Teachers Outside the Walls

An Inaugural Lecture GIVEN IN THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND 16 AUGUST 1963

Professor Alan Milton

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by

ALAN MILTON Director of the Institute of Education



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HE Lord stood upon a wall made by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand, and the Lord said unto me: "Amos, what seest thou?" And I said, "a plumbline". But you remember that Amos had already won an indulgence for his favourite people, with the disarming question: 'Forgive I beseech thee, by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small.' And the Lord repented, 'It shall not be', said the Lord.

This text is a cue that I am about to embark on a discourse which is pragmatic, not philosophical: why one of the tribes ought to be brought within the walls of Zion, and how this might be done. I am going to talk mainly about teachers, not about Education as 'the treasure of eternal possibility and the task of unearthing it'.¹ And however proper it would be on the occasion of an Inaugural Lecture, to observe the remonstrance of Plato that it is irrational and unproductive to devise for the State or for the individual any system of education, without asking first what the human mind is, and then for what purpose you educate, I shall head off his shade and ask instead: how in this country and at this time can its university most effectively take direct action in the making of good teachers?

I want to suggest that though few universities are more alert and vigorous than this one in extra-mural affairs, the political and social upheaval of the present time calls for a fresh outlook on the scene of teacher training in this country: here especially there is new work waiting to be done. A newcomer, bred an historian, and aware that 'each nation has to solve its educational problems in many directions in its own way . . . in accordance with its own

¹ Martin Buber, Between Man and Man (London, 1947), p. 137.

history',¹ searches in vain for apposite historical precedent. He is constantly reminded by his educational masters that the systems and policies of other lands are not necessarily relevant, and in such a country as this he recalls with consternation that 'the real depth of the citizen's judgement on educational questions today can be gauged by the attention he has given to the origins and development of the various movements in evidence'.² But education in this country, in its formal aspect, is not an indigenous affair.

As for the foundation of this Institute of Education, seven years ago, so profoundly considered and sagaciously laid by my predecessor, Professor Basil Fletcher, we cannot now expect to draw direct inspiration from his hope that since the Federation was based on the principle of racial partnership and the University College was one of the most important demonstrations of this principle, the Institute would be likely to have immediate influence and leadership; it could at once bring together Europeans and Africans in the planning of teacher training. The Institute's unique opportunity of providing services on an inter-territorial as well as an inter-racial basis was a mainspring of Professor Fletcher's work, but cannot be mine. It is chastening to recall, from his Inaugural Lecture, a reference to Rhodesia as composed of three territories as yet incompletely welded into a single whole, and we can already from the vantage of hindsight savour the import of his words that the 'apparatus of civilised control, fragile even in Europe, here in Africa floats upon and is surrounded by pagan and uncivilised modes of thought that can quickly strike up through the veneer of civilisation with demonic force'.3

¹ Foster Watson, Contemporary Review, cv (1914), 85, quoted by W. H. G. Armytage, 'Foster Watson: 1860–1929', British Journal of Educational Studies, x. 13 (Nov. 1961). ² Foster Watson, op. cit., p. 85.

³ Basil A. Fletcher, The Educated Man (London, 1956), p. 16.

In these intervening years many newly independent countries have been created in Africa, and new universities have been founded; we ourselves are witnessing the dismemberment of the Federation and the first steps in the making of university institutions beyond the Zambesi. In Southern Rhodesia there are 200,000 more children in the first five classes of school, a one hundred per cent. increase in the Upper Primary school numbers; the teaching strength has risen to over 15,000. The signs of the times are the invasion of the townships by rural children-an intractable element, to say the least, in calculations-a guite new line-up in the organization of education, of missions, churches, local councils and government, the spread of educational broadcasting in sound and vision, the introduction of language laboratories and teaching machines, the spread of literacy campaigns among adult communities.

Perhaps above all, since 1956, education has become part of the social policy of African countries: estimates of occupational requirements are foundation documents in education development plans, 'Education and Economic Development' is the password. The reports of the Ashby Commission in Nigeria, and of the Conferences at Addis Ababa and Tananarive have set the pattern of educational growth especially at the secondary and higher stages;¹ aid programmes represent the international conscience of the world, and sometimes good business. In this connexion a new portent is that growing collaboration between national

¹ Investment in Education, The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (Lagos, 1960).

Final Report and Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development. Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, May 1961 (Paris: UNESCO, 1961).

Conference on Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, 1962 (Paris: UNESCO, 1962).

authorities, teachers, and specialists, carried out through a variety of institutions like UNESCO, has already begun to persuade education authorities that they stand to gain from having a clearer view of their own systems in relation to the rest of the world. Sometimes, too, external aid has been accessory to political stratagem, making the recipients feel somewhat like the Bellman in Lewis Carroll who:

> ... perplexed and distressed Said he hoped, when the wind blew due East That the ship would not travel due West.

Yet this Institute of Education was fortunate in its foundation and it has received a rich inheritance of experience from a host of progenitors in Africa, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States. Solitary child of absentee parents though it may appear, a late developer, promising rather than proficient, it shares with many other young institutions in Africa a debt which it is proper to acknowledge this evening. The debt is to those, Professor Fletcher among them, who having pioneered Institutes of Education in Africa then saw to it that there should be a concerted plan whereby they could be kept in touch with one another, could be provided with the best of practical, local experience in the training of teachers, and constantly nourished by scholarly and penetrating reviews of the challenges to be met and by the provision of resources to meet them.

I refer particularly to that Afro-Anglo-American group of institutions, under the directorship of Professor Karl Bigelow, which unites the University Institutes in many parts of Africa with Teachers College, Columbia University, and with the Institute of Education of the University of London, and to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which has made all this possible. Early this year we were

hosts to the annual conference of its members. I should wish tonight to make special mention of Professor Lewis, head of the Department of Education in Tropical Areas of the University of London for his pioneer work in West Africa and his leadership in the field of university development and teacher training in many parts of the world. We also are one of the beneficiaries of that remarkable African Education Study Group of the United States which has brought together scientists and mathematicians of international reputation, with teachers, so that the results of new studies in these subjects can be applied to school curricula and to the learning techniques and materials which make new development possible.

The understanding which Institutes of Education need to gain from such working relations and contacts between universities here and overseas is of the practical steps to be taken to effect a balance between the manpower requirements of African countries and the quality of teaching in schools and colleges without which the calculations of Addis Ababa and of Tananarive will be meaningless. Institutes of Education stand for the proposition that a sound system for the education and training of teachers is a priority, and that the university has a special task in seeking and sustaining the quality of the teachers in it. Their task is also to study education and to seek the co-operation of other interested parties to this end. We shall need to take a new look at the practical steps to be taken. I shall suggest that we can neither meet the demands for an increased number of teachers nor ensure their quality unless there is a unification of the pattern of teacher training so that university and non-university institutions are brought into relationship. And I add that the present divorce between the privileged and the underprivileged, between the 'two

nations', is likely to be followed, unless we act deliberately to prevent it, by the equally harmful separation of the teacher from the community in which he works.

For consider what kind and scale of breakthrough in teacher education is required. If the student-teachers of today are adequately to prepare the children of tomorrow there must be a radical reform of the curriculum. These children will become citizens in a country which a technological and social revolution will have totally altered, where yet unknown skills will be required, and where new demands will be made on their intelligence, resource, and moral stamina. The traditional, western subject matter of study, the notion that certain things have to be learned because they have always been there, will have to give way. The very physical shape of schools and classrooms will change to take account of new material and new media of instruction. Direct teacher control and 'lesson' techniques will be replaced by methods based upon new knowledge of how individual children learn, of what is the effective size and nature of groups, of what promotes learning readiness, of the part to be played by audio-visual aids and of programmed learning.

It is impossible that such a breakthrough can be made without a transformation in the organization and method of preparing teachers, a reconstruction of their courses so that they are relevant, and a retraining of teachers now in the schools. Indeed, the prevailing systems in many parts of the world were not set up to do more than supply the necessary number of classroom instructors. Yet the teacher as a passer on of given information is an anachronism. A system made to serve a static society had the advantage of ensuring habits of conformity, made possible a reasonable prediction of numbers and costs. Countries are now finding

that it prevents flexibility and this alone means that it is outmoded. The kind of systems, all but universal until recently, which provide a once and for all training before the teachers arrive in the schools, turn out to have had the effect of preserving them from further learning and fresh ideas thereafter. There is also now in question in many countries the traditional, but artificial, classification of teachers in different grades according to the ages of the children for whom they are to be responsible. Only one of the unfortunate results has been the growth of small, scattered, isolated institutions.

At what point in so formidable a range of questions is a University Institute to enter? Shall we not first ask what kind of men and women the new teachers are to be, and what kind of teacher training will produce them? We shall ask not what the student will have to teach on completion of his course, but what are his educational needs, as a student-teacher, and how can the scheme of training be geared to serve them. It is certain that none of the changes needed can come about unless the teacher training colleges are prepared to reconsider what are the fundamental questions. For example, what kind of student enters the training schools, and what are the implications of this when it comes to planning the courses to be offered? Does a training course of prescribed length, once and for all, and a certificate to teach at the end of it, offer a reasonable hope that the right teachers will enter, and remain in, the schools? Though there has been voluminous work done on industrial relations and the occupational structure in African countries, we struggle with makeshift data when we seek to improve the selection of teachers. But researches such as those under Dr. Biesheuvel¹ have at least made us

¹ S. Biesheuvel, formerly Director of the National Institute for Personnel

question whether we should not bring far more precision to the job specification of teaching. And in a study of occupational selection in West Africa¹ we are directed to the idea that training procedures might be looked upon as part of the selection process itself. There appears much to gain from the idea that a sound system of training is one which is not divorced from the selection of the student or from his eventual qualification, but which is continually adapted to his increasing ability.

If the right kind of teacher is recruited, what then of the outlet he may have for his personal capacity and interests? We all recognize nowadays the necessity of planning ahead the educational development of a country, and we have been taught by the economists to base our calculations on manpower surveys. Indeed, educational planning has become an integral feature of contemporary social development, part and parcel of today's industrial revolution. But the educationist seeks in vain for any lead from students of societies such as ours which will help him to see how such planning can do otherwise than increase the bureaucratic trend in education. With this number of professional and that number of skilled personnel to produce by a given date, in contriving the training schemes and the selection processes, how can the tendency to standardize instruction be resisted? And how can individual initiative, how can adventure and variety in educational experience be fostered? In the new countries, where schools and their teachers have

¹ Educational and Occupational Selection in West Africa, ed. A. Taylor (London, 1962). See particularly chapter 12, Some Implications of Decision Theory for Occupational Selection in West Africa, by F. R. Wickert.

Research, South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, and author of a number of publications on research into the abilities of African people. See, for example, *Personnel Selection Tests for Africans*, South African Journal of Science, vol. 49, no. 1, August 1952.

had to be improvised in a hurry it was hardly to be avoided that teaching was regimented and systematized. But what a tragic anachronism it would be if, just when a breakthrough is being made in the understanding of how children learn and new techniques of instruction are becoming available, the habit of thinking in terms of numbers alone lent support to an otherwise outmoded system, and reinforced a familiar uniformity for yet another generation.

There is a theory, now happily unfashionable, that education is a social technique whereby the state can directly intervene to secure in its children the essential conditions of its own existence. We have to be concerned nowadays with the fact that we do not know what kind of society will be constructed here, what measure of social integration will come about. But I suggest that a predictive strategy of social evolution is possible where a particular occupational group can be identified and studied. You will not be surprised by now that I mean the occupational group of teachers-or that I go on to suggest that their background, their aspirations, and their social relationships would offer those university departments concerned with the social sciences a most rewarding field of investigation. Even a newcomer to the study of the teachers and their work in this country might be bold enough to say that there already exists among many of them a strong desire, not to adapt comfortably to an existing system, but to share in the strenuous task of creating a new society. The idea that the specialisms of university departments should be co-ordinated for the benefit of teachers in schools is older than the Tananarive Conference, and has much more than a respectable ancestry: indeed, in Britain, the University Training Departments were built up, at the beginning of the century, by gathering the fruits of the studies in the

various university departments for the nourishment of teachers. They had their origin largely in a movement to minister to groups of specialist teachers, to provide them with the socio-economic antecedents, with the historical and documentary sources, out of which they might study the bearing of their subjects on the education of children and thus construct their syllabuses on a proper foundation of knowledge. The sociology of knowledge became the ground on which degree courses and training courses in education came more and more to build, and from which point and purpose in their teaching could the more readily be found.

But we are more in need, at present, of the inspiration to be gained from a parallel and contemporary development in Britain: the growing recognition of the social factors which determine the function of the teacher and which are changing the relationship of teachers to their pupils. When Sir Percy Nunn claimed that 'the primary aim of all educational effort should be to help boys and girls to achieve the highest degree of individual development of which they are capable' his view was based upon the system of values which were then accepted as fundamental in the society in which he lived.¹ Our concern today would be: what social factors affect the individual, family, teacher, school, society, and on what social values are we to build a coherent system of teacher education? We need such a study of society as will provide the ground on which an adequate system of teacher training might be built: an education of the teacher built up out of a clearer knowledge of his place in the community. Teaching is a special kind of social relationship, its characteristics linked to innumerable aspects of the life of

^t See J. W. Tibble, 'Sir Percy Nunn: 1870–1944', British Journal of Educational Studies, x. 73 (Nov. 1961).

a particular society. This relationship has hardly been observed in Rhodesia, not to say documented. In seeking to understand this relationship between education and society we need the data and experimental techniques which only a university can give. Have we, in this country, to think of the teacher as engaged in work, outside the walls of the classroom, as well as inside them?

It is not at all surprising that the trainers of teachers in this country have not yet called for such studies: the pressures upon the education system have been altogether too heavy. A society in which the social order is unquestioned does not claim more than the handing down of acknowledged wisdom and skills; the marks of its schooling are: given information, prescribed performance of techniques, rote memory. Mr. Bryan Wilson, recently describing the traditional society, gave a picture not entirely unrecognizable if you translate the terms which he uses: Knowledge 'is frequently the knowledge of the gods, revealed to inspired seers; its guardians are priests or literati. . . . Knowledge advances-if it advances at all-by the elaboration of its own internal coherence. . . . Knowledge in such a society tends to be recondite, literal, sacred-a knowledge of holy texts, of the ancient. The literati do not transmit new ideas, but rather keep pure old dogmas: they are not teachers and disseminators, but custodians of the sacred. Their intellectual institutions are closed—segregated seminaries set in remote places, preserving a shrinelike quality of apartness.... They are not centres from which knowledge is disseminated, but places where it is preserved and stored to be only slowly and carefully transmitted, and then only to the initiated.'1 Has the literatus in African society yet

¹ Bryan R. Wilson, 'The Teacher's Role—A Sociological Analysis', The British Journal of Sociology, xiii, no. 1, 15 (Mar. 1962).

given way to the 'teacher'? Yet the characteristic solvents of the static society are clearly to be seen—the acceptance of a need for diffusion of knowledge, the determined and active acquiring of it, the recognition of teachers as specialists, the expectation that they have the means to open up routes to a new life—away from home, and to an occupation different from that of the tribal family. Is there a teacher, latent or inert, in the literatus? We shall not know how to find him, or to train him, until his new responsibility is more clearly understood, and until the place of the school in its local community has been thought out.

I am not, of course, arguing for the establishment of formal courses in educational sociology in our departments of education, though there is a place for studies which provide the specialist with the technical and statistical equipment he needs. The teacher requires understanding not on a narrow but on a broad front; he has to appreciate factors which shape the interests and the spirit of communities. Something of the kind of combined social studies which was begun in the early days here is now even more necessary. But, of course, the questions are different. My hope would be that such a combined study might be made into the question whether the design of teacher training for the future has not to take account of the place and function of the teacher in the community around the school. Is the fact that he is so often the only agent through whom assistance can be given to the village and the district a sign that we should train him to give effective assistance? It is commonplace that wherever country people look for help and guidance, for example, in adult literacy classes, for teaching and tutorial guidance in correspondence courses, study groups, for information and books, the only regular source of guidance is the school teacher whose background is wide

enough and qualifications sufficiently beyond the others to be able to serve their interests. The teachers are already a recognized class of persons. Dr. Michael Banton in a recent study has said that 'if education is to be respected, the schoolmaster must be recognized as possessing special rights and obligations and be accorded prestige'. This is already the case. He goes on, 'traditional criteria of authority, rank, and duty must give way to demands deriving from radically new expectations'.¹ We could fairly say that this is so: that the new expectations are directed to the teacher by the local community, and that his measure of authority depends not on birth, wealth, or position but on his superior education and on his skill. This inevitable and fertile diversification of the teacher's role provokes the question whether Teacher Education and Adult Education have not to be thought out together.

Our present interest in promoting local activity and self help cannot be sustained by a promise that 'whosoever doeth the will shall know the doctrine'. A disintegrating community cannot throw up leaders. Are we not bound to take particular note of that social originator, the teacher? He is the very agent, now, of social selection. He is inescapably committed to the personal fortunes of the children. Only he can provide a picture of the possibilities open to the intelligent and industrious among them. And he is the one sufficiently educated person, who, in the very performance of his work, can focus and assist in the study of these very changes.

That this Institute and its family connexion, the Institute of Adult Education, have many common interests outside the walls of the University will be apparent. And though

¹ M. Banton, 'The Restructuring of Social Relationships', Social Change in Modern Africa, ed. Adrian Southall (London, 1961), p. 123.

we represent a different set of interests from those which promoted the Extra Mural departments of other universities, it is instructive to consider for a moment their origins in England. I shall not press the historical parallel too far: the university extension movement there, it was said, depended on the railway system—on a service of quick and frequent trains.¹ Here we shall need a broadcast service not a train service. But we shall recall that university extension was born out of the problems of the reform of the ancient universities by the widespread demand for higher education.

'Open your doors and take us in: we need you: you need us', the cry of the labour movement in Britain, finds a ready echo in this country now, but who is to enter the doors, and which doors? No recourse is possible to an extension system which depended on a large number of outstanding university lecturers travelling endlessly to distant 'centres'. Nor do we need to preach, as Bishop Gore did to the W.E.A. annual meeting in 1910, that 'all this passion for justice will accomplish nothing, believe me, unless you get Knowledge ... you will be trodden down again under the feet of Knowledge unless you get it for yourselves; . . . Knowledge will always win over Ignorance'. That knowledge is power is already known. We may, however, usefully reflect that 'once the movement had travelled beyond the walls of Oxbridge it ran into a clash of motivations'. And we shall recognize that knowledge itself is here, as there, quite misunderstood.

¹ 'The university extension system, as we now understand it, depends on our railway system. It would be impossible for it to work without our modern service of quick and frequent trains', H. J. MacKenzie and M. E. Sadler, *University Extension, Past, Present and Future* (1891), quoted in F. J. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790–1960* (London 1961), p. 219, from which the quotations in the next three paragraphs are taken and upon chapters VI and VII of which I have relied in this part of the essay.

But the workers' educational movement in Britain provokes, for us, these proper and timely considerations: that a conscious social purpose was struggling for expression; that access to higher education was seen to be the necessary means of expression; that it could only be given effect through the application of the scholarship of university tutors to the subject matter relevant to the students concerned; and that it could only be systematic and fruitful if it came of an equal partnership of universities and other institutions of higher education.

The social purpose was that of the special needs of a particular class of citizens-the workers in the co-operatives, the unions, and the newly formed associations in the towns. It is a matter of history how the diffusion of effort through so wide and inchoate a mass of men and women, and the clash of motives and separatist interests they had, in the end destroyed the movement. There was an unresolved dilemma: the desire that students should come from all levels of society: and the recognition that only specific and homogeneous groups could effectively organize and study. We may well consider that, here, a particular class of people can be identified, and that effort can be concentrated. The class of teachers in our society can be, and, I am suggesting, should be, singled out from among the shifting occupational groups as actual, real, and specific. It is essential to concentrate resources and it is possible to direct them. In the words of Wesley to his preachers: 'Go not to those who need you, but to those who need you most.' And what is needed is that studies should be organized, and that they and the qualifications that might be gained from them should come within a pattern of social policy thought out and promoted by the university. It is politic in the best sense that such effort should be harnessed to a specific

university programme. The subject matter for study is equally coherent and positive: it is that of the social sciences—the basic disciplines for the work of teachers, the essential experience for preparing them, within the society of today, to educate the children of tomorrow.

That these are true university studies may be conceded, because they are concerned with the place of man in society, are for life and not for livelihood. I recall that our Committee on Research into Social Sciences came to a view, in their first studies of race attitudes, that it was not possible to draw any conclusions about them on the ground that these attitudes are only expressed in given situations, and that as much care must be taken to record the situation as the attitude. I am suggesting that the teaching situation offers a coherent field of study which it is timely for such a research body to explore. But we shall need a fresh prospect of what may be considered of 'university standard', a reconciliation with present views of the staffs of universities as to academic proprieties. Not otherwise can the trained and well informed graduate arise from the ranks of the mass of teachers. Only so, in this increasingly complex society when the specialist, the expert, the professional, the man-who-knows, takes charge, can lines of communication be maintained, and a stable community life be built. And we shall need also a further extension of the traditional university role in the preparation of teachers.

The notion that we should think of the teacher in African society, not simply as having authority for class teaching, not separated by virtue of his pedagogical expertise from his community, but as a social worker within it,¹ calls for

^I Jean Floud, 'Teaching in the Affluent Society', *The British Journal of Sociology*, xiii, no. 4, 304 and *passim* (Dec. 1962). See, for example, p. 305 for another passage which has relevance in new as well as in affluent societies: 'If I may

a radical change in the teaching given by universities when preparing the classroom teacher for secondary schools. It might be thought that however necessary it was to produce the teacher-social worker, it was no part of the university's obligation to train him. There are two reasons why this would be an unfortunate objection: first his education and training has to be of the highest possible quality—(no mere well wishing intermediary will do: a proper authority and the status that goes with it will have to be provided)—and second, such a teacher will need a proper training in the social and behavioural sciences. The practical wisdom necessary for teachers who are involved in community as well as school education will not appear unless the university provides a foundation of theoretical study.

Our present social and political crisis has features in common with that which began a transformation in Britain at the turn of the century. It is not perhaps an unduly extravagant notion that, in the struggle of a particular group of serious-minded men and women to gain their ends not through political, or even through industrial organization, but through a new educational plan of action, we may see a prototype of the efforts of teachers in this country to secure recognition of their professional aspirations. Such aspirations could be realized only as the university was seen as the coping stone of a national system of teacher education, and as university studies were conceived, not as distinct from the elementary studies of the primary school teacher, but as the natural outgrowth of them.

generalise wildly, I should say that at a time when all secondary schools must aim to provide for pupils likely to proceed to higher education, the collegetrained nongraduate teacher is ill-prepared intellectually, having snatched his personal education from a crowded course of professional training; whilst the graduate teacher, trained or untrained, is ill-equipped to understand the social dimensions of his work even in the selective schools in which he mainly serves.'

The resistances against such a conception of the teacher and his training will be formidable. No country has even been able, without long engagements, to break through the interests which are vested in its past history, in its plant and equipment, its classroom devices to teach to a known curriculum. The teachers in nineteenth-century England were of the 'lower classes' and, as a Bishop of London charged his people, it was 'safest for both the government and the religion of the country to let the lower classes remain in that state of ignorance in which nature has originally placed them'. The part of the teacher, like that of the poor, was 'to faithfully discharge its duties, and contentedly bear its inconveniences'.

But the resistances are likely to be just as tough among teachers themselves: those for whom teaching is sufficient because it offers a status and a steady salary, or a route to other occupations, are not likely to risk their security by launching out from the known practice of the classroom. And there is the trend—observable in Africa too—that the development of professional associations goes along with an increasingly bureaucratic organization among teachers themselves. Some there are, it seems, who seek through a professional qualification the advantages attributed by Dean Gaisford to a classical education: that it enabled those who had it to look down in contempt on those who had not, and also fitted them for places of emolument not only in this world but also in the next.

Remote though the illustration may seem, I cannot but refer again to the workers' education movement in Britain, which was to be 'a spiritual force which aimed at transforming society through changing the values by which men lived'.^I This was no idle dream, and need not be here and

¹ H. P. Smith, Labour and Learning (Oxford, 1956), p. 15.

now, because the students 'were caught in a context of liberal studies' and thus 'found themselves on common ground with universities . . . there was a mutual concern on both sides to strengthen the part of humane learning'.¹ Albert Mansbridge was able to claim that the students 'no longer think of school as a path to an office desk or a pension . . . they don't want to get on in the bourgeois world, but they do want to live, they do want to reach out after perfection'.² Must the career line cut across the commitments which teachers will have to make?³

These variations on the theme of the necessary unity of education, and the university's part in promoting and fortifying that unity, will perhaps appear the less presumptuous since the African universities themselves, at Tananarive assembled, were party to the recommendation that 'higher education institutions were to have a positive role in the improvement of the entire education system'. This is a far cry from the mere acceptance of education as a subject susceptible of scientific, philosophical, and historical study. The Conference's treatment of curriculum revision, African studies, adaptation of methods, conveys a firm view of the system of education from infant school to university as properly within the field of university interest. My plea for a direct attention to the quality of primary school teachers is not an ingenuous deduction from the opinion that there should be a unity in the system of training teachers; though it is worth remarking that we escape here the difficulty-to be met with in many countries-that primary teachers originate in working-class families while secondary teachers represent an older middle-class tradition.

¹ Ibid., p. 19.

² Ibid., p. 15.

³ Bryan R. Wilson, op. cit., p. 30.

But primary education is basic in the fullest sense. Reform is needed here as much as anywhere. Any country which makes of its primary school teachers a lowlier, less well trained, less encouraged class perpetuates also a rigid society, which cannot meet new ideas and make use of new opportunities. If then, the subject matter of the education of small children is as worthy as any other to be the study of an advanced student, a university will surely question a system which divides teacher training into that of university level and that of a level to be conducted by institutions separated from the university. There will be, I have suggested, a neighbouring concern with the function of the university in the training of adult education tutors, social workers, youth leaders, and the men and women who are involved in community education. I believe that we shall do wrong to separate them, in their training, from teachers, or to fail to undertake, in the university, studies which will support that training.

Again, it is a proper university interest to see that, if unity in the scheme of teacher training is necessary, uniformity certainly is not, and that the individuality and resource of the teacher is supported against the inevitable pressures of society. Guy Hunter has called attention to the dangers in a new country which 'having estimated manpower needs' proceeds to 'direct the whole educational system towards fulfilling them and to imbue the teachers, consciously or not, with the idea that they are shock troops in the national economic effort rather than men trying to bring out the varied personal qualities of children, and to fit them for life in the community'.¹

The picture I wish to present is not of a ladder let down

¹ Guy Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa (London, 1962), pp. 268, 269.

from the walls, but a bridge between the University and the Training Colleges—a way along which men and women may move in each direction, recognizing in each other varied skills, knowledge, and experience, and sharing a professional interest which is not utilitarian but scholarly: a way, also, by which the teacher of teachers may be able to take advantage of the facilities which are, and which may be, provided by the University.

Let me draw together some of the threads of my argument. The role of the teacher in the future society of such a country as this is likely to be a diffused one: there will be an absence of clear lines of demarcation between his work in the classroom and outside it. For this reason alone-that there could be a conflict between his commitments and his career interest as at present understood-the role of the teacher requires the concerted study that only a university makes possible. Moreover, in addition to the practical outcome of the demands which will be made upon teachers, we have now to envisage a quite different pattern of teacher training. It will not be possible for an initial training to serve any teacher for life. Training will have to be seen as an experience extended over a number of years, but within the school system; professional qualifications will have to come to depend on systematic attention to curriculum study and to new methods which will only be possible for the practised teacher. It is not an extravagance to suggest that we shall have to bring the resources of television, broadcasting, correspondence teaching, and residential courses into a planned scheme for this purpose.

But the main resource is the teacher of teachers, and I have suggested that here the University has a unique responsibility. Once there is, as there should be, an establishment of Lecturers in all Training Colleges, recognized as of specialist grade, a way should be opened to their place within the University itself. It is not unfamiliar elsewhere in Africa to see such lecturers attached as supernumeraries to departments of the university. There they secure some university experience and training, and are thus enabled to move on into university posts. Similarly, through the development of postgraduate schools and the provision of postgraduate research fellowships, able men and women from the teacher training field can at the same time make their contribution to research. The vast numbers of university staff called for by the Conference at Tananarive certainly requires that we deliberately seek out talent in our own country, and provide university training to equip people to take on senior posts.

In the next few years, the relationships of institutions of higher education will work themselves out. My impression is that, however necessary it will be to construct forms of association which will link together professional institutions which train doctors, lawyers, priests, civil servants, musicians, architects, as well as teachers, the decisive movement will come from individual students in these professions who have the abilities and need the discipline of university studies. Among them, I have been urging, the men and women who train teachers have a unique claim. Is it not right that at this point in our history, we should seek to provide, at the University, a training ground for the future university and training college teachers of this part of Africa?

Amos begged for preferential treatment for the people of Jacob on the ground that they were 'small'. You may well now feel that they are grown over large. You may also be inclined to recall that their first parent was noted for his subterfuge—entering into a struggle with his brother for his birthright even before he was born—and that he was a victim of parental over-fondness. But if you take the view that his whole story is unhistorical I shall protest that you will not be able to substantiate your view—because we just don't know enough about it. I should prefer to remind you that after his quiet life was disturbed in middle age he became once again a pilgrim, that he wrestled with an angel, that what he really wanted of his birthright was its spiritual prerogatives, and that he lived to the age of 147. With that freedom of time and place sequence of which I know I have been often guilty in this lecture I shall also remind you that his descendants, approaching a stage in their pilgrimage to Zion, when they heard the sound of the trumpet shouted with a great shout, and the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city. PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD BY VIVIAN RIDLER PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD BY VIVIAN RIDLER PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

