived needs evolve into felt needs, the pre-service teacher knows he is about to be presented with tasks for which he is largely unprepared — unprepared because the tasks can only be completed by having particular forms of experience in school and classroom. When the pre-service teacher has satisfied **himself** that **he** has carried some teaching successfully he will be on the way to resolving the main developmental task associated with Stage 2. When he carries out teaching which is routinely successful over the long term (several weeks or a few months) he will be having significant role-related experience, thus setting the stage for the integration of the role of novice teacher. When role integration has been achieved, the novice teacher will have formulated his own, personally-approved definition of

successful teaching and he will have the means of putting that definition into practice in the classroom.¹

Stage 3 — From Novice Teacher to Novice Professional

The student working towards Stage 2 does not attend primarily to the skills and proficiencies of teaching. During the transition from Stage 1 to Stage 2 the student tends to focus his attention on the felt need to 'survive' the teaching experience (particularly the first teaching experience) with his ego-strength intact, or, if not this, then without feeling that his ego-strength has been seriously damaged. His dominant feelings are thus about 'himself' and how he will match up against the evaluatory scrutiny of others and indeed of himself in a setting in which he is the centre of attention (or *feels* that he is — the reality may be quite different). The student is concerned to discover not so much that he is a competent teacher as that he is a competent 'person' in the public and formal arena of the classroom. Until this need is satisfied attention to the practical skills of teaching is secondary. Moreover, at this developmental stage he is disinclined to give serious attention to educational theory and the possibilities of utilising this theory in practice for as yet he sees little connection between this theory and his dominating (ego-centred) needs.²

The dominance of felt needs related to assessing personal adequacy in the classroom may evolve into the felt needs of Stage 3. Having attained Stage 2, or being in the process of assessing that he is satisfactorily progressing through Stage 2, the novice teacher has the new-found freedom to

1. 'Successful teaching' has meaning which is largely idiosyncratic from the perspective of the person who is doing the teaching and which is connected with the ability to transmit learning from the point of view of applied educational theory. Thus there are as many ways of defining 'successful teachers' as there are Stage 2 teachers and as many ways of assessing successful teaching as there are adequate theories of education capable of being translated into corresponding practices in schools. Ideally, the novice teacher will embody educational theory and its related practices in his personally construed definition of successful teaching. See also, Sanders, J. T., 'Good Teaching — A Disjunctive Concept?', *Teacher Education*, (University of Toronto), No. 5, Spring, 1972, 14-19. Sanders makes the point that, "The failure of educational research to validate standards for defining effective teaching suggests . . . that we have been looking at, or for, the wrong things. Perhaps teaching competence is not a unitary concept at all: it may not even have a core of essential attributes. Good teaching, in short, may be a disjunctive, not a conjunctive concept." (p.14).
2. cf. Fuller, 1969; 223, 'Education students may need to teach before enrolling in even a first education course . . . After concern with pupils appears, then instructional design, psychology and other education courses may seem more relevant'.

focus his attention on the practical matters of instruction. Stage 3 signals development in which the achievement of technical proficiency is seen as the means, as it were, of transforming one's amateur status into a professional one. The focus of attention, however, remains ego-centric. The process of becoming a Stage 3 teacher is still centred in the self; that is, with needs as yet having only peripheral focus on the needs of individual pupils.³

Stage 4 — From Novice Professional to Client-Centred Professional

While working through the ego-centred tasks of Stages 2 and 3 the teacher sets 'himself' at the centre of attention in the classroom. There is little psychological space left, as it were, for the individual pupils and their needs. This period may be marked by a great deal of introspection and accompanying self-examination;⁴ pupils therefore take second place even though the results of teaching may be assessed as adequate when measured against the criterion of learning attainments.

Prior to Stage 4 the teacher tends not to 'see' a group of individuals before him in the classroom; rather, the group is referred to *en masse*, as though it were a single and largely amorphous entity having little or no separable existence as different individuals except in instances of behaviour problems. Such problems are seen by the teacher as personally threatening challenges to his authority and are treated as confrontations in which the teacher's (ego-centric) intention is to reassert disciplinary control over his pupils. Before Stage 4 is under way, the teacher tends to regard the maintenance of classroom discipline as a high priority 'professional' function, seeing in this a measure of the extent to which he has attained professional and personal competency as a teacher.⁵ As a con-

3. cf. Fuller and Bown, 1975: 38-39, 'At first contact with actual teaching . . . education students' concerns change radically. Their idealized concerns about pupils are replaced by concerns about their own survival as teachers. They are concerned about class control, their mastery of content to be taught, and evaluations by their supervisors . . . Most intense are concerns about class control'.
4. cf. Fuller and Bown, 1975: 25 & 43, 'Becoming a teacher is complex, stressful intimate and largely covert . . . The experience of becoming a teacher involves coping with . . . internal self-evaluation . . . with self-observation . . . and with external self-evaluation'.
5. The Stage 3 teacher may give special attention to the brighter, conforming pupils in his class since these provide ready evidence of his professional competency; that is, they offer living proof that his techniques are approved and are being successful.

comitant, all pupils tend to receive the same (pedagogical) treatment; all tend to be burdened by the expectation of the same level of scholastic achievement, and individual differences in terms of interests and aptitudes tend not to receive more than marginal attention.⁶

Stage 4 development becomes possible when the teacher has sufficient command over personally (Stage 2) and professionally (Stage 3) ego-centred needs to be able to shift his point of classroom reference from himself to the 'persons' of his immediate clients (pupils), the parents of pupils and also his professional colleagues in the school. The ego-centred needs remain but the teacher has learned to subdue them or satisfy them without compromising his ability to attend to and assist in the resolution of the needs of his pupils. This process of transfer from ego-centred to other-centred professional activity constitutes the major developmental task associated with Stage 4.

Stage 5 — From Client-Centred Professional to Curriculum-Centred Professional

Stage 5 is an extension of Stage 4 to include the teacher's concerns for the overall educational effort of the school. It represents a transfer of professional attention from the immediate confines of classroom practice to the larger setting of school and community. During this development the teacher begins to see that his own technical and client-centred activities are part of an interdependent set of educational functions related to community and broader social affairs. Interests in the content and process of classroom teaching now become part of an expanded set of interests which find their focus in the aims and purposes of education in general, especially in the context of the translation of these aims and purposes into overall school learning programmes.

Stage 6 — From Curriculum-Centred Professional to Educational Theorist

The Stage 5 teacher tends to restrict his educational interests to the zone of the practical; his role, as he sees it, is largely instrumental; the needs of society are there and may safely be taken for granted, especially insofar as they may be interpreted as a general wish to have youngsters

6. This is, of course, not regarded as a set of negative attitudes but as an indication of a phase in the developmental process.

educated in schools with a view to attaining the rewards that education is thought to promise. There is little questioning of the overarching value system; again this tends to be taken for granted as desirable. As society's educational instrument, the school has the social task of providing education in the best available manner utilising resources efficiently and effectively.

From the standpoint of this paper, the role of teacher-as-educational-theorist is under development when the teacher begins to question the aims, purposes and underlying social value system of education, not so much with an iconoclastic motive as one which seeks verification that the aims and values are worth his personal allegiance and hence his continued professional support. Essentially, the developmental task of Stage 6 is to construe personally adequate explanations of the 'whys' of education, thus completing the cycle of concerns which include the 'whats' and the 'hows'.

Summary Comment

This paper has attempted to describe aspects of the process of learning how to teach and becoming a teacher in terms of assumed developmental stages and accompanying role integration phenomena. The claim of the paper is that these ideas may form a suitable conceptual basis on which could be constructed a detailed model of teacher development. As the ideas stand, it is the writer's view that they could serve as the organising content of an approach to curriculum design in pre-service and in-service teacher education. That is to say, based on the assumption that in the process of becoming a teacher a variety of developments may occur (each of which can be associated with psychosocial phenomena of role integration), a curriculum design could be envisaged which has the aim of facilitating development and role integration through the provision of experiences having their focus in a variety of associated developmental tasks. In keeping with the biases of this paper, any such design would need to be sufficiently flexible in its programmatic form to enable students to make self-selective responses to these tasks, thus enabling them to devise and integrate roles which are unique to them as individuals. The underpinning developmental emphasis in the design would be to transfer authority for role identification and integration from the institution to the individual. The intention in seeking such a design would be to discourage maladaptive role playing by students and to encourage self-selection of professional roles during the course of pre-service and in-service experience.

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Paper 1

PATTERN IN PROFESSIONAL FORMATION

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Soothed by what now seem the easy banalities of the spate of DES and HMI documents in the wake of the Great Debate, the curriculum of secondary schools in the United Kingdom seemed to be settling down. In 1982-1983 it was abruptly destabilised by unprecedented interventionist policies of the central authorities, the backwash from the activities of the Manpower Services' New Training Initiative, discontent with the traditional offering provoked by massive unemployment amongst leavers and the re-emergence of pressure for vocationalism. Teacher education, both pre-service and in-service had by then largely moved on from the traumas of boom and bust in the seventies, and had shaken down as a much smaller system, out of the limelight, its structures simplified and most of the weaker enterprises out of the market. It had begun to consolidate in reduced circumstances, with great incentives to think through its perennial problems (they are many!). We have learned once again that the best chance of serious staff development comes when big changes are imposed from outside, when the organisation, be it school, college or university faculty, has to take on new tasks and sharply revised priorities or else get out of the business. Following the elections of June 1983, there are clear indications that more institutions will be forced out of business, quite possibly including some universities.

In-service teacher education has felt the chilling blast of financial stringency and central pressure. Until a few years ago the market would take almost anything that was on offer; counties and authorities poured in money to lubricate reorganisation of secondary schools and curricular adaptation. Now there is little money for secondments, and in-service course providers have to meet much stiffer requirements. The Department of Education and Science, channelling its funds through the Inspectorate to ensure strict control, will only support, grudgingly, high priority needs, not what the providers enjoy offering. Because of destabilisation, curricular needs and the training which is on offer are not in phase. The traditional trainers are facing not merely sharper criticism, but the threat of competition.