Learning to Teach: Ontario's Elementary School Teacher Education 1960-1974[1]

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Abstract

This article examines the transitions that occurred in the institutions of elementary teacher education in the province of Ontario, Canada, between 1960 and 1974. In that time period, elementary school teacher education moved from its historic location in a government institution to a university-based professional school. This article argues that, while the move to the universities may look like a 'quiet transformation', it was, in fact, a radical reorientation for the students and staff. The paper examines how gender, professional status and professional knowledge shaped and were shaped by this transformation..

Introduction

For most of the twentieth century, the history of the professions can be seen as a history of competing objectives as workers strove for status and recognition. This paper examines the transitions that occurred in the institutions of elementary teacher education in the province of Ontario between 1960 and 1974. It is a case study of the complexities of professional preparation; a history of the change in teacher professional preparation from the hands of the state to those of the university senates; and a study of gender insofar as it explores institutions where the instructional staff, who were predominately male, taught a student body that was predominately female. It is also a study of the transition from underclass to professional class as elementary teachers gained credentials equal to their secondary colleagues. Finally, and most significantly, it is a study of changing definitions of professional knowledge, indicated by the radical reshaping of the criteria for those who instruct. As teachers' colleges became university faculties, teaching masters became university professors.

This paper argues that, while the move to the universities may have looked like a 'quiet transformation' from the student perspective, it was in fact a radical reorientation from the faculty perspective as elementary school teacher education moved from its historic location in a government institution to a university-based professional school.[2]

Ontario's Elementary Teacher Education in Historical Perspective

As is the case internationally, institutes of Canadian teacher education are among the least studied of the professional schools.[3] Perhaps this can partially be explained by the following observations on the nature of the teaching profession:

> Most professions develop licensing policies that distinguish members from non-members and most members make career-long commitments to their professions .... Both these aspects of professionalism have eluded education. A substantial fraction of the population consists of former teachers or people who were certified but never taught [or] ... practising educators [who] entered the field through alternative routes ... The boundaries of educational expertise are further blurred by a presumption of expertise in the population at large for, as Carl Kaestle has noted, everyone has been to the fourth grade, and that makes everyone an expert on educational matters.[4]

The problematics of exclusive professional knowledge and lack of rigid gatekeeping may be explained by exploring the relationship between teacher education and the state.

Institutions of teacher education were often among the last components added to the public education system and Ontario's experience was no different. They were created later than the province's elementary schools, high schools and universities and in response to the need for staff to manage the expanding public school system. In order to teach in a publicly funded school, one needed a teacher's certificate. In its absence, one could apply to the Ministry of Education for a temporary letter of permission which allowed an individual to teach in a school for a limited period of time.

From the outset, teacher education for elementary and secondary schools took different forms. For those seeking to teach in elementary schools, two options were available. Following the successful

completion of some high school courses, one might attend a model school and participate in an apprenticeship model. Or following successful completion of four or five years high school, one might attend a normal school (later renamed teachers' college). The model school path was terminated in the early twentieth century and attendance at the normal school became the accepted form of elementary teacher education. For those preparing to teach in secondary schools, attendance at a university-based (or affiliated) professional school followed completion of a university degree. Thus, for most of the past two centuries, elementary school teachers and their secondary counterparts were educated in different institutions and with strikingly different admission criteria.

Between 1847 and 1963, the vast majority of students preparing to teach in Ontario's elementary schools obtained their teacher education by attending one of thirteen, regionally-located teachers' colleges. Unlike Britain, where the teacher education institutes were residential and segregated by gender and religion, and Quebec where denominationally-segregated and religious-administered schools of pedagogy dominated the landscape, Ontario's elementary teacher education institutions generally offered one year, co-educational programs, to day pupils who attended these non-denominational, government-administered and publicly funded schools, free of charge.

Ontario's normal schools were renamed teachers' colleges in 1953. As the Calendars of the Teachers' Colleges annually announced to the incoming students, the change in name was indicative of a change in focus. No longer was the goal of the teacher education program to instruct students in the craft of 'teaching to the norm'. Instead, their goal was 'the professional education of teachers' through academic and pedagogical studies.[5]

Admission standards to the provincial teachers' colleges fluctuated annually, driven by the projected demand for teachers. Throughout the early to mid twentieth century, teacher candidates were admitted with four or five years of high school and successful completion of anywhere from five to eight subjects in their fifth year of high school (Grade 13). The length of the program likewise varied, depending on the level of entrance requirements and the demand for teachers. Thus, beginning teacher were sent to their own classrooms after completing programs of various lengths. Some began their careers after a one year course (for students out of Grade 13); a two year course (for students out of Grade

12); or an Inservice Course for students out of Grade 12 or 13 (one summer followed by one year of teaching and then one year at the teacher education institution). Graduation lists were submitted annually to the Ministry of Education, the agency that licensed the candidates to teach up to Grade 10. Most teachers' college graduates were young people, often only a couple of years older than some of their pupils.

During their time at the college, students undertook a mixed program of academic preparation and in-school teaching practice, and had the option of participating in an extra curricular athletic and arts program. By 1960, the program of study undertaken at the teachers' colleges was organized into three groups of courses. Groups I and II consisted of academic and professional instruction. Group III, the practicum, was the apprenticeship stage where students practised in school settings under the guidance of an experienced teacher.

The student-teachers' year was organized into blocks of 'in college' and 'in school' segments. While in the college, the students studied the Group I and II courses. These included instruction in subject-based pedagogy, child development, program planning and professional standards (school law, professional practices) as well as academic courses to increase the students' own knowledge base. Bibliographies of reference books printed annually and distributed to the staff and students of all of the provincial colleges indicated the centralization of the curriculum.[6] While some decentralization of curriculum did occur, especially following the termination of the annual province-wide examinations, there was generally little variation in programs. Ministry officials believed that standardization was the means to ensure uniformity of instruction in the province's schools. Annual memos from the Ministry of Education directed the principals of the colleges on an array of administrative and programmatic issues. The courses followed provincial guidelines, with some flexibility for local experimentation.[7]

During the students' Group III experience, they engaged in directed observation and practice teaching. The knowledge and skills acquired in the teachers' colleges classrooms were applied and evaluated during the thirteen week practice teaching session.[8] Through a combination of observation and classroom practice, practicing in both urban and rural settings, teacher candidates honed their craft under the tutelage of experienced (associate) teachers. The teaching staff of the colleges had some involvement in the practicum, especially when students were in

difficulty. The masters had little influence over the selection of associate teachers.

To receive a teaching license, students had to pass written examinations in subject papers as well as successfully complete the practicum. Students could only appeal against failures in their subject papers if they had successfully completed all their practica.

The members of the instructional staff of the colleges were known as teaching masters – a title indicative both of rank and gender. Most masters began their careers as teachers, were subsequently promoted to principals and then joined the public service as school inspectors. Teaching masters were appointed by the Department of Education through a process that could be characterized as a coupling of promotion through the civil service ranks and a reputation as a good teacher. While the majority had acquired an initial post secondary degree, some possessed a master's degree and a few had earned doctorates.

The masters were employed on a twelve-month contract. In addition to teaching the student teachers, the teaching masters worked through the summer delivering professional development courses to experienced teachers. They frequently relocated to teach these courses. Some masters engaged in textbook writing and research in the areas of child development, although scholarship, as defined by research and publication, was not part of their job description.

Teachers' colleges were gendered environments wherein a predominantly male staff taught predominately female students. Where female staff were employed, they held the positions of Dean of Women, librarian or instructor in such female-dominated subjects as domestic science and women's physical education.

Teachers' colleges were owned, operated and financed by the Ministry of Education. They were regulated separately from the province's other institutions of post secondary institutions by the Ministry of Education's Teacher Education Branch.

Criticism of Ontario's Teacher Education

The initial preparation of Ontario's teachers had long been the subject of critical public discussion.[9] Debates over the nature of programs of study, qualifications of students, selection of the staff and governance issues ebbed and flowed throughout the first six decades of the twentieth century. Journalists, teachers' organizations, Royal Commissions, the public at large and the staff of the teachers' colleges themselves, actively participated. A key question was one of control: should teacher education be the exclusive domain of the Ministry of Education? Alternate modes of delivery, such as the provision of teacher education in freestanding institutions; of the placement of teacher education within the universities and the education of elementary and secondary teacher candidates in the same institutions were suggested.

A persistent point of deliberation was the role of the university in teacher education. Many critics contested that teacher education could best be delivered by the universities rather than by the Ministry of Education. They pointed to examples of other provinces, like Alberta, which, since the 1940s had placed all teacher education within the university sector. Others echoed the historical argument of the necessity for university imprimatur as a criterion for professionalization.[10] While such rhetoric peppered the debates, no action was taken. Elementary teacher education remained firmly entrenched within the provincial normal schools .

This is not to suggest that teacher education was ignored by the government. In the early 1950 and 1960s, elementary school teacher education was closely scrutinized by a number of professional and political bodies including the Royal Commission on Education (The Hope Commission 1950), the Ontario Normal School Teachers' Association (The Bowers Report, 1950), and the Ontario Conference on Education (Quest for Excellence in Education, 1960).[11] The flaws identified clustered around several themes. A one year program was too little preparation for freshly-minted high school graduates to join the teaching profession. The Ministry of Education's tight control over curriculum stifled innovation. The process for appointments of teaching masters was anything but transparent. The programs offered were too distant from the field. All of these factors contributed to a loss of status as'the prestige of the Normal Schools has undergone erosion ... instead of mingling with the main stream of educational thought and action in the province, [they]have become tranquil pools along its course."[12] This

assessment was particularly damning as it was written by those who knew provincial teacher education best – the teaching masters. Yet, from the Minister of Education Dr. W. Dunlop (1951-59) down, change was resisted by teacher education's political masters. Having a ready supply of qualified teachers to stand before the classes of the province's rapidly expanding educational system was the priority.

By the early 1960s, calls for reform in teacher education reached a crescendo. On the floor of the Ontario Legislature, words taken from the Globe and Mail's Bascom St John's daily 'The World of Learning' columns were read into Hansard:

> We wish ... that something could be done to shake the Department of Education loose from the monolithic conviction that one year's training is ample for an elementary teacher of 1961 ... There should be a plan to improve teacher qualifications ... [we] should look to the objective of university standing for all elementary teachers.[13]

With the appointment of John Robarts (1959-62) as Minister of Education, the long suppressed educational change and institutional restructuring commenced.[14]

From the Teachers' Colleges to Colleges of Education

Following the implementation of wide ranging educational reform to both secondary school curriculum and secondary school teacher education, a Ministerial Committee, established on 28 September 1964, was charged with the task of examining and reporting on the preparation of elementary school teachers.[15] Under the chair of C.R. MacLeod, who would give the commission its name, the committee held public hearings and invited community imput. Some 99 individual and organizational briefs were submitted that, in the committee's words, contained 'a remarkable unanimity',[16] leading them to conclude that 'inadequate academic education and insufficient maturity on the part of the student teachers'[17] had resulted in the failure of elementary teachers to gain professional status. They wrote: 'there appears [to be] a growing conviction among thoughtful parents and the public at large that most graduates from our Teachers' Colleges are too young, too immature and less well prepared academically than they should be'.[18] With the pressures of supply rather than professional excellence driving

enrollment patterns, the committee warned that 'teaching has not properly challenged our ablest students, many of whom have chosen other careers in preference to elementary school teaching. Recruitment has therefore become increasingly difficult'.[19]

To create a teacher who was 'a scholar and an educated person'[20] the committee recommended the relocation of teacher education to a university setting. The program of study could be delivered in a number of modes, including concurrently (education subjects taken along side of a degree in another academic discipline), consecutively (an education program taken at the completion of a degree) or through an internship. As well, the committee suggested that both elementary and secondary teacher candidates be educated within the same environment and that, at the end of the program of study, both a university degree and professional certification be granted.

The vision of elementary teacher education proposed by the MacLeod Report was clear. Teacher education would be university based and would be of four years duration. Beginning teachers would be three years older than those graduating from teachers' colleges. Admission would be based on grades and not on the previous 'places for all who applied' process. Fees would be charged. The program would consist of four parts: academic/liberal education; foundations of education; curriculum and instruction; practice teaching. It would be delivered by both liberal arts professors and professors of education, who would be "competent scholars and distinguished and successful teachers."[21] The program would be housed in a faculty, administered by a dean and governed by university regulation. However, education was not to be entirely severed from the Ministry of Education. The committee recommended that the Minister approve the appointment of the Dean and consult on the appointment of the instructional staff.

The Minister of Education, William Davis, warmly welcomed the MacLeod Report's recommendations. On March 29, 1966, he announced to the Ontario Legislature that he was 'in complete agreement with the program suggested and it will be the policy of my department to implement the plans to this end as quickly as possible.'[22] The Minister charged the Deputy Minister of Education, J.L.McCarthy, and the Director of the Teacher Education Branch, G.L.Woodruff, to begin, on an individual basis, negotiations with the universities.

While the Ministry of Education may have been enthusiastic about this change, the universities were cautious. Speaking on behalf of the newly formed Teacher Education Committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario, Carleton University's Dean, D.M.L. Farr explained that university autonomy must be respected as negotiations concerning 'admissions, curriculum, academic standards and staffing' took place [23]. It took three years of negotiations before Lakehead University in Thunder Bay became the site of the first integration of a teachers' college with a university. It took another five years before the rest of the nine university-based teacher education colleges or faculties of education came into existence.

Elementary Teacher Education in Ontario, 1974

By the 1974/75 academic year, Ontario's teachers' colleges had all but disappeared, replaced by faculties or colleges of education. While students (and some faculty) persisted in calling them teachers' colleges, the new university-based colleges of education were operating under a different set of conditions and serving a different cohort of students from their teachers' college predecessors.

Individual memoranda of agreement signed between the Ministry of Education and each university turned control over program, staffing and admissions to the university senates. The restructured funding formula and the implementation of student fees removed the last vestiges of Ministry control—the financial one. Local field-based input was assured with the establishment of regionally-based Teacher Education Advisory Committees, whose task was to advise the dean on programs and practices.

Two types of institution now delivered elementary teacher education. One type was the older faculties of education, that had previously certified secondary school teachers. Now, a large elementary teacher education program existed alongside the secondary teacher education one. The second group were new ones that grew directly from the old teachers' colleges. The former group - the Universities of Toronto, Western Ontario and Ottawa and Queens University -had had a longer association with their parent universities and were already closely integrated into the larger university systems. Prior to the integration of the teachers' colleges, the numbers of elementary teacher education

students educated on university campuses were small, as few secondary teacher education candidates chose to include an elementary option within their program. Now the elementary numbers were growing. Institutions that previously had to negotiate the integration of a professional school for the education of secondary school teachers into a university could draw upon that experience to assist them with the integration of the former teachers' colleges staffs and programs. While some had established practices for faculty hiring for the foundations, curriculum and psychology departments, that included a focus upon programs of research and seeking the input of the cognate departments, the thorny issues of integrating the more field based practitioners into the university setting remained.

Those universities whose faculties of education were formed from the former teachers' colleges spent much time on personnel. Many clauses in the Memoranda of Agreement focussed on the teaching masters who would now work under the same performance standards as the rest of the university. With few exceptions, the teachers' college staff were renamed (and in some cases retooled) as university faculty. Research, publication and university service were added to their teaching mandate.

The students entering university-based teacher education differed from those entering the former teachers' colleges. They were older. They all possessed or were in the process of acquiring university degrees. Elementary and secondary teacher education candidates were educated alongside of each other, frequently sitting in the same classes for some of their program.

While elementary and teacher education programs were now delivered under the one roof, there was little change in program content and course structure. The primary mode of delivery was a consecutive program, (a professional year following an academic degree) with small concurrent programs (the professional and academic education offered in parallell across four years) delivered in a few faculties across the province. While some experimentation continued to take place (in some instances refining experiments begun in the teachers' colleges of the 1960s[24]), the program of study was in four sections: foundations, curriculum and instruction, psychology and the practicum.

The university senate was now the ultimate authority in teacher preparation. While the Ministry of Education retained control over the

issuing of teacher licenses (certification) the university controlled student admission, faculty appointment and program delivery.

Quiet Transformation?

Was the Director of Ontario's Ministry of Education Teacher Education Branch correct when he announced in 1974 that a quiet transformation was taking place in Ontario's institutions of teacher education? By conducting a comparative analysis of the cohorts of students, the nature of the program delivered, the staff who delivered the program and the nature of teaching professionalism, one can readily observe both continuity and change in Ontario's elementary teacher education.

Students

A key differences between the former teachers' colleges and new colleges or faculties of education is the student body. The new breed of students educated within the colleges or faculties of education shifted the culture of teacher education. They met admission requirements set by university senates. They paid fees and they harboured the concomitant consumer mentality. They came with a different set of educational and life experiences. They were older than their teachers' colleges compatriots. All students, not just those preparing to teach in the high schools, now possessed university degrees. No longer was the student body dominated by recent high school graduates still well entrenched in the teacher-centred classroom behaviours acquired over 13 years of daily instruction. Student teachers were young adults experienced in the art of the seminar, where inquiry and challenging ideas was the preferred mode of instruction. No longer was evaluation something 'done' solely to the students; the students too participated in annual evaluations of faculty.

In some cases, the academic preparation of students for their teacher education programs also changed. Some university departments targetted courses at those students preparing to teach. Some psychology departments offered courses in child development, specifically linking research to classroom behaviour. Some sociology departments included the sociology of education in the offerings to undergraduate students. As well, the syllabus of some departments' courses could prepare

students to teach core content. For example, children's literature was offered by departments of English. A few mathematics' departments offered courses in Mathematics education and mathematics for education. Students whose transcripts included such courses were academically better prepared to teach in the senior elementary grades.

Yet, there is some evidence that a university degree did little to prepare teachers for the realities of the elementary school classroom. Faculties of education had little or no control over the courses selected by prospective student teachers. Even where they did, the content taught in many university subject departments bore little relevance to the prescribed provincial curriculum. The daily work of most elementary teachers involved the teaching of those skills related to literacy and numeracy – work not usually covered in any university courses. Some university faculty looked with contempt on teacher education in general, dismissing work done in faculties of education as second rate and useless. Such were the messages communicated to all students – including those seeking to become teachers.

Many of the students who applied to colleges and faculties of education to become elementary school teachers possessed degrees in psychology and sociology. One could question the relevance of such social sciences degrees as preparation to teach the grade 7 and 8 curriculum of science and mathematics. In these subject areas, faculty of education student teachers were no better prepared than had been those teacher college applicants who were graduates from Grade 13. Did the program delivered in the new faculties of education adequately prepare the students for the realities of classroom practice?

Program

The Program delivered with the new university-based colleges of education was structured into four parts. In Foundations of Education students studied history, philosophy and sociology of education; in Psychology, child and youth development; in Curriculum and Instruction, teaching methods and in Practicum, students undertook practice teaching in schools. The program was delivered in two modes: concurrently, where students took professional education courses along with their academic programs, spread over four years and concurrently,

where students, possessing a university degree, enrolled in a one year program.

Like any other professional school, there was constant debate between the time and weight given to preparation in the foundations areas and the applied ones of curriculum and instruction. While those faculty instructing in the foundations of education stressed the essential nature of their subjects to enable students to fully understand the context of their profession, students clearly placed higher value on those curriculum and instruction courses that they perceived as providing them with the tools to instruct and manage their classrooms.

A similar tension existed between the faculties of education and the field – those associate teachers and school-based practitioners who believed that the practicum was the core of the teacher education year. It has proven extremely difficult to modify the traditional practicum experience. Its timing was governed by the regularities of the public school year. Practicum could only take place when classes were in session – a fact that precluded summer, evening or school holiday placements. Faculties of Education had little control over those individuals who presented themselves or who were presented as associate teachers. Thus, student teachers were exposed to both the best and the worst models that the public schools had to offer. In addition, there was constant debate between the field and the faculties as to the nature of the academic experience offered within the faculties of education. The field was, and continues to be, highly critical of the dominance of educational psychology in teacher preparation. There are many who believe that an apprenticeship model would be the best preparation for the classroom. Soon after the launch of the new faculties of education, a teacher suggested to the Ministry of Education:

> "I have heard new graduates of Teachers' Colleges being critical in the exact same way that my associates were 30 years ago. Wouldn't a two year apprenticeship with pay served with a MASTER teacher, be far more valuable than the present system?"[25] Not only did comments such as this one challenge the programs delivered, it also challenged the faculty who staffed them.

Faculty

The group that experienced the most dramatic consequences of the movement of teacher education to the universities was the faculty. The bulk of the arduous negotiations that took place concerned the credentials and working conditions of the staff. The official history of Lakehead University illustrates the challenges which the university faced. In principle the university supported the integration but salaries, tenure, rank, superannuation or pensions, study leave, certification and course content were all complicating factors and the negotiations were difficult. The Deputy Minister of Education, Dr Mc Carthy, wanted the negotiations completed as soon as possible so he could then apply the formula agreed upon to similar situations elsewhere within the province.[26]

Ironically, the centralization characteristic of the former teachers' colleges dominated the creation of the new institutions. Much of the Memorandum of Agreement detailed arrangements concerning the staff of the former Teachers' College. Under Section 16, the university agreed to 'employ and pay all teaching and non-teaching personnel ...administrative and maintenance staff ... at salary rates no less than their salary rates on June 30, 1969'. Specific arrangements were detailed for the academic staff:

> To Civil Servants who are on the staff of Lakehead Teachers' College on June 30 1969, and transfer to Lakehead University, the University may grant tenure at any time, but where the University does not wish to offer tenure to any such member of the staff transferred to Lakehead University, the University shall give such member one year's notice of intention not to grant tenure, the separation to become effective June 30, 1973, provided that where tenure has not been offered by June 30, 1973, the Department of Education and the University will offer assistance to the person concerned in obtaining other employment and where no notice of intention not to grant tenure is given to any such member within these three years next following June 30, 1969, the University agrees to grant tenure to such member. [27]

To encourage the 'civil servants' to obtain the necessary credentials for tenure, the costs of operation and maintenance of the Faculty, including the costs of any study leave for members of the professional staff, were to be paid out of government funds.[28]

The conditions under which the former teachers' college staff were expected to work were vastly different from their teachers' college days. As the founding Dean of Lakehead's Faculty of Education explained, the professional lives of the teachers' college masters had been relatively peaceful and unharried. There has been no compulsion on Teachers' College staff, as there was on Professors in Faculties of Education in other jurisdictions, to take advanced degrees, conduct research, publish, assume leadership in professional organizations, serve on academic committees, or deliver scholarly activity on which promotion, tenure or merit increases in salary were normally based. This was not to suggest that some Teachers' College staff had not done these things. Rather the point being made was that there has been no endemic need to do them.[29] Now they would have to perform to university standards, where publish or perish was the catchphrase. Their former twelve month teaching contract was reshaped. Now, their job description included teaching, research, writing, and university and community service. Promotion was based on sustained achievement in these areas. Despite these changes most teachers' college staff succeeded in making the transition to university faculty and the catch all category of special lecturer, used in the first few years after integration, quickly disappeared as they worked their way through the academic ranks, most beginning as assistant professors.[30]

The pressure on the permanent professional staff of the teacher education institutions to have academic degrees was a mixed blessing. The university's increasing demand for doctorates eliminated from the potential pool of teacher educators some excellent candidates who, while they had made substantial and substantive contributions to teaching practice, lacked advanced degrees. The demand for the doctoral degree further distanced the university-based teacher educators from the field-based practitioners. Even within the faculty, the increasing demands of the research culture within the universities created further divisions. The annual activities of those faculty involved in the foundations departments, whose research agendas were furthered by their success with the fund granting agencies, stood in contrast to those involved with the curriculum and instruction. The heavy involvement of the latter in school-based practicum activity often cut into the time they had to commit to their personal research. Furthermore, student teachers were critical of those faculty members whose areas of research made them seem very much apart from the practice of teaching. To the

students and field staff, some faculty members emerged as neither exemplary practitioners nor renowned scholars.

Tensions also extended across university campuses. Some faculty looked with suspicion on what was defined as research by their colleagues in education and queried whether foundations courses would be better placed within the traditional university departments. Such an arrangement had been recommended by the province's review committee on secondary school teacher education that generated the Patten Report, and experimented with by some faculties of education, however, the timetable of the school year and the need for practicums posed scheduling problems for all concerned.

Professional Status

The movement to the university was viewed as a means to enhance the professional status of elementary school teachers. The authors of the 1965 Report, *The Professional Teacher In Ontario: The Heritage, Responsibilities and Practices*, a text whose aim was to 'provide a basis for the understanding of the heritage, responsibilities and practices of professional teachers, the Board of Education and the Department of Education'[31] certainly held this view. They asserted that:

> The practice of a profession ... depends upon a body of knowledge which can be passed on to succeeding generations of students. Knowledge is based on experience out of which the practical concepts can be developed. The acquisition of such knowledge represents a number of years of hard intensive study at university ... Doctors, lawyers, the clergy may be craftsmen in the operating room, the court or the pulpit, but it is the understanding of the reason for their craftsmenship, together with a profound sense of service which raises them to the higher level of professionalism.

The core knowledge they suggested included 'a study of school management and law, history and philosophy of education, educational psychology, guidance, and methodology in the subjects the student teacher intends to teach'. This, combined with the in-school practicum, made a teacher a trained professional. While they believed that 'the academic secondary school teacher most closely approximates the training of the professions', they reflected that while an elementary teacher might begin to teach without a university degree, every encouragement, both moral and financial, should be given to him or her to improve their professional status. An elementary school teacher who

embarked on this path of educational improvement would qualify as a professional person. They concluded their argument thus:

> From an educational point of view, a simple reply to "Is teaching a profession?" must be an ambiguous one. The evidence does point to an affirmative answer on the whole however, and there is every indication that a university education together with professional training, will continue to be the goal before a person embarks on professional practice.[32]

With the relocation of teacher education into universities, virtually all beginning teachers entered the profession with one (or two) university degrees. They were able to secure higher wages at entry because of this, and to command, it might be argued, greater respect as educated individuals within the community. As elementary and secondary school teacher candidates were educated within the same institutions, the hierarchy of professional preparation began to break down. Although still segregated for curriculum and instruction courses, in many other areas of study they shared the same classes and completed the same assignments. It must be noted, however, that conversely these changes can be claimed as contributing to the decline in status of secondary school teachers.

Conclusion

Between 1960 and 1974, the placement of teacher education within a university setting extended the professional preparation of the young women whose numbers dominated the workforce in elementary schools and changed the professional orientation of the teacher educators who taught them. The location of teacher education within a university created a new set of challenges for faculty and students as both sought acceptance in a research-driven culture and where partnerships with the private sector to secure financial gain are highly sought (and valued).

Dr Jim Angus, the founding Dean of Education at Lakehead University, once described teacher education as 'a foster child in the Ontario educational family. It came late into the family – after the institution of the public school system, after the creation of the Department of Education, after the provision for inspectoral and supervisory services'. Within the twentieth century, 'the foster child had

become a pretty ragged Cinderella. A Prince Charming was needed to rescue it from the ashes of public neglect and intrinsic apathy. The question was where to find one.'[33] Was the implementation of the MacLeod Report and the movement of all teacher education to the university campus the solution to the longstanding public and scholarly criticism of initial teacher education? The answer is both yes and no. One set of challenges was traded for another.

At beginning of the twentieth century, questions were raised concerning the place of professional teacher education within a university that was increasingly shaped by the norms of science.[34]. Almost seventy years later, Dr. J.R.McCarthy, the Deputy Minister of Education, who oversaw the transition of all teacher education into the universities, further contextualized these challenges. Addressing an invitational conference on 'Teacher Education: A Search for New Relationships', McCarthy cautioned his audience of teacher educators:

> It will be the task of the faculty of education to justify its position in the total university context ... they will attempt to win academic respectability within the university by attempting to meet the criteria of academicians who know little or nothing about professional education. If they succumb to such blandishments, they will eventually lose their reason for being; first because they will be a poor shadow of arts or science faculties; and second because they will be useless in terms of the school system.[35]

While no Canadian regulatory body exists parallel to the Washington-based National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), the *Professional Standards for the Accreditation of Schools, Colleges and Departments of Education* illustrates how one group has attempted to satisfy McCarthy's concerns:

> Professional education faculty are teacher scholars who value teaching and learning in their own work. They inquire into and contribute to one or more areas of scholarly work related to teaching, learning or teacher education. They exhibit intellectual vitality in their teaching, scholarship and service. Scholarship is broadly defines and extends beyond traditional research and publications, Scholarly inquiry may include application of knowledge, interpretation or integration of current research findings in new settings, and rigorous and systematic study of pedagogy. All scholarly inquiry includes submission of one's work for professional review and evaluation [36]

The movement of elementary teacher education onto university campuses did cause change in the teaching profession. Ontario teachers currently possess higher academic qualifications and more thorough professional preparation than at any other time in their history. Yet their competence is continually questioned in the public arena, using data drawn from provincial test scores as indicators. Some may view this as the logical fate of a profession that now is becoming feminized up to the highest levels – as evidenced by the number of women deans of education and directors of education and by the numeric dominance of women within the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation.[37] Other scholars argue that as women have raised their professional ambitions, they have moved to fill "productive spaces" created by the movement of men into other areas of employment.[38]

With the implementation of the MacLeod Report, Ontario's Teacher Education was launched on a challenging path. The relocation to the university campus also amongst the nature of learning to practise as a teacher into sharper focus.

How can a faculty of education best prepare university graduates for the classroom? What should be the balance and integration of theory and practice? What is the optimal structure for program delivery? The rise of the research culture as indicated by the following observation in a recent University of Toronto planning document further complicates these questions:

> Divided between a pre-service teacher education program and a strong research mandate, Faculties of Education have often failed to achieve one or the other, or sometimes either, mandate well. ... An argument can be made that a public research university has, as part of its public educational trust, the responsibility to conduct leading research and teaching in the field of education itself.[39]

Finding the balance among the university staff, student demands and those in the field will continue to shape the experience of learning to practise as a teacher in Ontario.

REFERENCES

1 This paper is part of a course of research on Traditions and Transitions in Canadian Teacher Education, funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The author wishes to acknowledge the support of Sandra Acker, Principal Investigator, team members Therese Hamel, Dianne Hallman and Jo-Anne Dillabough, as well as the members of the Gender and Professional Education research group, especially Robert Gidney, for their assistance.

2 'There is a quiet transformation in teacher education taking place in Ontario', *Ontario Education Dimensions* Vol.9 No.2 (November, 1974), 8. This pronouncement was made by Kel Crossley, the Director of the Ontario Ministry of Education's Teacher Education and Certification Branch

3 Among the few works that have explored this topic are C.E. Phillips, *College of Education Toronto: Memories of OCE* (Toronto: Faculty of Education University of Toronto, 1977); W.G. Fleming, *Ontario's Educative Society: Supporting Institutions and Services* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), a volume which remains the most sustained analysis of Ontario's teacher education; R. Harris, *Quiet Evolution: A Study of the Educational System of Ontario.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); D.W. Booth and S.M. Stiegelbauer (eds.) *Teaching Teachers* (Hamilton: Caliburn Enterprises, 1996); D. Lang and J. Eastman, *Mergers in Higher Education: Lessons from Theory and Practice.*(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). A handful of dissertations have explored teacher education in Ontario including T.A.Hodgins *University Education for Elementary School Teachers of Ontario 1950-1970 (a Case Study).* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Syracuse University, 1971; L.A.Thompson *Breaking Away in Teacher Education: The Development of a Concurrent Teacher Education Program at York University 1968-1980.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1986; S. Gelman *Women Secondary School Teachers: Ontario, 1871-1930.* Unpublished PhD Thesis. Graduate Department of Education University of Toronto. 1994

4 M. Kennedy, Incentives for Scholarship in Education Programs, in W. Tierney (ed) *Faculty Work in Schools of Education: Rethinking Roles and Rewards for the Twenty-first Century.* Albany: State University of New York., 2001, 17. Retrieved November 15, 2002, from http://www.msu.edu/~mkennedy/publications/docs/FacIncentives/FacIncentives.pdf) retrieved Kennedy is a Professor of Teacher Education at Michigan State University

5 At the opening of the first Upper Canadian normal school, the Toronto Normal School, on 1 November 1847, Chief Superintendent of Schools Egerton Ryerson explained the nature and purpose of such institutions and the origin of their label 'Normal'. He said that 'The word Normal signifies according to the rule or principle and is employed to express the systematic teaching of the rudiments of learning ... A Normal School ... is a school in which the principles and practices of teaching according to the rule are taught and exemplified'. This explanation was annually repeated in the Ontario Department of Education's Calendar of Teachers' Colleges (1968) , 9.

6 Ontario, Department of Education. *Calendar of the Teachers' Colleges. (1960)*

7 Dimensions reported on an experimental course called 'Curriculum Methods' begun in 1962, at the Peterborough Teachers' College. 'The staff not only built a Curriculum Methods program but designed it to be taught as a complete unit at the beginning of the college year. It is based on how individuals learn, proceeds unto the different types of learning situations, analyses them and equips student teachers to prepare effective learning situations based on these understandings. Days and half days of observation are built into the seven week program as required'. Jan/Feb 1973 (v Vol. 7 No.4), 5.

8 Ontario. Department of Education. 'Memorandum to College Principals', 28 September 1960. As quoted by Hodgins

9 See for example S.W. Dyde, 'Should there be a faculty of education in the University?' *Queen's Quarterly* 12 (1904-5), 167; *Report of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1906); W.H. Pakenham, 'The University and the Training of Teachers' in *The Eighth Conference of the Canadian Universities.* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba 1922)

10 From the first decade of the twentieth century such arguments were made. Future Rector of Queen's University, The Rev. S.W. Dyde, noted 'Wherever a profession is thoroughly organized, the professional training is carried on side by side with the liberal training of 'Arts'. Teachers are the only exception ... Only those who look forward to positions in high schools are found in college. The others never spend an hour within the walls of a university. It is obviously not possible yet to demand an Arts degree of all teachers in the province and yet that is an ideal towards which we should move ... At last teaching may become a real profession, the aloofness of the university may disappear, something approaching to educational solidarity and brotherhood be established and every schoolhouse even in the remotest settlement reap the advantage. S.W. Dyde, 'Should there be a faculty of education in the University?' *Queen's Quarterly* 12 (1904-5) 177.

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15 Ontario, Department of Education, *Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario* (Toronto: 196) 129.

16 *MacLeod Report,* 2

17 *Ibid.,* 13

18 *Ibid.,* 11

19 *Ibid.,* 12

20 *Ibid.,* 53

21 *Ibid.*, 56

22 Ontario Legislative Assembly, *Debates and Proceedings* 28 March 1966, 2009e

23 ALU. Senate Minutes. Meeting 20, 12 December 1967. D.M.L. Farr to William David. 1 December 1967, 30.

24 *New Dimensions* Jan/Feb 1973 Vol. 7 No. 4 (p5) 'described how a course that had its origins in 1962 at the Peterborough College ... evolved until the Curriculum Methods as it is today ... a complete unit at the beginning of the college year. It is based on how individuals learn, proceeds unto the different types of learning situations analyses them and equips student teachers to prepare effective learning situations based on these understandings. Days and half days of observation are built into the seven week program as required'.

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30 Lakehead University Calendar, 1969/70, 243, 'The term special lecturer, used here, simply means that they are not given a set teaching rank'. ALU, Senate Minutes, 6 January 1969. Meeting 30, 5, Lakehead University Calendar, 1970/71 19

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33 Angus 'A New Direction' 1, 4

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