Pragmatic Transformations: An Entwined History of Newcastle Teachers College

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Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in the thesis is my own work, conducted under normal supervision. The thesis contains no material which has been accepted, or is being examined, for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University's Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968 and any approved embargo.

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This work is dedicated to-

Therese Dryden

- for everything.

CONTENTS

Chapter Three. The Development of Teacher Education in New South Wales before 1949

Chapter Four. Working Towards a Common Goal: The College's Foundation and Early Growth, 1949-1953

Chapter Five. Growth and Transformation: NTC 1954-1974

Chapter Six. The Diversification of NTC: 1975-1989

Chapter Seven. NTC: An Exploration of Transformation

Chapter Eight. Recollection and Perception in Institutional History: NTC

Bibliography

Appendices

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

This thesis presents the first comprehensive history of Newcastle Teachers College (NTC) from its foundation in 1949 until its amalgamation with the Conservatorium of Music and Newcastle University in 1989. The history includes the periods where the NTC was named the Newcastle College of Advanced Education, and the Hunter Institute of Higher Education.

Traditional methods of historiographical analysis of primary and secondary source material are used in conjunction with 96 interviews collected for the project. The combined and triangulated use of sources is described and discussed as an 'entwined history'. The approach offers a detailed picture of the institution and provides original insights into the key issues leading to change and institutional and local responses to them, covering such themes as the importance of pragmatism, variation in teacher training objectives and the changes in the gate-keeping role of teacher preparation institutions.

The institution changed from a state controlled local teachers college to a federally funded multi-purpose College of Advanced Education (CAE) and this modification resulted in new funding models and reporting channels. The lived experiences of the college's participants were not essentially altered by these external educational factors, and changes largely arose from external social and cultural changes. These were expressed through the daily teaching and interactional patterns of the college.

Findings also explore the local aspects of key 20th century educational debates such as teacher preparation as cultural transmission, and the relative value attached to practical components within teacher preparation. The embodiment of change often had a specific local nuance through the intervention of pivotal individuals, the importance of home-grown expertise or curriculum and practicum variation in the local context.

Chapter One

Introduction

Overview

In 1949 a *Newcastle Morning Herald* (*NMH*) staff reporter attended the temporary site of the soon to be opened Newcastle Teachers College (NTC).[1] The recently appointed principal, Mr Griffith Duncan, was direct in his predictions about the benefits that the newly opened College would bring both to the region, and to the attendees.

> The college hopes to send out teachers who love their work and are proud of it. They must feel that by doing their work well they are not only achieving personal happiness but rendering valuable service to the community. To us, education is one of the great movements in a modern democracy and can only achieve its aims fully if assisted by the great influences of home and church.[2]

To this reflection the staff writer added,

> Mr Duncan's hopes that the college will become an integral and influential part of Newcastle's civic life are shared by his staff of lecturers.[3]

Such ambitions and sentiments had provided the backdrop to the opening of each of the new teachers colleges in New South Wales in the immediate post-war period.[4]

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[1] The generic name Newcastle Teachers College and the abbreviation NTC are used throughout this work. The institution had a range of nomenclatures throughout its history (see appendix B-4). Starting as Newcastle Teachers College, it transformed through various College of Advanced Education descriptors, and ended its independent existence as the Hunter Institute of Higher Education. Where the discussion of the name is relevant specific names will be used, otherwise the institution will be referred to as Newcastle Teachers College(NTC) or 'the College'**.** The form 'teachers college', without the apostrophe will be used for consistency throughout the work, unless the material is being quoted directly, or the apostrophe is otherwise important.

[2] "Teachers College Taking Shape," *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 11 February 1949. Hereafter *NMH.*

[3] "Taking Shape," *NMH*.

[4] See the comments by the principal of Balmain College, Cantello in September 1946, Official Opening of Balmain Teachers College 26 September, 1946 (NSW State Archives) cited in Cliff Turney and Judy Taylor, *To Enlighten Them Our Task: A History of Teacher Education at Balmain and Kuring-Gai Colleges, 1946-1990* (Sydney: Sydmac Academic Press,1996), 24.

The two key areas identified within the material noted in the *NMH* were to permeate discussions surrounding educational endeavours for much of the life of the teachers college: the development of the individual teacher, and the good that those teachers would do for society. These concepts are closely aligned to the three traditions of 1950s teacher training that William Connell advances in his seminal discussion on the topic, namely, a training tradition, a tradition of general education and an element of training relating to personal behaviour.[5]

This thesis, as well as providing a comprehensive history of the Teachers College, reflects on the success of the College in meeting the aims expressed by Duncan at the opening of the College. It also explores the variation in the relative importance of Connell's three traditions of teacher preparation throughout the life of the College. Accompanying this evaluation is an exploration of the transformation of the aims and methods of the College to keep pace with the changes in the community it served. Specifically, the reaction of the College to systematic and systemic change is explored through an investigation of the perceptions of those associated with the College in the areas of curriculum, pedagogy, and their lived experiences: the staff and the students. Finally, the thesis investigates the value and latency of individual memory and reflection. This chapter presents a brief outline of the history of NTC, explores the contribution of the work to the historical and methodological canon, clarifies the specific research focus of the work, and outlines the structure of the thesis. In order to provide context for the study, the chapter begins with an outline of the College's history from 1949 to 1989.

Historical Outline

The period 1949 to 1989 during which NTC operated was one of enormous change for higher education and, in particular, for teacher training. The range of important changes that occurred in the higher education sector during this period directly influenced the structure and purpose of the College. While the establishment of the College itself was largely a response to the impending educational needs of the post-

[5] William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.

war population growth, the rationale behind the selection of Newcastle for its location was not unproblematic.[6] Whilst the College was founded in response to demographic changes, especially the growth in the school age population following World War Two (WW2), its growth was a response to broader vocational and adult educational needs. The history of the College encompasses the transformation of teacher preparation from state controlled colleges through the reforms following the 1964-5 Martin Report, the increasing involvement of the Menzies' Federal Government in the process of teacher training, and the development of multipurpose Colleges of Advanced Education (CAE).[7] Similarly, this period of the history of teacher education includes the implementation of the Unified National System proposed by the Dawkins' 'Green Paper' in 1987 that saw the end of the binary system of universities and CAEs and led to the end of autonomous college entities throughout Australia.[8]

The immediate post WW2 period saw the establishment of a number of teachers colleges in NSW.[9] This was primarily due to a teacher shortfall, which, it was anticipated, could not be met by the two existing teachers colleges in Sydney and Armidale. The Minister for Education, R. J. Heffron (1944-1960)[10], claimed that: "we must act, and act quickly, more than one teachers' college is needed."[11] Additionally, there were a range of key political issues for which the creation of the post-war colleges was seen as the solution. For example, they would provide training and employment opportunities for returning servicemen; they would diversify teacher training locations; and they would satisfy civic agitation for regional tertiary training institutions.[12] The political response was the creation of a number of regional and

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[6] This matter is explored further in chapter four, however in brief there was discussion on a Teachers College at Newcastle as early as 1927, See *NMH* 21 September 1927, or *Newcastle Sun*, 9 September, 1927. Yet by 1947, once the support of the teachers' union, the Teachers Federation, had been secured for the Newcastle location, the headline became "Newcastle 'Obvious Site' for Teachers' College," *NMH*, 22 August, 1947.

[7] See Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980); and Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*.

[8] See John Dawkins, *Higher Education: A Policy Discussion Paper (Green Paper)* (Canberra Australian Government Publication Service, 1987).

[9] Other colleges established in this period included Balmain (1946), Wagga Wagga (1947) and Bathurst (1951).

[10] For a full list of Ministers of Education for NSW for the period see appendix C-2.

[11] NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings, 19 October, 1948, accessed 20, May, 2017, https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/hansard/Pages/home.aspx?s=1.

[12] Barcan, *Australian Education, 278;* Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, 11.

suburban teachers colleges, with NTC commencing in the grounds of Newcastle Technical High School in February 1949.

NTC, which remained under the aegis of the NSW Department of Education from 1949 until 1974, began with an initial intake of 182 male and female students, known as "The Pioneers". They were overseen by 14 academic members of staff, including the principal, Mr Griffith Hammond Duncan.[13] The College initially offered a two-year certificate course designed to prepare students to teach in the NSW primary school system.[14] The students were divided into "sections" with a common program for all first-year students. The second year program allowed the opportunity for students to indicate a preference for their likely teaching destination and highlighted the gendered nature of educational expectations in the early 1950s. In addition to the general primary sections, according to the 1952 NTC Handbook:

> there will be a section specially prepared for small school work (men only), and a section specially prepared for infants school work (women, preferably with the ability to play the piano). [15]

By the beginning of 1952 the College had transferred to a site in Union Street, Newcastle, and the range of courses began to diversify. During the time at Union Street, the College's enrolment grew to 1750 students and the range of courses expanded to include a number of three-year Diploma courses, with Primary and Secondary Diploma students providing the majority of the enrolments.[16] There were also significant enrolments in the Graduate Diplomas in the same fields.

The 1950s saw a major change in the nature of secondary education in NSW known as the Wyndham Scheme which led to an increased secondary school population.[17] To help staff this expansion, NTC developed a range of secondary courses which, during the decade, diversified to cover most of the courses that were offered in the NSW

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[13] Duncan would remain principal of the College from its foundation until his retirement in 1975- See chapter four for further details on his background.
[14] *Newcastle Teachers College Calendar 1950* (Newcastle: Newcastle Teachers College, 1950), 4; Griff Duncan, "We have had a good Year!" *Altjiringa* 1, no. 3, (1949): 1.
[15] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 6; For clarity the form '*NTC Calendar'* will be used here when referring to the official College Calendar produced by NTC under any of its various titles. Full details of the distinctions are located in the Bibliography.
[16] *NTC Calendar 1976*, 4.
[17] See details of the Wyndham Scheme, discussed in chapter five; Alan Barcan , *Short History of Education in New South Wales,* (Sydney, Martindale Press, 1965); and Barcan, *Australian Education.*

school system. Extension courses, refresher courses and various other in-services courses were added to the pre-service offerings and provided the college with a more diverse schedule. Similarly the premises at Union Street grew with the student numbers. An assembly hall was added in 1962 and a dedicated library building in 1964. Changes in the site and curriculum were accompanied by changes in pedagogy. This was evidenced both by the introduction of specific pedagogical programs such as the 'Micro Skills Program'[18] as well as more general trends such as those which led to it being reported in the 1972 Calendar that "fewer formal lectures are given and more individual work is required".[19] By 1974 the College had begun the first stage in its transformation to a CAE.

1975 was significant for the College for a number of reasons. First, the temporary buildings in Union Street were relinquished for new premises at Shortland, next to the recently established University of Newcastle. Second, the College gained approval for its first degree program, a Bachelor of Education in Industrial Arts.[20] Third, it saw the retirement of the foundation principal, Griff Duncan, who was replaced by Dr Edward Richardson at the beginning of 1976. Officially, 1975 also saw the enactment of the Colleges of Advanced Education Act which would finalise the transformation of the NTC into the Newcastle College of Advanced Education (NCAE).[21] These events heralded considerable changes in the College's method of operation and range of course offerings.

At the beginning of 1975 the College was a single purpose institute, with a focus on the training of teachers. The 168 academic staff were employed by the State government, and the institution was both part of the NSW Department of Education and perceived by staff as being part of 'the system'.[22] By year's end however, the change to a more diversified 'CAE' was gaining momentum and the College itself

[18] *NTC Calendar 1967,* 91.
[19] *NTC Calendar 1972,* 11.
[20] *NTC Calendar 1977,* 5.
[21] *NTC Calendar 1976,* 5; *NTC Calendar 1978,* Preface.
[22] *NTC Calendar 1975; Newcastle College of Advanced Education Annual Report 1976* (Newcastle: Newcastle CAE, 1977).

was now offering its first programs which were not directly related to teacher training.[23]

As a CAE, moving towards a federal funding model, the range and diversity of courses and students expanded dramatically. Administratively, the College responded by introducing a number of 'Boards of Study' which operated under the auspices of the College Council. These were initially dominated by traditional teaching domains, such as 'Educational Studies', and 'Primary Education' however, by the 1980s, the influence of other areas, notably 'Administration and Technology Studies' and 'Health Studies' had developed to a point where 'non- teaching' students accounted for almost one-third of total enrolments.[24]

The 1985 NTC annual report lists courses under three separate administrative groupings. Included were twenty-seven programs offered by the School of Teacher Education, five programs (with an additional seven specialisations) offered by the School of Visual and Performing Arts, and nine programs offered by the School of Paramedical and Community Welfare Studies.[25] The College was governed by a College Council which included state and federal appointees, senior staff from the College and elected student representatives amongst its members.

By 1989, the College offered more than fifty courses ranging from Associate Diploma programs through to postgraduate programs. The content of these courses included Nursing, Computer Studies, Police Studies, Social Work, and Visual Arts, as well as the traditional teacher preparation and in-service courses. The College, then known as the Hunter Institute of Higher Education (HIHE), had a student enrolment of almost 4,000 and a full-time academic staff of over 230 divided into 21 departments.[26]

In 1989, also the final year of this study, the College amalgamated with two other tertiary educational institutions to form a single regional tertiary educational entity.[27]

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[23] The College had assumed responsibilities for the delivery of Fine Art courses from the Department of Technical Education in 1974, and the NSW Advanced Education Board approved the introduction of a four year program in Art (Painting and Sculpture) in 1975. *NTC Calendar 1976*, 5.
[24] *NTC Calendar 1985*, 4.
[25] *NCAE Annual Report 1985,* 6.
[26] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 4.
[27] Don Wright, *Looking Back: A History of the University of Newcastle* (Callaghan: The University of Newcastle,1992), 200; The third body involved in the amalgamation was the Newcastle Branch of the State Conservatorium.

The University of Newcastle was clearly the senior partner in this amalgamation and provided the name and the principal ongoing administrative structures for the newly created entity. Thus the entity known throughout its history as "The College", ceased to be an independent institution at the time of amalgamation. The College, in various guises, had provided educational services to the Hunter region for 41 years.

The Significance of the Study

The primary aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive history of the NTC and its legacy organizations from the foundation of the College in 1949 until its amalgamation with the Conservatorium of Music and Newcastle University in 1989. There are institutional histories for other Australian teachers colleges however as yet there is no scholarly research on NTC specifically, and this new work will begin to fill a conspicuous gap in the history of Australian teacher education.[28] Additionally, the work has the potential to provide useful perspectives in three distinct and complementary ways. The first contribution of the work is historical, the second archival, and the third methodological.

Historical Contribution

Case Study – Looking Both Ways

This history of NTC is constructed as a case study, and this case study finds its form as an institutional history. While the specific strengths and weakness of the case study approach are discussed later in this work, it is clear that generally case studies can be instructive in terms of the application of wider issues to local situations through the

[28] For examples of other histories see Graham Boardman, Arthur Barnes, Beverley Fletcher, Brian Fletcher, Geoffrey Sherington, and Cliff Turney, *Sydney Teachers College: A History 1906-1981* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger,1995); Elwyn Elphick, *The College on the Hill: A History of Armidale Teachers' College and Armidale CAE, 1929-1989* (Armidale: UNE press, 1989); Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*; Elvin Fist, *Gladly Teach: A History of the Launceston Teachers' College 1948-1972* (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1993).

impact on the institution being studied.[29] The analysis of the institution also has the potential to provide additional insights into the nature of the national events from 1949 to 1989. These wider issues provide the context within which the College operated, and any history which ignores this context would certainly be a "narrowly conceived history".[30] However, in line with a range of other Australian higher education institutional histories,[31] this work seeks to draw out the specific instances of "place" which contextualise and give meaning to those national and international events in terms of the history of the institution itself. The thesis "responds to calls by researchers in the history of education for histories that explore 'the lived experience of education'".[32]

Thus the interaction is a two way relationship with the case study both being informed by the external events and providing an example of the specific reactions, implementations, and embodiment of these events. This approach provides a two way lens on the events touched by the work. The comprehensive history of this institution thus has the potential to provide useful insights into the local application of a variety of national and international policies, and through this lens illuminate both dimensions of this process.

Institutional Histories

NTC, through its various incarnations, had a pivotal role in the preparation of teachers and other professionals in the Hunter Region of NSW and beyond. It influenced the lives of those who attended or taught in the College and, by association, the lives of those who came into contact with these professionals and the institution into which it

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[29] Sharan Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998); Bedrettin Yazan, "Three Approaches to Case Study Methods in Education: Yin, Merriam and Stake," *The Qualitative Report* 20, no. 2 (2015):134-152.
[30] Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, Preface.
[31] See for example Elphick, *The College on the Hill*; Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*; Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*; Julia Horne and Geoffrey Sherington, *Sydney: The Making of a Public University* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2012).
[32] Josephine R. May, "Gender, Memory and the Experience of Selective Secondary Schooling in Newcastle, New South Wales, from the 1930s to the 1950s" (PhD Diss., Newcastle University, 2000), 3; Christine Trimingham Jack, "School History: reconstructing the lived experience," *History of Education* 26, no. 1 (1997): 42-54; Harold Silver, "Knowing and not knowing in the history of education," *History of Education* 21, no.1, (March 1992): 97-108.

was amalgamated. The history of the College forms an important part of the history of the University of Newcastle. The institutional structures, courses and programs, and pedagogical techniques currently in place, can all be seen as part of a continuum from the initial foundation of the University of Newcastle's constituent parts.[33] Recognition of the importance of institutional history within the University of Newcastle itself is provided through the internal commissioning of a History of the University, up to amalgamation, which was published in 1992.[34] That history, often interpreted as problematic, at best only tells part of the story of the combined institution, omitting the contribution of the NTC almost entirely.[35] This study will assist in providing much needed background to illuminate the amalgamation in 1989 from the as yet untold NTC side of the story.

This institutional history of NTC can also be seen as responding to a world-wide interest in such institutions, as there has been an increasing interest in the historical nature of teacher training institutions worldwide.[36] As noted by George Bartle, in the reviews of UK institutes, of which there had been five published in 1981 alone, there was a trend to "preserve the memories of rapidly changing Institutions".[37] These histories stress the difference between the nature of teacher training and "other" higher education activities, specifically targeting areas of gender, class, and cultural transmission. This thesis expands the institutional and corporate history of the university and contributes to the growing body of research on these important educational issues.

Further a detailed history of the response of a local institution to the broader education trends in Australian educational policy direction will help shed light on the impact of the policies themselves on local education. Additionally, as noted above,

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[33] Wright, *Looking Back.*
[34] Wright, *Looking Back.*
[35] Wright's work was originally withdrawn from sale shortly after publication whilst various legal processes were ongoing.
[36] David Crook, "Teacher Education as a field of Historical Research," *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 41, no.1 (2012): 64. See for example, Susanne Conley, "From Teachers Colleges to State Colleges: Aspects of Change in Massachusetts Public Higher Education from 1945 to 1970" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 2007); and Louise Shaw, *Making a Difference: A History of the Auckland College of Education 1881-2004* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006).
[37] George Bartle, "Review of GP McGregor's Bishop Otter College and Policy for Teacher Education," *History of Education* 11, no 1 (1982), 61.

the wider structural, pedagogical and systemic issues which were addressed nationally throughout the period can be conceptualised within a specific setting, potentially shedding light on the national agendas themselves.[38]

In addition to the broader historical value of the project outlined above, there are two additional potential contributions of the thesis. First, the process of reflection on previous programs, issues, solutions, and structures should further consolidate the base of information from which current programs and structures can be viewed. It is hoped that this will provide a more comprehensive data set from which current policy makers and educational practitioners can build.[39] Whilst this has been a stated goal of a number of previous works in the field, a number of these institutional histories tend to be more "celebratory" in nature.[40] Specifically, within this thesis, it is the process of change and adaption within the context that is important . Such institutional histories have the opportunity to focus on "the social and economic characteristics of students, faculty and alumni".[41] Importantly, for this to be achieved, this thesis must contain a more rigorous level of evaluation that is not always present in Australian educational institutional histories.

When describing school institutional histories, Bessant was quite scathing.

> When we look at the many school histories published in the 1980s (mostly of private schools) we see the non-critical, mostly celebratory approach maintained. School councils pay to have these paeans of praise to their school flung together … They are invariably written around the comings and goings of the headmasters and headmistresses, the machinations of the School Councils and the rorts of the Old Boys and Old Girls, the main aim being to mention as many names as possible.[42]

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[38] For a discussion on this see John L Rury, "The Power and Limitation of Historical Case Study: A consideration of Postwar African American Educational Experience," *Social and Education History* 3, no. 3 (2014): 241-270. A fuller discussion of the limitations of generalizing from cases studies is contained in chapter two.

[39]Robert Smith, "Management and University Culture," *Australian Educational Researcher* 19, no. 3 (1992): 57-65.

[40] Bob Bessant, "Progress and Revision in the History of Education in the 1980s," *Discourse* 12, no. 1, (1991): 67-84; See also Elphick, *The College on the Hill*; Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*.

[41] Thomas Dyer, "Institutional Research and Institutional History," *Research in Higher Education* 8, no. 3 (1978): 284.

[42] Bessant, "Progress and Revision," 76.

These celebratory volumes often share two features: they are commissioned by the institution, and the timing of the study coincides with a major historical milestone, such as a significant anniversary or the transformation of the institution.[43]

The fact that this work is driven by neither of these factors makes it unusual in the higher education space and has allowed for the application of systematic analysis on both the process of institutional change, combined with attention to the purpose of that change. This provides additional insight into the institutional processes, the political and social forces driving this change, and the inherent nature of the institutions themselves.[44] With the current interest in restructuring tertiary education, and the possibility of returning to a two-tiered system with "teaching only" higher education intuitions again being considered in the Australian context, the consideration of these processes and purposes can have a significant bearing on these contemporary debates.[45]

Whilst the creation of a 'celebratory history' has many features which it is important for a scholarly historical work to avoid, this clearly does not mean that strengths of the institution should not be identified. In some instances here it is important to note that any historical comparison within a case study is between what the institution could have been, that is the 'best institution theoretically possible', the institution 'as it was', and no institution at all. There is nothing wrong with noting positive attributes, it is the critical nature of the reflection that is important. The work needs to avoid being, in the words of Gordon and Szreter, "uncritical and even eulogistic".[46] However, it is also important to note that any institutional history is a history of people – their lives, aspirations and experiences and the focus on NTC also owes much to the sentiment expressed in Sherington's comprehensive history of Shore, one of Sydney's best known Grammar schools:

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[43] See for example Lloyd Waddy, *The Kings school, 1931-1981: An account*, (Darlinghurst: The Kings School, 1981); or Elphick, *The College on the Hill*; vii.
[44] See Barcan, *A Short History,* 250-1, and 293-6.
[45] Stephen Parker, Andrew Dempster, and Mark Warburton, *The Parker report: Reimaging Tertiary Education*, (Sydney: KPMG, 2018); See also the recently announced *Review of the Higher Education Category Standards,* accessed 15 June, 2017, https://www.education.gov.au/review-higher-education-provider-category-standards, or *Teaching Only Universities on Policy Agenda*, accessed 15 June, 2017, https://campusmorningmail.com.au/news/teaching-only-universities-on-policy-agenda/.
[46] Peter Gordon and Richard Szreter, eds., *History of Education*, *The making of a discipline* (London: Routledge, 1989), 6.

> More than that *SHORE* is the story of 13000 boys and of the men and women who contributed to their education and, through their education, to the wider community.[47]

This thesis, through the embedding of oral recollections into its structure, is certainly an attempt to collect, position, record, and empower some of the voices of those more than 30,000 students and staff who attended NTC.

Through this 'bottom-up' process of examining lived experiences, this NTC history, at least partially, gives voice to the students and staff who are often overlooked in the writing of such institutional histories.[48] The inclusion of substantial oral narratives in developing an institutional narrative allows for the potential power balance to be explored. Of this McCulloch and Richardson stated that:

> Documentary sources portray a top down view of the history of education, and take for granted inbuilt power balances. They record in the main the dominant views and assumptions of policy makers and administrators. Therefore, according to such arguments, they lead us to view educational history through the eyes of the "winners" of conflict over the nature and purposes of education. [49]

Additionally, it is claimed that the documentary sources are less likely to give an accurate picture of the classroom, the learning context or the specific interactions between staff and student - they favour policy over practice.[50] In this study the oral and documentary sources are viewed as 'entwined' parts of the same narrative.[51]

Archival and Local Significance

The development of a comprehensive history of such an institution which had important interactions with the local region also adds substantially to the body of research on local history for the Hunter region. Importantly, the development of a

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[47] Geoffrey Sherington, *SHORE: A history of Sydney Church of England Grammar School* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1983).

[48] For more on this approach see chapter two, and Tom O'Donoghue, *Planning Your Qualitative Research Project: An Introduction to Interpretivist Research In Education* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 181-198.

[49] Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 2000), 115.

[50] McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research*, 117.

[51] This 'entwined' approach is discussed further in chapter two.

substantial oral history archive in relation to the experiences of participants in college life and the collection of documents relevant to the topic will ensure that such information is preserved for the historical record. The 96 interviews collected for the project, together with the substantial documentary sources collected from the interviewees, provide a significant body of archival material for future study on this institution. Indeed, many of the documents collected by the study have already been added to the University of Newcastle archives in both hard copy and electronically, and the opportunity to develop meta data and contribute to the 'Digital Possibilities' emerging in the field of Digital Humanities is substantial.[52]

The ability to continue to study the themes which the thesis addresses, including the areas of pragmatism, control, and cultural transmission, which are specifically developed throughout this work, are enhanced through the ability of others to make alternative readings of these same interview recordings, transcripts and other documents and therefore shed further light on the NTC. The future of the past as history is in the archive.

Methodological Significance

Whilst not the major focus of this study the research has been designed to allow some reflection on two methodological issues which are important in relation to oral history and case study methodology. This includes the more philosophical understanding of the nature of memory and its relationship with notions of collective community recollection explored by Thomson *et al*, Halbwachs, Frisch and Tonkin, as well as the more direct approaches to collaborative memory identified by Shopes.[53] The first is a reflection on the nature of memory itself. The juxtaposition of the oral record and the

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[52] William Schneider, "Oral History in the Age of Digital Possibilities," in *Oral History and Digital Humanities: Voice, Access and Engagement*, eds. Douglas Boyd and Mary Larson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 13-33.

[53] Alistair Thomson, Michael Frisch and Paula Hamilton, "The Memory and History Debates: some international perspectives," *Oral History* 22, no.2 (1994):33-43; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory, trans.* Lewis Coser (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Michael Frisch, "Oral History and Hard times: a review essay," *The Oral History Review* 7, (1979): 70-79; Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts. The Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12; Linda Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, paradoxes, and possibilities," in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 261-270.

written record within this institutional history has provided insights into the relationship between these data sources in terms of confluence and mis-match. Out of this entwined approach, there have emerged distinct match types which include both coherence and conflict. The exploration of the types of recollections where the different types of interactions exist has led to the development of specific suggestions on where the use of oral testimony may be the most useful in constructing institutional histories, and what features are likely to emerge from discrete interview topics.

The second methodological impact is an exploration of the notion of the establishment of collective memory. It could simultaneously be argued that this aspect explores the essential difference between the theoretical foundations of case study approaches proposed by the more positivist Yin and those proposed by Stake, the constructivist. [54] In this regard there are essential differences in the approaches suggested for most aspects of a case study. For example, maintaining that the content of oral testimony can be 'checked' for validity against other testimonies, or alternatively, analysed 'against' others as one of the multiple perspectives on the events under consideration is an example of these differences. A positivist view almost demands a single truth emerge, whereas Stake would argue that:

> most qualitative researchers not only believe that there are multiple perspectives or views of the case that need to be represented, but that there is no way to establish, beyond contention, the best view.[55]

Together, consideration of these two methodological dimensions throughout the current project have allowed for some reflection on the nature of oral history as performance and the relationship that individual memory has with the creation and emergence of collective memory. The theoretical underpinnings of this exploration are established along with other methodological expositions in chapter two of this work.

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[54] Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2002); Robert Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995).
[55] Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, 108.

Thus, in line with standard case study methodology such as Yin's notion of the 'study's questions'[56] or Stakes' 'sharpened issue questions that will help structure'[57] the research, the following research questions were designed to drive the study. Each question is followed by some brief additional context to allow for a wider understanding of the question's focus.

Research Questions

Research Question 1: How did the NTC change during its existence?

This question explores the transformation of the NTC from a small local teacher training institute in 1949, through to becoming a federally funded multi-disciplinary CAE by the end of the 1980s. The question not only implies the presentation of a narrative of this change but an exploration of the process of that change.

Research Question 2: What were the key factors which influenced any changes?

This question builds on the previous question, in that it is attempting to explore the causality of the changes outlined in response to the first research question. It explores both the internal and external forces that were at work on the NTC during its existence. These forces include educational, cultural, social, political, economic and geographical factors stimulating changes within the history of the NTC. The degree to which the influencing factors were universal or context specific will also be explored.

Research Question 3: How were these changes perceived in the lived experiences of staff and students in the areas of

a. ***Curriculum and pedagogy***
b. ***Practicum***
c. ***Other formal and informal college experiences***

This question seeks to explore the above changes in these specific educational and experiential areas of college life. It targets the formal and informal experiences of

[56] Yin, *Case Study Research*. 69.
[57] Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, 20.

those who lived through these changes. What were their experiences of the College, and how did they perceive the changes within the College, and the forces which led to those changes?

Research Question 4: How did NTC staff and students perceive the value of the College?

This question is an attempt to assign value to the activities of the NTC. The perception of the 'worth' of instruction in teacher education is a well-researched area, and this study will attempt to align previous work in this field with the aims and objectives of the NTC and other studies.[58] Importantly, it is not an attempt to quantify success through any external measure or comparative validation. It is simply an attempt to ascertain if the NTC was judged to be valuable by those who attended it.

Research Question 5: To what extent are the recollections of individuals congruous with the documentary sources?

Finally, the study also considers the relationship of the oral history testimony with that of other historical sources. The purpose here is to explore the significance of different types of historical documentation, and therefore further understand the place of oral history and case study within the current debates on historical method.

Structure of the Thesis

In addressing these questions, the thesis has been divided into three parts. The first part establishes the context in which the study takes place. The second part of the work presents the history of the NTC centred on key periods, and the final section of the work draws conclusions from the historical data presented and places the findings into a broader historical context. While both thematic and chronological structures are employed within the work, the main body of the new historical work within this thesis is structured chronologically. The three periods explored in chapters four through six are the College's foundation up until 1953, the period of growth as a teachers college

[58] Allyson Holbrook, "A Chorus of Condemnation: Memories of NSW Teacher's Colleges 1940s-1950s," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* 16, (1994): 37-45; Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, 187.

from 1954 through to 1974, and the NTC's period as a CAE, 1975-1989. This approach conforms to the overriding convention in institutional histories,[59] particularly those in higher education, of using a chronological approach to the narrative and this was deemed to be appropriate as the major structural division in this thesis for two primary reasons.

The first reason is that the use of chronological markers provides the most logical method to view the transformation of the College. While the period covered by the history is relatively short, the periods of individual contact with the institution are usually even shorter. Most of the students' experiences only span a few years and while the staff often spent more time at the institution, they generally saw themselves as "belonging' to a given period.[60] Individuals and occasionally documents spoke of periods more holistically, and it was often both impossible and problematic to separate experiences into thematic events - the experience was more holistic than the division into themes would permit. Dividing the experiences of individuals up into separate themes tended to "break the flow" of the narrative, especially when individuals were reflecting on the specific time periods which formed the heart of their experiences and ran across many of the traditionally posited thematic dividing points. In short the recollections of specific themes within a period often had closer links to other thematic events in the same period than they did to issues around that theme in other time periods.

The 1949 establishment and the 1989 amalgamation of NTC and the University of Newcastle provides a logical delineation which is based both on structural and functional grounds, giving both a natural starting and ending point to "define the case".[61] The divisions of the time period into the constituent three stages emerged logically from the structure and function of the documents and recollection of the

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[59] See for example Richard Selleck, *The Shop: The University of Melbourne 1850-1939* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2003); Shaw, *Making a Difference;* Elphick, *The College on the Hill;* Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them;* Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*; Wright, *Looking Back*; or Sherington, *Shore.* Interestingly G.R Evans, *The University of Cambridge: A New History*, uses a chronological division but does not present the sections in date order, preferring to start with the "last 100 years" in a chapter entitled 'Cambridge as living memory', see G. Evans, *The University of Cambridge: A New History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010).

[60] This was especially the case for those staff and students who were part of the 'Originals' (Staff) or the 'Pioneers' (students). See chapter four.

[61] Yazan, "Three Approaches," 138.

individuals interviewed. Thus, while it is important to recognise that within many institutional histories, especially ones which involve oral history, defining dates cannot be considered as 'absolute' as human memory is not easily compartmentalised in this way, in this case the 'break points' in the historical narrative emerged logically.[62]

Second, the history of the College lent itself to emergent chronological 'break points'. The points of differentiation used by other works were often significant management changes, such as a new educational leader, or in some cases, structural or logistical changes[63] or key external events. In this case the logistical changes within the College were viewed as the most important to the narrative and therefore provided the chronological divisions within the work. Overall however, the division of the work into three chronological sections, broadly defined as 'establishment', 'growth' and 'transformation', provided the best match with the data collected.

Finally, it is acknowledged that the use of a chronological division here is not wholly unproblematic. There is considerable opportunity to misinterpret the context of the oral testimony, and there is also potential for "cross-over" between periods as the layers of personal recollection become interwoven with both other "remembered realities" and documentary evidence that runs across the categories imposed on the work.[64] Ultimately, for the reasons identified above, the chronological approach was viewed as more in line with the notion of the lived experience and the documented context than the other divisions possible. [65]

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[62] See Part II, especially Mary Larson, "Research Designs and Strategies," in *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology*, eds. Thomas Charlton, Lois Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless, (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 95-124; Dorian Jullien, "Interviews: Some Methodological and Historiographical Issues of Oral Sources," in *A Contemporary Historiography of Economics*, eds. Till Duppe and E. Roy Weintraub (New York: Routledge, 2018); Rury, "The Power and Limitations," 246.

[63] See Shaw, *Making a Difference;* Elphick, *The College on the Hill; and* Turney and Taylor, *To enlighten them*, for the importance of leadership, and Sherington, *Shore;* Evans, *The University of Cambridge,* G. Evans, *The University of Oxford: A New History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010) and Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* for the external forces.

[64] Valerie Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher: Choreographing the Story,* (London: The Guilford Press, 2010), 80-81.

[65] Thomas Charlton, Louis Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless, *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology* (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 201; Alun Munslow, "Narrative Works in History," *Narrative Works: Issues, Investigations and Interventions* 6, no 1 (2016): 4.

Support for this approach comes through an analysis of the themes which are present in histories of educational institutions generally. Interestingly, in the case of the history of Sydney Teachers College (STC), the different authors for the separate chronological sections were tasked with covering certain overt themes:

> the relationship of STC to the wider community, the department of education, and the University of Sydney, program development and student life.[66]

Likewise, Turney and Taylor on Balmain Teachers College (BTC) specifically cite the work as a history of its leaders, staff and students, its curriculum, organisation and administration, and its building and facilities, and have used historically based section divisions. Similar themes emerge in almost all institutional histories of comprehensive higher education institutions and are also invariably structured within chronological sections.[67]

The intersection of this approach and the research questions above, have led to the identification of eight key historical areas to be addressed in this work:

a) The importance of general trends in teacher education to NTC
b) the relationship of NTC with the region
c) the relationship of NTC with external bodies
d) the response of NTC to external policy directions
e) the administrative and governance structure of NTC
f) course and program development
g) staff profiles, qualifications, and lived experiences, and
h) student recruitment, study, and lived experiences.

Additionally, two methodological issues will be considered:

i) the relationship between the oral and the documentary historical record, and
j) the nature of the development of a collective memory.

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[66] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* xiv.
[67] See for example Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College;* Elphick, *The College on the Hill;* Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them;* Wright, *Looking Back;* Waddy, *The Kings School;* Horne and Sherington, *Sydney: The Making* ; Richard Aldrich, *The Institute of Education 1902-2002: A Centenary History* (London: Institute of Education, 2002).

The items considered here progress from the 'outward facing' relationships of the college, such as the relationships with external forces, policies, and entities; to the 'inward facing' issues, such as college life, course delivery, and the lived experience. This order is maintained throughout the thesis and an effort is made to move from the general or external factors towards the specifics of the case or the NTC in an effort to establish the context for the oral narrative. Thus, within each section a general overview of the development within the period under consideration and the relationships with state or federal initiatives are considered first. The descriptions of the staff and students along with the classroom and instructional events will follow. Finally, the more personal and social experiences of staff and students and their interactions will be considered.

It therefore follows that the thesis builds a dualistic interplay of evidence, top down and bottom up, to gain a more holistic historical perspective of the College, based on both the documentary evidence and the views that emerge from the oral testimony. This is acknowledging the importance of documentary evidence to the construction of the context and external relation sections, and the importance of the oral testimony in the lived experiences of the college attendees' material. This could be considered a 'top down' first, and then 'bottom up' approach to the development of the case. Importantly it is not the intention of this structure to give precedence to the documentary evidence or the oral evidence. The presentation of the items in this follows both accepted convention and the organic evolution of the evidence as it emerged. Importantly, this sequence will be the subject of reflection in the conclusion of this work.

Chapters of the Thesis

The key issues outlined above are structured into the following sections and chapters:

The first three chapters provide the context for the study. This chapter has provided a brief outline of the history of the NTC, discussed the purpose and rationale for the study, outlined its impact and contribution to the historical and historiographic field, and detailed the specific research questions to be addressed. Finally, it details the overall structure of the work.

Chapter two outlines the methodological underpinnings of the study. The relative strengths and weaknesses of various case study approaches are analysed along with the nature of institutional histories in general. This includes a review of other works in the field. The theoretical framework for the study is presented along with an exposition of the various historiographical assumptions which permeate the work. The chapter concludes with an outline of the documentary and interview data, its collection, limitations and analysis.

The final context chapter, chapter three, provides an historical backdrop to the establishment of the NTC. Key aspects of teacher education in general and teacher education in the Australian context are explored and this provides the background for the consideration of the foundation and impact of the NTC. The chapter outlines the teacher preparation system from which the "case" has been selected and discusses the development of pedagogical and structural issues within teacher preparation up to the establishment of NTC in 1949 and the broader structural impacts present throughout is existence. The chapter includes an overview of the Australian changeover to the Unified National System (UNS) of education through the various stages of Colleges of Advanced Education (CAE), and contextualises the development of other professional education in areas such as health and administration.

The next three chapters of the work present a chronological history of the NTC. Each of these chapters is structured in the same way. First a contextual overview of the time period under consideration is presented. This considers sector wide initiatives, development and changes. It is based primarily on the traditional documentary evidence and could be considered the "top down" history of the period. The most important sources of evidence for this section of the work come from the documentary sources, particularly parliamentary papers and pre-existing historical analysis. The next section develops the major historical markers and developments within the College itself during the time frame. Again the documentary evidence is important within this section, with College records, year books and calendars being important to the emerging account. This is accompanied by the interlinking of oral evidence and the more context specific documentary evidence in relation to the period under consideration. In each case matters such as College staff, students, curriculum, pedagogy, social life, and the lived experience are explored. Thus within each time

period there is an entwining of the oral and documentary sources to allow a more complete picture of the College to emerge. The first of these chronological chapters, chapter four, explores the foundation and early growth of NTC until 1954. Specifically, this includes the establishment of NTC, its early relationships with external bodies, the response of NTC to government policy directions, and the administrative structure of the College. The appointment of staff, the NTC's general operation, the curriculum and the development of the College's ethos is considered in this section.

The next two of these chronological chapters concentrate on two consecutive time periods covering the balance of the history of the College. In both chapters the emphasis is on the changing nature of the College in the time period under consideration, and the comparison of the individual recollections with the documentary evidence. Chapter five explores the period from 1954 to 1974, which covers the expansion of the College from an exclusively primary teacher preparation college, through to its position as one of the largest teachers colleges in Australia in the lead up to its change into a CAE. Chapter six highlights NTC's development from 1975 to 1989 as a multipurpose college and follows the developing themes around the lived experience of the College through the addition of a greater range of vocational courses and ending with the amalgamation of the College with the University in 1989.

These three chapters stress the importance of the activities which formed part of the daily lives of the students and staff at the NTC. They analyse the things that were remembered and what the overall perceptions of their experiences were and the effectiveness of the College in achieving its aims. These later sections of the chapters are designed to provide the "texture" of lived experience to accompany the structural, organisational, and instructional history presented in the early parts of these chapters.

The last two chapters, chapters seven and eight, explore the study's conclusions through the answers to the specific research questions posed at the start. The trends which have emerged through the chronological chapters are explored and presented. Issues around the pragmatic nature of educational change, the transformation of educational control, and the importance of varying facets of traditional teacher training objectives are considered, along with the impact of local initiatives and social

change in the activities of the College. Chapter seven highlights the responses to the first two research questions which explore the changes that occurred in the NTC and the factors which influenced these changes. The final chapter, chapter eight considers the individual and collective perceptions of these changes. Additionally, chapter eight explores the relationships between the data sets presented in the various approaches in the work. The value of the NTC as a case study of a teachers college and as an institution is considered, along with the perception of the impact of the NTC on the region and individuals that it served. Within these two concluding chapters, the key historical findings are presented and contextualised. Finally, recommendations for future research are presented.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a brief historical overview of NTC. The research questions and methodology of the study have been introduced and the structure of the thesis is outlined and justified. The chapter has further briefly presented the main findings in the form of the basic themes of the work and framed the work's contribution to the field both as an institutional historical case study and in terms of comparative oral historiography. The focus of each chapter is described in some detail. In the chapter that follows the key theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the work are explored. Additionally, the data collection methods, data analysis procedures and ethical considerations of the study are presented.

Chapter Two
Methodology

Overview

This study is positioned at the intersection of two well-established dimensions of historiography. These dimensions are the methods of traditional documentary analysis and oral history, and within this study they are combined through case study methodology to create a comprehensive institutional history of Newcastle Teachers College (NTC). This chapter details the historical sources that have informed the study. Further it explores the strengths and weaknesses of documentary and oral historiography in the context of this study and identifies the extent to which these data sources are themselves complementary, interconnected or oppositional. The conceptual foundations for the current study are explored together with a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications for historiography of this type. Finally, the chapter sets out the processes and methods by which data for this project were collected, analysed, and interpreted. First however, it is important to outline the key theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the study. A preliminary step in doing this is to briefly situate this work within recent historical, ontological and epistemological debates.

Theoretical Context

The transformations that historical ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies have undergone in the last 150 years is clearly represented in the title of Green and Troup's 1999 work *The Houses of History*.[1] Had such a work been attempted 150 years ago, it would more likely have been titled the 'house of history' in the singular.

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[1] Anna Green, and Kathleen Troup, eds. *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999).

Such was the domination of the empirical method that there were few serious historians who strayed from the positivist perspective that history is both real and able to be observed.[2] Historically, this sentiment is often embodied in the phase attributed to Ranke in the 1830's: *wie es eigentlich gewesen* or 'how it really was'. The notion of History as objective truth was also strongly defended during the latter part of the 20th century through the works such as G. E. Elton's *The Practice of History*. Such a defence was scarcely necessary prior to the 1961 publication of *What is History* by E. H. Carr.

Thus the debate between Carr and Elton, with substantial contributions from Isaiah Berlin, Isaac Deutcher and Hugh Trevor-Roper, can be seen as the 'opening shots' in a continuous stream of debate, designed to make overt a consideration of historical methods and their effects on both the process and product of historical work.[3] Carr observed:

> When Ranke in the 1830's, in legitimate protest against moralizing history, remarked that the task of the historian was "simply to show how it really was (wie es eigentlich gewesen)" this not very profound aphorism had an astonishing success. Three generations of German, British, and even French historians marched into battle intoning the magic words, "Wie es eigentlich gewesen" like an incantation - designed, like most incantations, to save them from the tiresome obligation to think for themselves. The Positivists, anxious to stake out their claim for history as a science, contributed the weight of their influence to the cult of facts. First ascertain the facts, said the positivists, then draw your conclusions from them.[4]

Carr followed this damning indictment of the positive ontology, with an alternative representation of historiography, in which the subjective (and masculine) nature of the historical process was important. He wrote:

> The historian starts with a provisional selection of facts and a provisional interpretation in the light of which that selection has been made - by others as well as by himself. As he works, both the interpretation and the selection and ordering of facts undergo subtle and perhaps partly unconscious changes through the reciprocal action of one or the other. And this reciprocal action also involves

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[2] See Richard Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta Publications, 2000).

[3] See Georg Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (Connecticut: Wesleyan Univerity Press, 1997); Evans, *In Defence of History*.

[4] Edward Carr, *What is History*? (London:Palgrave McMillian, 1961), 3.

> reciprocity between present and past, since the historian is part of the present and the facts belong to the past. The historian and the facts of history are necessary to one another. The historian without his facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless. My first answer therefore to the question, What is history?, is that it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past.[5]

For traditional scholars like Elton, this attack on the nature of historical knowledge could not go unaddressed. To Elton, "a true positivist to the point of dogmatism",[6] the notion that history was what historians write, rather than what happened was considered "pernicious nonsense", and he claimed that if an historian could not be objective then that was an error in the historian, not the nature of History itself.[7]

From the position of the 21st Century however, the similarities of their relative positions are quite clear, both the modernist and the radical had much in common:

> both shared with Butterfield the sense that the past was a visitable place and that the historian's concern is to reveal and elucidate a true account of historical continuity and change.[8]

The transformation, it could be argued, was from a theoretical framework based on Positivism, to a kind of "Soft-positivism" which recognises the existence of an objective reality, but acknowledges the influence of individual factors to form its perception.[9] Closely allied to this position is the Modified Objectivist epistemology, which is ontologically based on Critical Realism, and stresses the imperfect perception of an objective reality.[10]

While these positions are philosophically distinct, the practical change to 'the work of the historian' implied in their adoption is minimal. Indeed, it is evident that "most Historians … were innately conservative, wedded to realism and uninterested in the

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[5] Carr, *What is History?*, 24.
[6] Jonathan Haslam *The Vices of Integrity: E.H. Carr, 1892-1982* (London :Verso,1999), 204.
[7] Geoffrey Elton, *The Practice of History* (London; Fontana,1967), 56-58.
[8] McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research,* 32.
[9] For a more detailed discussion of 'Soft-positivism' see Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln, "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research" in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994), 105-117 .
[10] Sharina Tajul Urus, "Living with Enterprise Planning" (PhD diss., RMIT University, 2013), 86; Peter Seddon and Rens Scheepers, "Other-settings generalizability in IS research," Paper presented to ICIS 2006 Proceedings, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, US, Dec 10-13. 2006.

relationship between history and theory" [11] well into the last quarter of the 20th Century, with the position of Elton being represented as "conventional wisdom in the historical profession" as recently as 1987.[12] By the 1990s, however, the postmodern wave that swept over historiography "has long since disabused historians of the idea that truth lies buried in documents, and once the historian has unearthed it, no one ever need perform the same operation again".[13]

While it is true that, in the words of Evans, "Few Historians would now defend the hard-line concept of historical objectivity espoused by Elton",[14] as discussed below, abandoning the search for truth has proved problematic for historians and specifically historians of education. The increased importance of discourses and the 'linguistic turn' has stressed the importance of both linguistic theory and social critiques of the historian's method.[15] The seemingly unproblematic statement by Alun Munslow that "the past is the time before now and history is the narrative historians create about it",[16] can be quite confronting for a practising historian. The interaction between the process of narrative creation and the concept of "fixed facts" lies at the heart of the postmodernist challenge.

Post structuralism, as a model originating with the study of language, was brought to the social sciences by the work of anthropologists such as Claude Levi-Strauss. The notion of language as a set of signifiers, which can be linguistically based, being a representation of external reality, posed many problems for the historical structuralists.[17] Further, the work of deconstructionists, such as Jacques Derrida who prescribe that those signifiers by definition, include the signified "other", has provided additional complications. In its most basic form, therefore, a document is unable to be clearly understood. Any text is: "self-referential, not necessarily and

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[11] McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research,* 33; Chris Parker, *The English Historical Tradition since 1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 199.
[12] Dominick LaCapra, *History of Criticism* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1987), 136.
[13] Evans, *In Defence of History,* 3.
[14] Evans, *In Defence of History,* 3.
[15] McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research,* 33.
[16] Alun Munslow, "Narrative Works in History," *Narrative Works: Issues, Investigations and Interventions* 6, no. 1 (2016), 1.
[17] Green and Troup, *The Houses of History*, 289.

certainly not entirely taking its meaning from the context in which it was produced or from authorial intent."[18]

The problems here for a structural approach to history are self-evident. If the documents which represent primary or secondary sources on which the historical narrative is built cannot be understood, how can the histories which emerge from them be representative of anything but a subjective reading of those documents?

> Facts cannot be independent, and representative of an external reality: they are already historicized, their truth indeterminable. Thus it is not possible to verify another historian's interpretation by reference to the facts; all we can do is to re-read an (open) text.[19]

This perspective caused a polarization in historical circles in the same way as the earlier distinctions between types of historical knowledge had done. To the already established positions of Positivism and Critical Realism were added dimensions of historical enquiry centred on Interpretivism and Historical Pluralism. In discussing what Hayden White refers to as the "pan-textualism represented by 'deconstruction'", he highlights the problems facing the historical theorist.[20] "In point of fact, if we look at contemporary historical theory and practice, we must admit that there are as many perspectives on history as there are modes of critical practice in literary studies" and further contended when talking about whether positivism and empiricism had been discredited, that "it is not a matter which any historian - pluralist or not - could be expected to decide.[21] Others such as W.J.T. Mitchell, acknowledged the impact of "deconstruction" but lamented its lack of a sense of history:

> We need a sense of history, especially of our own critical history, which will get beyond the notion that we have somehow "gotten beyond" all the previous paradigms. The treatment of previous criticism as a history of error which is always about to be set right in the present moment of critical breakthrough is, I would suggest the chief error which stands in the way of our grasping our own institutional history.[22]

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[18] Green and Troup, *The Houses of History*, 299.
[19] Green and Troup, *The Houses of History*, 299.
[20] Hayden White, "Historical Pluralism," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 3 (1986): 480 and 493.
[21] White, "Historical Pluralism," 482.
[22] W J T Mitchell, "Critical Inquiry and the Ideology of Pluralism," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no.4 (1982): 618.

A more pragmatic outline of the problem facing historians in practice, was presented by historians of education, Gary McCulloch and William Richardson:

> In practice most historians remain intuitively cautious in adopting the term post-modern or attempting to define and evaluate the "turn" in intellectual climate that it is held to represent. First a majority remain uninterested in theory. Second, they have remained sceptical, a leading historiographer (Evans) having pointed out succinctly that the concept 'inevitably falls foul of its own principles when they are applied to itself.'[23]

While it is important to situate this thesis within this debate, it is not useful to be dogmatic about the strictest interpretation of the distinction between post-modernist, positivist, critical realist or even interpretive perspectives. While it can be argued that many historians see these points of view as mutually exclusive, this is also open to interpretation. For example, the position of the Modified Objectivist which holds that historical findings are probably true, or the concepts of the social realist with specific class-based interpretations of social conditions are not objectively in and of themselves "ahistorical" or perhaps even mutually exclusive. What is clear is that in a practical sense, the history wars have not led to a resolution in terms of the establishment of a single "valid" method for "doing history". Nor one could argue, would that be desirable.

Again, in practical terms, despite the deep philosophical divide between the most ardent supporters of hermeneutical or dialectical methods, and those with an objectivist bent, "history" is still being "done". Additionally, it is still, by and large, being "critiqued as history" by historians of most underlying philosophical paradigms. Perhaps the most valuable contribution of the ongoing conflict between the various epistemological and ontological positions remains an overt consideration of the various strengths and weakness of their respective methods, rather than an "elimination" of historical methods of study. What has emerged is more in line with the statement by Tom O'Donoghue, when reflecting on the use of new methods: "Any

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[23] McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research,* 33.

disagreement, however, is to be encouraged to stimulate cogitation of alternatives and contribute to debate on them."[24]

The history of education, according to McCulloch, "thus faces a significant challenge in needing both to access in general terms how to develop an engagement with theory, and also to respond to the specific intellectual challenge posed by postmodernist arguments".[25] Perhaps more significantly for this study, it is not the resolution of this conflict that is key, but its recognition. "It is clear then that the working methods and interests of sociology have had a major impact on historical research in education" which have provided what McCulloch and Richardson refer to as an "enlarged vision".[26] This highlights the impact of various additional areas of academic endeavour on the historical landscape. The value of sociological, and psychological study, and the importance of memory construction for example are included in this enlarged vision.[27] It is this enlarged vision, further discussed below, which forms the theoretical basis for this work. Its focus is in line with the challenge proposed by O'Donoghue, when detailing the domains which could lead to significant contributions by Australian educational historians, who highlighted "the history of learning in all kinds of educational establishments and across all the areas of the curriculum, from the point of view of the learners themselves".[28]

Certainly, part of this enlarged vision and the importance of the perspective of the learners themselves has been the increasing prominence of oral history. Oral history methodology has provided an important field where these theoretical debates about the nature of historical research have been explored. According to Rebecca Sharpless:

> Critical developments in oral history scholarship reflect, and have been reflected in, an increasing perception of its relevance, and its dynamic application across a wide disciplinary terrain.[29]

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[24] Tom O'Donoghue, "History of Education Research in Australia: Some Current Trends and Possible Directions for the Future," *Paedagogica Historica 50*, no. 6, (2014): 805. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2014.948008
[25] Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education* (London: Routledge, 2011), 75.
[26] McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research,* 68.
[27] McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research,* 70.
[28] O'Donoghue, "History of Education Research," 810.
[29] Maxine Stephenson, "Timeless Projects: Remembering and Voice in the History of Education," *History of Education Review* 37, no. 2, (2008): 3.

Oral History

There is little doubt that oral history has been an important part of historical enquiry for as long as there has been historical enquiry. Indeed, it has been claimed that "practitioners of the modern oral history movement enjoy contemplating its ancient origins, sometimes pointing out with glee that all history was oral before the advent of writing."[30] However, it is equally as clear that the dominance of the positivist ontology led to a diminishment in the relative importance of the oral testimony prior to the middle of the 20th century. The positivist sought to eliminate the emotive side of historical narrative, and oral history, which was often seen as "history of the heart, not of the head", was viewed as the poor relation, and seen as something for amateur historians, and biographers. [31] Amongst the criticisms levelled at oral history are issues with its validity and reliability and issues with its analysis. Included in the issues relating to validity and reliability are problems with bias in testimony, including deliberate or accidental falsification, distortion of the role of the narrator, the influence of hindsight and previously published evidence, physical deterioration and nostalgia in old age. [32]

The outcome of the acceptance of these oral history narratives being for some the demise of historical rigor and for others the ascent of subjectivity: "and where will it lead us? Not into history but into myth".[33] Here the criticisms seem to be much more veracious if the positivist position is accepted. If there is a single historical truth, then problems with individuals not reproducing that truth lead to questions concerned with data validity and reliability. If, however, there are multiple ways of seeing an historical event, the narratives provided are independent speech events which have their own history and context, and therefore it is primarily the "use" of the narrative

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[30] Rebecca Sharpless, "The History of Oral History" in *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology*, eds. Thomas Charlton, Lois Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless, (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers 2007), 9.
[31] Patrick O'Farrell, "Oral History: Facts and Fiction," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* 5, (1983): 9.
[32] See Anthony Seldon and Joanna Papworth, *By Word of Mouth. Elite Oral History* (London Methuen, 1983), 16-26.
[33] O'Farrell, "Oral History," 9.

which feeds historiographical issues. This is perhaps best summarised by Holbrook, "even if the material is proved false, how did it come to be so, and what can we learn from the discrepancy"[34] or by Portelli:

> the importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather its departure from it as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge. Therefore there are no "false' oral sources. Once we have checked their factual credibility with all the established criteria of philological criticism and factual verification which are required by all types of sources anyway, the diversity of oral history consists in the fact that 'wrong' statements are still psychologically 'true' and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts.[35]

It is not surprising that the rise of alternative ontological historiographical frameworks was accompanied by a greater acceptance of oral history as valuable evidence, to the point where the practice of oral history has been accepted into the mainstream of historical method. Indeed, by the 1970s, oral historians had embraced the distinctive nature of oral testimony and were addressing these criticisms head on.

> By the late 1970s imaginative oral historians turn these criticisms on their head and argued that the so-called unreliability of memory was also its strength, and that the subjectivity of memory provided clues not only about the meanings of historical experience but also about the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity and between individual and collective memory.[36]

The use of oral history in tertiary and educational contexts has also gained considerable strength since the 1970s. The importance of oral narratives in the exploration of social semiotics, policy history, and a deeper understanding of the nature of memory itself has become part of the growth of the new approaches in oral history outlined by O'Donoghue.[37] Likewise oral history has been increasingly seen as an integral part of the data collection process in attempts to understand the lived experiences of participants in the educational domain. The work of Cunningham and

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[34] Allyson Holbrook, "Methodological Development in Oral History: A Multi-Layered approach," *Australian Educational Researcher* 22, no. 3 (1995): 29.
[35] Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different" in *The Oral History Reader,* 2nd ed., eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (New York: Routledge, 2006), 37.
[36] Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, "Introduction" in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 3.
[37] O'Donoghue, "History of Education Research," 808.

Gardner in 2004 for example integrated oral testimony with more traditional documentary sources and blended these to inform the emerging narrative by "opening up an evidential dimension which the existing documentary record was seldom designed to capture".[38] Pragmatically, however, the most obvious strength of the oral method is the ability to collect data 'after the fact'. It is not generally possible to go back and create source material on an historical event once it has been 'completed' in any another form. Re-analysis is always possible, however new data sources are generally not available. Simply put, oral history is "the voice of the past".[39]

This data can be collected both on events which at the time were not deemed "worthy" of historical or documentary attention, or from people who were likewise overlooked. It can allow data to be collected where there is currently none. The strength of oral history research in the history of education is that it can reveal the experiences and the effects of education on the people who received it: the students.[40]

With the inclusion of the interview data in this project, an attempt is made to go beyond the standard documentary evidence to give a voice to those whose presence is marginalised or absent within the formal records.[41]

The analytical lens is able to be focused more closely on specific incidents which may not previously have been the subject of consideration. In its most transformative guise, it operates by:

> shifting the focus and opening new areas of enquiry, by challenging some of the assumptions and accepted judgements of historians, by bringing recognition to substantial groups of people who had been ignored.[42]

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[38] Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardner, *Becoming Teachers Texts and Testimonies , 1907-1950*, (London: Routledge 2004), 4.
[39] Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past: Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 25.
[40] Marjorie Theobald and Richard Selleck, *Family, School and The State in Australian History* (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1990), 20.
[41] Madan Sarap, *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and postmodernism*, (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1993); Jeffrey Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," *History Workshop Journal* 14 (Autumn, 1982): 111; Gabrielle Spiegel "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (1990): 73-8.
[42] Thompson, "The Voice of the Past," 25.

Importantly for this study it allows domains which cannot otherwise be addressed to be considered, by addressing the activity that happens in the realm Labaree identifies as taking place "behind closed doors".[43] The 'black box'[44] that is the educational classroom and the 'hidden curriculum' are traditionally difficult to research through the use of external sources. Holbrook argues:

> In the history of education, the conventional documentary source is of limited use to those who want, for example, to take an historical look at classrooms, education in non-traditional settings, transition from school to work, or to contextualise and generally render visible, the experiences of the actors in such settings.[45]

This is not to say that the method is unproblematic. However, in terms of the questions of validity and reliability, the pragmatic position taken by this work is the one proposed by Lummis, that the same issues that exist with all forms of documentary evidence are the primary concerns with oral evidence. As Holbrook notes:

> Lummis, taking up the most common concern, namely whether or not oral testimony constitutes authentic evidence, counters the sceptics by arguing that problems of authenticity in oral evidence are simply the problems of documentary sources made plain.[46]

Likewise, Portelli identifies this same underlying theme, albeit with a slightly different focus:

> of course, this does not mean that we accept the dominant prejudice which sees factual credibility as the monopoly of written document. Very often, written documents are only the uncontrolled transmission of unidentified oral sources … The passage of these oral 'ur-sources' to the written document is often the result of processes which have no scientific credibility and are frequently heavy with class bias.[47]

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[43] David Labaree, *The Trouble with Ed Schools*. (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1996), 52.
[44] In this case I am using the term "Black box" in the same way as Larry Cuban, writing on reform of classroom practice who claimed, "I use "black box" as a metaphor for what happens daily in classrooms that remains unknown to outsiders," see https://larrycuban.wordpress.com/2011/10/16/inside-the-black-box-of-the-classroom. Accessed May 16, 2019.
[45] Holbrook, "Methodological Development," 23.
[46] Holbrook, "Methodological Development," 26.
[47] Portelli, "What Makes Oral History," 37.

Yet, this adoption of a standardized consideration of the validity and reliability of documentary and oral source material does not alleviate the issues related to the analysis of oral testimony. In short,

> If oral evidence is to move from a form of biography to an historical account, it must proceed from an individual to a social experience.[48]

Yet it is specifically this transformation which proves conceptually problematic for oral history.

The concept that people remember in a social context has received considerable attention in historical circles. The importance of Maurice Halbwachs' notion of the 'memoire collective' and the work of Michael Frisch on the development of a public collective historical consciousness, have much to contribute to a 'closed' case study.[49] Astrid Eril argues:

> Societies do not remember literally; but much of what is done to reconstruct a shared past bears some resemblance to the processes of individual memory, such as the selectivity and perspectivity inherent in the creation of versions of the past according to present knowledge and needs.[50]

These aspects of memory formation and memory modification are especially important in the case study approach used here, as there is potentially considerable impact of both rehearsal and gravitation of memory towards a previously agreed or advanced position. The closed nature of a regional college, combined with a largely 'closed' employment destination, the NSW Department of Education, for many of the interviewees, potentially further emphasizes the importance of rehearsal and gravitation to a common position.

Additionally, it has been argued that,

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[48] Trevor Lummis, "Structure and Validity in Oral Evidence" in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 255.
[49] Maurice Halbwachs, Francis Ditter, Vida Ditter, *The Collective Memory* (New York, Harper & Row, 1980) 51-3; Michael Frisch, "Oral History and Hard Times: A Review Essay," *The Oral History Review* 7, (1979): 70-79.
[50] Astrid Eril, "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Eril, and Ansgar Nunning (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008), 5.

> the most common strategy for justifying the analogical leap from individual memories to 'memory' - social, cultural, collective, public, or whatever - is to identify memory as a collection of practices or material artefacts. This is the new structural memory, a memory that threatens to become Memory with a capital M.[51]

Within a case study approach, the contribution of the individual and collective testimony to the focus of the case study questions is important. While it seems logical that "individuals cannot share another's memory any more than they can share another's cortex",[52] there is clearly interaction through the process of remembering events as groups, with rehearsal moving the memory towards a "single collective voice". However, it is important that the collective nature of both experience and the "particular social and cultural milieu" are factored into any understanding of individual contribution to a case study.[53]

Notably here, the collective memory develops through the individual's participation in a group vision of the past.

> This Past cannot be remembered; it has to be memorized. The collective Memory is the crossover between semantic and episodic memory: it has to be acquired via learning, but only through internalization and rites of participation does it create the identity of "we.".[54]

These historical perspectives on memory are supported by four findings from psychological research into memory and recollection. The first is the notion that the process of memory construction means that often the "everyday" is not recalled as it is not attributed a meaning which is important in both memory formation and recollection. If an event is not important either personally (episodic memory) or externally (semantic memory) it is often not recalled.[55] Secondly, the processes of

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[51] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69, (Special issue: Grounds for Remembering 2000): 127-150, 135.
[52] James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), xi.
[53] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 246.
[54] Aleida Assmann, "Transformations between History and Memory," *Social Research* 75, no.1 (Spring 2008): 52.
[55] Assmann, "Transformations between History,"51 ;Lawrence Barsalou, "The Content and Organization of Autobiographical Memories," in *Remembering Reconsidered: Ecological and traditional approaches to the study of memory,* eds. Ulric Neisser and Eugene Winograd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 193-243.

retrieval and rehearsal led to improved future recall of events.[56] Thirdly, memory is social in nature and memory can help define an individual as a member of a group. Memory is structured through collective ideas and common experiences.[57] Finally, it can be just as important to observe what has been forgotten as what has been remembered. As Josephine May remarked: "Forgetting is a natural part of the memory process. It can be influenced by a number of factors: the saliency of the event; the emotional tone; rehearsal frequency; recollection; richness in cueing."[58]

According to Merriam, the importance of meaning in the processes of recollection and memory formation, makes it a logical fit for the case study approach which is itself looking for meaning. This is supported by Abrams who maintains that the use of oral narrative in historical contexts is so prevalent as to almost need no justification:

> Such has been the success of oral history that it is now a tried and tested research practice, embedded not only in historical research but also in a wide range of disciplines including ethnology, anthropology, sociology, health-care studies and psychology.[59]

To this is added the recognised value of oral history in accessing the events which operated "beyond" the official documentation, within the classrooms, the social events, and the lived experiences or staff and students.[60] In this case the oral narrative potentially 'entwines' with the documentary record to produce meaning and a more complete historical account of NTC.

Case Study

While there are many different definitions of what a case study is, there are certain key dimensions which are present in all of these definitions. The case study should be a 'defined' or 'bounded' event or entity, and the case should be able to be clearly distinguished from "other cases'. The types of evidence which contribute to the

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[56] Alan Baddeley, "The Psychology of Remembering and Forgetting" in *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind,* ed. Thomas Butler (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 58.
[57] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *New Perspectives on the Past: Social Memory* (London: Myriad, 1992), 25.
[58] May, "Gender, Memory," 38.
[59] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2.
[60] O'Donoghue, "History of Education Research," 808; Holbrook, "Methodological Development," 24.

understanding of the case can be extremely diverse, indeed case study research should rest upon multiple sources of evidence. Yin suggests that case study research should use six evidence sources: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations and physical artefacts. From a positivist viewpoint, is has been argued that the data sources should converge in a triangulating manner.[61] However qualitative techniques such as categorical aggregation and direct interpretation are advanced by more qualitatively oriented case study advocates.[62] In all definitions of case study, the focus on specific aspects of the case should also be clearly defined. In all designations, the benefit of using a case study is seen as allowing the development of a holistic picture of the event or institution under consideration, allowing a rich and textured history to emerge, and focusing on a deep understanding of the phenomenon.[63] As Rury commented:

> The case study is a mode of inquiry well suited to historical topics ... In particular, historians usually are interested in examining processes or change over time. Constructing narrative explanations of how events at one point influence developments at a later date, or how they are reflective of forces that have shaped change. Consequently, historians are naturally drawn to opportunities to examine such processes at particular locations, where documentary evidence of this sort - or similar types of evidence such as oral history participants - may be found.[64]

The history of a single educational institution is almost the archetypal educational history case study. In an institutional history, the "bounded system" referred to by Louis Smith and Robert Stake, or the "Unit of Analysis" referred to by Yin, or the "bounded context" of Merriam, forms both the definition of the case and in many cases the descriptive title of the work.[65] Likewise, Merriam's definition of a case study specifically uses an institutional history case as an example of "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an

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[61] Yazan, "Three Approaches," 142.
[62] See for example Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2002), 6.
[63] Yazan, "Three Approaches," 148.
[64] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 244.
[65] Robert Stake, "The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry," *Educational Researcher* 7, no. 2 (February 1978): 5–8; Yin, *Case Study*, 6; Sharan Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998), 178.

institution, a person, a process, or a social unit".[66] The importance of identifying the processes to be considered and the time frame for the study become the key issues in any such case study. Rury further argues:

> one of the principal strengths of the case study approach is that it affords an understanding of problems and accomplishments from the standpoint of the entity being considered, whether it is an individual, a group, an organisation or a nation.[67]

The case study approach also has clear limitations, some arguing that "case studies are only appropriate for the exploratory phase of an investigation".[68] While this argument has some traction in certain areas of the social sciences, in history, the argument is more difficult to sustain, given the large number of historical case studies that have produced explanatory or causal data.[69] Further the argument has been advanced that the close familiarisation with a person or organisation risks the development of a "proximity" effect which the research losing the appropriate level of detachment.[70]

The most serious of the criticisms levelled at case studies revolves around their utility once completed. As case studies, by definition, examine a single case, technically there are issues to be addressed in any attempt to make generalisations from those studies. "Strictly speaking, studies that examine single cases should not be utilized to make inferences about events or developments outside the cases in question".[71] Stake has distinguished between two different types of generalisation and suggested that "naturalistic" assertions could be made, but that more scientific generalisations would be beyond the scope of the case study method.[72] Flyvbjerg likewise suggests that certain types of generalisations can be made. In his work 'Five misunderstandings about Case-Study Research', he maintains that generalisation can be made in the absence of other forms of evidence.[73] He also maintains that case studies can be

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[66] Merriam, *Qualitative Research,* 178.
[67] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 246.
[68] Yin, *Case study research,* 6.
[69] For a more detailed discussion of this see Yin, *Case Study Research,* 6.
[70] Frank Schneider, Jamie Gruman, and Larry Coutts, *Applied Social Psychology Understanding and Addressing Social and Practical Problems*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2012), 354-5.
[71] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 247.
[72] Stake, "The Case Study," 5–8.
[73] Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research," *Qualitative Inquiry,* 12, no.2, (2006): 219-245.

useful to falsify a generalisation, by citing the famous metaphorical example of a single black swan being able to disprove the notion that 'all' swans are white.

Thus, extreme care should be taken when making historical generalisations from a case study. Additionally, it is important to be systematic in the development of the data collection and analysis strategies within the case study. It is also vital to remain attentive to the established focus questions. Despite these restrictions, case studies remain one of the most common historical approaches and allow "the historian to dig deeply into caches of documentary evidence, and to collect information through oral history interviews".[74] This is at least partly owing to the logistic convenience of a "localized" study which the case study approach encourages. Since the density of documentation is a point of distinction in the discipline, the ability to conduct research in such a confined setting is often hard to resist.[75]

Institutional History as Case Study

There is a long tradition of institutional history in the educational context. Histories of schools, universities, colleges and other institutions have long been the mainstay of a particular branch of researchers into the history of education. In 1936 Hasting Rashdall explained that: "Ideals pass into great historic forces by embodying themselves in institutions."[76] Institutional histories make contributions in a number of ways to the development of the historical narrative. First, institutional histories exist in their own right as historical representations of the institution which they are portraying. These historical representations also provide a convenient source for additional "wider studies". These can be either thematically based such as the work of Sizer, or geographically based such as the work of Wechsler *et al*. Theodore Sizer in his history of the North American academies claimed that quite often the comprehensive picture of a specific movement is only possible due to the creation of

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[74] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 245.
[75] Martha Howel and Walter Prevnier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 146.
[76] Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), for example see F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford 1936) vol.1 p.3 (cited in Evans, *The University of Cambridge).*

the history of institutions that were part of the movement.[77] For example, it is clear the comprehensive picture of the academies about which he writes is significantly informed through the individual institutional histories which form the discrete pieces of his treatise on the Academies Movement.[78]

The comprehensive volumes about higher education institutions within specific geographical areas across time, owe much to the individual institutional histories that shape them. The seminal *The History of Higher Education*[79] which concerns itself with the development of higher education in the United States, cites numerous institutional histories in its footnotes. Similarly, the comprehensive *History of the University in Europe* also identifies literally hundreds of institutional histories that contributed to the overall historical approach, and one of its editors, Ruegg, further pays tribute to the value of these histories in the development of the concepts which establish the themes of the work.[80] Likewise, the contributions of institutional histories, can inform geographically based historical sweeps of teacher preparation, such as Fraser's *Preparing America's Teachers: A History*, O'Donoghue, Hartford and O'Doherty's *Teacher Preparation in Ireland: History, Policy and Future Directions*, or Gardiner, O'Donoghue, and O'Neill's *Constructing the Field of Education as a Liberal Art and as Teacher Preparation at Five Western Australian Universities: An Historical Analysis*.[81]

Likewise, the contribution of histories of individual parts of major institutions can contribute to the development of the historical whole. The histories of the various colleges at Oxford, for example, contribute to Evans's history of the University as a

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[77] Theodore Sizer, *The Age of the Academies* (New York: Teachers College Columbia, 1964).
[78] For example, "New England Academics and Classical Schools," *American Journal of Education* 16 (1866), 410.
[79] Harold Wechsler, Lester Goodchild and Linda Eisenmann, *The History of Higher Education*, 3rd ed. (New York: Pearson, 2007).
[80] Walter Ruegg, *The History of the University in Europe,* 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University press,1992-2011), see particularly volume 1, 5-14.
[81] James Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers: A History*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007); Tom O'Donoghue, Judith Harford and Teresa O'Doherty, *Teacher Preparation in Ireland: History, Policy and Future Directions* (UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2017); Di Gardiner, Tom O'Donoghue, and Marnie O'Neill, *Constructing the Field of Education as a Liberal Art and as Teacher Preparation at Five Western Australian Universities: An Historical Analysis* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2011).

whole. [82] It is clear therefore that not only does the idea embody itself into the institution as Rashdal has suggested, but the institution becomes an implementation marker of the ideal. The transference is a two-way street and thus the history of the institution becomes a part of the history of the movements which shaped it. Further there is potential for the movement to be recursively transformed by this embodiment. In any case the potential importance of the institutional history is enhanced through the application of the idea through the specific site and situation of the institution.

The educational landscape is rich with institutional histories. David Crook has described the trend towards recording the history of institutions which were approaching termination or merger in Britain as part of the more general discussion on historical research in Britain. He quotes Bartle as observing a movement:

> to preserve memories of rapidly changing institutions before mergers and closures sweep them away. Everywhere it seems archives are being sorted and listed, storerooms ransacked, fading photographs restored and subscription lists organized. Yet in spite of the current fashion, the writing of a college history remains a tricky exercise. Former students (especially those of older generations) staff, governors, friends of the college, all those whom provide the local support which enables publication to take place, look for a memorial volume which will awaken old memories, preserve traditions, produce smiles and sighs. On the other hand the growing phalanx of serious minded educational and social historians, who form the wider market, welcome a judiciously selected local record which will throw light on the dimmer corners of national history. One group applauds the anecdotal, which sometimes borders on eulogy, the other values the analytical and critical.[83]

The same blend of critical and anecdotal offerings is also evident in the US institutional history scene. "For many years the celebratory institutional history occupied the field of higher education historiography almost unchallenged".[84] Dyer notes that the situation is subject to transformation and, writing in 1978, noted that:

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[82] For an example of the contribution of the history of individual college as an institutional history towards the history of a larger institutional history See "St Anne's College: A History" within Evans, *The University of Oxford*, 35.
[83] Crook, "Teacher Education," 64.
[84] Dyer, "Institutional Research," 284.

> a recent surge of interest in the History of American Higher Education has produced a new genre of institutional histories, which focus more critically upon the individual college's development.[85]

Adding, almost as an after-thought, that these could be used as case studies as the histories have been written "with an eye for the kinds of information institutional researchers could find helpful in understanding the background of these and other universities of similar character."[86] The work of Labaree, for example, in the *Trouble with Ed schools*, stands almost as the archetypal antidote to these celebratory works in the United States.[87]

The Australian educational scene has also produced numerous institutional histories which would please either the most critical or anecdotal reader. There is scarcely a private school in any capital city which has not commissioned an institutional history.[88] These range from the historically rigorous works by Sherington on the Shore school,[89] Bate on Geelong, and Turney on Sydney Grammar,[90] to the almost pamphlet like overview and website eulogies available for other schools.[91] As noted by Bessant, at least one of these volumes "did not even pretend to be a history", and when describing the history of Kings School,[92] he noted that it "drips with colour plates, self-congratulatory eulogies and abounds in florid prose with frequent declarations of loyalty to God, Queen (King) and Country".[93] Interestingly, with the exception of isolated works mainly on selective schools or special purpose schools such as Parker's work on MacRobertson Girls School or Bryant on the Victorian

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[85] Dyer, "Institutional Research," 284.
[86] Dyer, "Institutional Research," 284.
[87] David Labaree, *The Trouble with Ed Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
[88] For an overview of these histories in the 1980 See Bessant, "Progress and Revision," 67-84. Although this interpretation was not universally shared, see Martin Sullivan, "Who's Throwing Stones, not Bob Bessant?" *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of education* 54, no. 2 (1993) 67.
[89] Sheringham, *SHORE*.
[90] Cliff Turney, *Grammar: A History of Sydney Grammar School 1819-1988* (Sydney: Sydney Grammar school, 1989); Weston Bate, *Light Blue Down Under: The History of Geelong Grammar School* (Melbourne : Geelong Grammar School, 1990).
[91] See for example, David Adams, *The Jesuit School: a History* (Sydney: Lincoln Publications, 1997) or June Watson, *St. Mary's College School: Looking Back* (Melbourne: St Marys College, 1994), or the histories of Kings College, accessed May 16, 2019, http://www.kings.edu.au/about/history.php, August 14, 2015 or Kincoppal, Rosebay, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.krb.nsw.edu.au/1822/our-school/our-history, August 15, 2015.
[92] Lloyd Waddy, *The Kings School, 1931-1981, An Account* (Darlinghurst: The Kings School, 1981).
[93] Bessant, "Progress and Revision," 76.

School of Languages, and the work of Campbell,[94] the number of government school histories is certainly fewer.[95] Importantly the history of school based educational institutions has not generally received good historical 'press'. Theobald, lamented that "school histories have been a blight upon the landscape of historical research".[96] Selleck continued the criticism and urged historians to consider the development of schools within a broader social context.[97] Most directly, Bessant stated that: "School councils pay to have these paeans of praise to their school flung together".[98] McCulloch, when addressing the legacy of Whiggish approaches to history, indicates that:

> it lives on in many institutional histories of schools that celebrate the success of their own ancestors and predecessors, and often in general textbooks. It was a tradition that gave rise to works of impressive scholarship as well as to others of cloying sentimentality and some that died of boredom.[99]

In the Higher Education domain, the number of case studies addressing the histories of Australia's tertiary institutions is certainly no less prolific or diverse. The major universities are all represented in some form in terms of institutional histories, with some having multiple entries, in some cases by the same authors.[100] Again these range from the impressive multi-volume works on larger institutions such as Connell *et al*

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[94] Craig Campbell, "Inventing a Pioneering State High School: Adelaide High, 1908-1918," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 29, (2001): 5–20; and Craig Campbell, *Unley High School: 100 Years of Public Education* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2010).
[95] Pauline Parker, "Girls, Empowerment and Education: A History of The Mac.Robertson Girls' High School 1905– 2005" (PhD diss., RMIT University, 1996); and Catherine Bryant, "From 'Special Experiment' to State Specialist Language School: The Victorian School of Languages 1935 – 2015" (PhD diss., Swinburne University Of Technology**,** 2016). For a discussion of this see Craig Campbell, "The Social Origins of Australian State High Schools: An Historiographical Review," in *Toward the State High School in Australia: Social Histories of State Secondary Schooling in Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania 1850–1925,* Craig Campbell, Carole Hooper and Mary Fearnley-Sander (Sydney: ANZHES, 1990), 9-28.
[96] Marjorie Theobald, "Problems in Writing School Histories," *ANZHES Journal* 6, no.1 (1977): 22.
[97] Theobald, "Problems in Writing," 22.
[98] Bessant, "Progress and Revision," 76.
[99] McCulloch, *The Struggle,* 113.
[100] William Connell, Geoffery Sheringham, Brian Fletcher, Clifford Turney, and Ursula Bygott, *Australia's First, A History of Sydney University, Volume 2, 1940-1990*, (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1995); and Julia Horne and Geoffrey Sherington. *Sydney: The Making of a Public University (*Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2012); Richard Selleck, The Shop: The University of Melbourne 1850-1939 (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2003). and Stuart Macintyre and Richard Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne,* (Carlton,Vic: University of Melbourne Press, 2003).

on Sydney, to the briefer works on the smaller institutions such as the work by Mansfield and Hutchinson on Macquarie University or Davis on the University of Tasmania.[101] In almost all cases here the histories have been willing to expose the institution to critical comment and controversy. In the history of the University of Tasmania for example there is a complete section on the 'Orr case' and the University of Newcastle History includes comment on the Coral Bayley-Jones Case, neither incidents necessarily reflected well on the respective institutions. [102] The tradition within the university histories is to include such events, whereas this has not always been the case with school-based histories.[103]

As with school-based education, there have been a number of 'tangential historical works' in relation to Australian universities, which have adopted a more celebratory approach. The *Memories of Melbourne University* edited by Hume Dow which adopts an uncritical, and almost un-curated approach to the individual narratives supplied, is typical of such works.[104] It was presumably popular, as a second volume entitled *More Memories of Melbourne University* was released two years later.[105] More disciplined works, such as the history of the Adelaide University Union are less common in the field.[106] In the words of Campbell:

> there exist useful studies of individual universities and sometimes older colleges of advanced education. It is only very recently that studies are emerging that are both critical and comprehensive.[107]

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[101]Connell, et al., *Australia's First*; Bruce Mansfield and Mark Hutchinson, *Liberality of Opportunity, A History of Macquarie University, 1964-1989* (Sydney, Hale and IreMonger, 1992); Richard Davis, *Open to Talent: The Centenary History of the University of Tasmania, 1890-1990* (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1990).

[102] See Davis, *Open to Talent*, 147-157 and Wright, *Looking Back,* 191; While the specific details are not important here, for completeness further details are available on both of these issues in John Biggs, "The University of Newcastle: Prelude to Dawkins, in *The Subversion of Australian Universities,* eds. John Biggs and Richard Davis (Wollongong: Fund for Intellectual Dissent, 2002), 127-148, accessed June 10, 2019, https://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/dissent/documents/sau.

[103] Bryant, "From Special Experiment," 62.

[104] Hume Dow, ed. *Memories of Melbourne University; Undergraduate Life in the years Since 1917* (Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1983).

[105] Hume Dow, ed. *More Memories of Melbourne University; Undergraduate Life in the years Since 1919*, (Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1985).

[106] Margaret Finnis, *The Lower Level. A Discursive History of the Adelaide University Union* (Adelaide: Griffin Press Adelaide University, 1975).

[107] Craig Campbell, "History of Educational Research in Australia", *Espacio, Tiempo y Educaión 3,* No. 2 (2016): 9.

There has been considerably less historical focus on former teachers colleges and CAEs. The work by Anderson *et al* is the only study to attempt to address the issue nationally, albeit considering only the regional colleges.[108] Fishburn edited a study of nine regional teachers colleges in 1978, which was a collection of narratives about the colleges with no real attempt to compare or integrate the narratives.[109] In terms of histories of specific institutes the most notable are those of Sydney, Armidale, Balmain and Launceston.[110] These all have their origins in the 'amalgamation period' of the late 1980s, with all of them published shortly after the structural end of their respective institutions as independent bodies. As with the Universities, there have been institutes which have been the subject of multiple histories and perspectives, and again, sometimes by the same author.[111]

As with the institutional histories of other types of institutes, the diversity of historical approaches taken span the gamut from serious historical work, to work so celebratory in nature it has more in common with an advertising brochure than serious scholarship. While the work of Boardman *et al* on Sydney is certainly a well-researched and serious academic work, that is not universally true of all the published offerings in this space. There are often lists of students and staff, photographs of class groups and reports of the positive influence of important college figures, however, unlike their university counterparts, there is less of a tradition of including issues which showed the colleges in a more critical light.[112]

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[108] D.S. Anderson, K.J. Batt, D.G. Beswick, G.S. Harman, and C.S. Smith, *Regional Colleges: A study of Non-metropolitan Colleges of Advances Education in Australia.* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1975)

[109] Tim Fishburn, *The Regional College: Number 1. A Directory: A Study of Nine Regional Colleges* (Bathurst: Mitchell College of Advanced Education, 1978)

[110] Fist, *Gladly Teach*; Elphick, *The College on the Hill*; Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*; and Boardman, et al., *Sydney Teachers College.*

[111] See the various histories of Armidale college for examples of each of these, Newling Papers on the Founding of Armidale Teachers College, Armidale: Archives A457, University of New England Archives; Cecil Newling, *The Long Day Wanes,* (Hunter's Hill, NSW: Keller, 1973); Elwyn Elphick and Lionel Gilbert, *Forty-Three and Seven, A Short Illustrated History of the First Fifty Years of Teacher Education in Armidale* (Armidale, NSW: Armidale College of Advanced Education, 1978) and Elphick, *The College on the Hill*.

[112] As an example here, the works of Turney and Taylor and Elphick, have only very brief mentions of the student strikes at teachers colleges in the 1960s and 1970s, and in both cases do not mention the support, or lack of support, given by College staff, See for example Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 189 and 237, and compare this with the student positions put in the student magazines, *Attica* in 1967, and *The Collegian* 29, no. 4 (November 1967), 4.

In conjunction with works which address specific colleges are case studies that define their case through the content covered by the areas of study, such as Police Studies, Accounting or Nursing. Again, these can come in detailed form such as the work of Evans and Juchau on Accounting Education or be brief overviews which address the college's impact in passing such as Bessant's *Milestones in Australian Nursing.*[113] There are also studies on specific aspects of college life, such as the work by Potts on college academics or Harman on college mergers and individual biographies of significant individuals such as John Smyth and Alexander Mackie. [114] Also in this group are works such as those by Holbrook, in the recollections of students on their experiences across numerous colleges.[115]

To complement these specific institutional and subject-based works there have been many general surveys of the field, especially concerning the development and history of teacher preparation. This includes the two most important works in the field by Hyams, and Richardson and Bowen. Both take a chronological approach to the development of teacher training in Australia.[116] The survey-style overviews also include both general overviews within texts primarily concerned with a more holistic view of education,[117] as well as overview documents which set the context for other organisational studies or other educational movements.[118] The general histories of

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[113] Elaine Evans and Roger Juchau, *Colleges of Advanced Education in Australia: A lasting Legacy. A History of Accounting Education in Australian Colleges of Advanced Education* (Berlin: VDM, 2009); Bob Bessant, "Milestones in Australian Nursing," *Collegian Journal* 6, No.4, (1999): i-iii, accessed December 12, 2017, at https://www.collegianjournal.com/article/S1322-7696(08)60610-1/pdf.
[114] Anthony Potts, "College Voices: What have we Lost?" *History of Education Review* 40, no. 2 (2011): 142-155; Grant Harman, "Institutional Amalgamations and Abolition of the Binary System in Australia under John Dawkins," *Higher Education Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (1991): 176-198; Andrew Spaull And L. Mandelson, "The College Principals- J. Smyth and A. Mackie, in *Pioneers of Australian Education Volume 3: Studies in the Development of Education in Australia, 1900-1950*, ed. Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1982), 81-117.
[115] Allyson Holbrook, "A Chorus of Condemnation: Memories of NSW Teacher's Colleges 1940s-1950s," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* 16, (1994): 37-45.
[116] Bernard Hyams, *Teacher Preparation in Australia, A History of its Development from 1850 to 1950* (Melbourne: ACER,1979): James Richardson and James Bowen, *The Preparation of Teachers in Australia*. (Melbourne: F.W.Cheshire, 1967).
[117] See for example Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980)*;* or William Connell, *Reshaping Australian Education 1960-1985,* (Hawthorn, Vic: ACER, 1993) which have specific sections on the tertiary sector and works such as Craig Campbell and Helen Proctor, *A history of Australian schooling*. (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2014) which deal with the same issues through a lens of school-based education.
[118] See for example "A Brief History of Teacher Education" in Josephine May, Allyson Holbrook, Ally Brown, Greg Preston, and Bob Bessant, *Claiming a Voice, The First Thirty-Five Years of the Australian Teacher Education Association,* (Bathurst: ATEA, 2009).

Australian education also often have sections on teacher training, and the works of Barcan and Campbell are particularly useful in this regard.[119] These works all have particular approaches to both educational history and the themes present in the development of teacher training/education which are further explored in chapter three of this work, but importantly here, are either examples of case studies themselves, or situations where the production of case studies have provided the 'raw data' for the historical exposition of the selected theme.

A common theme which runs through the many of these institutional histories, and indeed the general overviews, is the importance of the location of the educational events or educational 'place', whether this is part of defining the bounds of the case or simply the impact of the 'site' of the case,[120] it is clear that the location is important to the emerging history of an educational institution.[121] There are specific dimensions of the location which influence the development, growth and transformation of the institute. Therefore, while the institutional histories of teachers colleges often cover similar time periods and common events, the lived experience of the 'entities', and the people who studied and worked within them, is not the same; the cases are different.

Within this framework therefore, the most useful conclusion on the historiographical and methodological dilemmas facing this project are suitably summed up by Breisach:

> the ideal of a "final" and "perfect" history might have some usefulness as a spur to achieve the best possible explanations and understandings of the past. But as the history of historiography demonstrates, claims to have achieved finality inevitably turn out to be illusions. Even a quest driven by certainty about the aim yields too easily to simplistic means to get there and claims one got there. On the other hand, the absence of timelessness and perfection from historiography does not make the endeavour to write history a useless enterprise. Each historical account, resulting from a skilled and serious effort, contributes a deposit of knowledge about how life was led and perceived.[122]

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[119] Alan Barcan, *A Short History of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney: Martindale Press, 1965); Barcan, *Australian Education*; Alan Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, (Kensington: NSW University Press, 1988); Campbell and Proctor, *A History of Australian Schooling*; and Campbell, "History of Education Research".
[120] Yin, *Case Study Research*; Stake, "The Case Study Method".
[121] See for example Turner and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, 1-4.
[122] Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern,* 3rd ed, (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 4.

In this study the case is the NTC during the period 1949 to 1989, with the specific focus being the research questions identified in chapter one. The analysis used in this case study, described in more detail below, is drawn from Merriam's overview of data analysis in a case study as:

> the process of making sense out of the data. And making sense out of the data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read - it is the process of making meaning.[123]

The definitions and processes of the case study method employed by Merriam are closely aligned with the systematic approach of historical analysis, while allowing the flexibility to explore the diverse contributions of varying data sources. Similarly, the strategies suggested by Merriam to enhance internal and external validity and reliability within a case study sit well with the traditional historical tools of primary and secondary source evaluation and with those of the oral historian. Specifically, Merriam suggests the use of triangulation, member-checks, disclosure of research bias, the use of triangulation and data trails, as well as thick descriptions and the use of modal and typicality categories within data exploration.[124] It is not sufficient to simply avoid 'cloying sentimentality'. A genuinely focused approach is required to explore the transformational nature of educational paradigms within the case study context.[125]

An Entwined History Approach

In this study both qualitative case study method[126] and a traditional combination of oral and documentary historiography are aligned. It is not uncommon in institutional history for both oral and documentary historiography to be used together to add insights into individual and collective experiences and to cross-calibrate details of events. The alignment with a case study approach provides parameters for working

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[123] Merriam, *Qualitative Research,* 178.
[124] Merriam, *Qualitative Research,* 178.
[125] McCulloch, *The Struggle,* 113.
[126] See Merriam, *Qualitative Research*.

with the historical sources in a way that adds a depth of dimension to their combination. This approach has been given the name 'entwined' history. In this way the approach to the sources offers greater potential for understanding both setting and events than through historical interpretation alone. In the entwined history approach, there is recognition of the equality of importance of sources within all stages of the development of the case study (collection, analysis and findings), with the case as the foundation of the study. While based on traditional integrated historical methods, the innovation of this approach is the overt acceptance of 'voice' inherent in both oral and documentary data sources.[127] Likewise, the process of both validation and the visibility of that validation is important within the entwined approach itself. The entwined approach uses commonly employed traditional historiographical validation methods which, either overtly or covertly, require the validation of oral and documentary sources "against" each other.[128] Within the entwined history approach, however, the validation does not require the sources that are conflicting to be devalued as incorrect. In line with the work of Lummis and Holbrook, both can be accepted as part of the 'case' which is acting as the foundation of the study and therefore both can contribute to the emerging history of the institution.[129]

Within this 'entwined history' approach, the value of traditional historical analysis remains, despite the previously discussed changes in both theoretical historiography and priority in analysis. Importantly, the "new wave" has come but has transformed rather than washed away the methods and structures of traditional history. This thesis therefore is positioned to utilize both oral narrative and traditional documentary analysis within this theoretical framework. The relationship between the sources proposed here is like the double helix present in DNA. The oral and documentary sources entwined, with the sources describing both independent and duplicated events. Ultimately, together, the entwined strands contribute to the emerging historical case which provides an understanding of the institution in greater detail and with greater precision than either strand could do alone. It is within this theoretical

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[127] See Lummis, "Structure and Validity," for the foundation of this approach.
[128] Perks and Thomson, "Introduction," 3.
[129] Lummis, "Structure and Validity," 255; Holbrook, "Methodological Development," 26.

and methodological framework of an 'entwined history' approach that the data for this project has been collected, selected, analysed, and evaluated.

Data Sources: Data Collection and Analysis

Whilst the product of this research is a single institutional history, the techniques involved in the collection and analysis of information to support this thesis fall into two distinct categories. These categories are in line with the ideological and theoretical distinctions outlined above. These are the collection and analysis of traditional documentary data, and the creation and analysis of interview data.

Documentary Data

The documentary data used in this study is a combination of primary and secondary source material and includes both public and private records. The secondary sources have largely been explored above as examples of the case study approach common in the educational history field. The primary sources and secondary sources specific to this project are detailed below.

Secondary Sources

There have been various previous attempts to construct histories of NTC. The first two, since abandoned, were attempts to construct comprehensive histories of teacher training at NTC. On amalgamation, a former Lecturer at the NCAE was commissioned to write a history of the NTC which was to be the companion volume to the work of Don Wright on the University of Newcastle. Unfortunately, illness prevented it from making much headway.[130] Likewise, a comprehensive history was

[130] Interview 23_A_M1974.

begun by Mr Peter Brandon in the late 1990s, and while this resulted in a survey of past students, and a number of publications, this too was not completed.[131]

There have been four 'pamphlet' publications which were produced to commemorate distinct events. The first was published in 1988. Entitled *Speaking of Union Street ....*, it is a series of recollections produced to contribute to the Australian Bicentennial Celebrations in 1988 and mark 40 years of teacher education in the Hunter Region.[132] The second was produced to mark the retirement of a large number of staff from the then School of Education in the University of Newcastle. As part of the restructure of the Faculty of Education, a number of staff were offered redundancy packages, and six of these staff members collaborated with Mr Tom Griffiths on a school-funded project to contribute to a set of recollections that were published in the work *Training Better Teachers*.[133] The final two items were designed to be included as brief overviews of history included in the commemorative material given to attendees at the 40th anniversary and 60th anniversary celebrations respectively. The first is a 'Highlights' document which listed a calendar of events from 1949 to 1989 in dot point form.[134] The second was produced by the School of Education, and contained a section written by this author on the history of teacher preparation in the Institution from 1949 to 2008. [135] All of these four works clearly fall into the celebratory style of institutional history, and while useful documents for their contemporary purposes, none has provided much in the form of cohesive review of the period under investigation.

Additionally, there are many references to the specifics of NTC in the general works (mentioned above) of Alan Barcan, a long time lecturer at the institution, and there

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[131] Peter Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan: A Paper in Progress on his Life and Work in the Training of Teachers in the Hunter Region, 1949-1960," *Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Annual Conference* 1, (1998): 22-34; and Peter Brandon, ,"The Founding of Newcastle Teachers College and Its Early Years: An Historical Overview," (Paper delivered at the IER (Newcastle Branch) Educational Research Mini-Conference, University of Newcastle, Saturday, 19 October 1996).

[132] Jess Dyce, ed., *Speaking of Union Street . . .": Reminiscences of Newcastle Teachers' College 1949-1973*, (Newcastle: Hunter Institute of Higher Education, 1988).

[133] Tom Griffith, ed., *Training Better Teachers: reflections on work and the NTC, CAE, HIHE & Faculty*, (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 1996).

[134] *Hunter Institute of Higher Education: Highlights of our 40 year history* (Newcastle: Hunter Institute Print, 1989).

[135] Greg Preston, "A Brief History....," in Greg Preston and Jenifer Gore, *Celebrating 60 Years of Teacher Education* (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 2009).

are specific sections on teacher training in the Hunter in his work "Secondary Education in the Hunter"[136] , and the work of staff at the college in the early period is addressed in *Halfway to Heaven.*[137] There were also a number of interviews completed with former students as part of the celebration of 60 years of teacher education in Newcastle.[138] Despite two previous attempts and significant activity around historical events at the institution, there is no comprehensive history of the College itself.

Primary Sources

The archives at the University of Newcastle contain substantial holdings in relation to the Newcastle CAE (1975-1988) and the Hunter Institute of Higher Education (1989). These records include meeting notes, formal handbooks, reports to and from external agencies, officially tabled documents and individual correspondence.[139] Unfortunately, the records relating to the NTC period (1949-1974) of the College's history are less common, with only various handbooks, and student and college magazines extant. Additionally, there are some photographic archives for the NTC, and comprehensive local newspaper archives at this location. Some records of NTC are held in the NSW State archives having been sent to this location at the time of amalgamation. This site also contains significant documentary evidence concerning the administration of teachers colleges in general and various state documents on educational policy and items such as the minutes of general state meetings and the NSW Educational Gazette. Importantly however, many of the institutional archives of the NTC for the period 1949 to 1974 no longer exist.

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[136] Alan Barcan, *Secondary Education in the Hunter Valley 1829-1980,* (Newcastle: Newcastle University, 1997).
[137] Alan Barcan, "Halfway to Heaven," *AQ : Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 81, no.3 (May-June 2009): 25-29.
[138] These were video interviews conducted primarily by the author to obtain footage for various collages of images for the celebratory event conducted in 2009. The interviews were often group interviews. All of the individuals who were interviewed as part of that process were also interviewed for this thesis.
[139] See the Bibliography for full details.

Archives relating to the NSW Teachers College Association are also located at the University of New England Library. Federal policy documents are available through the Australian National Archive. There is a growing trend for such documents to become available through electronic sources, and all of these archives are providing increased access to the digital versions of these documents. The NTC handbooks are now available in an almost unbroken run from 1950 through to 1989 in PDF form from the University of Newcastle Archive online presence.[140] The NSW state records and archives have also provided digital access to their catalogues, and selected records through the internet.[141] Similarly, the national archive has substantial indexing of government records available through the "Your Story, Our History" archive records search portal.[142] Many additional records from the national archive are also being made available through third party sites with specific purposes. A good example here is the "VOCED Plus" which is National Centre for Vocational Education Research's international tertiary education research database.[143] Similarly Australian newspaper records are increasingly accessible through the 'Trove' website.[144]

In addition to the publicly held archives, the researcher has built up a substantial set of documents relevant to the project including course outlines, yearbooks, handbooks, photographs, and personal papers from ex-students and staff. The personal records of Ian Renwick (former Lecturer and Deputy Principal of NTC 1952 to 1963[145]) and Ada Renwick (NTC Lecturer, and Warden of Women students 1962-1968[146]), who were both staff members at NTC are in the author's possession, as are the personal documents of Mr Fred Preston, a student of NTC in the 'Pioneer Group', 1949-50.

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[140] At the beginning of this study this resource was not available and many of the documents now digitised were collected as part of this project. For the digital versions of the NTC Calendars see Newcastle University Library digital archives accessed May 16, 2019, http://libguides.newcastle.edu.au/uonarchives/handbooks, for the annual reports see NCAE Annual Report, accessed May 16, 2019, http://libguides.newcastle.edu.au/uonarchives/ncaeannualreports.
[141] NSW State Archives and Records accessed May 16, 2019, http://records.nsw.gov.au and digitised copies of items such as NSW Yearbooks are available through the Australian Bureau of statistics site, accessed May 16, 2019, http://www.abs.gov.au.
[142] The Online version of the Australian National Archives are located at http://naa.gov.au.
[143] The information available at voced.edu.au is produced by the National Centre for Vocational Education Research(NCVER) and has most of the important review documents in full, for example the Murray report, accessed May, 16, 2019, is located at http://www.voced.edu.au/print/1128328.
[144] Trove website accessed May 16, 2019, http://trove.nla.gov.au.
[145] *Altjiringa Annual 1964*, (Newcastle: Newcastle Teachers College, 1964), 9.
[146] *Altjiringa Annual 1968*, 4.

Additionally, the project itself allowed for the collection of additional documentation as part of the interview process (see below). More than fifty individuals donated photos, documents, reports, and other historical artefacts to the researcher during the data collection phase of the project.[147] The use of photographic material within the work is primarily illustrative rather than interpretive, however the selection of photographic material to include in this work owes much to the work of Kim Senior and Julianne Moss on using visual material to interpret school cultures, and the work of Julie Macleod on reading images of school spaces.[148] Within this context the recognition of the assumptions of realism of photographic material, suggested by Edwards and Hart needs to be recognised, and the photographic material in this work is therefore primarily illustrative of the emerging narrative.[149] While the analysis of this data acknowledges a hermeneutical or dialectical approach to historical interpretation, as discussed above, this data has been analysed using traditional historical analysis techniques in an effort to establish a contextual framework within which the interviews, described below, can be situated.[150]

Interview data

About the Interviewees

There were 96 interviews conducted between June 2006 and February 2014. All of the interviewees had volunteered to be part of the project and all the interviews were conducted by the researcher. The participants all had direct contact with NTC during

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[147] All of these documents will be donated to the University of Newcastle Archives section on completion of this project.

[148] See for example Julie McLeod, Philip Goad, Julie Willis and Kate Darien-Smith, "Reading Images of School Buildings and Spaces: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue on Visual Research in Histories of Progressive Education," in *Visual Research Methods in Educational Research, eds.* Jullianne Moss and Barbara Pini, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 15-35, and Kim Senior and Julianne Moss, "The Use of the Visual to Interpret School Cultures" in *Visual Research Methods in Educational Research*, eds. Jullianne Moss and Barbara Pini (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 75-99.

[149] Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London: Routledge, 2003).

[150] For a further exploration of these approaches beyond the brief discussion above, see Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History 3rd ed.,* (London: MacMillian, 1989), 220-4; Michael Bentley, ed., *Companion to Historiography* (London:Routledge, 1997), and McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research.*

the period 1949-1989. The initial recruitment process was started with the participants through professional associations, newspaper advertisements, and various social media groups. Following the return of the indication of interest, the interviewee received a participant information package, which detailed how they could become involved in the project. The package also contained the formal interview approval documents and the request for any memorabilia or artefacts, (see appendix D). Once the participant responded to the information package, the researcher arranged a suitable time and place for the interview. Wherever possible, the interview was conducted in a location of the participant's choosing, and this was generally either at the University of Newcastle, or in the home of the interviewee. Two interviews were conducted at the University of New England, and one at the University of Melbourne.

There were primarily two groups of individuals interviewed for the project consisting of 25 former academic staff and 55 former students.[151] In addition to these groups there were a number of professional staff interviewed, this included secretarial staff, librarians, media production staff and administrative staff, and three people who had other contact with the NTC, being on various advisory boards such as college council. Finally, there were five individuals interviewed who had been both students and staff members of NTC and agreed to be interviewed about their experiences in both contexts. While more complete details of the interviewees is provided in appendix A, an overview of the interviewees gender and relationship with NTC is contained in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Interviews Conducted by Relationship with NTC and Gender.

Relationship with NTC	Total	Males	Females
Academics	25	11	14
Students	55	17	38
Professional staff	8	3	5
Other	3	2	1
Academic and student	5	4	1
Total	**96**	**38**	**58**

[151] In some cases, individuals who had been both students and staff members only agreed to talk about one dimension of their experience (either as staff member or as student). These have been classified within the context of the interview conducted. See details in appendix A-4.

Traditionally, the number of interviews conducted in a research project, particularly one which is case study, would be determined by notions of theoretical points of data saturation. Many qualitative approaches to interviewing identify methods to calculate theoretical saturation and thus construct a theoretical minimum number of interviews to be performed prior to reaching maximum variability within the data set.[152] These methods were not used in this project for two reasons. First the period of time covered by the NTC meant that there was the possibility of considerable variation in the lived experiences of students and staff across time. The coverage required was not of a single point in time, but across the period of 41 years. Individuals interviewed at 'either end' of this time continuum, could potentially have little knowledge of the earlier or later times, and while their perceptions of those periods are interesting, that data is of a qualitatively different type than that which is usually assessed in a measure of data saturation. So even Kuzel's generous recommendation of twelve to twenty-eight data sources when "trying to achieve maximum variation" would have potentially left many historical periods without representation.[153]

Second, the project had the opportunity to record the stories of these individuals to form part of an ongoing historical archive. It was therefore decided that rather than use a system that would minimise the number of interviews conducted, the number of interviews conducted would be maximised, within the available time frame of the study. Additionally, a conscious decision was taken to prioritize the interviews of individuals whose experience with the NTC was the 'earliest', to ensure that these memories were recorded before they were permanently lost. The number of interviews conducted, listed by the time of the interviewees first contact with the NTC is listed in Table 2.2. A more comprehensive graphic representation of the interviewees, including specific year of first contact is located in appendix A-4.

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[152] See for example Greg Guest, Arwen Bunce, and Laura Johnson, "How many Interviews are enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability," *Field Methods* 18, no. 1 (2006): 59-82.
[153] Anton Kuzel, "Sampling in Qualitative Inquiry," in Doing Qualitative Research eds., Benjamin Crabtree and William. Miller (Newbury Park, California: Sage ,1992), 41.

Table 2.2. Number of Interviewees Grouped by Period of First Contact with NTC.

Year	Total	Students	Academics	Academic and Student	Professional	Other Staff
1949-1958	30	19	7	1	1	2
1959-1968	22	13	4	3	2	0
1969-1978	25	13	9	1	2	0
1979-1989	19	10	5	0	3	1
Total	**96**	**55**	**25**	**5**	**8**	**3**

In the table above, the larger number of interviews attributable to the first ten years of the College is an indicator of the overt decision to ensure that as many people who had an early contact with the college were included in the interview sample. Further, the number displayed for the last period, 1979-1989, has the smallest number of both students and academics. The number of academics whose interviews cover this period however is substantially larger, given that many of those whose first contact with the College was in the 1969-78 period were still at the College in the lead up to amalgamation in 1989. Indeed, many of these two groups were still members of staff at the time the interviews were conducted.

Interestingly, but at least partly coincidently, each year between 1949 and 1961 is represented by at least one interview of both a staff member and a student. That is, there is an interview which 'touches' each year of the college's existence within both the student interviews and staff interviews. Of course, there are many years which are touched by many interviews, with 1976 having 22 interviewees who were present at the college in that year. The full diagrammatic representation of this is included in appendix A-4.

There were a number of specific curriculum domains which were addressed in the interviews. By far the greatest number of interviewees came from the education/teaching courses within the college. This was to be expected given the priority given to the early narratives, and the fact that the institution only included 'non-teaching' courses for the last fifteen years of its existence. However, individuals from across the range of courses were included. Table 2.3 indicates the broad discipline areas of those who took part in the interviews. The divisions used in the

table are those employed in the final college handbook for 1989.[154]A more complete analysis of this information is included in appendix A-4.

Table 2.3. Area of Study of Interviewee.

Year	Total	Education	Administration and Technology	Health	Visual and Performing Arts
1949-1958	30	30	0	0	0
1959-1968	22	22	0	0	0
1969-1978	25	16	1	5	3
1979-1989	19	11	2	3	3
Total	**96**	**78**	**3**	**9**	**6**

The Interview Process

The interviews conducted followed an interview schedule (appendix A5 and A6). There were different interview schedules for ex-staff and ex-students and an 'on-the-fly' protocol was developed for those whose contact with NTC did not fit these categories. The interviews generally took place in the home of the participant and all the interviews were conducted by the researcher face-to-face. They were centred around the following themes:

a) the administrative and governance structure of the College,
b) the response of the College to external policy directions,
c) course and program development,
d) staff profiles and qualifications,
d) student and collegiate life,
e) the relationship of the College with external bodies, and
f) the relationship of the College with the region.

However, in each interview the structure was set by the interviewees themselves.

[154] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 5.

This allowed the interview to take on a much more participant directed feel, with considerable individuality evident in the scope and sequence of the material discussed.

> In this way they were empowered to become the historians of their own lives, collecting data, sifting it and exploring it for meaning. In actuality, the interviewees were the oral historians.[155]

There was a deliberate attempt to avoid what the researcher calls the "serve and volley" approach to interview technique, where the interviewee is simply "playing back" what the interviewer has placed before them. This more reflexive and open approach owes much to the work of Anderson and Jack and can be characterised through the phrase "learning to listen".[156]

Each interview lasted between 20 minutes and 124 minutes, with the longest interview being with a person who had detailed recollections as both a student and later as a staff member.[157] In each interview field notes were taken and, where appropriate, any documents or photos that the interviewee presented were explored. As part of the conclusion to the interview, participants were asked to reaffirm that they were happy that the interview which had just been conducted was to form part of a research project, and the appropriate level of consent was obtained.

There were two levels of consent used in the project. The first was an 'unconditional consent waiver', and the second was a 'conditional waiver' where the participant was able to apply conditions to the usage of the recording or transcript. Examples of both waivers are located in appendix D. Only one participant imposed conditions on the use of their interview. This was an interviewee who had been a member of staff of NTC and was still employed by the University of Newcastle. They requested that all the names of the individuals mentioned in the interview be redacted.

The second form which was completed at the conclusion of the interview related to the archiving of the interview recording. The participant was given the choice

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[155] May, "Gender, Memory," 45.
[156] Katheryn Anderson and Dana Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis" in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 130-131.
[157] Interview 32_B_M1953.

between having their interview archived or not. The vast majority elected to have the recording archived (86). It was also possible to have an embargo placed on the availability of the recording. The embargo period selected was 30 years in line with the 'Thirty Year Rule' used for many government documents in Australia and the UK.[158] Twenty-three participants selected to have their interview embargoed. Full details of the forms used for this process and the specific interviews in each category are detailed in appendix D and appendix A respectively.

Interview Analysis and Post Interview Procedures

The field notes taken during the interview were expanded immediately following the conclusion of the interview. Each interview was transferred from the recording medium (cassette tape) to a digitized form and initially stored as an MP3 file on the researcher's computer. In each case the researcher, with the aid of voice recognition software, transcribed the interview.[159] The interviews were each allocated a 10 digit code, and it is this code that is used to identify the interview fragments within this work. The first two letters are the Interview number (01-96). This is followed by a dash and then the code for the interview type . The types of the interviews are abbreviated to a single letter code as detailed below:

Academic = A
Professional = P
Student= S
Academic/Student = B (this is short for both)
Other= O

This is then followed by an underscore_ and the Gender (M, F) of the interviewee. The interview code is completed with a four digit number which indicates the interviewee's year of first contact with NTC. Thus the female Academic Staff

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[158] See the *Archives Act 1983 (amended 2009)* for the Australian stipulations*, and the Public Records Act 1958 (as amended 1967)* for the UK legislation.
[159] The software used was Dragon Dictate for the Macintosh V2.0, Dragon Systems. The software proved unsatisfactory for general transcription, however it was used for a 'first pass' where the recording was extremely clear, and the language used and accent were uncomplicated.

member who began working at NTC in 1957, and was recorded as interview 25 was be coded as 25_A_F1957.[160] This coding system allowed for at least a minimal context of the interviewee to be in the proximity of the quote fragment.

The transcriptions reported in this work, have often had the names of individuals or specific places (for example, schools) removed for ethical reasons. Where this is the case the convention of square brackets enclosing the class of item removed is used. For example "I had a very nasty experience with the principal of [School name] during my first practicum."

Following the transcription, the participant was given a digitised copy of the interview (CD) and if requested, a printed copy of the transcript. They were given an opportunity to amend or clarify anything that they wished to address.[161] The transcribed data was first read through to aid the researcher's identification of theoretical and conceptual themes emerging in the work. These themes formed the basis of the first round of coding as the material was entered into Nvivo and line-coded. This was done for both practical reasons and following the work of Richardson and Richardson, to enhance the reliability of the analysis.[162] The second set of coding nodes was based on the categories proposed within the interview schedule. The third set of coding was based on the domain of the content. This was specifically targeted at the area which the memory related to in terms of the goals of the NTC as specified at the opening of the College, and identified by Connell as the pillars of education in NSW: "self-education", "teaching methods" and "cultural transmission/personal behaviour".[163] The final level of coding was based on linguistic and value attributes.[164] These were: consideration of the nature of the event; observation of

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[160] See further details on the coding in appendix A-3.
[161] During the project none of the 96 interviewees elected to amend or modify anything in the transcript of substance. Two interviewees provided amendments to the names of individuals that they had spoken about – "Jean" was in fact "Joan" and the name of one of the lecturers who took a particular class was amended.
[162] Lyn Richards and Tom Richards, "The Transformation of Qualitative Method: Computational Paradigms and Research Processes," in *Using Computers in Qualitative Research*, eds., Nigel G. Fielding, & Raymond M. Lee (London: Sage, 1991), 38-53.
[163] William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.
[164] Pat Bazeley and Kristi Jackson, *Qualitative data analysis with Nvivo, 2nd ed.* (London:Sage, 2013); Elaine Welsh, "Dealing with Data: Using NVivo in the Qualitative Data Analysis Process," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung* 3, no. 2 (May, 2002), Art 26, accessed May 15,2019, http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/865/1881.

markers of rehearsal; and an understanding on the interviewee's perspective on their role in the recalled event. This included the coding of the speech events as about "me/I", "us/our group", or "them/they to clarify the narrator's perspective.[165]

Additional consideration was given to the nature of the responses themselves based on dimensions such as the categories of qualitative understanding and Passerini's textual analysis.[166] The recordings were thus coded first on structural and conceptual themes then on the context-based themes, and finally on linguistic characteristics. As with many explorations of oral testimony, it could be said that the exploratory approach here moved conceptually from the deductive, to the inductive and finally to the abductive, as the search for explanations of 'best fit' were sought. For full details of the coding nodes and processes, see appendix A-3.

Triangulation of Data Sets

Whilst acknowledging the limitations both of the data collected and the underlying philosophical weaknesses within the methods used, these types of data lend themselves to specific forms of both interpretation and analysis. The alternate lenses of analysis provided the complementary and at times opposing views of the institutional events and processes. Thus, the final stage of the analysis involved the cross-tabulation and triangulation of the interdependent data sets to produce a cohesive picture of the nature of the College based on the previously identified key issues. Importantly, the data used here are clearly not independent, but interdependent. The method used here is partly based on the work of Lummis which shows how the use of "aggregation and tabulation" of specific accounts can be used to "create generalisations about historical behaviours and attitude."[167] While this approach has been criticised for being 'positivistic', it does seem clear that regardless of:

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[165] Full details of this process are contained in appendix A-3.
[166] Joseph Maxwell, "Understanding and Validity in Qualitative Research," *Harvard Educational Review* 62, no.3 (1992): 279-300; Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[167] Lummis, "Structure and Validity," 255.

> Whether retrospective interviewing is capable of establishing "factual' data, or whether it can only record an interpretation of previous facts, structuring the evidence is equally valuable.[168]

The interdependent nature of the data sources is true both of the collection and the analysis. The points extracted from the documentary history, acted as points of reference or discussion within interviews, primarily – but not exclusively-when the documents were supplied by those being interviewed. In terms of the analysis, many of the comments and discussions only 'made sense' within the context that the history provided,[169] thus the lived experience and the documentary record of that experience are inevitably entwined. Similarly, the interviews themselves often only "make sense' within the broader frameworks of the documentary evidence. The chapters which specifically address key themes (chapters four to eight) therefore do not attempt to identify 'how it was' but 'how it was for these individuals', and through this lens combined with others, to construct an institutional history. Given the philosophical position adopted above, it is not maintained that this is the only possible historical construction of the issues addressed, however the balance of traditional documentary analysis and oral history has produced a multifaceted historical interpretation of NTC based on abductive techniques.

Importantly, it is also at the intersection of these two data sources that considerable historical interest resides. Throughout the study, the analysis of the two data sources has specially been monitored to identify points of digression and agreement between the data sets. In short, the points of intersection between the data sets have been quantified and classified to explore themes, patterns and contextual markers. This has led to the identification of varying 'types' of intersections, which in turn, has allowed for the development of indicators of types of memories that are more or less likely to agree with the written record within this project. Importantly there is no attempt to 'privilege'[170] one data form over another within this comparison. Instead the mismatch is presented as divergent views on the institution or event. It is not deemed necessary for a single historical truth to emerge, simply that the patterns are allowed

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[168] Lummis, "Structure and Validity," 255.
[169] See for example the discussions on the "Crago Method" in Preston, "A Brief History…".
[170] Stephenson, "Timeless Projects,"3.

to emerge through the data. It is more important that all of the historical agents have voice within the process than that there is historical resolution.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study can be divided into three broad areas. These are deliberations on the interviews, the documentary sources, and the interpretation of both of these sources. In line with the work of Lummis, it is the recognition of these issues which potentially allows the work to be assessed by the reader, and invariably, some of the weaknesses emerge as inevitable consequences of positive attributes of the study.[171] It is however important to recognise these dimensions to ensure that proper use is made of the conclusions which follow. The first area concerns the limitations of the interviews.

Limitations of the Interviews

There are a number of issues around the mixture of interviews present in this study based on both conscious decisions taken and logistical and sampling anomalies, which may have provided a distorted historical view of NTC. First, the decision to concentrate on the older students and staff, while ensuring that the memories of these participants were recorded, had the potential to produce an unbalanced view of NTC where the College's early days were overrepresented, or the oral narrative was given greater precedence during this period.

Perhaps more importantly, those who were interviewed tended to have continued their contact with the Teachers College. While few were 'openly hostile', most had fond memories of either all, or at least parts, of their experiences. The recruitment methods, of approaching groups such as student reunion groups, ex-lecturers' associations, and others who had any ongoing relationships with the institution helped to produce this effect. The use of newspaper, electronic media, and word of mouth recruiting did little

[171] Lummis, "Structure and Validity," 255.

to change the dominance of those who had maintained some association with the institution. Further, when these recruitment groups are supplemented by individuals who maintained a working relationship with the profession that they trained for, the interview group is almost completely described. There were no students interviewed who did not complete their programs, and all had spent some time as teachers. Therefore, the students who would potentially have given the least favourable comments about the College were not given voice in this study. Similarly, those staff who had severed all connection with the College for whatever reason, but certainly including those who were dissatisfied with aspects of college life, were not present in the group interviewed. While there is no guarantee that the groups not present would have provided a different perspective on the events discussed, it is important to note their absence from the discussion. Of course, this is common, and almost unavoidable with institutional histories.[172]

Likewise, the number of interviewees for each of the programs and discipline areas did not always produce a meaningful data set for those programs. For example, there were only three interviews conducted that related to the area titled 'Administration and Technology' and this made it more difficult to establish general trends from the personal experiences described. This is clearly reflected in the work. There is no doubt that this work has the teacher education role of NTC as its central theme, with the additional subject areas and later development being primarily juxtaposed with the trainee teachers' educational experiences rather than fully developed in their own right.

This could also be argued as being true for the eurocentric nature of the interviewees. There was only one interviewee who identified as Indigenous Australian, and two who identified as being of Asian descent. The majority of the interviewees, and all of the staff interviewees, appeared to be Anglo-European, however, there was no overt opportunity to self-identify national or cultural origin within the context of the interview, and the lack of such an opportunity severely limits the conclusions which can be drawn in this area. While it could be argued that this was in line with the nature of the College itself, however, it did not always allow for a comprehensive

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[172] Dyer, "Institutional Research," 284, and as examples Fist, *Gladly Teach*; Elphick, *The College on the Hill;* Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*; and Boardman, et al., *Sydney Teachers College.*

picture to emerge from the collective narratives. Ultimately, in line with the nature of the project itself, it was deemed more important to give voice to those who were interviewed than to exclude and reduce their experiences. Additionally, it could be argued that the number of students interviewed for each of the programs and in terms of ethnic origins, was broadly representative of the numbers who were involved with the college in that capacity, and thus the emphasis was correct for the College overall. This must however be weighed up against the importance of the 'outliers' in any system of selecting the appropriate number of participants.[173]

The final issue with the interview process was the closeness of the interviewer to the data and potentially the interviewee. The interviewer is the grandson of two of the more prominent early staff members of the College, and the son of one of the 'Pioneer' students. Additionally, at the time of the interviews, he was employed by the University of Newcastle, and was a work colleague of a number of the people interviewed. While these relationships invariably assisted in both making contact and establishing rapport with the interviewees, it also had other both expected and unknown effects on the interview process.[174] The interviewer was clearly perceived by those who knew of this connection as an 'insider' in terms of the college and the establishment.[175] The issue raised by Sikes and Potts, "A criticism often levelled at insider research concerns the extent to which it can be considered to be 'objective' and hence 'reliable' and 'valid' according to so-called scientific criteria", is noted as a potential limitation of the work.[176] There were no interviews conducted where negative or derogatory comments were made about any of the people that the interviewer was directly related to. There were various recollections offered about the interviewer's relatives, more than were evident in the interviews where the relationship between the interviewer and the individual was not known, but they were

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[173] Guest, Bunce, and Johnson, "How many Interviews".
[174] For a comprehensive discussion of these issues see Sharan Merriam, et al., "Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status Within and Across Cultures," International Journal of Lifelong Education 20, no. 5 (2001), 405-416. or Gary McCulloch, "Historical Insider Research in Education," in *Researching Education from the Inside: Investigations from Within*, ed. Pat Sikes and Antony Potts (Routledge: New York, 2008): 51-63.
[175] Sonya Corbin-Dwyer, and Jennifer Buckle, "The Space Between: On being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, no. 1 (2009): 54-63.
[176] Pat Sikes and Antony Potts, *Researching Education from the Inside: Investigations from Within* (Routledge Ney York, 2008): 7.

invariably positive. It is extremely likely that this is an artefact of the process rather than the personality of the individuals involved. While some thought was given to using alternative interviewers, it seemed likely that the issues caused by the relationship would not have been diminished through such a substitution once the initial connection was made. Another potential effect here was that the researcher, being associated with the University, could have caused either a diminished likelihood of involvement owing to ill feeling around the amalgamation, or concerns about the nature of the project to be undertaken.[177] Finally, it seems likely that some current staff were reluctant to be interviewed by a colleague for a project so closely related to their current employment.[178] In reality this meant that many of the issues which apply to research based on participant observations were in effect for this case study, and that the precautions outlined by Merriam in relation to insider/outsider status and the reproduction of expected narratives in interview situations need to be considered in the analysis of the interview data.[179]

Limitations of the Documentary Sources

As is often the case with institutional histories of educational establishments, the documentary evidence located for this project was of an extremely varied nature.[180] There were almost complete sets of the institution's public documents located. This included college handbooks, calendars, and copies of the college magazine, *Altjiringa*. Many of these were supplied by interviewees, with the remainder being already in the researcher's possession, or available in the University of Newcastle Archives. The internal minutes and meeting documents were less consistently available. For some years there were extensive listings of courses, course notes, and meeting minutes, yet in other cases there were no official records extant. The early

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[177] For a discussion of the animosity around the amalgamation process see chapter six.
[178] As an example of this, one long standing member of staff indicated that they would give me an interview when they retired, however they did supply documents for the project.
[179] Barbara Kawulich, "Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 6, no. 2 (May 2005): 1; Barbara Probst, "Both/and: Researcher as Participant in Qualitative Inquiry," *Qualitative Research Journal* 16, no. 2 (2016): 149-58, and Merriam, et al., "Power and Positionality".
[180] See discussion of sources for other projects see Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, and Elphick, *The College on the Hill*.

period had few official records kept, and while the full set of records of NTC, 1949-1974, should have been in the state archives, such records could not be located.[181] The unearthing of these records could potentially shed additional light on many of the early decisions, processes and activities. The period was however covered by material from two staff members Ada and Ian Renwick, who had both kept extensive notes. These include both personal notes on their courses and activities, as well as meeting notes and other notes from the period, however, some of these notes were water damaged.

The period for 1975 through to 1989 presented different problems. A number of the boxes of records were still classified and access was not available. This was the case for the staff records for employees whose employment had extended past the date of amalgamation. The same was true for committees which had obvious, or similarly named, reactivated versions in the post amalgamation institute. Examples here include the School of Education Teaching Committee, and the School of Nursing Board minutes. Further some material had been donated to the University archives but was not yet accessioned and was therefore unavailable.[182]

Limitations of the Evaluation and Interpretation of the Sources

In the same way that the closeness of the researcher to the data has been highlighted as a potential limitation of the study in terms of the interviews, that same must logically be true for the interpretation of those interviews. As noted by Hajek and Serenelli, this position of in groups and out groups apply to all factors of the research process.

> Oral History is also increasingly understood as "processual"—that is, a product that does not end with the experience of the interview but includes, and is intrinsically affected by, what happens before, during, and after the interview and the impact of these experiences

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[181] Former University of Newcastle Archivist, Mr Dennis Rowe indicated that he had a recollection of the records being sent back to the State Archives, now held at Kingswood. (Personal communication 17 May, 2006). However, many individual records which should have been transferred to State Archives are still present in the University of Newcastle archives- see for example Staff Records Box C3392.

[182] See for example, Un-accessioned Material Number 53B2. University of Newcastle Archives.

> on the interviewer and the interviewee and, eventually, their relationship. [183]

This not only applies to the interpretation of the interview data but also, by extension, to the interpretation of the notes and documents presented by the participants, and from other sources. Most obviously, it is hard for the researcher to divorce themselves from the relational link, and this by definition can impact on the value attributed to the documents supplied through that relationship. In this case numerous documents were supplied to the researcher through friends and relations, as well as through interviewees. In the case of documents which exist in the public domain, such as calendars or college magazine, there are few historiographical problems which arise from the source of the document. An intact and verified NTC 1964 calendar would be seen as the same documentary artefact regardless of its source. However, the same cannot be said for personal notes, and the engagement of the researcher with the individual can potentially directly influence the interpretation and historical value placed on the specific artefact. In this case the family relationship between the researcher and specific sets of notes, needs to be acknowledged to ensure that the appropriate evaluation can be made.

Given that there are a number of well-known histories of similar colleges already, there was a tendency to concentrate on the local features of any transformation although the changes described in chapters four, five and six tended to reflect both personal and wider changes. It was the points of difference that were highlighted in the narrative, as the 'external' changes were both well-known and well documented. This can produce a history in which the 'local' is given greater precedence than it warrants, which can serve to inhibit both the ability to generalize from the case study and limit the value of the case study as an accurate description of the local situation.[184] In this specific case study, the issue was less problematic as the case study generally concentrated on the local implementation or effect of the external forces. Within this case study, the 'local' and 'external' elements were discussed in an entwined way, either in parallel or simultaneously, which minimised the opportunity

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[183] Andrea Hajek and Sofia Serenelli, "Guest Editors Introduction," *The Oral History Review* 45, no. 2 (2018)*: 232–238.* http://doi:10.1093/ohr/ohy029.
[184] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 178.

for the relative importance of the local and external factors to become divorced from each other.

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that problems of localisation raised by Stake and Rury have not been completely refuted, thus care must be taken in preparing any form of generalisation from the material presented here.[185] Similarly, some of the issues which are more common in participant-observer research, that of 'closeness' to the participants, and influence of prior relationships, as already discussed, need to be both declared and evaluated in order to allow the reader to assess the balance in the work presented.

Conclusion

The research approach used in this study involves the blending of traditional oral and documentary historiography with a case study approach to produce a comprehensive institutional history. The traditional historical methods of the location, analysis, and interpretation of written and photographic documents form one of the key strands of this case study. The second strand is provided through the interviews conducted with former students and academic and administrative staff of the college, that have been analysed using oral history protocols. Whilst the study occupies a conceptual space that is potentially 'between' a number of epistemological and ontological positions, it is argued that this can be a strength of the work, allowing it to draw from a range of positions, and acknowledging the strengths and weakness of both the position itself and the data and analysis that stem from that position. The combination of the data sets, through the entwined history approach, has allowed a detailed history of NTC to be developed in the form of an institutional case study. In could be argued that the two 'strands' of this investigation combine in a similar way to the double helix of DNA to establish a more complete picture of the NTC. In the same way as the two DNA strands are complementary rather than identical, and either could be used to

[185] Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*; Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 244.

replicate key features of the double helix, the oral and documentary sources provide the texture of the institution as well as its chronology.

In order to contextualise the NTC as a case study, it is important to look at tendencies and themes across the domain under consideration.[186] This calls for a wider "frame of reference".[187] The frame of reference for this detailed picture comes through the exploration of its own historical context. Clearly the NTC is part of the history of Newcastle, teacher education, professional education and the College of Advanced Education movement, and also part of the history of all the individuals who interacted with the NTC. In order to begin the framing of the institutional history, the chapter that follows provides an overview of the development of teacher training in NSW and chronicles the establishment of the first teacher training institutions in NSW.

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[186] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 243.
[187] Charles Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Chapter Three

The Development of Teacher Education in New South Wales before 1949

Introduction

To gain an understanding of the diverse forces which were present in the educational landscape at the foundation of the Newcastle Teachers College (NTC) in 1949 this chapter will explore the systems which led to the creation of the College, and highlight the trends in teacher education and other vocational tertiary education from the start of the colony which shaped its foundation and philosophical ethos. Some have argued that the establishment of teachers colleges in Australia owed much to the development of the Normal school and the pupil teacher systems in Sydney in the mid 19th Century.[1] While this is partially true, a more direct relationship can be established with the educational developments that were simultaneously shaping the educational landscapes in England, Scotland and western Europe. Invariably the developmental sequence seemed to follow a standard pattern of importation, adoption and localisation. Importantly the modifications which transformed each new form of teacher education took place in the United Kingdom. The new system was then 're imported' and a local translation of that new form of education was undertaken. This local adoption of imported ideas was not exclusive to education, nor was it universal. However it was a clear trend in terms of both public instruction and teacher training from the foundation of the colony and it continued throughout most of the twentieth century.[2]

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[1] George William Bassett, "The Training of Teachers," in *Education for Australians,* ed. Ronald Cowan (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1964), 142-161; Tania Aspland, "Changing Patterns of Teacher Education in Australia," *Educational Research and Perspectives* 33, no. 2 (2006): 146.

[2] For a more detailed discussion on this issue see Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980); Alan Baran, *A Short History of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney: Martindale Press, 1965); Greg Preston. "A Comparative Evaluation of the Aims and Achievements of the Mechanics institute Movement." M.Ed.Stud. diss., University of Newcastle, 1990; Barbara Heaton, Greg Preston and Mary Rabbit, *Science, Success and Soirees*, Newcastle Library Monograph No 14 (Newcastle: Newcastle Public Library, 1996).

A second clear trend was the importance of distinct factors inherent in this educational adoption. Indeed, W. F. Connell wrote about three traditions when referring to teacher education:

> In 1950 teacher education in Australia could be said to incorporate three traditions: a training tradition, a tradition of general education, and a tradition of attention to personal behaviour.[3]

This perspective was further endorsed and extended through the Correy Report in 1980, which stressed the importance of these three traditions from the foundation of teacher education in NSW:

> Since then, as new patterns of teacher education have been introduced, the three traditions have retained varying degrees of significance. Yet traditions themselves are subject to change, so these particular traditions too have changed, sometimes in their detailed nature. The relative importance of any one of these traditions has often changed considerably from one generation to the next; and the interrelationships between them have been substantially modified at the hands of successive generations of educationalists.[4]

This chapter reflects on the relative importance of these traditions and other trends in the development of teacher education through the period following colonisation in 1788 until 1949. Additionally, it will consider the driving forces behind emerging educational trends including how the state came to dominate and control teacher education.[5] Key amongst these forces are the issues of the social direction, conceptual notions of educational philosophy, consideration of educational and moral development, and federal and state involvement in educational processes and funding. This chapter outlines Connell's traditions, important educational trends, and provides an overview of the development of teachers colleges and teacher training. Its main aim is to situate and contextualise the oral and documentary record of NTC which is analysed in the following chapters. The conclusion distils the discussion by highlighting the four key trends evident in the development of teacher training up to and after World War Two (WW2), namely: the state control of education; the pragmatic nature of educational supply; the influence of external educational models, and the importance of

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[3] William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.

[4] NSW Department of Education, *Teachers for Tomorrow: Continuity, Challenge and Change in Teacher Education in New South Wales,* Report of the Committee to Examine Teacher Education in New South Wales, (The Correy Report), (Sydney: Government Printers, 1980), 5.

[5] Bernard Hyams, "Teacher Education In Australia: Historical Development," in *Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher Education (The Auchmuty Report)*, (Canberra: Australian Government Printing Service, 1980), 248.

cultural transmission. In essence these traditions, forces and trends provide a context within which the activity of NTC can be viewed.

Teacher Training in 19th Century Australia

Teacher training in the 19th Century in Australia came to be dominated by two systems: the monitorial system, dominating the first half of the century; and the pupil-teacher system taking primacy during the second half. Both systems shared a number of common features and were generally popular with the governments of the day owing to a perceived efficiency and proven economy. Both systems stressed the practical aspects of teacher's work as opposed to the theoretical underpinnings of that work.

The monitorial system, also as known as the Bell-Lancaster or Madras system, had its foundation in the development of a series of monitors who received instruction directly from the teacher. The monitor then gave that instruction to the balance of the students under their control. It could be seen as 'education by osmosis', and the monitors were often given a financial enticement to fulfil additional learning requirements, however savings were made in other places such as the use of 'sandtrays' for teaching writing for junior students.[6] In short the teacher taught through the monitors as a form of intermediary instructor to attempt to amplify the impact of the teacher who possessed the knowledge.

The pupil-teacher system on the other hand, was essentially a form of apprenticeship whereby trainees would work under the direct supervision of practising teachers. Its aim was for the students to gain both teaching experience along with improving their own general educational knowledge base and skills. The formalisation of this system is attributed to James Kay-Shuttleworth, a British educator, who was convinced that the monitorial system was 'monitorial humbug'. Kay-Shuttleworth's search for a better system almost apocryphally led him to a workhouse where a boy, William Rush, was giving a lesson without the intervention of a master and this led to his development of the 'assistant' or apprentice model. Although in truth, it seems likely that the beginnings of the pupil-teacher system had been established in Holland some years earlier, and observed by Kay-Shuttleworth on one of his trips to the

[6] Stanley Curtis, and Myrtle Boultwood, 4th eds., *An Introductory History of English education since 1800* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1967), 11.

continent to observe educational developments.[7] Unlike the monitorial system the apprentice would gradually develop increased responsibility for both lesson execution as well as some planning and finally responsibility for their own classes. Their own educational development was to be achieved through a system of additional instruction conducted by a more experienced teacher, or ideally the school master. Although the system was to serve as preparation for the teacher trainees prior to commencing a period of full-time instruction in a formal training school, this was not always the case in the United Kingdom, and almost never the case in 19th Century Australia.[8] Within both of these systems there was an assumption that the trainee would maintain the appropriate education and moral standards through both initial selection and ongoing training.

Structurally, there were many attempts to place the education of teachers in the colony on a secure footing. The concept of teaching, and of teacher training, were far from the initial concerns of the first British settlers to Australia. Indeed, while there were a number of children present on the First fleet, there were no teachers, and neither was there a plan for the education of these children, let alone a plan for placing the educational needs of the colony on any form of sustainable footing.[9] On arrival, Governor Philip turned to the clergy and the colonial chaplain, Richard Johnson, who recommended a former lace maker, Isabella Rosson, to become the first teacher in the colony. This was a pragmatic decision, and the appointment of Rosson could be considered early evidence of the importance of Connell's traditions of general education and of personal behaviour:

> she was chosen from among the women convicts, the only available labour pool, because of her mature, honest, and sober behaviour and because she could read and write … She learned the art of teaching by practising it under the supervision of Johnson who compiled a list of basic school rules to guide her in her work.[10]

In the period up to 1825, the training of teachers continued in an almost completely unregulated fashion. In the early 1830s, schools were still predominately staffed by untrained teachers and overseen by either administrative officials or clergy.[11] The established tradition

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[7] Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 59; Hyams, "Teacher Education," 249; *The Correy Report*, 7.
[8] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 249.
[9] *The Correy Report,* 5-6.
[10] *The Correy Report,* 5-6.
[11] Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 143; Hyams, "Teacher Education," 248; Josephine May, Allyson Holbrook, Ally Brown, Greg Preston, and Bob Bessant, *Claiming a Voice, The First Thirty-Five Years of the Australian Teacher Education Association,* (Bathurst: ATEA, 2009), 3.

of using convicts as teachers continued, with Henry Wrensford allowed to open the first school in Newcastle in 1816, despite his previous conviction for fraud and no formal teacher training.[12] Similarly, schools for specific religious denominations were also employing convicts with appointments generally made by local clergy. The convict, Andrew Higgins, established a Catholic school in 1822 and managed to obtain government funding "for the encouragement of education among children of the lower orders [provided] the daily class rolls [were] open to public inspection during the hours of instruction in his schoolroom".[13] Interestingly, it was the financial contribution which led to governmental oversight of this school rather than any state-led desire to control the quality of education. The Governor had agreed to contribute one penny a week for each child who attended the school thus the "class rolls" only, rather than any documentation related to learning, were initially subject to scrutiny.[14]

In 1825 the outline of a formal educational plan for the colony was received by Governor Brisbane. The plan proposed the creation of an Anglican-led national system that included improved schooling through central schools based on the English 'academies'. The plan also foreshadowed the establishment of a University.[15] The plan had been devised in England by Lord Bathurst and the newly ordained Archdeacon Scott, who had recently returned from NSW where he had recommended the expansion of the Bell system as part of the educational section of the more fulsome review of the colonial government contained in the Bigge Report.[16] The new structure was to be overseen by an organising body entitled 'The Church and School Corporation' and to be financially supported by a substantial land grant.

On his return to the colony, Scott established a training course for teachers who were serving under the new Corporation. The program was a three-month course which was based on the monitorial system and was led by Mr W.T. Cape, one of the most prominent teachers in the colony.[17] Following their period of training, teachers were returned to, or placed in, the

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[12] Edwin Braggett, *From Convict Era to Modern Times: Newcastle East School 1816-1966,* (Newcastle: Newcastle East Public School Parents and Citizens' Association, 1966).
[13] Frank Murray, "1820s NSW - Early Education of the Irish Emancipists' Currency Lads and Lasses," *Descent* 38, no. 2 (June 2008): 79.
[14] Murray, "1820s NSW," 79.
[15] J Burns, "Archdeacon Scott and the Church and School corporation," in *Pioneers of Australian Education,* ed. Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1969): 10.
[16] Burns, "Archdeacon Scott," 11.
[17] Chris Mooney, Great Australian Educators: William Timothy Cape, Great Colonial Educator, *Unicorn* 21, no.1 (March 1995): 89-93.

school system with no obvious additional support.[18] The program was not successful, and "this procedure, however brief, was not repeated".[19] It was replaced with a more standard monitorial arrangement in which the trainees "were entitled to the customary rations accorded to colonial teachers but drew no salary during the period of training".[20]

As was often the case with such schemes, the financial benefit for the organisation in the individual retaining trainee status for as long as possible is obvious, and for an organisation in financial difficulty like the Corporation, this was even more pronounced. In fact, the financial basis of the entire Church and School Corporation was problematic from the start. The Corporation had difficulties first acquiring and then monetarizing the land grants which were to fund the grand plans, and Scott's challenging relationships with numerous important figures in the colony only compounded matters.[21] By 1829 the Archdeacon had asked for a return to Britain and the grand plan departed with him.[22]

The low status of teacher training remained much as it was before in that:

> teachers continued to be recruited from the general population and the ranks of reformed convicts. Many had some formal education but none had any teacher training. Most teachers experienced low status, low pay and oppressive supervision by church and state authorities as they were directed to instruct young people in the most onerous manner to fulfil the demands of government and religious bureaucrats.[23]

By 1834 the first discussions around the establishment of a Normal school in the colony were taking shape. Henry Carmichael established his Benthamite based 'Normal Institution' in Hyde Park, which was partially designed to prepare students for teaching.[24] In the words of Carmichael himself it was "to train up the youths of the colony to be capable of acting as teachers of others".[25]As was the case with the previous training endeavours this was based on an English example, the 'Borough Road' establishment, and was developed to work in with the impending establishment of a national system of non-denominational schooling based on

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[18] Bernard Hyams, *Teacher Preparation in Australia, A History of its Development from 1850 to 1950* (Melbourne: ACER,1979), 8.
[19] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 8.
[20] Cliff Turney, *A History Of Education In New South Wales 1788-1900*, (Sydney: University of Sydney Press, 1964), 390.
[21] Burns, "Archdeacon Scott," 16.
[22] Burns, "Archdeacon Scott," 16.
[23] Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 144.
[24] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 8.
[25] Cited in Cliff Turney, "Henry Carmichael-His Advanced Educational Thought and Practice," in *Pioneers of Australian Education,* ed. Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1969): 65.

the Irish system.[26] As Turney commented: "Unfortunately the demise of the National System also led to the failure of the teacher training component of the Normal Institution".[27] Governor Gipps recommended that a state run Normal school should be opened in 1839 and in 1843 Reverend J. D. Lang, a member of the Legislative Council, prepared two motions calling for (1) the establishment of model training schools in Sydney and Melbourne, and (2) the general improvement of teaching in the colony.[28] The first motion failed for largely financial reasons. Although it has been argued that the imperial authorities were less favourably disposed to the plan as there was not yet an established tradition of such schools in Britain.[29] Moreover Lang's motions were never put to the test for reasons primarily concerned with sectarian division.

However, the push for improved teacher training, fuelled by the development of schools largely based on the English 'grammar school model' and Australia's growing economic prosperity, continued unabated. A motion to establish a select committee of enquiry into the state of education was successful in 1844, and its findings included recommendations to establish both a Normal school and a general education system based on the Irish National System. While Lang, who "led the committee members in probing aspects of teacher preparation" must have felt a sense of vindication at the resolutions, nothing was to come of them immediately. In retrospect, the hearings of this committee spelt the end of the monitorial system in Australia, as the criticisms which had led to Scottish institutions such as Wood's sessional school, and Stowe's Glasgow school discarding the monitorial system were very well received when presented as evidence to the enquiry.[30]

Following continued public and clerical agitation, in 1847 two funding boards were established, one each for national and denominational schools, to oversee funding and administrative arrangements.[31] Both boards saw teacher training as important parts of their overall responsibilities, and both moved to formalize the development of Normal schools to improve the quality of teaching in their jurisdictions. While the establishment of these two boards formalised the division of general educational endeavours and teacher training along

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[26] For a more detailed discussion of this process see J F Cleverly, "Governor Bourke and the Introduction of the Irish National System" in *Pioneers of Australian Education* ed. Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1969): 27-58.
[27] Turney, "Henry Carmichael," 68.
[28] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 9.
[29] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 8.
[30] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 10.
[31] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 11; Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 144.

religious lines for the foreseeable future, it ensured the hegemony of state control within both spheres.[32] This was unlike in the English situation where the Church of England had considerable authority, and therefore could directly influence the development of both schooling and teacher training. The religious situation in the Colony however was more diverse, as the Church and School Corporation had learnt to its detriment.[33] Sectarian battles were commonly fought within the education landscape and this, at least partially, ensured the supremacy of state control.[34]

The Development of Training Schools

Again, an adoption of English educational ideas would transform the Australian educational landscape and the Battersea Training College looms large in the next development of teacher training in Australia through the provision of staff and ideas to the new Australian model schools. A model school was established in Sydney in 1849 and opened its doors to students on the basis of a one-month period of observation and practice in 1850. Similarly, model schools developed in Melbourne and Brisbane were employing a range of educational systems including those derived from both monitorial and pupil-teacher techniques.[35] Likewise, the religious authorities were also active in the establishment of training schools. Religious training schools were established in all the major eastern cities, with a Catholic normal school in Brisbane completing the group by 1860.[36]

The appointment of William Wilkins to the position of headmaster of the Fort Street model school in 1851 produced significant changes to the role of the institution. The first changes were in the nature of the instruction itself. Rather than the more didactic instruction, which had been popular in the colony up until that point, Wilkins stressed the importance of a more general education and the techniques of educational theorists and practices based on Pestalozzian ideas.[37] The influence of Wilkins' education at Battersea and the importance of

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[32] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 249.
[33] Burns, "Archdeacon Scott," 18; for an example of the debate which was common in the public sphere see the newspaper item "National Education its Necessity," *The Empire*, May 13 1853, 2.
[34] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 248: Burns, "Archdeacon Scott," 19; Cleverly, "Governor Bourke," 50
[35] Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 144.
[36] Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 144; Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 20.
[37] Kay-Shuttleworth was particularly interested in Pestalozzi's interest in the whole child, the notion of 'hands and hearts' and the importance of children finding answers for themselves, see Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 60 and 115-119.

Kay-Shuttleworth's introduction of European techniques into the Battersea curriculum was of obvious importance in the Fort Street curriculum.[38] Wilkins assessed the one-month training course as being clearly inadequate, and initially moved to establish additional classes of special instruction after school hours. This too proved insufficient, with "some of the trainees less well educated than a number of the senior pupils of the Model school and in need of extended education".[39] Following the lead of the English system he had trained in, by 1852 Wilkins had introduced the pupil teacher system. He had extolled the virtues of the system to the National Board shortly after his arrival, and after setting out the basic features of the system claimed that:

> At the expiration of the period, the pupil teacher is prepared to act efficiently as assistant in a large school, and when his experience shall have been sufficiently matured, to assume the office of master.[40]

The uptake was sufficiently swift that:

> The first pupil teachers were accepted in the following year (1852) just as England's first group had completed their period of apprenticeship. The pupils were slowly to spread through the local regions and received annual salaries in the range of 15 to 40 pounds. Initial selection was based on an age criterion of at least 13 years, and a 'sound of body' criteria, requiring that they be "free from any bodily infirmity likely to impair their usefulness.[41]

A moral dimension was also present in terms of gaining a placement in a school, in that the individual needed to be able to convince the local community that they were from "good families".[42] There was a system of examinations in place, and the pupils were expected to be able to pass examinations set at the fourth grade standard in subjects such as reading, writing and arithmetic at entry, and the complexity of knowledge tests increased in each of the four years of their apprenticeship. The hour and a half additional instruction to be provided by the supervising teacher each day was scarcely enough to ensure that the pupil would master the

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[38] Cliff Turney, "William Wilkins-Australia's Kay-Shuttleworth," in *Pioneers of Australian Education*, ed. Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1969), 193-246

[39] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 13.

[40] Report of the Board of National Education, 1851, Appendix 1, in *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1, 1852*, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/hansard/pages/first-council.aspx#

[41] NSW Report of the Commissioners of National Education NSW 1856, *Votes and Proceedings NSW of the Legislative Assembly, 2, 1857,* 15.

[42] NSW Report of the Commissioners of National Education NSW 1856, 15.

content knowledge required, and while in theory time was also set aside for instruction on teaching, in practice the study of teaching method was often neglected.[43]

Whatever its shortcomings, the apprenticeship model initially proved extremely popular. In Victoria and Queensland there were steady rises in the numbers of pupil teachers, and figures of around 30 percent of the total number of teachers in the government systems were being reported in Brisbane, with substantial numbers employed in the other major states. Indeed, even in the smaller states, the system was adopted. In Western Australia, where pupil teachers had been unofficially engaged since 1853, formal examinations and defined pay rates were introduced by 1862. Thus, by the time of the introduction of the *Public Schools Act* in 1866, the pupil teacher system was by far the most usual method of teacher training in Australia, for both the denominational and state school systems.[44] Indeed Hyams claimed that:

> throughout the entirety of the nineteenth century three of the six Australian colonies used the system as their sole means of training teachers; in the other three it far outweighed the training school method in numerical terms.[45]

While the impact of this claim is strengthened through the timing of some of the state divisions, and it clearly refers only to 'state sanctioned' systems, it does give an accurate indication of the relative importance of the pupil-teacher system. [46]

The system clearly had an emphasis on the training tradition, and the tradition of general education with the notion of moral behaviour being largely addressed at entry.[47] However, that is not to say that the moral aspect was neglected, with both Wilkins and Archdeacon Polding stressing the importance of teachers as role models in terms of cleanliness, speech, appearance and dress, and of "gentlemanly conduct" (for the men) and "adherence to social conventions".[48]

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[43] William Grasby, *Our Public Schools* (Adelaide, 1891), 15; Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 22.
[44] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 23; *The Correy Report*, 8.
[45] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 249.
[46] For example Victoria obtained independence from NSW in 1851, Queensland in 1859, and South Australia in 1857. Thus while they may have only used the Pupil-Teacher system once granted independence, they certainly used other methods when part of NSW. See particularly Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 145-146.
[47] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258 ; *The Correy Report*, 8.
[48] *The Correy Report*, 9.

By the end of the 19th Century the pupil-teacher model was under increasing criticism. Teachers in schools were often neglecting the training of their charges, and the exploitation of pupils under heavy teaching loads and difficult work conditions was common. The criticism came from those involved with the pupils, their students, and from various developing profession groups of teachers.[49] Additionally, there were concerns raised about the educational standard of the students who had progressed through the system as well as high failure rates.[50] When commenting on the examination results for the previous year, the Denominational Board of 1864 commented: "In the majority of cases the pupil teachers appeared to have received but little instruction, or else to have profited but little by what they have received".[51] The burden on the pupils can be seen in the correspondence of a concerned father who wrote to the Department of Public Instruction detailing his daughter's routine:

> She has to be on the school ground for duty, or in the school for lessons, at a quarter past eight in the morning. With the exception of a brief interval of twenty minutes for lunch she is there until a quarter past six in the evening either teaching, being taught, or taking playground duty. Then she has from three to four hours homework to do. I put it to you as men, as fathers, as sensible human beings, is such work fair to those girls?[52]

This is not to say that the training schools were being universally condemned, and they were most effective when they were used in conjunction with a closely supervised apprenticeship system. By 1866 the training that pupils at Fort Street received included a period of practical training within the model class and owing to the short period of training being employed, the institution was able to have three sessions per year. Again, while the intention here was for students to combine this training with their four-year apprenticeship, this was not compulsory, and while there were students who attended the model school and did not complete an apprenticeship, the reverse was much more common, and the vast majority simply did not complete any further formal training.[53]

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[49] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 249; Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 146.
[50] Anthony McGuire, "Pupil Teachers to Junior Teachers," *Dictionary of Educational History in Australia and New Zealand (DEHANZ)*, (2013), accessed June 11, 2019, http://dehanz.net.au/entries/pupil-teachers-junior-teachers/
[51] Report of the Denominational Board, in *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 2, 1864*, 56 cited in Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 24.
[52] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, *Conference of Inspectors, Teachers and Departmental Officers and Prominent Educationalists, 5 April, 1904* , 58 . This conference was established to address the Knibbs and Turner report.
[53] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 26.

Another advantage of the training school process was that they were able to adapt to the increasing demands of the more academic syllabus requirements of the 1870s and 1880s. By the end of 1883, there were two distinct pathways for senior and junior teachers, which were courses of one year or six months duration respectively.[54] The balance between teaching skills and the personal education of the students was also being debated at the time with Wilkins favouring a balance that could take into account the existing skills of the individual student. Gladman, his Victorian counterpart at the Melbourne Training Institution, had long held the belief that the balance in training institutions was wrong, and that "the training college should not become too pre-occupied with the actual business of teaching".[55] Although he also recognised that while "the institution had to guard against the tendency of the pupil-teacher system to produce a narrow, unimaginative teacher, it also had to provide for one whose general education was frequently defective".[56] Thus it seems that within the training school the desire was present for an increased emphasis on the 'teaching' component of their work, however the poor state of the incoming students' general education necessitated an approach which was not ideal.

In NSW, the training schools of Hurlstone Ladies College and Fort Street Model School for males, had established similar programs which were almost identical to each other prior to the turn of the century. While the original plan in acquiring the Hurlstone premises was to relocate the men's training to that location as well, this ambition was not immediately realised. The plan had been to remove the students from 'the temptations of the city', increase the period of training to two years and allow the students to board on the site. It was a commonly held view that residential colleges were more suitable owing to the closer supervision possible particularly in relation to the female students.[57]

In the interim, the decision was taken to establish Hurlstone as an exclusively female training school to parallel that at Fort Street.[58] Miss Caroline Mallet, a well recommended governess from Whitelands Training College in London, was appointed as Training Mistress and the

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[54] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 26.
[55] Richard Selleck, "F.J. Gladman-Trainer of Teachers" in *Pioneers of Australian Education Volume 2: Studies in the development of education in the Australian Colonies, 1855-1900,* ed. Cliff Turney. (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1972), 82; Edward Sweetman, *History of Melbourne Teachers College and its Predecessors*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1939), 61.
[56] Selleck, " F.J. Gladman," 83.
[57] Graham Boardman, Arthur Barnes, Beverley Fletcher, Brian Fletcher, Geoffrey Sherington, and Cliff Turney, *Sydney Teachers College: A History 1906-1981* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger,1995), 13.
[58] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 12.

continuity of the adoption of English training methods was assured. Shortly after her appointment Miss Mallet was confident to report:

> As far as instruction and training are concerned, the College resembles the Metropolitan Training Colleges for Teachers in England; the only difference in the instruction being the omission of science teaching, the period of training in New South Wales being too short to admit of that. [59]

In the mid 1890s the leadership of both the training colleges changed. Mallet resigned to marry, and John Wright, principal of Fort Street died. In both cases they were replaced by internal candidates who were current principals within the departmental system. James Conway took over at Fort Street, and Mary Everitt, formally head mistress of Bathurst Girls High School, took the reins at Hurlstone.[60] There was considerable cooperation between the schools and, indeed, the only departure from a standard curriculum was that while the Fort Street students undertook Science, the women at Hurlstone in Ashfield received instruction in the relatively new Kindergarten method.[61]

However, there were considerable barriers to the universal development of systematic teacher training, the main one being the "insurmountable obstacle to their effort was the plain fact that poorly paid apprentices provided a cheap means of staffing the schools".[62] During the final years of the 19th Century two forces combined to overturn the status quo and led to the next stage in teacher training, the establishment of teachers colleges.

The Establishment of the Teachers Colleges

The first of the forces that led to the establishment of teachers colleges was public opinion. At the end of the 19th Century the complaints concerning teacher quality and therefore teacher training within the colony had reached a climax. Key amongst those voicing the problems with the system were Professors Walter Scott and Francis Anderson of the University of Sydney.[63] Anderson remarked:

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[59] Report of the Minister for Public Instruction, 1883 p138, as cited in Boardman et al, *Sydney Teachers College*, 14-15.
[60] Tanya Fitzgerald and Josephine May, *Portraying Lives: Headmistresses and Women Professors 1880s-1940* (Charlotte, NC; Information Age Publishing, 2016), 44.
[61] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 17.
[62] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 249.
[63] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 18.

> it is a shame and a disgrace that a girl in her early teens, unformed in body and mind, should have, as is often the case to undertake the charge of classes of 50, 60, 70 and I believe even 80 pupils. Throughout their apprenticeship, pupil teachers have really no systematic training in their business … At the end of four years, if he has passed the inadequate tests prescribed for him during that time by the regulations, he is declared qualified to enter the Training College ... [but] alas he may not enter! The great majority of the qualified candidates receive not the slightest additional training or instruction. They are drafted into schools where in process of time they too may have pupil teachers placed under them, whom they will be expected to teach.[64]

The second of the forces which led to the development of teachers colleges in Australia was the manifestation of educational enlightenment known as 'New Education' which was sweeping through Europe. The goal of 'child centred' education had gained considerable traction in Europe and educationalists such as Johann Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebel and Johann Herbart were looking to increase the relevance of education. Within the colonial context these approaches were often combined with the theories of the classical British Humanists such as John Colet, Thomas More or Roger Ascham and the more utilitarian educational theorists such as JS Mill and TH Huxley to produce a unique but compelling need for change.[65]

The intersection of these two forces – public opinion and the New Education – found a political embodiment within the major colonies. In 1899 in Victoria, Theodore Fink was commissioned to review various sections of the colony's education systems including the University of Melbourne and technical education. He was particularly critical of the state of teacher preparation.[66] In WA the newly appointed Inspector General of Schools, Cyril Jackson, was to champion the New Education based on his experience in Britain, primarily with the London School Board.[67] In NSW the government commissioned George Knibbs and John Turner to head a royal commission into teacher education in NSW. In addition to the recommendations for change that were voiced in the Fink Report, Knibbs overtly recommended the abolition of the pupil teacher system, and closer links between the

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[64] Francis Anderson, *The Public School System of New South Wales* (Sydney: Angus and Robinson, 1901), 23-4.
[65] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 250 ; Curtis and Boultwood, *An introductory history*, 131-161.
[66] Victorian Government. *Royal Commission on Technical Education: Final report technical education in Victoria - report and recommendations (The Fink Report). (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1901).* accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/vufind/Record/46245.
[67] Bernard Hyams, "Cyril Jackson and the Introduction of the New Education in West Australia" in *Pioneers of Australian Education Volume 2: Studies in the development of education in the Australian Colonies, 1855-1900*, ed. Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1972), 242.

University of Sydney and the process of teacher training. This, he recommended, would be best achieved through the creation of a position of Chair of Pedagogy or Education at the University, where the incumbent would jointly hold the position as Principal of the refocused Sydney Teachers College.[68]

Technically, the first teachers college in Australia was established in the grounds of the building that is now Adelaide Girls High, in 1876 in South Australia. The thirty students were taught by Lewis G. Madley, and the course was initially designed to be of six months duration.[69] Ultimately, the course was lengthened to a year, as:

> even though most of the pupils had had four years of apprenticeship as pupil teachers, their principal found it necessary to report of them that their literary attainments were but mediocre 'especially the female candidates' and that their proficiency in arithmetic was even less.[70]

In fact, the Adelaide College and the Training College in Melbourne under Mr Topp, had more in common with the initial training schools and model schools that were designed to work alongside the apprenticeship model.[71] However the first colonial model of another European practice was to influence the development of teachers colleges in the early part of the century. There was a long tradition, especially in Scotland, of a close relationship between teacher training process and university instruction. The European models had gradually gained favour in England, and the Adelaide Training College forged formal links to allow its students to take university classes as early as the 1870s. The Adelaide University offered classes in Physics and Chemistry with ten students passing (five male and five female) in 1879. By 1900, after a steady increase in the range of courses being taken by the small number of students, the University offered to take over the training of teachers. Mr Andrew Scott, the Master of the Training College, agreed and the training college was moved in its entirety, first to the conservatorium, and by 1902, to the main building of the University.[72] The change of the emphasis from the focus on "how to teach" to the general

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[68] New South Wales Legislative Assembly. *Commission on Primary, Secondary, Technical, and Other Branches of Education.1904a. Interim Report of the Commissioners on Certain Parts of Primary Education containing the Summarised Reports, Recommendations, Conclusions, and Extended Report of the Commissioners, (The Knibbs-Turner Report).* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1904), 31.

[69] Hubert Penny, "Brief History of Adelaide Teachers College," in *Adelaide Teachers College Handbook* (Adelaide: Hawes Government Printer, 1966), 11.

[70] Penny, "Brief History of Adelaide," 12.

[71] Sweetman, *History of Melbourne Teachers college,* 84.

[72] Penny, "Brief History of Adelaide," 12.

education of the teacher as a primary goal of teacher training was evident during this stage of teacher development in South Australia.

In NSW, the impact of the Knibbs-Turner Report sparked the next round in an ongoing dispute between the University of Sydney and the Department of Education. The University had earlier proposed that students engaged at the Fort Street and Hurlstone training schools undertake university subjects. The response by the Chief Inspector of Schools, J.C. Maynard, was one which highlights the limited view of teacher training which was held by the department at that time:

> The training school is practically a technical school whose aim is the formation of efficient teachers of young children … No great importance is attached to subjects which they will not be called upon to teach, but no subject is omitted which will be of use in their schools. At present the period [of] training … may be considered long enough for all the State purposes.[73]

However, by 1903 the tide had turned. A conference of teachers, inspectors and departmental officers was held in April 1904 to address the issues arising from the Knibbs-Turner Report, and Peter Board moved that the conference support the abolition of the pupil teacher system. Additionally, Board urged the adoption of the recommendations for the establishment of a position shared between the University and the teachers college. Both proposals were passed unanimously, and when Board himself was promoted to Director of Education for NSW in 1904 the die was cast.[74] The first of the 'modern' NSW Teachers Colleges was established at Blackfriars, not far from the grounds of Sydney University with its first intake of male students in 1905 and the addition of female students the year after that. The institutions at Hurlstone and Fort Street were closed as teacher training institutions and Mr JD Maclardy, a local, who had previously taught at both institutions was installed as the interim Principal of Sydney Teachers College (STC).[75] The importance of the British leadership in all things educational was however reinstated in 1906 with the appointment of a Scot, Alexander Mackie, after a "world-wide search" which realised 31 applications, all from Great Britain.[76]

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[73] Maynard to Minister 6 November 1887, NSW State Archives, cited in Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 18-19.
[74] Alan Crane and William Walker, *Peter Board: His Contribution to the Development of Education in New South Wales*, (Melbourne: ACER, 1957), 63-6.
[75] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 23.
[76] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 24.

The standardization of teacher training on the Teachers College model was theoretically obtained swiftly and by 1914 there was a teacher training college in every Australian state.[77] However, while teachers colleges became standard, pragmatically there were still two different systems in place to train primary teachers. In NSW the teacher trainees undertook a course of one or two years after the completion of either their Intermediate Certificate taken at the end of their third year of secondary schooling or after five years at high school and their Leaving Certificate. In other places students served some form of apprenticeship prior to undertaking studies, and during the Great Depression, it was still common for such pupils to undertake no formal training at all.[78]

Within the colleges the bulk of the work was in training teachers for the primary schools. At STC there were two courses developed. The two-year course was the one which was recommended, however there was a shorter course of a single year for those who "couldn't afford the extra year".[79] For the first time the duration of training was also directly linked with the classification of teaching certification awarded by the Department of Education. The one-year course provided a 'Third Class Certificate'. The 'Second Class Certificate', which provided access to higher pay and status, was awarded after completion of the two-year course.[80]

The courses at teachers colleges tended to follow a standard pattern and were invariably a blend of education of the student and practice teaching and demonstrations. At STC the theoretical section of the course included studies of English, Music, Mathematics, Drawing and some exposure to both Manual Arts and Language Studies. While there were sometimes specific courses of study on educational theory, or psychology, these were rare at the smaller colleges. The practical classroom components included frequent demonstration lessons at selected schools and periods of practice teaching. The periods of practice teaching were largely restricted to the second year of training and became shorter and shorter as the number of students grew.[81] Likewise, the actual course duration was subject to considerable variation,

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[77] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 250.
[78] May et al., *Claiming a Voice,* 5.
[79] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* 34.
[80] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* 34.
[81] At STC the demonstration schools were Blackfriars and North Newtown both in closed proximity to the STC and there were twenty schools in the Metropolitan area which had been selected for practice teaching. See Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 34-5.

with some courses being run for as little as six weeks, when governments or publicly expressed need dictated.[82]

In the same way as the political arguments for universal schooling had been driven by economic and social factors during the debates around the *Public Instruction Act* of 1880, political and social dimensions were important in the development of the colleges.[83] Elements of 'social good' were maintained in the dialogue around the value of well trained teachers, and both Peter Board as the Departmental representative, and Alexander Mackie on behalf of STC maintained the importance of the link between the state and the education system. The increasing population caused a growing demand for teachers, and the pressure was on the institutions to provide immediate solutions to staffing shortages. This needed to be balanced between Mackie's belief that teachers should emerge from their training as professionals in the same way as doctors or dentists were viewed, and the sometimes highly inadequate educational standards displayed by students entering the college.

This tension was further compounded by the relationships between the universities and the colleges. Universities were often less enthusiastic about the links than the colleges. Sydney University resisted the approaches to 'accredit' various courses from the STC as part of its bachelor's degrees, and students from STC who wished to teach in secondary schools were often required to complete degrees at night while teaching. While there was increasing cooperation in the inter-war period, the tensions continued well into the second half of the twentieth century, despite the value attributed to a university degree by teachers college leaders. Mackie lamenting in 1918 that less than 4% of the NSW teaching staff had a university degree, further argued that:

> even the most technically competent teachers will fail of their full effectiveness if they are not broadminded men and women, and this result is what may reasonably be expected from a university course.[84]

The responses by the universities to this problem were often not a closer relationship with the teachers colleges but the establishment of independent departments of education within their own structures. As noted above, the University of Adelaide had taken over responsibility for teacher training as early as 1900, however in most other states the universities and colleges

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[82] Penny, "Brief History of Adelaide," 11; Hyams, "Teacher Education," 250.
[83] Jean Ely, *Reality and Rhetoric* (Sydney: Alternative Publishing Cooperative, 1978), 73.
[84] NSW Education Report for 1918, cited in Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 41: NSW Education Report for 1919-20, cited in Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 82.

worked together with varying degrees of success. The Sydney solution was a hybrid, in that Mackie was appointed as the inaugural Professor of Education in the newly established Faculty of Arts in 1910, and this was at least as much due to the influence of the State Government as to his forceful character.[85]

In Melbourne the state government had recently passed the *Teachers and Schools Registration Act (1905)* which enabled the state to enforce standards of teacher training and this saw the demise of many of the previously unregulated small training schools.[86] The University of Melbourne established a Diploma of Education to fill the void, and began negotiations with John Smyth, Principal at the teachers college, around logistical issues.[87] Despite the protestations of Smyth, education was not seen as an equal partner in this endeavour and the staff of the university saw little value in teacher education. The University therefore refused to establish a degree in education, a chair of education or a faculty of education within their arts structure.

Thomas Tucker, the Dean of Arts, was willing, however, as Macintyre and Selleck noted:

> his staff were not convinced that teachers needed instruction in educational theory or the techniques of teaching … They themselves learned to teach by teaching and were well satisfied with the results.[88]

The upshot was that Smyth agreed to act as an unpaid Lecturer in Education, and various members of his staff were appointed on a part time basis to attend to practicum supervision and other 'technical aspects' of the course. The cooperation also led to a joint venture in an effort to solve the problems around practicum placements. While in Sydney there was an abundance of state controlled schools, this was not the case in Victoria with the establishment of the first state high school, the Melbourne Continuation School in 1905, being condemned as 'state socialism'.[89] Melbourne University, the Education Department and the newly formed secondary teachers union, recommended a specifically designed secondary practising

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[85] Julia Horne and Geoffrey Sherington, *Sydney: The Making of a Public University* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2012), 130.
[86] Richard Selleck, *The Shop: The University of Melbourne 1850-1939* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2003), 498.
[87] Macintyre and Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne*, 52.
[88] Macintyre and Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne*, 52.
[89] Macintyre and Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne*, 52.

school, and after financial backing was secured from the State Education Department, the school which was eventually to emerge as University High School was opened in 1913.[90]

These two areas, state controlled formal teacher registration processes, either through overt requirements or more covert salary incentives, and the development of more specifically defined processes around teaching experiences for college students, helped to define the college experience, and allowed the colleges to gain and maintain their ascendency in teacher training for most of the 20th century.

As with Wilkins, Mackie had demonstrated at STC the influence that an individual can have on the development of the ethos and academic direction of an institution. While it is important to consider many of the retrospective comments about both of these educational leaders in light of both a celebratory context, and potentially assigning them to the 'great man in history' narrative, both stamped their personality indelibly on the institutions that they oversaw. Both Mackie and Wilkins in NSW, Gladman and Smyth in Victoria, and Jackson in Western Australian individually influenced the direction of teacher education under their jurisdiction. In all cases, they were able to shape the educational systems they were operating in by adopting the parts that they saw as the best of offerings in other locations. They could adapt those external theories and philosophies to the practicalities of their own political and economic realities. The intersection of these pragmatic realities and the struggle for control between varying administrative and education forces was to continue throughout the inter-war period.

Teacher Education between the wars

The post World War One period saw little new conceptually in the development of teacher training in Australia. This was both in terms of the specific institutions with Fletcher noting of STC that "little of this philosophy of teacher training was original or even fresh to the local scene. It was current reformist orthodoxy which had been widely discussed in educational and political circles since 1901".[91] Similarly, with the national situation:

> Much of the progress which occurred was quantitative, reflecting further expansion of the state education systems whose growth in turn echoed the

[90] Selleck, *The Shop,* 459-60.
[91] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 29.

> expansion of population and economic activity in the post war period, especially in the 1920s.[92]

The most important features of the period were the continued and expanded involvement of the universities in the training of teachers, the consolidation of the dominance of state education departments over the training of teachers, and the changes in curriculum to accommodate the improved educational standards of applicants.

The universities largely continued their relationships with the teachers colleges during this period. The same uneasy relationship persevered in Melbourne, despite the geographical proximity of the two institutions. College enrolments had quadrupled over a decade to over 1000 by 1928, with many of these undertaking Arts courses within the Faculty of Arts[93] In Western Australia the extension course, which had first been proposed during the war years, was finally implemented in 1928. In this system primary teachers who were eligible to transfer to the secondary teacher service undertook extension courses. Likewise, there was a Diploma of Education introduced along the same lines as had been pioneered in some of the eastern states before the war, where university graduates completed an additional year at the teachers college to allow them to develop the 'practical skills' needed to teach in secondary schools. While these programs both in WA and in the eastern states were in theory open to individuals who had graduated from the teachers colleges as primary teachers, in practice the unwillingness of state departments to grant such applicants the necessary subsidies prevented this entry in practice.[94]

In Sydney, Mackie continued to push for closer relations between the University and STC. He lobbied for the accreditation of STC courses by the University, but seemed to be disheartened when his compromise position, that the STC students would be allowed to sit the University exams without attending the course, was refused.[95] Perhaps most significantly, his suggestions that the training of teachers be moved away from the Department of Education, towards a group that included the University, was condemned by the Department and at times the University, and the written requests in 1924, 1926 and through to at least 1935 proved unsuccessful.[96]

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[92] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 73.
[93] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 75.
[94] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 81.
[95] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* 68.
[96] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* 68.

The teachers colleges had gained an almost absolute authority over the training process, and while there were still other competing systems, notably in Victoria, the state education departments were now in complete control of teacher training. Initially Mackie had not fully come to terms with the power shift between the teachers colleges and the Department which had occurred on his watch. In his 1924 and 1926 application for a reduction in the influence of the Department and an increasing influence of the university, Mackie was clearly attempting to emulate the recent developments which had occurred in England and Scotland and had produced similar outcomes.[97] By the time of the last request in 1935, it seems clear that it was a more overt attempt to break the master-servant link which he had seen developing during the financially difficult years of the early 1930s.

As an example of this, Mackie had taken the government to task in relation to the practice of delaying the appointment of bonded students for some six to eighteen months after their graduation from the STC. It was clearly a measure to save money during the depression. In August 1932, he presided over a meeting to address the issue. He was quoted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* as claiming that "I think that the State has incurred a moral, if not a strictly legal obligation to the students".[98] He further claimed that there were options for the government, such as the continuation of scholarships, which they had ignored.[99] This was not well received by the Department. "He was held to be in breach of public service regulations for criticising the government, and, after responding in an unsatisfactory way, was warned that any recurrence might result in his dismissal".[100] There was no recurrence.

At this stage the principal of STC saw himself as distinct from the Department, to the extent that he felt that he could criticize the Department on a matter of policy. The reaction of the Department ensured that there was to be no repeat of this situation, and also predisposed the Department to the appointment of good 'department' men as principals of NSW teachers' colleges from that point on. Indeed McRae, Mackie's successor, who had experience as an Inspector of Schools in NSW, as well as experience on the staff of both Melbourne and Sydney Teachers College, was required by the Public Service Board to be a member of the NSW public service. These were the only applicants for the job that were accepted, which

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[97] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* 68.
[98] "Student Teachers to Wait on Premier," *Sydney Morning Herald* , August 6th 1932, 17, accessed 15 May, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/1154992.
[99] "Student Teachers to Wait on Premier," *SMH,* 17.
[100] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* 68.

stood in stark contrast to the wider search to appoint Mackie a few decades earlier.[101] This requirement of public service membership caused some consternation when the Professorial Board of the University of Sydney came to confirm McRae's appointment as Professor in Education. It seems that the quality of the applicant, combined with his first-class honours in Latin and French, and PhD from London University, allayed their fears somewhat, but it was clearly not the University's preferred model.[102] Had there been any doubt at the beginning of the 1930, there was none by decade's end; the balance had clearly shifted and the State Government was in total control of teacher training.

One of the unexpected side effects of this domination was an increased communication between teachers colleges in the different states. In most cases the various departments of education had well established methods of communication with each other, and to a certain extent, the State-controlled teachers colleges were able to 'piggy-back' on these arrangements. This meant that as well as the exchange of ideas through journals such as those produced by STC and Melbourne Teachers College, there were conferences arranged by professional and school-based groups to share experiences.[103] The fledgling *Australian Journal of Education* accepted articles from both university and college staff and early state and national educational conferences were similarly open.[104] As early as 1922 there were clear links between the colleges with both staff interactions through academic boards and meetings, and student interactions through sporting exchanges.[105]

The period also saw an increase in the number of applicants who had undertaken a more comprehensive secondary school experience, and therefore the curriculum could be modified. By 1930 the STC could concentrate on the 'training tradition' to a greater degree than they had previously, with Mackie reporting:

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[101] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College,* 68; Andrew Spaull And L. Mandelson, "The College Principals- J. Smyth and A. Mackie, in *Pioneers of Australian Education* Volume 3: *Studies in the Development of Education in Australia, 1900-1950,* ed. Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1982), 81-117.
[102] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 85.
[103] Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 147; See for example the *Forum of Education* published by Sydney Teachers College details , accessed May 16, 2019, https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17597337; See Sweetman, *History of Melbourne Teachers College,* 123 for the Melbourne details.
[104] The *Australian Journal of Education* referred to here is not the same one as is currently published by ACER, for further details see Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 24-29.
[105] Penny, "Brief History of Adelaide," 14.

> Hence the greater part of the students' time is devoted to the study of the theory and art of teaching boys and girls of a certain age range subjects of the prescribed curriculum.[106]

The emphasis had changed from the process of redressing the deficit in the applicant's education to specifically assisting students with their teaching practice. This is not to say that the 'tradition of general education' was ignored, as Mackie was keen for students to undertake university studies where they had the capability, it was simply that the balance had changed. The STC was still keen to address the general education of its students and saw this as one of its key duties.

One of the consequences of this change in balance between general education and practical teaching courses was the increase in the number of practice teaching places required for the growing numbers of students. The situation in terms of accommodation was already dire at a number of the metropolitan teachers colleges, and even despite new accommodation for both Sydney and Melbourne institutes, they could not keep up with demand. The classroom space problem was often resolved through the construction or appropriation of temporary buildings, but the practice teaching places could not be found. When this problem was combined with the reported difficulty of getting any students to remain in the country areas beyond their bonded period, a regional solution was suggested.[107]

There were a number of regional teachers colleges established in the inter-war period. In Victoria, the most prominent of these was the Bendigo Teachers College established in 1926, which grew steadily from an initial enrolment of 46.[108] Like a number of other regional institutions, it closed for a short period during the depression but reopened in response to the post World War Two population boom. In NSW, the first regional college was established in 1928 in the agricultural centre of Armidale in the New England district approximately 500 kilometres from Sydney.[109] While it could be claimed that the politically conservative stronghold was rewarded with an educational institution by 'their' Minister for Education, David Drummond, a New England man, there was also considerable objective merit in the

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[106] Mackie Annual Report 1930, cited Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 79.
[107] For discussion on the difficulties of accommodation see for example Penny, "Brief History of Adelaide," 14; Selleck, *The Shop*, 465 on Melbourne, or Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*,104, on Sydney; for a discussion on problems with country service see Elwyn Elphick, *The College on the Hill: A History of Armidale Teachers' College and Armidale CAE, 1929-1989* (Armidale: UNE press, 1989), 9.
[108] Grant Harman, David Beswick and Hillary Schofield, *The Amalgamation of Colleges of Advanced Education at Ballarat and Bendigo*, (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1985) 45.
[109] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 18.

placement.[110] Mackie had long indicated that something needed to be done about country training and had experimented with country placements for teaching experiences.[111] As with Bendigo, Armidale had many of the key elements that were required for a teacher training college.[112]

As with the STC, and many of the teacher colleges that were to come, Armidale Teachers College commenced in temporary premises. While the program of instruction was very similar to the program at STC, the College from the start had a slightly different purpose. The foundation principal, Cecil B. Newling, explained that the approach at Armidale was to stress the practicalities of teaching with less regard for "academic knowledge as a substitute for teaching skill".[113] There were, therefore, two distinct models of teachers colleges within NSW, and the college principal was crucial in selecting the model for implementation within 'their' college. While STC saw the development of the knowledge of the student as a key pillar of its training program, Armidale would place the emphasis on the teaching skill of its students. The improvement of their general education was only relevant in so far as it related to "the method of handling that material in the classroom".[114]

The Armidale College soon moved into more permanent premises, which were modelled directly on the STC's new building which had only been fully occupied a couple of years earlier. To say that the college was not universally lauded would be an understatement. The Teachers Federation took issue with the hand selection of staff, the NSW parliament made allegations of political patronage, and the general population saw the spending on lavish buildings in a time of economic depression as irresponsible. Even in the local area there was talk that the buildings were "too good for school teachers", the council was at best indifferent, and the student body and their parents were resentful that they were not attending STC.[115] It was perhaps this reception as much as any other factors which meant that it was almost twenty years before the next NSW college was established at Balmain.

Importantly in terms of demonstrating control of education in the state, the staff for the new College were selected without the need for application. An Inspectors Board was established,

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[110] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 37.
[111] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 9.
[112] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 21.
[113] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 42.
[114] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 42.
[115] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 76; Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 42.

and staff exclusively from within the Department's current staffing were selected. It was also clear that the Department was keen to establish a different sort of college at Armidale, and the then Director of Education, S.H. Smith, defended the qualifications of staff not in terms of academic achievements but in terms of being "hand-picked for their teaching ability."[116]

In terms of the students there were also two key differences between the Armidale College and STC. First the students themselves were, in theory at least, rural students. Students who applied for places at a state teachers' college were allocated to either STC or Armidale based on their home residence. Students who were geographically located between just north of Newcastle and the Queensland border were allocated to attend Armidale. Those from the southern part of the state continued to attend STC. Unsurprisingly, those students who had relatives or other contacts in Sydney were not averse to using their relatives' addresses to ensure that they attended STC, especially in the early days.[117]

The second main difference was that the college was a co-ed residential college. This was the source of considerable discussion in Armidale itself, with some disquiet on having so many young people "on the loose" in town. Indeed, Newling wrote that a prominent local businessman summed up the position of many with the comment "most of the women students would become mothers before they became teachers".[118] Even within the Department there were some qualms about the co-ed residential college, however the model which had been one of the dominant models in England was at last established in NSW. The benefits were primarily seen as assisting with cultural transmission with the opportunity to exert greater control on the moral development of the students.[119]

In the same way as the building had been modelled on STC, the curriculum was at least partially constructed in the same way. While it is claimed that the curriculum was modelled on those suggested by S.H. Smith following a visit to Europe and America in 1927, the similarity to the STC curriculum is overwhelming, with the difference being the practical focus at Armidale. Students covered English, Phonetics, History, Geography, Education, Principles and Methods of Teaching, Physical Culture, Art and Hygiene. The men undertook "Manual Work" and the women Needlework, and all students were "expected to make

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[116] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 42.
[117] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 43; Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 93.
[118] Cecil Newling, *The Long Day Wanes* (Hunter's Hill, NSW: Keller, 1973), 85.
[119] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 76.

themselves familiar with the content and methods of all the subjects in the Primary School Curriculum".[120]

There was also a very clear and overt consideration of the personal behaviour of the students at Armidale, and in some ways, the rural location saw it increased in emphasis. Newling stated:

> It is a matter of vital importance to the state that young teachers shall develop a sense of values … They must cherish hopes and see visions and most important of all they must be taught to face the moral imperative in all its awful majesty.[121]

Similarly, the rules which related to behaviour, such as the rule against drinking, was much easier to enforce in the smaller confines of a country town. As one student recalled:

> there was no drinking at college. It was well known that it you were caught in a hotel you caught the next train home - for good.[122]

While the first decades of the 20th century have been typified by substantial changes in the approach to, and execution of, teacher training in Australia, the same cannot be said of the middle period of the century. In his fittingly named chapter "The Years of Quiescence", Hyams remarked:

> That the 1930s and 1940s did not fulfil the promise offered by events of over a generation earlier is in part attributable to the dislocation of economic depression, war and the priorities of reconstruction.[123]

The 1930s had seen a decrease in the number of teachers training, and a reduction in the birth rate highlighted the volatility of the demand for teachers. NSW Legislation such as the *Married Women (Lecturers and Teachers) Act* passed in 1932, which prevented married women from remaining in the teaching service, did little to improve the desirability of the profession and the situation had not really improved significantly prior to the onset of the WW2.[124] The training college model further increased its dominance during this period, however there was an emerging diversity in the types of colleges and types of courses the colleges offered. Where colleges had been founded as religious institutions in the late 19th

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[120] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 47.
[121] Cited in Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 49.
[122] Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 49.
[123] Hyams, *Teacher Preparation,* 102.
[124] *Married Women (Lecturers and Teachers) Act*, (1932) NSW Legislation, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/acts/1932-28.pdf.

century, they had adapted into modern colleges, and the Catholic Education Board maintained colleges in NSW, Victoria and Queensland.[125] There were also colleges opened by the various kindergarten unions, with five states having such institutions by the outbreak of the war in 1939.[126]

Likewise, the state-run institutions were also increasing their diversity. There were courses developed by almost all states to specifically cater for infants teachers, and there was increasing cooperation with external bodies for areas such as music, domestic science and manual arts.[127] Thus at the conclusion of the war, the teachers colleges were, in practice, the only institutions positioned to prepare teachers and to adapt to the growing populations and extended school years which would in turn demand an unprecedented increase in the supply of teachers at every level. These developments thus provided the context within which NTC was established after WW2.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the development of Australian teacher education from its beginnings within the fledging colony in the late 18th Century through to the dominance of Teachers Colleges as the basis for teacher training in each Australian state by the late 1940s. Interwoven with this history have been key markers within the universities and teachers colleges that will intersect within the case study of NTC in the following chapters. Four key themes have developed out of this chapter which are particularly important to the historical narrative which emerges in the following chapters. These key trends are the control of education, the pragmatic nature of educational supply, the influence of external models, and the notion of cultural transmission.

The first theme to emerge from the overview of the development of formal school education in Australia is the concept of educational control and the control of teacher and vocational education. The control included both administrative control in terms of methods of operation, and philosophical control, which covered approaches to educational outcomes and

[125] Ronald Fogarty, "The Development of Catholic Teacher Training in Australia," *Forum of Education* 23, no.1 (1964), 64.
[126] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 251.
[127] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 251.

the balance between the various traditions discussed by Connell. Education has always been a contested area within the Australian political and economic landscape. This was exemplified by the initial battles which were played out between the various religious groups in the 1850s culminating in the demise of The Church and School Corporation, as well as the ideological battles in the early 1900s concerning the purpose and value in schooling. The growing influence of state governments over individual institutions and localised practices, foreshadowed the ongoing battle between the federal government and the states after Federation in 1901. In the pre-1949 period this battle was typified by debates on educational standards and centralisation, with accreditation and funding as key leverage points producing a gradual change from localised to centralised control. The balance between various political and social agendas has been evident in this battle for control of education both school-based and within the teacher education sphere. Watershed events like the Knibbs-Turner Report in NSW and the Fink Report in Victoria both stressed the value of education to both internal societal stability and the common objective of international competitiveness. Added to these battles between governments, religious forces, and political, philosophical and social approaches to education itself, was the struggle between the powerful principals of the colleges and the increasing state control for eventual hegemony.

The history of teacher education through the period can also be portrayed as an ongoing question of balance between what was 'desired' and 'what could be afforded'. The pragmatic nature of teacher education has been evident right up to the 1940s. From the objections of leading state education officials in response to Mackie's plea for more general education through to the persistent recurrence of short courses to address teacher shortages, the economic imperative has influenced education provision through the period under consideration. Overt examples include the development of multiple versions of courses within the Fort Street Model School, through to the multiple pathways to a teaching career, established in the immediate post WW1 period. Similarly, this continued through the period with retraining programs and alternative pathways to teacher professional accreditation being justified through financial expedience.

The third recurring theme through the account of education outlined in this chapter is the influence of forces external to Australia on Australian educational developments. The early period saw a universal acceptance of all things British, and individuals, philosophical approaches, and pedagogical developments were much more highly prized if they had either

originated or already been successful in the UK. As with most areas of Australian cultural adoption, there was a gradual change during the period from a UK-centric to a US-centric primacy especially evident in the immediate post WWII period, but the 'cultural cringe' was certainly evident throughout the period chronicled.

That is not to say that there were no innovations or original developments in Australia. However, especially prior to the 1940s, educational solutions were often implemented to solve problems which were present in the United Kingdom or Western Europe, and these problems were either very different or non-existent in the Australian context. It is also important to note that as the 20th century progressed the social and political movements became more global and therefore the reactions to social and education problems were more universal, and the location of the response became less clear. For example, as teacher training responded to increased immigration in the 1947-1949 period, the issues faced in Australian, Canadian and American classrooms were similar, and therefore it would be expected that the solutions would be similar, and there was clearly an important influence of external models on educational practice through the period.

The final key theme which has emerged in this exploration of the educational journey traversed in this chapter is the importance of cultural transmission in the Australian educational process. The majority of educational reviews and institutional objectives in the period contain statements concerning the development of personality or character.[128] The watershed national and state markers in terms of institutional or formal reviews of education invariably commence with the notion of educational good, which is very often conflated with cultural stability and social conservatism. The new society to be moved towards, in an almost positivist way, invariably had its roots in the current knowledge structures but sought no change in the moral or cultural direction of either the state or the society. The improved society was going to be doing the same thing in an improved way, not changing the dynamic of what was being undertaken. While this has sometimes been interpreted differently, notably with the discussions around the 'New Education' at the turn of the century, these initiatives also had goals of cultural transmission. At their core, however, they were traditional socially

[128] For a more detailed evaluation of this process see Malcolm Vick, "Building Professionalism and 'character' in the single purpose Teachers College, 1900-1950," *Australian Journal of Teacher Education* 28, no. 1 (2003) accessed May 16, 2019, http://ro.ecu.edu.au/ajte/vol28/iss1/5; or Peter Cunningham and Bruce Leslie, "Universities and Cultural Transmission," *History of Education* 40, no.2 (March, 2011): 135-141.

progressive goals of social elevation, not cultural transformation. The individual was to be transformed by the educational process; the individual was not to transform the process.

Structurally, the key here was the importance of the methods and procedures which were based on 'how things had always been done'. From the apprenticeship models through to employer control of accreditation, appointment of department stalwarts to key teachers' colleges positions, the state political and administrative powers-that-be were clearly dominating the progress of the profession, and this was at least partially through an initially overt, but increasing covert, gate-keeper role within professional training. While there was a distinct change around 'who' was to be the arbiter of 'personal behaviour', for example in the early 20th Century from church to state, the conservative nature of the socialisation and induction to teaching was expressed through the education of the period.

In the chapters that follow key trends which have emerged within the general contextual history outlined in this chapter intersect with the overall history of the NTC on an institutional scale. Importantly this intersection is not limited to the institutional level as these issues have credence on the personal level as well. The issue of control for example is not just an institutional phenomenon as it has clear impact on the individual and influences the ways in which people perceive and live their educational experiences. Additionally, further issues emerged during the second half of the 20th century which helped to define the educational landscape in that period, and these are covered in the sections that follow. The issues intermingle and interact with the lives of the individuals whose narratives provide the texture of the historical account developed in the next four chapters. It is through the exploration of the differences, exclusions and convergences of these stories that the historical picture of both the uniqueness and orthodoxy of NTC emerges.

Chapter Four
Working Towards a Common Goal:
The College's Foundation and Early Growth, 1949-1953

> The thing was that we were new, and so were all the lecturers and the college was new as well. I think that only a couple of them, perhaps Mr Duncan and his deputy … Staines ... yes ... Mr Staines, had been lecturers in a teachers college before. So they were working out how to be lecturers and we were working out how to be teachers, and we just all seemed to pull together, and see it as a one big ... well a common goal that we were working towards.[1]

Introduction

In this chapter the establishment of NTC is explored. Specifically, it covers the period from the foundation of the College in 1949 and its time as an exclusively primary teacher training college. This period, 1949 to 1953, also saw a number of transformative sector-wide changes. This transformation of teacher training, inspired through the sheer volume of births during the late 1940s, began to take shape during these years.

The structure of this chapter is replicated in the next two chapters. It begins with a section that highlights the sector-wide, state and national initiatives that were important in the period. The next section details the basic institutional history in this period, including its organisation and control. This is to provide a structural context in which the narrative, established by the interaction between the documentary and oral testimony, can operate. In the balance of the chapter specific areas prompted by that interaction will be addressed. This allows space for the entwined strands of the methodological and evidentiary DNA of the case study to work together to develop an image of the College. In this process, the documents often provide the scaffolding onto which the oral testimony maps the detail. In this chapter, all of these sections include sketches of the staff of the College, the College's courses throughout the period, an overview of the students, and other college activities.

[1] Interview 3_S_M1949.

Throughout the chapter, the themes of control and cultural transmission come to the fore, with the key word to describe the period being compliance. The students were compliant with the staff, the staff were compliant with the Department, and the whole process was designed to replicate the existing structures of education which had been prevalent for decades. The compliance does not seem to have been overtly conscious, it was just seen as the way that things were, the way that they should be, and to a certain extent, the only way that the participants could conceptualize the College working: they all worked towards 'a common goal'[2].

In each of the sections that follow, there is a balance between the documentary and oral sources which allows the interdependent methods vital to the 'entwined history' approach, introduced in chapter two, to present a meaningful representation of NTC in the period.

Sector-Wide Initiatives, Developments and Changes

The period immediately following the Second World War saw an growth in the number of the teachers colleges throughout Australia, as well as a continuing diversity in the locations and courses offered by those colleges. The post war period saw a steep increase in the enrolment in schools. In 1945 there were just over a million students enrolled in Australian primary schools. By 1963 that population had more than doubled.[3] This expansion was driven by the post war 'baby-boom', an increased post-war migration program, and an increase in the school leaving age from 15 to 16. These factors led to a teacher shortage which was compounded by the flow-on effect of the low birth rate during the depression in the years prior to the war, and the greatly reduced number of male teachers training during the hostilities. According to the ACER Review of Education in Australia, published in 1950:

> the central problem in education in Australia since 1940 has been a shortage of teachers … Most serious of all its effects has probably been that the necessity to secure more teachers by all means possible has distracted too much of the attention of parliamentary, administrative and professional

[2] Interview 3_S_M1949.

[3] Gerald Burke and Andrew Spaull, "Australian Schools: Participation and Funding, 1901 to 2000," in *Year Book Australia, 2001, (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001*), accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/1301.0Feature%20Article252001?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=1301.0&issue=2001&num=&view= [accessed?]

> association leaders from the more fundamental purposes of the education system.[4]

In a victory for quantity over quality, education departments took steps to cater for the impending 'population bubble', which included both long-term and short-term strategies. In the short term, emergency measures included: the recalling of married women to the workforce; shortened training courses; 'conversion' courses to allow teachers to easily change to teaching from other professions; and reduced entry requirements.[5] In Tasmania for example students were accepted into an 'Emergency Training Centre', without having completed their full secondary education, Tasmanian teachers were urged to recruit suitable students. Queensland briefly returned to an apprenticeship model.[6]

The longer-term solutions included the establishment of additional teachers colleges to increase the capacity of teacher training. This was one of the defining features of teacher training during the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1940 there were two state run teachers colleges in NSW and one in each of the five other states.[7] The total number of students 'in training' at these institutions was 2480, with 1542 of these women.[8] By 1958, there were 23 teachers colleges nationally with over 11,000 students in training. Typical of this expansion was Victoria, where the number of teachers colleges grew almost exponentially. The two colleges in Bendigo and Ballarat, which had been closed since the depression, reopened in 1945 and 1946 respectively. In 1950 Larnook Teachers College[9], Geelong Teachers College

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[4] D. Waddington, William Radford, and John Keats, *Review of Education in Australia: 1940-1948*, (Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1950), 183.

[5] Although in practice the teacher shortage in during the war years had led to a 'blind eye' being turned to the legislation which prevented married women from working in this way, and the number of married women re-employed as "temporary" teachers was high. In fact women who were married to service personnel were explicitly excluded from the act until their husbands were discharged, or until the end of 1946, whichever was the earlier. Waddington, Radford and Keats, *Review of Education*, 185; NSW Legislation Papers, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/acts/1932-28.pdf; Waddington, Radford, and John Keats, *Review of Education in Australia*, 256; Josephine May , Allyson Holbrook, Ally Brown, Greg Preston, and Bob Bessant, *Claiming a Voice, The First Thirty-Five Years of the Australian Teacher Education Association* (Bathurst: ATEA, 2009), 7.

[6] Bernard Hyams, "Teacher Education In Australia: Historical Development," in *Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher Education (The Auchmuty Report)*, (Canberra: Australian Government Printing Service, 1980), 254; Elvin Fist, *Gladly Teach: A History of the Launceston Teachers' College 1948-1972* (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1993), 48.

[7] Ivan Turner, *The Training of Teachers in Australia: A Comparative and Critical Survey* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1943), 9.

[8] Turner, *The Training of Teachers*, 89.

[9] There is some confusion over the date of the establishment of Larnook, which can be accounted for by the purchase of the property in 1949, with all courses not fully transferred to the new site until 1952, and the official opening taking place in 1954. Nola Schlegel, *"Larnook-Our thoughts to thee will often fly" A book of memories from 1952-1983 Larnook Teachers College* (Glen Iris, Vic, Beri Publishing, 2005), 3.

and The Secondary Teachers College opened to further increase the training capacity of the State system.[10] The establishment of Toorak Teachers College (1951) and Technical Training College (1952) rounded out the Victorian expansion in this period.

In NSW the immediate post war period saw a proliferation of new teacher colleges. In the six year period between the end of the war in 1945 and 1951, colleges were established in Balmain (1946), Wagga Wagga (1947), Newcastle (1949), and Bathurst (1951), with a further five established prior to 1974.[11] The majority of the courses offered in the 1940s and 1950s were two year training courses for primary school teachers. However, the crisis in teacher numbers for secondary schools still remained.[12]

Also included in the longer-term solutions was a systematic development of the bonding scheme. Hyams noted:

> The device historically employed in Australia for attracting more teachers was not to make the occupation much more attractive, but to make entry easier (with scholarships) and exit harder (by use of the bond). Governments in the 1950s did not generally depart from this tradition.[13]

In NSW, scholarships were offered to students who had completed a appropriate leaving certificate. The scholarships covered all tuition fees for the approved teachers college and university courses and included a living allowance which was indexed to personal circumstances.[14] In return for this scholarship, the student was required, via a bond, to teach for a defined period for the Department in a school selected by the Department. The bonded period was usually a period of one year more than the duration of the course undertaken. It is against this background that the teachers college at Newcastle was established.

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[10] Vivienne Carol Roche, "Razor Gang to Dawkins: A History of Victoria College, an Australian College of Advanced Education" (PhD diss., Melbourne, 2003), 257.
[11] The colleges established were Alexander Mackie (1958), Wollongong (1962), Westmead (1969), Goulburn (1970) and Lismore (1970).
[12] Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980), 338.
[13] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 253.
[14] The scholarship payments include different rates for example for married men and those who were living away from home but not within College housing. See rates in Turner, *The Training of Teachers,* and Department of Education, *Instruction and Information for the Guidance of Teachers* (Sydney: NSW Government Printer, 1955), 96 and 149.

The Establishment of Newcastle Teachers College (NTC)

There had been moves as early as the 1850s to establish a tertiary institution in Newcastle, and while the ongoing political pressure locally was initially for a University, there was also considerable agitation for all forms of educational and cultural endeavours.[15] While the push for a University gained ground in the 1930s and 40s, there were many who saw the establishment of a teachers college as an 'intermediate step'.[16] As part of the activism, the Teachers Federation had come out strongly in favour of a college in Newcastle, and there was a 'population' imperative with Newcastle having developed to the point where it was the state's second largest city in population. In 1947 the *NMH* ran an article headed "Newcastle Obvious Site for Teachers' College" and identified many of the key arguments which would be enunciated by the Minister for Education, Robert Heffron, at the official opening of the College some years later.[17] These included the importance of the region in terms of quality schools, and the diversity of the school types, including small schools and technical schools. It was argued that the additional tertiary training could be supplied by the Technical College and that "science teachers could obtain the diploma which would entitle them to associateship of Sydney Technical College".[18]

This was further supported by the Department's own data from, and knowledge of, the local school system. To the selective schools which had been established in Maitland in 1884, were added Newcastle High School (1906) Hunter Girls High (1923), Newcastle Girls High (1929) and finally Newcastle Boys High (1930).[19] Additionally, there was a strong tradition of non-state schools in the area with both Catholic (Marist Brothers High School) and Church of England (Newcastle Grammar School) presenting students for the Leaving Certificate in the 1940s.[20]

On the strength of the economic and educational position, Heffron was under increasing pressure, not least from the Newcastle Labor Members of Parliament, to give an undertaking

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[15] Don Wright, *Looking Back: A History of the University of Newcastle* (Callaghan: The University of Newcastle,1992), 3 regarding the establishment of an art gallery, museum, public library and new technical college.
[16] Wright, *Looking Back*; Interview 4_A_M1949.
[17] "Newcastle Obvious Site for Teachers' College," *NMH*, 22 August, 1947, 2.
[18] "Newcastle Obvious Site," *NMH*, 2.
[19] Wright, *Looking Back*, 4-5; *NMH* 14 April, 1949, 3.
[20] Wright, *Looking Back*, 4; Peter Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan: A paper in Progress on his Life and Work in the Training of Teachers in the Hunter Region, 1949-1960," *Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Annual Conference* 1 (1998): 22-34.

to establish a teachers college in Newcastle. In the same way as allegations have been made about the link between the Country Party Minister Drummond, Member for New England, and the establishment of Armidale Teachers College (ATC) in a Country Party strong-hold in the 1920s, there were similar allegations about the McGirr Labor Party and preferential treatment for the Labor strong-holds of Newcastle and Maitland. In spite of this, the pressure from within his own party grew.[21] The undertaking came, albeit conditionally, in Parliament on 19 October 1948.

> The position has been examined very closely. The Hon. Member for Hamilton and his Newcastle colleagues have been pressing me for some time for the establishment of a teachers' college in that city. I have not yet given them a direct answer; but I have had their request studied very closely. We must act, and act quickly; more than one teacher's college is needed. I assure the Hon. Member and his colleagues that it is intended to open another teachers' college at Newcastle; and provided the accommodation is available we shall proceed with it in the first school term next year.[22]

Despite this announcement it was by no means clear that a suitable site would be found, and the college would actually open in 1949. Students normally had the college of attendance indicated on their scholarship documentation, however, many students from the Newcastle area who received teachers college scholarships to commence in 1949 had the institution details left blank. At the time of their medical in early January, it still seemed unlikely that the teachers college in Newcastle would open in 1949.[23] By early February however the position had become clear. *The Herald* in its February 3 edition confirmed what had been a poorly kept secret since various students had started to receive telegrams some days earlier confirming Newcastle as the location of their scholarship redemption.[24] While the exact date of opening was still to be confirmed, with the *NMH* indicating that the event would occur "at the end of this month, or the beginning of March", the other details were becoming clearer. There were to be 200 students in the initial intake, and the College was to be situated on the grounds of the partially completed Technical High school at Myers Park, near

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[21] Elwyn Elphick, *The College on the Hill: A History of Armidale Teachers' College and Armidale CAE, 1929-1989* (Armidale: UNE press, 1989), 37; Votes and Proceedings of the NSW Legislative Assembly, 19th October,1948, 20.

[22] Votes and Proceedings of the NSW Legislative Assembly, 19th October,1948, 20.

[23] Noel Pryde, "From a Pioneer Student" in *Speaking of Union Street . . .": Reminiscences of Newcastle Teachers' College 1949-1973,* ed. Jess Dyce (Newcastle: Hunter Institute of Higher Education, 1988), 12; Interview 93_S_M1949.

[24] "Teachers' College to Open Soon," *NMH*, 3 February, 1949, 1; Interview 93_S_M1949.

Broadmeadow.[25] The official confirmation of this lack of clarity was provided by the retrospective gazetting of the appointment of the Principal and Vice Principal occurring in the February 25 Edition of the *NSW Gazette*, with an appointment date of the flexible "to take effect from the date of entry on duty". [26]

By 11 February various staff including the Principal, Griff Duncan, had arrived in Newcastle and viewed the site that was to house the College for the next three years. What they found was hardly equivalent to the stately halls of either Sydney or Armidale, with the construction still in full swing around them. The lecturers were reported as "sat around on boxes preparing lectures while workmen juggled pipes and beams over their heads", with both lecturers and workmen diligently working towards a now confirmed starting date of 28 February 1949.[27]

On the appointed starting date, it was evident that the College grounds were in no fit state to conduct classes. Most of the 13 foundation staff members, called 'the Originals' by Duncan, and the 181 foundation students, called 'the Pioneers', assembled on 1 March 1949, on what one of the students described as a "muddy building site".[28] The section of the Technical High School which was to serve as the main section of the College had been almost completed and while the conditions were difficult, there was some discussion around the suitability of site for occupation. The final decision was taken to send the students out to schools for the first two weeks of term. One of the key reasons behind this decision appears to have been the lack of appropriate facilities for the incoming female students, and which took almost the whole two weeks to rectify, as they not been considered in the plans for a Technical High School.[29] As was to become common through the history of the NTC, a pragmatic solution was found for an immediate and unforeseen problem.

Initially all the classes were held in the manual arts block which was the first of the sections of the Technical High School to be completed, although additional classrooms were added

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[25] "Teachers' College to Open Soon," *NMH,*1.
[26] NSW Government, *NSW Gazette* 28 (1949), 572.
[27] Teachers' College Taking Shape, *NMH,* 11 February 1949, 2.
[28] Interview 5_S_F1949; It is interesting that each of the colleges established after Sydney called their first group of students "The Pioneers", see for example Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 29; and Cliff Turney and Judy Taylor, *To Enlighten Them Our Task: A History of Teacher Education at Balmain and Kuring-Gai Colleges, 1946-1990*, (Sydney: Sydmac Academic Press,1996), 145.
[29] "Interview with Griff," *Altjiringa 1974*, 34; Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 27; Interview 10_S_F1949, one of the female students indicating the paint was still wet in the women's toilets after they returned from their first placement.

during the first year, and continued to be added throughout the period that NTC occupied the site. As one student interviewee commented:

> Things were constantly being built or painted or fixed up, with all the ensuing rigmarole that went with that - classes were moved, workmen were on the college grounds, and it seems we were always being shifted for some painting or other job to be completed.[30]

Importantly, in the same way as most of the other teachers colleges in the state had been founded in temporary premises, the Broadmeadow site was only a makeshift measure.[31] The school students who were destined to ultimately occupy the site were temporarily using the buildings of the Technical College in Islington, as those classrooms were only required at night in 1949.[32]

The College was to be officially opened in December 1949, with various dignitaries having confirmed their attendance, and invitations printed.[33] However, a 'snap' state election was called and the only date which the Education Minister Heffron had available in 1949, had been set for the College swimming carnival and was seen as inappropriate. In reality, there was some uncertainty about the availability of other significant figures on the date in question, and thus the event was postponed until March the following year.[34]

At the official opening on 15 March 1950, the usual educational perspectives and battles which had emerged in the development of teacher training during the last 50 years were made manifest in the speeches. The principals of most of the other NSW teachers colleges were present, as were local and state dignitaries. John McKenzie, the Director of NSW Education, commented that:

> teaching had advanced from the conception 50 years ago that a good teacher has only to control a class and present information in an interesting way. Teachers today have the job of teaching children how to grow, how to

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[30] Interview 8_S_M1949.

[31] The Sydney Teachers College was originally established at Blackfriars school, Graham Boardman, Arthur Barnes, Beverley Fletcher, Brian Fletcher, Geoffrey Sherington, and Cliff Turney, *Sydney Teachers College: A History 1906-1981*, (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger,1995) 1.; Armidale in temporary accommodation, Elphick, *The College on the Hill, 23;* Balmain in Smith Street Public School, Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them, 6; and* Wagga Wagga in disused R.A.A.F hospital buildings, Keith Swan, *Wagga Wagga Teachers College: Its Site and Establishment,* (Wagga Wagga, NSW, 1968), 10.

[32] *NMH* 11 February 1949, 2.

[33] Scrapbook -containing tickets, programmes, awards and other memorabilia, 1950 - 1966. (Provenance, Harold Gillard, former Head, Physical Education Department.), Folio A7459 (iv), University of Newcastle Archives.

[34] Interview 4_A_M1949; "College Opens in Centenary Year," *NMH* 16 March 1950, 2.

> fit into the world in which they live and of knowing what to teach as well as how to teach.[35]

NTC Principal Duncan spoke of the NTC teachers "leading children into full living in a Christian and democratic community". Dr John Toohey, the local Bishop giving Catholic mass to celebrate the opening, indicated that: "The only full education … included the teaching of morals", and in a somewhat surprising turn given the occasion, indicated that "Secular education in the state schools was not satisfactory because God was not given His rightful place". In a prediction of issues which were developing on the federal level, Minister Heffron, after listing various recent expenditures and possible educational development, claimed that more help was need from the Commonwealth.[36] Two issues which had been important in the first half of the 20th century were staking their claim for importance at the beginning of its second half. The battles centred on the control of education and teacher preparation were highlighted here. Specifically, the importance of personal behaviour as integral to teacher preparation, and the change from state to federal funding which would both be integral to the history of NTC were active at its opening.

1950 also saw continued agitation for the location of a permanent site for the teachers college. The Technical High School students were increasingly standing in the way of expansion of classes at the Islington site, and quite reasonably saw the solution as full occupation of the High School that had been purpose built for them but was still being used by NTC. The NSW Department told the College Principal Duncan, that a solution was in hand, and Heffron proudly announced that:

> By the beginning of the first term of 1951, prefabricated buildings on their way from England will be ready to take the 400 students from the Teachers College and provide every facility.[37]

The location for these prefabricated buildings however was yet to be found.

The most logical location appeared to be the land which was previously earmarked for the development of tertiary education in the region at Redhead, some 16 kilometres south of the city centre.[38] However in late 1950 another option became available. In early 1950 the State

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[35] "College Opens in Centenary Year," *NMH* 16 March 1950, 2.
[36] "College Opens in Centenary Year," *NMH,* 16 March 1950, 2.
[37] "Shortland Site for Colleges," *NMH,* 7 November, 1950; in reality the distance of almost 20 kilometres from the CBD seemed to play a part here as well, (see Interview 4_A_M1949).
[38] Wright, *Looking Back*, 13.

Government had exchanged 293 acres of land at Shortland for a similar acreage adjacent to the BHP steelworks. The BHP wanted the land, much of it submerged under Platts Channel, to connect two of its existing land holdings. A further expansion of the Steelworks was seen as advantageous to both the company and the Government, and after appropriate inspections by the Minster of Lands, Mr Renshaw, and the BHP Chief Engineer Mr. Wileman, the exchange was approved.[39]

Heffron, however, was realistic about the problems which faced the development of the new site, and listed issues with water, light, sewerage extension and road access as all being barriers to the opening of the College at Shortland by January 1951. Additionally, there was some work to be done in finalising the division of the newly acquired land between the Department of Housing and the Department of Education. Clive Evatt, the new Housing Minister, had been involved in discussions around land use on the Shortland site. While it was reported in November 1950 that:

> The area would need subdivision to provide for Newcastle's educational needs. The disposal of remnants of the site would be considered when the Education Department's full needs had been met, [40]

the situation was not ultimately resolved for some time, and certainly the infrastructure required to support a tertiary education institution in a time when cars were not common was a long way off.[41]

In the interim, Heffron expressed his desire to not use the permanent site for the temporary buildings and therefore a new location was sought. Ultimately the requirement to locate a new site in time for the 1951 school year proved moot, as the prefabricated buildings did not arrive until after the college term for 1951 had commenced. In January 1951 Heffron announced that a site had been located in Union Street, Cooks Hill. The site was close to various hostels and other suitable accommodation for students, located within walking distance of public transport, and

[39] Wright, *Looking Back*, 13; "Shortland Site for Colleges," *NMH.*
[40] "Shortland Site for Colleges," *NMH.*
[41] Wright, *Looking Back*, 13; "Shortland Site for Colleges," *NMH*; "Land set aside for College," *NMH,* 8 April, 1954, 3.

was close to the formal demonstration school which had been established at The Junction.[42] The Minister indicated that the position was only temporary:

> The site is being prepared and the prefabs will be ready for occupation in the shortest possible time. This is only a temporary expedient to cover the interval between now and when the permanent teachers college is built on the Shortland site.[43]

Towards the end of 1951 the new buildings were finally ready, and Duncan indicated that the transfer of equipment would begin towards the end of 1951, with *The Herald* reporting the move as starting on 11 December 1951.[44]

The new academic year of 1952 commenced with the recurrent, 'workmen still on site' article in *The Herald*, and reports of the College only having temporary electricity.[45] The new premises were entirely constructed of the prefabricated aluminium army huts.

> They were all built out of prefabricated aluminium, originally it would have been intended to be the basis of Hawksley and Bristol fighters used in the war … Instead of making them into aircraft they made them into buildings for us.[46]

There were six blocks which were positioned in a rough 'H shape' to enclose two open air quadrangles.[47] The library was established in the northern wing of the main block, and there were various lecture rooms, and a common room for male students and one for female students. The students were quoted in *The Herald* as being pleased with the library, and the biology and craft rooms, but noted that the college needed a hall and playing fields.[48] However, there were no pavers, and the verandas and entrances to the building were all open to the weather. Huldah Turner, a lecturer in English in 1952, described the new accommodation in very unflattering terms:

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[42] Special Function to commemorate long association with The Junction Demonstration school, NCAE Media Release December 9, 1985, Subject file - Newspaper articles and associated papers on miscellaneous College related activities and interests (arranged alphabetically), 1974 – 1988, Folio A7457(iii), University of Newcastle Archives.
[43] "Temporary College at Cook's Hill," *NMH,* 26 January 1951
[44] "College Transfers," *NMH,* 11 December 1951, 1, and "Student Teachers Start Training," *NMH,* 1 November 1951, 6.
[45] "College Lacks New Hall," *NMH,* 26 February 1952, 2
[46] "Interview with Griff", *Altijiringa 1974*, 37.
[47] Huldah Turner (nee Sneddon), *Correspondence with Doug Huxley*, dated March 1992, 3. Re-union Material-Folio A7459(iii), University of Newcastle Archives.
[48] "College Lacks New Hall," *NMH*, 2.

> As some kind of concession to decencies a small area of brick was built into the base of the Administration quarters overlooking Union Street and carried the name 'The Institution - Newcastle Teachers College' … The staff battled on under these adverse conditions. Poor lecture rooms, crammed library, inadequate storage space, no temperature control and a very, very small administrative staff.[49]

Those staff moving into the new site in Union Street could not have anticipated that this temporary site was to house the NTC for more than 20 years.

The College Staff

The Teachers College started in 1949 with a teaching staff of thirteen lecturers, including the Principal Griff Duncan as well as a Librarian and Registrar. Of the thirteen only three had previous experience as teachers college lecturers.[50] The Principal Griff Duncan had come from a position as Vice Principal of Wagga Wagga Teachers College, the Vice Principal Jim Staines had been a lecturer in Psychology at Sydney Teachers College (STC) and Mr Walter Wilcox had been an arts and craft lecturer at Wagga Wagga Teachers College (WWTC).[51]

Griff Duncan always maintained that he was fortunate to get the job as foundation principal of NTC, however his local connections, excellent academic record and experience in other Teachers Colleges made him a suitable choice for both the town and the department.[52] Griffith Hammond Duncan was born on 22 July 1914 in the Hunter Valley coalfields town of Kurri Kurri. The son of Scottish and Welsh immigrants, Duncan's upbringing was influenced by the Methodist and musical background of his mother.[53] Duncan's initial schooling was completed at Kurri Kurri Public School. The local tradition was one in which the school was a 'conveyer belt' to provide students to the local technical school, and then direct them on as workers in the mines, with the more able boys being destined for the skilled trades. Despite this, Duncan excelled academically. He was dux of the school in 1925, and gained entry to Maitland Boys High School, the nearest selective school.

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[49] Turner, *Correspondence with Doug Huxley*, 3.
[50] "Teachers' College Taking Shape," *NMH* 11 February 1949, 2; *Seniority of Teachers College lecturers, 1956,* Education - NSW Department of Education, *Seniority of Teacher College Lecturers, NSW*, (Sydney,1956) Folio A7460(vi), University of Newcastle Archives.
[51] "College may be ready by March 14," *NMH*, 3 March, 1949; *Seniority of Lecturers*.
[52] Phil Marquet, *Eulogy for Griffith Hammond Duncan* (Newcastle, 1988), 4.
[53] Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 20.

Duncan's academic prowess continued during his secondary schooling and resulted in him being award the Leaving Certificate with honours in both English and Mathematics and securing a STC scholarship and an addition to a 65 pounds per annum bursary. Combined with this academic talent, Duncan involved himself in all the usual school activities of the time. He is reported to have played both cricket and rugby for the school, as well as contributing numerous pieces for the school magazine. Somewhat less usually, Duncan also excelled in the dramatic arts, with numerous reviews in the school newspaper praising his performance abilities. Whatever the independent assessment of Duncan's performing skills, there was some ability and a considerable interest and passion for both music and drama.[54]

Duncan commenced his teacher training with work at Sydney University and continued to excel in both English and Mathematics. He won the Slade prize for Physics in 1932 and was awarded his Bachelor of Arts degree with First Class honours in Mathematics in the 1934 ceremonies.[55] He completed his professional training at STC in 1934, and began his teaching career with a posting back to the Hunter and an appointment to the Mathematics staff of Newcastle Junior High the following year. In 1937 Duncan was posted to Newcastle Technical High School as Head of Junior Mathematics. This position allowed him the flexibility to attend Sydney University on Thursdays to complete his Master of Arts degree in 1940.[56] Indeed, this achievement served to illustrate both the resourcefulness and tenacity of Duncan: he needed not only to arrange his timetable, but manage to take the overnight boat from Newcastle to Sydney each Wednesday night, returning on the overnight boat the following day.[57]

As with so many of the staff who were initially appointed to NTC, Duncan spent much of the war period in the armed forces. Again, as was common for those with teaching backgrounds, Duncan spent this time in the Armed forces training schools and was at one stage 'Officer Commanding of Initial Training Schools' at the primary Airforce training facility at Bradfield Park. His training role was mainly ground-based pilot subjects including navigation and Morse Code.[58] During this time Duncan also married Verona Fenwick, and they had the first of their two children, Ian, in 1944. Following his discharge from the Air Force in 1946, he

[54] Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 20.
[55] *University of Sydney Calendar 1937*, 550; Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 21.
[56] *University of Sydney Calendar 1940*, 580; Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 21.
[57] Marquet, *Eulogy*, 3-4, Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 21.
[58] Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 21.

returned to teaching with a placement at Sydney Technical High School and was soon seconded to the staff of the just opened Balmain Teachers College as Lecturer in Mathematics and Mathematics method. 1947 saw him successfully apply for the position as Vice-Principal of WWTC, and while it was claimed that his work at Wagga Wagga under Mr Blackmore provided him with a blue print on how not to run a college, the experience was undoubtedly vital to his eventual appointment to NTC.[59] Barcan noted that Duncan "had been vice -principal at the Wagga college under a principal who was rather narrow-minded, even dictatorial. Duncan was determined to avoid such a course at Newcastle." [60] For the next 25 years Duncan was to enhance the connections with local education which were begun in his youth and remained principal of NTC from its foundation in 1949 until his retirement in 1974.

There were also others with local connections on the foundation staff and *The Herald* was keen to point out that Mr Aitken, Miss Macintosh, and Mr Moore all had local connections. Seven of the initial 1949 staff had come directly from teaching positions, and three more had come from other positions within the Department of Education. There were three females on the initial staff.

Staines, the Vice-Principal, had trained at Armidale Teachers College (ATC) and had extensive teaching experience, with the majority of it in one-teacher schools. He shared with Duncan a relative youth to be in such a senior position: both men were in their thirties when the college opened. They also shared success in academic studies. Staines was also a graduate of Sydney University having studied economics, obtained first class honours in psychology and gained the University Medal in 1943.[61] He had pursued postgraduate studies in Education at Melbourne University in the late 1940s and had been appointed to STC. His commitment to learning was also evident through the period he worked at NTC, as he took leave for the whole of the last year of the period under consideration, 1953, to travel to London to complete his PhD.[62]

In theory, all the foundation staff were appointed through the normal process of advertising teaching service positions in the *NSW Education Gazette*, however, it seems that the first

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[59] Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 22.
[60] Alan Barcan, "Halfway to Heaven," *AQ : Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 81, no.3 (May-June 2009): 28.
[61] University of Sydney Examination Results for the years 1943-1947, Appendix to the *University of Sydney Calendars* for the years 1944-1948, 19.
[62] *NTC Calendar 1955*, 8.

appointment made was that of Duncan, and that Duncan himself had a considerable say in the other appointments that followed. Additionally, given the short timeframe in which interviews were to be conducted, it seems likely that when no suitable applicants emerged for a number of the positions, individuals who were currently working directly for the Department were approached informally to fill the given positions 'on secondment'.[63] Further evidence of Duncan's involvement in the selection process is suggested by the number of individuals from Duncan's past who were appointed to NTC. Wilcox had been with Duncan at both Sydney Technical High School and WWTC. Aitken was from the coalfields like Duncan and had attended the same high school. Duncan had worked with Moore and with McIntosh's father during his time teaching in Newcastle. Finally, both Melville and Crago had worked in the Air Force training division with Duncan during the war, with Crago serving directly under Duncan as one of his Senior Squadron Officers.[64] The full list of initially appointed teaching staff is show below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Initial Teaching Staff of Newcastle Teachers College.[65]

Name	Position	Immediate previous position
Mr G.H. Duncan	Principal	Wagga Wagga Teachers College
Mr J.W. Staines	Vice Principal	Sydney Teachers College
Mr D. J Aitken	Education and Psychology	Research and Guidance division Dept. of Education
Miss M. Melville	Physical Education	School not reported (Sydney)
Miss K. Barnes	English	English Mistress Dover Heights High School
Mr C.H. Hoffman	Dramatic Arts	Government Office of Education
Mr H. Gillard	Physical Education	Physical Education Supervisor Dept. of Education
Mr J.W. Moore	Biology	Newcastle Technical High School
Mr C. L. Ferrier	Mathematics	Mathematics Master Broken Hill High
Mr E.H. Crago	Geography	Cowra High School
Miss H. McIntosh	Music	Newcastle Boys High School
Mr W.F. Wilcox	Arts and Crafts	Wagga Wagga Teachers College
Mr G.H. Hughson	History	Armidale High School

[63] Interview 4_A_M1949; Staff records, UoN archives Box C3392-3; see for example staff files on Barcan C3393(iv), Personnel- Staff records, Folio C3392-3 University of Newcastle Archives; See also the appointment dates for NTC staff with some being granted positions on the seniority list only after a two year secondment period while others, who had been through the competitive process, gained their seniority date from 1st of February, 1949. *Seniority of Lecturers*.
[64] Interview with Griff, *Altjiringa 1974*, 36; "College may be ready March 14", *NMH*.
[65] *Seniority of Lecturers*; "College may be ready March 14," *NMH*.

While the list above shows those initially appointed, Hughson did not actually teach at NTC, and this anomaly highlights one of the key issues for the fledgling College. After arriving in Newcastle in early February, Hughson was on active duty in the days leading up to the opening of the College.[66] However he could not find accommodation in Newcastle that was suitable for his wife and family, and with the blessing of the Department, returned to his post in Armidale.[67] Similarly Aitken, who had substantial local contacts, having been born in Cessnock and attending Maitland Boys High, was forced to board through the week and return to Sydney each Friday on the evening train.[68]

The process for the appointment of Hughson's replacement highlights the workings of the NSW Department of Education in this period. The 'networking' approach to appointments which had led to the criticism of the initial appointments at ATC some 20 years before, was still alive and well in the late 1940s. A young history teacher from North Sydney Boys High, Alan Barcan, was asked to attend an interview with Jack Back, his Inspector who he later described as a "formidable figure".[69] He was offered the position as lecturer in History and History Method as a two-year secondment. It seems that one of the staff of the College, Don Aitken, mentioned the suitability of Barcan to Duncan, based on their common attendance at a History honours class at Sydney University in 1945. The phone calls were made and Inspector Back offered the position at the just opened teachers college to Barcan. Perhaps it was the fact that Barcan had no primary school experience, or perhaps it was that he was a comparatively junior teacher, only 27 at the time, that caused Barcan to reflect that the offer was made somewhat reluctantly.[70] Barcan's acceptance of the position completed the group that would be known as 'the Originals'.[71]

The appointment of Barcan demonstrates two key elements of the emerging history of NTC. The importance of pragmatism, and the nature of departmental control. The pragmatism is demonstrated through the immediacy of the appointment made. The Department was able to react to a localised situation and respond to that change almost immediately. The nature of Departmental control was reinforced not as some distant or nefarious entity, but through the operation of networks of individuals who had substantial existing contact and relationships.

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[66] "Teachers' College Taking Shape," *NMH*,
[67] Interview 4_S_M1949.
[68] Alan Barcan, "The Founding Years," in Dyce, *Speaking of Union Street* ," 6.
[69] Barcan, "The Founding Years," 5.
[70] Alan Barcan, private correspondence, email June 2009.
[71] Alan Barcan, private correspondence, email May 2009.

The 'Department' consisted of people, and the application of policies and procedures were subject to local and individual variation. The original staff are shown in Figure 4.1 (below).

Figure 4.1. Original Staff of NTC, 1949.[72]

By 1953 the teaching staff had grown to twenty-one. Duncan and Staines both remained in their posts, however a new member of staff, Ian Renwick, was acting vice-principal as Staines was in London pursuing his PhD. Indeed, only four of the group who started teaching in 1949 had left by 1953. The Arts and Craft group had grown by three, with the addition of Camille Smith, Donald MacKay, and Leila Whittle to the 'Original' Walter Wilcox. The Education discipline had also grown. Aitken had departed, with the travelling to Sydney each weekend eventually proving too much for him and he was replaced by Ian Renwick, Ian MacKenzie, and Paul Newling, Barcan and Crago remained in the Social Sciences area, and

[72]The staff listed in Table 4.1 are shown in this photograph with the exception that Barcan is present and Hughson is not. Duncan is shown in the centre of the photograph in a light suit and academic gown. Photograph from University of Newcastle Archive collection, SBC Newcastle Teachers College B16469-1949003.

Moore was joined by Arthur Cornell in Biology.[73] Barnes was joined by Huldah Sneddon, an MA honours graduate from Sydney, and Bert Wood in the English section.[74] In Mathematics, Mr Colin Doyle replaced Mr Charles Ferrier who, like Miss Melville from Physical Education, and Mr Hoffman in Dramatic Arts had returned to teaching in schools. Hoffman's position in Dramatic Arts was covered by the increase in the English and Music staff with Huldah Sneddon especially having a heavy involvement in drama and theatre.[75] Melville's position in Physical Education was not directly replaced after her departure in 1952, and various female members of staff were co-opted to assist the male PE lecturer Harold Gillard 'with the girls' until Helen Moller arrived in 1954.[76]

In terms of qualifications the staff displayed the same general profile as staff at other teachers colleges, with a slightly higher proportion of staff having higher degrees.[77] It was normal for the Principal and Vice Principal of a teachers college to have a higher degree, and, as detailed above, both Duncan and Staines had the requisite qualifications.[78] Renwick, who had been at WWTC before his transfer to Newcastle, also had a master's degree from Melbourne University. Almost all (seven of the eight) members of the Music, English and Education staff also had Masters degrees, with five other members of staff having Bachelor's degrees or equivalent qualifications. In the areas of Arts and Crafts and Physical Education it was not common for staff to have degrees, and none of the NTC staff in these areas had degrees in 1953.

Duncan always stressed the importance of further education and maximising talents. He supported Staines in his negotiations with the Department for leave to pursue his PhD in London and, although not able to secure him a full stipend, Duncan was able to keep his position open for him on his return. As one former staff member recalled:

> Griff was always very supportive if he thought your plan was in your best interests. I remember he went out of his way to help Jim [Staines] with his London trip, and even tried to encourage others to do the same … I remember he was very keen for Ted [Crago] to complete further study, but

[73] While History and Geography were listed as separate subjects in first year, Crago and Barcan both contributed to the Social Sciences courses in second year, *NTC Calendar 1953.*
[74] *NTC Calendar 1953*, University of Sydney *Examination Results for the years 1943-1947*, 19.
[75] Turner, *Correspondence with Doug Huxley*; Interview 32_B_M1953.
[76] Interview 48_S_F1952.
[77] For comparison of other colleges at this time see *Seniority of Lecturers*.
[78] All of the Principals of NSW teachers' colleges had higher degrees at this time with the exception of L.J. Allen who was principal at Bathurst. Both I. Turner at Sydney and G. Bassett at Armidale had PhDs, *Seniority of Lecturers*.

> he always resisted and cited 'family responsibilities' which was the only way to get Griff to stop pestering you.[79]

Similarly, Duncan arranged the transfer of some students that he deemed 'highly capable' to STC, so that they could pursue University studies and train as secondary school teachers, as that option was not yet available in Newcastle.[80]

That is not to say that Duncan was always amenable to every suggestion:

> There was no doubt it was Griff's college. We needed to ask permission to do anything out of the ordinary. Whenever any change in anything was requested it was Griff who made the decision. He would listen, but once he made his mind up there was no changing it. I remember that the students wanted to have some new furniture in the common rooms, and to be honest the chairs that were there were in quite poor condition, so the deputation went to see Griff. He determined that the college couldn't afford it, and refused to budge, even when the students offered to bring things in from home to replace them. It evidently wasn't about cost … but control.[81]

Likewise, when Barcan was looking for lodgings for his time in Newcastle, he felt the need to check with Duncan about the suitability of lodging with one of the returned servicemen who was a student. There was no question that if Duncan had refused permission, it would not have happened. The authority of the Principal was almost absolute.

The absolute power was however not automatically perceived as tyrannical, and most report Duncan as being friendly and approachable. Indeed, Barcan even reported that he felt that Duncan was too friendly and informal on occasions and "perhaps his friendly grin was rather too friendly. One looked for greater dignity".[82] However, even Barcan saw positive effects in Duncan's approach, recalling that:

> Duncan's informality had some benefits for staff. While lecturers were supposed to be on the premises when not lecturing - it was officially a nine-to-five job - he was usually undisturbed if staff absented themselves on occasions.[83]

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[79] Interview 31_A_F1951.
[80] NTC Class Rolls, Newcastle Teachers College- Class Rolls, Folio A8840(i), University of Newcastle Archives.
[81] Interview 47_A_M1950.
[82] Barcan, "Halfway to Heaven," 28.
[83] Barcan, "Halfway to Heaven," 28.

Likewise, Barcan and Aitken were invariably able to make the fast train to Sydney known as "The Flyer" which left Newcastle at 5pm on Friday afternoon. However, the general feeling of the staff was that Duncan got it about right, and the dedication and admiration for Duncan evident in the interviews and reminiscences of former staff is overwhelming.

Examples come from both the interviews, and other written recollections such as: "Griff was a compassionate man who always had time for you, he was interested in everything, and was very proud of his college"[84] or "As principal, Griff's door was always open and he was always there; he liked people and he liked nothing better than to talk with them."[85] Huldah Turner remarked: "He loved his college. He was fiercely proud of it and he fought all the way for his better world".[86]

Throughout this period the staff were generally supportive of each other and had a 'can do' attitude. Barcan recalled that "we became friends … relations were pretty good all round. We were all learning".[87] As with many of the recollections of this period of college life, the social events remain in the memory, while the educational events seem to be not so readily recalled. Barcan recalled the establishment of the 'Premier Club' which was named after one of the local hotels, and consisted of a group of staff and students with a common interest in horse racing and drinking.[88] The group was not sanctioned by Duncan, but nevertheless prospered during the time the College was located at Broadmeadow.[89] While the male students were allowed to join in, there was a clear hierarchy with the staff at the top, the older servicemen next and the younger school leavers at the bottom. One interviewee remarked: "I was one of the school leavers so had to do a bit of running around for the others, but it was all in good spirits".[90]

That is not to say that the staff relations were all straightforward. For example, there was considerable disquiet in relation to Duncan's edict that staff would wear their academic dress when teaching. The members of the Arts and Crafts section and Harold Gillard took umbrage at this as, having no degrees, they had no gowns to wear. Wilcox in particular thought that

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[84] Interview 66_P_F1953.
[85] Bert Wood, "In Memorium," in Dyce, *Speaking of Union Street ,"* 2.
[86] Turner, *Correspondence with Doug Huxley*, 2.
[87] Barcan, "The Founding Years," 6;
[88] Barcan, "The Founding Years," 6.
[89] Interview 8_S_M1949; Interview 4_A_M1949.
[90] Interview 65_S_M1950.

the policy was divisive and made them feel like second-class citizens.[91] There was no easy resolution and despite the close relationship between Wilcox and Duncan it proved problematic for many years.[92]

The ubiquitous impressions emerging from the interviews were those of collegiality and the development of College spirit. There was also an implicit understanding that much of the purpose of the NTC concerned behaviour.

> There was camaraderie and spirit in the college, perhaps it was because there were so many obstacles, perhaps it was because Griff did everything he could to develop it, but we had a fierce loyalty to the college and to Griff, and we felt that we were working towards something valuable and that the behaviours that we encouraged would see the college develop in the same way as Sydney or Armidale had with solid traditions.[93]

Thus the pragmatic solutions to the obstacles presented, combined with loyalty from the staff, set the ethos of the College as one which valued both direct outcomes and compliance. During this period staff compliance was not something that was reflected upon. The staff saw Duncan as the leader of the College, and they were used to operating in such hierarchical structures. Any power sharing arrangements were modelled on the school systems the staff had been prepared for, and neither the College administration nor the staff themselves saw this a problematic.

The College Students

The students who attended NTC during the period 1949-1953 were primarily students who had come straight from the Leaving Certificate in NSW schools. They were almost always bonded to the Department, and had both their tuition fees covered and received an allowance based on their circumstances.[94] The secondary school system at that time had five years of

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[91] Ian Renwick, personal papers, notes of Staff meeting, June 1951.

[92] The ultimate solution was presented once the college became a degree granting institution in the late 1970s and the first Honorary degree issued by the college was to the now retired Walter Wilcox, in 1980 and Gillard's followed in 1982: *NTC Calendar, 1981*,19; *NTC Calendar 1983*, 20.

[93] Interview 31_S_F1951.

[94] There were some students who were referred to on rolls as 'private students'- this denoted that they were not currently receiving an allowance. Students were either permanently 'private students' in which case they had been accepted on the condition that they either pay their own way, or had other arrangements in place, or a student may become a 'private student' for a short period of time, which usually indicated that they had failed a number of courses, and the department had advised that they could not receive their allowance until their results had improved; See *NTC Calendar 1952*, 11; *NTC Rolls.*

secondary schooling and therefore the students were largely seventeen to nineteen years old during the two year course. There were some exceptions to this, and there were quite a number of more mature men in the initial intake. Notably the first president of the students' union at NTC, Mr Michael Hannan, was a returned serviceman, and there were quite a few within that cohort, and within the special 'mid-year intake' that the NTC held in June 1950.[95] The students were all undertaking training to become primary teachers and completed all of their training either on site at the NTC or in scheduled activities under the guidance of Department or College personnel. The enrolments during the period were relatively stable with the total enrolment shown in Table 4.2. The numbers were set by the Department centrally, and fluctuated based on applications, demand, and state finances.

Table 4.2. Total College Enrolments, 1949-1953.[96]

Year	Males	Females	Total
1949	84	97	181
1950	131	181	312
1951	144	176	320
1952	153	168	321
1953	119	173	292

In each year there were more females than males in the college, and the total number of new first year enrolments varied from a peak of 181 in the initial year, to a low of 133 new enrolments in 1952.[97]

In each intake the group was arranged into sections. The sections for first year were arranged purely alphabetically with each group having approximately 35 students. There were slight variations to attempt to maintain a gender balance within sections. The sections effectively formed 'class' groups and each section attended lectures on a given timetable and these sections formed the basis for college organisation. The number of sections varied depending on enrolment and each student had a 'number' which started with their section.[98] The

[95] Barcan, "The Founding Years,"; *NTC Calendar 1955*, 10; Interview 4_A_M1949.
[96] *NTC Rolls*; *Altjiringa Annual 1960*, 2.
[97] Note that the 1950 and 1951 intake figures are affected by the mid-year intake which commenced in July 1950, and the table shows total enrolment while the commentary below Table 4.2 refers to starting students only.
[98] Thus, the first student in the first section for 1952, Janice Abbott, had the student number 101- the numbers were reallocated at the end of each year, and Janice Abbott progressed to section nine in 1953, a second year section, and her number became 901. The first-year sections had the lower numbers and the second-year sections had the higher numbers. So in 1953 the section numbers 1 through 4 were allocated to the first-year

second-year sections were also mainly determined alphabetically. There were however three pathways open to students in their second year. In second year during this period, students could elect to undertake a specialisation of sorts within their training. Females who wished to do so could specialise in infants method, and males could undertake training which was designed to prepare them for small schools. Figure 4.2 shows Section 10 of the Pioneers group from 1949.

Figure 4.2. Pioneers Group Section 10, 1949.[99]

As an exception to these general principles, there were also sections which were not formed alphabetically in first year. During the periods of compulsory national service, it was possible for college applicants to be required to complete a certain portion of their 176 days of army service prior to starting their teacher training.[100] In most cases they could then defer the remainder until the completion of their training.[101] Where students were required to attend at

groups, and the section numbers 5 through 11 were allocated to the second-year students. See *NTC Rolls*, UoN Archives Box A8840(i).

[99] Photograph, Fred Preston's section, Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.

[100] In this period national military service commenced in 1951, largely as a consequence of the Cold War hostilities in Korea, and continued until 1959; "College Lacks New Hall," *NMH*, 2.

[101] Vic Rooney "More Reminiscences," in Dyce, *Speaking of Union Street,"* 16.

the start of the year, special sections were established to allow those groups to 'catch-up' before re-joining the regular pattern of attendance later in their studies. [102]

Each section had a representative, and a deputy representative' and these representatives were in turn members of the Student Council which "represents the student body and controls their affairs".[103] There was a requirement that the representative and their 'deputy' be of different sexes, and the same requirement was in place for the major elected positions of President and Vice President. While the specific wording of the requirement here appears to be quite enlightened for the time, reading: "Candidates for Vice-President shall be of the opposite sex to that of the elected President", thus allowing for the election of a female President. The reality is displayed in Table 4.3 below.[104]

Table 4.3. Presidents and Vice-Presidents of NTC: 1949-1953.[105]

Year	President	Vice President
1949	Michael Hannan	Barbara Williamson
1950	Michael Hannan	Barbara Williamson
1951	Cameron Willison	Gwen Frappell
1952	Harold Wright	Jenny Lindsay
1953	Don Cooper	Sue Marjoribanks

Whilst the gender divide is apparent in the list above, one of the most commented on areas of the student experience for this time period is the co-ed nature of the College. Most of the students had come from single sex, often selective schools, so they had no experience of having the opposite sex present in the classroom. There were clearly barriers for the College to break down to create functioning professionals, however the process needed to be mindful of the culture into which the students were to be inducted. One student recalled:

> The first day, at the assembly, when Mr Duncan had to address us, you know, and we had all been to separate boys and girls high schools, some of them had come from the country, but here we are … all the boys on the right hand side, all the girls on the left hand side, and we just did that automatically … oh, now there were two couples who had been to a co-ed

[102] "College Lacks New Hall," *NMH*, 2.
[103] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 84.
[104] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 85.
[105] *NTC Calendar 1962*, 228-229.

> school and they sat with their girlfriend and boyfriend, but the whole 180 of us segregated straight away … there is a picture of it … it was just automatic.[106]

Figure 4.3 shows one of the photos of this assembly highlights this gender divide.

Figure 4.3. Students at Initial College Assembly, 1949.[107]

Yet the gender divide did not last long, as noted by one of the female Pioneer students. There was clearly both direct action on personal behaviour present in the actions of the female staff, and some degree of censure evident in this student's comment:

> A few of the girls went quite 'boy mad' and Mr Duncan had to have a talk with them about their behaviour, and I remember that Miss Melville was

[106] Interview 1_S_M1949.
[107] Photo from NTC college photos, Photographic Material- NTC college photos, Folio B16453.University of Newcastle Archives.

> always talking about 'seemly behaviour for a young lady', although I am not sure that Miss Barnes was always a good role model for us girls.[108]

It was also the case that the students themselves seemed willing to accept 'top-down' induction into the culture of the College. Compliance was expected and delivered. Mick Hannan, the first President of the NTC Student Union, was eager to establish a certain college culture. In his pre-election speech for his 1950 election campaign he remarked:

> I know that with the guidance and efficiency of a very able principal, Mr Duncan, and the support of his staff and the continued support of the students we will set an exceedingly high standard for future generations of students.[109]

It is perhaps symptomatic of the potentially confusing role of the students that the same issue of the student newspaper which announced the re-election of the "popular" College personality to the Presidential role, also carried a front page article which condemned the inactivity of the Student Council. Citing issues with college facilities, including common rooms, the college shop and the lack of a drinking fountain, the article was headed "Council blunders during 1949".[110] The apparent conflict was well aired in many of the recollections too, with the facilities condemned, but the overall experience praised.

It seems that there were levels and modes of compliance within the student body. The students were certainly personally and administratively compliant, and it was unheard of for a student to challenge a member of staff concerning college matters. There was, however, an acceptance of internal dissent when this was seen as working to improve the College. The publication of the college magazine provided an avenue for such dissent, yet the fact that such articles were invariably not attributed to an individual author indicates that students were aware of the importance of compliance.[111]

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[108] Interview 7_S_F1949.
[109] *Altjiringa 1950*, 1.
[110] *Altjiringa 1950*, 1.
[111] There were seven articles which contained critical comment on the NTC during this period, from the more than 100 articles published. None of these articles were attributed to a specific student, yet the tradition was for the name of the author to appear under the article printed.

Student Involvement in College Administration

A further example of the way that the College worked, and particularly, the relationship between the staff and students was highlighted by the establishment of many of the "firsts" at the College. As noted by Mr Noel Pryde, one of the Pioneer students, "everything that first year was a first … first college dance, and first drama presentation … first college camp, first college ball, first intercollegiate (a visit to Sydney)". Pryde, with more than passing interest in History, also acknowledged the importance of rehearsal in the process of memory, indicating that: "these memories are very fresh in my mind, and they get a good airing fairly regularly."[112] Many of the 'firsts' established precedents that stayed with the College for a long time. In most cases the students had a say in the way that things would develop. The students, for example, selected the college colours, based on the colours of the local Newcastle regiment.[113] The Motto was selected by Duncan, and was to be "towards a better world" or "*Ad Meliorem Mundum*" the Latin equivalent.[114] The students were asked to vote on which version of the motto was preferred by the student body. The vote was much closer than Duncan had anticipated, and there were some allegations that one of the section's votes had been deliberately lost, but again Duncan had judged the mood of the student body correctly. A Pioneer student reported:

> I think that Mr Duncan was confident that we would vote for the Latin version, as most of us had done Latin for the leaving certificate, but in the end I think the vote was closer than he thought it was going to be. At the assembly where he announced the outcome, I remember him saying that he was glad that most of us had seen sense and he hoped that the rest of the student body would come to love the new motto. I voted for the English version, I thought the Latin was just pretentious, and coming from the coalfields that wasn't my style.[115]

The college had established an ethos where the students were expected to do the right thing, and in most cases students and staff were clear on what this was. In areas where there was either less clarity or less importance, the student body was involved in the decision making.

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[112] Pryde, "From a Pioneer Student," 14; Alan Baddeley, "The Psychology of Remembering and Forgetting" in *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind,* ed. Thomas Butler (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 58.
[113] Interview 3_S_M1949.
[114] It was argued by many people down the years that the correct Latin would actually have been "Ad Mundum Meliorem", however Duncan maintained that the translation was appropriate. See "Interview with Griff" *Altjiringa 1974,* 34.
[115] Interview 3_S_M1949.

Curriculum and Pedagogy

In 1949 the anticipated program of study was set out from the start, but as noted above, pragmatic concerns forced the variation of the program from day one. The plan expressed by Duncan was that:

> When classes start students will begin to study in 14 subjects incorporated in the first-year course ... principles of education, educational psychology, social studies, geography, history, mathematics, music, speech, dramatic art, method of teaching English and English literature, arts and crafts, physical education and biology, plus one optional subject from the curriculum.[116]

For pragmatic reasons, the subject of "Principles of Education" was soon combined with "Educational Psychology" owing to the lack of expertise of the staff at the College, and instead of having two hours on each topic, there was a combined four hour block on "Education".[117] This was common at the regional colleges, and this type of deviation from the centralised curriculum was accepted as a necessary result of staffing variations. Despite this initial change, the curriculum varied very little during the period 1949 to 1953. The students all studied a common curriculum in their first year of study. The program was based very closely on both the NSW syllabus and the programs of study at other NSW teachers colleges and had the subject areas from the Primary school syllabus as the key areas of activity. These were combined with lectures on education, demonstration lessons and practice teaching sessions. Two of the three traditions highlighted by Connell were present in this new curriculum, and the third, that of personal behaviour, was also being woven into the fabric of the College.[118]

Staff noticed the control of the College syllabus by the Department but did not always find this problematic. One lecturer remarked:

> We had no say in the program that the students studied ... yes ... I think it was established by the department ... or perhaps there was some input from the college principals when they came together ... they used to get together and have a conference once a year and share ideas, and then we heard these

[116] "College may be ready March 14," *NMH*, 3.
[117] Interview 4_A_M1949.
[118] William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.

ideas from Griff. But it didn't change anything it was essentially the Primary and Infants syllabus that we taught."[119]

The timetable from the 1952 handbook, outlined in Table 4.4, highlights the structure of each student's week.

Table 4.4. Student Courses of Study, 1952.[120]

Periods per week				
	First Year	Second year		
	All students	General Primary	Small school	Infants
Education	4	4	4	4
Art	0	2	2	2
Crafts and Needlework[121]	2	2	2	0
English	4	4	4	4
Biology	2	2	2	2
Music	2	2	2	2
Mathematics	2	0	0	0
Geography	2	0	0	0
History	2	0	0	0
Social Studies	0	2	2	2
Physical Education	1	2	2	2
hygiene	0	1	1	1
Option	3	3	3	3
Infants Method	0	0	0	2
Demonstration	2	2	2	2
Total	26	26	26	26

The 'Option' noted in the table above had been added to provide some additional flexibility in the program, but in practice students had little choice with only a few such options being run each year. The comparatively small student numbers, and few staff, when compared to STC who had championed the idea of the elective, meant that the options needed to be severely restricted. Each year however, the options were listed in the handbook, so, in theory, the students could select from the items offered. The reality was not very satisfactory for either staff or students, a staff member recalling:

[119] Interview 47_A_M1950.
[120] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 26.
[121] The Crafts and Needlework course was segregated on the basis of gender in the second year. Males undertook a rotation of items such as Toymaking, Woodwork and Leather work with a new skill being practiced each fortnight. The females undertook courses in needlework, fabrics and knitting. *NTC Calendar 1952*, 32-35.

> It was a bit hit and miss with the electives [options], it depended on who selected which options, and what Griff wanted, as to which electives ran in any given year.[122]

A second-year student in 1952 also highlighted some dissatisfaction with the process:

> I was really looking forward to doing the counselling option, as I thought that down the track, I might like to become a school careers guidance officer, but at the last minute it wasn't available for my year and I had to do drama. I quite liked the drama, but it wasn't what I wanted - so it was some years later that I went back and trained as a school counsellor.[123]

On paper, the courses themselves were standard and could have existed at almost any teachers college in the state. The texts for the Education course demonstrate this with Cole's recently published (1950) *The Method and Technique of Teaching*, being added to Panton's standard work of the time: *Modern Teaching Practice and Technique*.[124] Both were also favourites of STC and WWTC.[125] The influence of external educational systems was highlighted in the Newcastle context, with the inclusion of a second year section in the educational curriculum which compared the NSW system to those in England, the USA, France, and the USSR. The NTC courses additionally explored items such as the Dalton Plan, the American Progressives, and the Little Red School House, all US-based educational trends, which served to highlight the growing importance of the American educationalists in the post-war period.[126]

Duncan had also tried to institute changes at the central level to the shape and scope of the curriculum for Primary teachers in the state. In 1948 the Public Service Board had approved the establishment of a Committee of Teacher Training. Its membership included the Director General of Education, the Professor of Education at Sydney University, and the Principals of all the teachers colleges.[127] Duncan joined automatically as NTC Principal in 1949 and was active throughout the existence of the committee. In 1949 he developed an extensive proposal for the transformation of the process and accreditation of Primary training. The certification of teachers would be put on a more professional footing, with full rather than conditional certification of teachers at the end of their training courses. There was also to be an increase

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[122] Interview 47_A_M1950.
[123] Interview 53_S_F1951; the actual course name of the option in 1952 was "Child Guidance". *NTC Calendar 1952*, 43.
[124] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 39.
[125] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 39: Ian Renwick, personal notes, staff meeting, 1951.
[126] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 39
[127] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 121.

in the hours dedicated to general education courses, with a commensurate decrease in the practical based courses. The Department rejected these, primarily for financial reasons.[128] The upshot of the inflexibility of setting the curriculum centrally meant that the teaching staff at NTC did not feel that they were really involved in development of the program structure or course content. One staff member commented:

> I don't really remember the specifics of the courses that we taught … We never really thought that we were able to make any substantial changes to what we taught. The courses were all based directly on the NSW syllabus documents, and … in many cases on particular textbooks so it was just teaching by numbers.[129]

1950 also saw NTC involved in two interesting and almost purely pragmatic responses to a newly publicized teacher shortage. The shortage identified by the Commonwealth Office of Education highlighted that even with the new colleges fully functioning, the teacher shortfall was not being met.[130] The immediate response was the Department decided that NTC should take a "mid-year" intake, and despite some objections from staff, the scholarships were arranged and the intake of a 'June' section was arranged.[131] The second response was that Duncan returned from the Committee of Teacher Training meeting with instructions to find a number of students that were suitable to commence teaching that year.[132] Duncan indicated that the College could provide 25 such students from their current final year students to be finished by September. Special examinations were arranged for the end of August, and 20 female students from the Infants session, and five male students from the small school section took up duties in state schools in September, 1950.[133] As had been common in the 19th century training models, student teachers had had their training cut short to respond to pragmatic needs.[134]

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[128] Minutes of Standing Committee on Teacher Training, 20 September 1949, 10 March 1950, and 6 December 1950; See also Brandon, "Griffith Hammond Duncan," 33.
[129] Interview 47_S_M1950.
[130] Commonwealth Office of Education figures quoted in Lawton, B.R. "Alarming teacher Shortage in NSW," *Altjiringa* 2, no. 2. (June, 1950): 2.
[131] Interview 4_S_M1949; *NTC Calendar 1951*; Minutes of Standing Committee on Teacher Training, July, 1950.
[132] Minutes of Standing Committee on Teacher Training, July, 1950.
[133] *Altjiringa* 2, no. 4 (1950): 4.
[134] Bernard Hyams, *Teacher Preparation in Australia, A History of its Development from 1850 to 1950* (Melbourne: ACER,1979), 21; NSW Department of Education, *Teachers for Tomorrow: Continuity, Challenge and Change in Teacher Education in New South Wales,* Report of the Committee to Examine Teacher Education in New South Wales (The Correy Report) (Sydney: Government Printers, 1980), 11; Cliff Turney, "William Wilkins-Australia's Kay-Shuttleworth," in *Pioneers of Australian Education,* edited by Cliff Turney (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1969), 234.

As with the process of memory and reflection highlighted in the staff discussion above, there were few recollections of the specifics of classes or activities in the student interviews of this period. The exceptions were odd incidents which occurred in class rather than memories about the specific content of the courses. There were however many recollections of the general impression of the curriculum and educational tasks. This is in line with the distinction between episodic and semantic memory discussed in chapter two, and specifically the tendency for individuals to construct composite memories from experiences which are more regular or repetitive.[135]

There were many comments about the period which identified that the actual academic work was generally not challenging. One of the female Pioneers recalled:

> I think that the students in my group found the academic side of things very easy. We had just finished the leaving certificate which was quite difficult, and ... ah … then we were doing some of the same subjects at college but it was at a much lower level.[136]

Another of the female Pioneer students was also aware of a possible gender bias in the academic abilities of the early students, commenting:

> The girls were generally better academically, as the top girls would often go straight into teaching, but the top men would go to university or straight into other jobs. The chances were ... well there were just fewer chances for us to get a career. There were jobs, but teaching was one of the few jobs where you might have a chance to use your brain.[137]

By the end of the period some students, as well as identifying the nature of the work as being less academic than expected, were showing signs of boredom, even if it was only in a quite immature way. A male student who started in 1953 remarked that:

> The courses were all very easy - there was lots of busy work - they even taught us how to fill forms. I remember that (name) used to always go out of his way to make up the most ludicrous situations and names. So there was Mickey Mouse and Karl Marx and so forth in every roll that was going round, or they were the ones who ... you know ... had the accident that we had to complete the form for ... … poor little Karl Marx fell over in the playground and had to be taken to the Duncan Memorial Hospital … it was

[135] Josephine R. May, "Gender, Memory and the Experience of Selective Secondary Schooling in Newcastle, New South Wales, from the 1930s to the 1950s" (PhD Diss., Newcastle University, 2000), 38.
[136] Interview 45_S_F1949.
[137] Interview 64_S_F1949.

> a way of keeping us entertained ... it was just so boring. All those things that you didn't need to learn ... you could just do if you needed to.[138]

This students' perceptions of the standard of academic work, is confirmed in a school magazine of the time which was extolling the virtues of becoming a teacher, with one female student claiming that: "The work is a completely different type from that done at school and, after the strenuous year spent doing the Leaving, is something of a rest cure".[139]

The other type of recollections from classroom situations are those events which happened in the classroom but were not directly related to the curriculum. They can, however, shed some light on other aspects of college life such as staff-student relationships. The following recollection from a Pioneer student is typical of this type of memory:

> So here we are going into our class with this lovely lady teaching us art. We had to do theory for the first hour and then we had to paint something in the second hour. So we had to carry a bottle of water, and the old coalfields thing, this was 1949 and the coalmines ... there were a lot of strikes in the coalmines ... so one of our blokes stood up, he wanted to go outside and have a smoke, so he says 'all right boys - empty your water bottles we are going home'- and he said it just like the miners used to say it and we all started to walk out. So, she was quite flustered, and Griff Duncan came down the corridor … he had heard all to commotion and said "don't worry they will be back".[140]

The recollection of these individual episodic events is not only consistent with the notion of scripts discussed in chapter two, but highlights the local character of the College. The importance of the working-class origins of both Duncan and many of the students is embodied in this short action. The symbolic rebellion, and the ability of Duncan to understand and diffuse this rebellion, was emblematic of the developing local identity of the College.

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[138] Interview 32_S_M1953.

[139] Norma Davis, "Life at Newcastle Teachers College," *Newcastle Home Science High school Annual Magazine, 1950*, 21.

[140] Interview, 3_S_M1949; Interestingly this incident was also recalled by one of the individuals interviewed for the 60th Anniversary of teacher education event held in 2009, who claimed that the same story had been told at each of the Pioneer reunions since the first one in 1951.

Practicum and Demonstration Lessons

The practicum and demonstration lessons completed the "training tradition' which Connell so persuasively claimed was the third tenet of teacher training in the 1950s.[141] NTC established a relationship with The Junction School in Union Street, The Junction, a nearby suburb. The relationship became more convenient once the College had relocated to the Union Street site which was literally only meters from the school, and throughout this period students would invariably walk to the demonstration lessons.[142] Students would view selected teachers in action in their classrooms, with the plan being that during the course of their training they would see every type of lesson.[143] The students were encouraged to keep notes on their experiences, and were provided with "duplicated notes for all lessons observed" and were required to keep these in a book imaginatively titled "Demonstration Lesson Note-book". These books, containing both the provided lesson notes and the students' own reflections on the lessons, were collected and graded each half year, with the mark contributing to their education examination result.[144] The students saw varying value in the lessons. Some saw them as excellent, as a Pioneer student reflected:

> I used to love the demonstration lessons. We went to The Junction and … and worked with a great teacher ... I can't remember her name at the moment ... it will come to me ... but she was just fantastic. She had the class eating out of the palm of her hand, and she was able to explain just what she was doing and why.[145]

Other students, however, were less convinced:

> I felt sorry for the children in the demonstration school classes. There were some lessons where we outnumbered the students - there were more of us than there were of them. Would have been very intimidating, and it wasn't really of much value for us. The children were always on their best behaviour - nothing like we experienced once we started in the schools.[146]

This outnumbering is clearly illustrated in the photo in Figure 4.4 below.

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[141] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.
[142] Media release, NCAE, The Junction Demonstration school, December 1985, Media and Publicity Office.
[143] Interview 54_S_F1950.
[144] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 23.
[145] Interview 64_S_F1949.
[146] Interview 30_S_F1951.

Figure 4.4. Practicum Lesson at The Junction Demonstration School, 1950.[147]

The College prided itself on the importance that it placed on practice teaching and its close relationship with schools. In 1952, for example, the College started a full week before the STC to accommodate additional practice teaching at the request of Duncan.[148] Students undertook two graded periods of three weeks practice teaching each year for the majority of the period under consideration. Some groups also undertook a period of two weeks of "unsupervised practicum", which was on occasion arranged by the students themselves.[149] There was a gradual widening of the range of schools available for the practicum during the period, and by the 1953 session students were able to undertake practice teaching on the coalfields and at schools around Lake Macquarie. This was seen as very beneficial for the students as much for pragmatic reasons as for the quality of the experience, with many

[147] Photograph, Pioneers session Photo Album, University of Newcastle archives.
[148] "College Lacks New Hall," *NMH*, 2.
[149] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 17-18.

students able to teach close to where they lived.[150] Students were not only to observe lessons but were required to attend to matters of routine management such as record cards, class rolls, staff returns, and official school correspondence.[151]

The students almost universally saw the practicum as one of the most valuable and relevant parts of their training. Typical of the comments here were those of a 1953 student who observed:

> The practice teaching was what it was all about. If you could do the job, that was the proof of the pudding ... you know. Everyone was nervous about their first school, but once we had been out we had a much better understanding of what we were doing, and why we were doing it.[152]

This importance and value of the practicum is also born out through the student magazine:

> Now that the strain of practice teaching has more or less worn off and we are slowly recovering from the effects that the publication of the marks had on us …We would like to join with the rest of the student body in congratulating [list of students] on their "A's".[153]

This acknowledgement was the only praise for academic achievement in the first five years of the magazine's volumes.[154] Additionally, there was certainly a perception both from the teaching staff and the students that the College staff and school staff were working closely together. This was not always seen as a good thing, with one student reporting:

> It was a bit of a closed shop ... you know ... the college supervisor was just visiting to say hello to all their mates at the school. I didn't think that I could complain about anything that happened at the school as they were all friends. Not that I would have been game to complain anyway.[155]

Added to this were the problems inherent with a new college. Both College staff and school support staff needed to get use to the processes:

> When we went out to these schools we were new … they had never had anything like this before. So they were just as new at it as we were.[156]

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[150] "College Lacks New Hall," *NMH*, 2
[151] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 17-18.
[152] Interview 32_S_M1953.
[153] "Its practice but does it make perfect", *Altjiringa* 2, no. 2 (June 1950): 3
[154] *Altjiringa* 1949-1953.
[155] Interview 32_S_M1953.
[156] Interview 1_S_M1949.

In addition to the usual problems that students on practicum have traditionally faced, in balancing competing college and school instructions, one student reported another balancing act which was required by the new students:

> One of the other things that happened on my practicum was that some of the teachers indicated that it was a shame that we couldn't go to a 'proper' teachers college like Sydney or Armidale, and that there was no tradition at Newcastle. Well, I had two ways of getting them talking about something else. If the comments had been made in the staff room, I could ask which college did they think was the best, and then sit back and watch the sparks fly ... or if it was a comment as a … a one to one comment ... I would ask, that I wonder if the first group that went through Sydney Teachers College felt that they were disadvantaged ... ha, ha. So that was always entertaining … You had to be careful though, you didn't want to upset anyone. If the principal of the school got word that you were being cheeky or disrespectful, you would be out on your ear. The college staff and the school staff were very clear about this, and Mr Duncan seemed to know everyone in every school.[157]

It was the practicum which gave voice to the only real seeds of complaint about any of the College practices in an academic area. Whilst the student body was collectively, and publicly compliant, there was an undercurrent of disquiet with the practicum marking process. The student magazine reported:

> A lot of us haven't been seen by anyone but our own supervisor during any practice and then for only about six lessons which is hardly a fair sampling of four lessons a day for three weeks.[158]

This was further reinforced by a student interviewee who observed:

> the grades that were given for practice teaching were not only the most important, they were the ones that we had the least control over. It helped you to get a good grade if you went to a good school, and the college decided that.[159]

These issues were often not specific to NTC, and the problems around practicum have been present since the notion of a combined college and school-based teacher preparation model. Vick mentioned many of these same issues and noted in his review of the history of the practicum:

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[157] Interview 8_S_M1949.
[158] "Its practice but does it make perfect", *Altjiringa*, 3.
[159] Interview 45_S_F1949.

> It suggests that such problems may, in fact, be inherent in the model of a balanced combination of on campus theoretical studies and school-based practice that has dominated the past century of teacher education.[160]

However, the localised versions of these problems were certainly perceived by the students and staff as vital to the college experience.

Clubs and Social Activities

In addition to the timetabled classroom and demonstration sessions, there was one hour per week which was set aside for the formal meetings of the College clubs. The clubs were designed to "provide cultural, intellectual, political, social and religious activities for students outside the normal curriculum".[161]. Each club had both an elected student administrative structure, and a College appointed staff member who was to 'assist and guide' where necessary.[162]

The process of club formation was through the student representative body, with a delegation being made to the Student Union and then, if that was successful, it was put to the Principal. The students were aware of the importance of the role of the Principal in the process, as evidenced by the recollection of one student:

> I remember one of the wags from my section suggesting that we go to Mr Duncan and suggest that we form a gambling and betting club, but we didn't know if he would see the funny side of it.[163]

Again, Duncan had the final say.

Each student was expected to belong to at least one club, and the list of clubs grew steadily during the period. By 1953 the approved clubs were the Choir and Musical Society, the Debating Society, the Dramatic Society, the Film Appreciation Society, the Newspaper Club, the Social and Recreational Club, the Visual Education Club, and the Chess Club. Additionally, there were three specifically religious clubs which held meetings on college

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[160] Malcom Vick, "'It's a Difficult Matter': Historical perspectives on the enduring problems of the practicum in teacher preparation," *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 34, no. 2 (2006): 195.
[161] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 95.
[162] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 95.
[163] Interview 65_S_M1950.

grounds: The Evangelical Union (Church of England), The Student Christian Movement (Liberal Evangelical), and the Saint Thomas More Society (Catholic).[164]

The social side of college life was the area which featured most prominently in student memories of their College experiences. The students viewed the clubs as part of the social side of College and, along with the practical components of their courses, this was often being reported as being the most valuable. One student reflected:

> The clubs were the most enjoyable part of College. I was in the Newspaper Club and I formed lifelong friendships with people I met there. By the time we were in second year, it was almost a full-time job going around to collect the information, getting people to write things and writing things ourselves and preparing the copy for production … We had the college journal, *Altjiringa*, and we also helped with preparing the sports carnival programs and programs for other events.[165]

A member of the drama club recalled:

> The Drama Club was one of the most active clubs and we put on quite a few plays each year. I can't remember ... oh yes ... we did "The sword is double edged" one year, I remember that one, but it was just a case of selecting a play, getting it approved, and getting to work. We would hold a play night and everyone would turn up - Mr Duncan was always there, and ... we just had to make sure that it wasn't on the same night as one of the dances at the Town Hall, or the one of the other big dances.[166]

The dances themselves were also significant social events. Mr John Tassell, a student in the 1951-52 session, recalled the dances at the Palais, the Town Hall, and the Southern Cross Hall at Beaumont Street Hamilton as being regularly attended.[167] In addition to these there were the college dances. At first these were held at the temporary school hall attached to the College, but once the move to Union Street was completed a new venue was needed. Various halls, including school halls, were used depending on availability.[168] A student from 1953 recounted:

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[164] *NTC Calendar 1953*, 97.

[165] Interview 5_S_F1949: Interestingly, the word Altjiringa is a local Aboriginal word which is loosely translated as "having originated out of its own eternity" or "something that has no origin, and has always been"- it is therefore perhaps appropriate that the name was adopted in the first term of NTC, yet there are no details on the process of its adoption: for details of the meaning of *'Altjiringa'* see Tony Swain, *A Place of Strangers: Towards a History of Aboriginal Being*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[166] Interview 44_S_F1949.

[167] John Tassell, *Reminiscences*, 1. University of Newcastle archives Box A7459(iii)

[168] Interview 47_A_M1950.

> The college dances were always well attended. The staff would usually come along, and Mr Duncan was often there as well as a number of the other staff who would act as chaperones.[169]

Although not all events were chaperoned. Tassell recalled a large number of private parties, and various social events such as an end of year pub crawl, "starting at Jessie Black's at Newcastle beach, and thence to the Westminster and on to Union Street". [170]

> There was always a party of some variety planned. There were barbeques at Stockton beach, and other activities at King Edward Park or Newcastle beach.[171]

One of the Pioneer group noted:

> We were a very social group, it is no wonder we all turn up to the reunions, we had a great time, and formed lasting friendships. We did everything together for two years, and had a great time doing it.[172]

It was largely these College activities which formed the bedrock of the student and staff experiences in the interviews from this period. The development of the spirit of the College was seen universally as something which the College and students worked hard to achieve and maintain. The Pioneers group for example was still having well-attended reunions more than 60 years after they had started their college experiences, and a number of interviewees had clearly followed the lives and careers of others in their cohort.[173] The personal was important.

Sporting Activities

Similarly sport features prominently in the recollections of the students in this period. The house system (discussed below) formed the backbone of the experiences, but there were also teams entered into local sporting competitions. The College supported teams in Basketball,

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[169] Interview 32_S_M1953.
[170] Tassell, *Reminiscences*, 2.
[171] Interview 65_S_M1950.
[172] Interview 2_S_F1949.
[173] See for example. Interview 2_S_F1949, Interview 3_S_M1949 and 4 Interview 45_S_F1949, which mention 'other' members of the Pioneers group who had achieved things, or who had recently passed away. They stayed in touch, even after 60 years.

Hockey, Soccer and various other sports.[174] However there was no doubt about which sport was dominant at NTC in the early days. An early student remembered:

> The main sport was rugby, as Mr Gillard was an absolute fanatic about it, he was a very prominent referee, and he often got time off to go and referee various important matches. I think he did an international test match ... but the important thing was there was rugby on one level and then everything else, and as a tennis player that didn't please me (laughs) … all the examples in our physical education classes were … (deeper voice) … now boys ... imagine you are teaching Rugby to … looking back it is quite funny.[175]

Swimming and athletics were also represented, with a carnival held each year.[176]

> There was weekly swimming at Merewether pool but we didn't use the pool for the swimming carnival for some reason, we went all the way out to Maitland, it might have been because it was fresh water, but in any case it was quite an event. [177]

There were competitions with local selective schools, and as the College developed, there were intercollegiate visits with other colleges which were also very well remembered by students who were involved. The College magazine dedicated its whole front page in August 1950 to the visit of STC,[178] and one student recalled:,

> it was a time of great friendships … I still have friends that I made at the Intercollegiate events, especially the one to Wagga, more than 50 years later.[179]

The College camp was also, in theory, a sporting event. The Department had a requirement that all Primary teachers should have a minimum proficiency in swimming. The Teachers College camp, held at various Department owned camp sites, including Castlereagh, was designed to both allow the students to demonstrate this proficiency, and to study for their forthcoming coming exams.[180] As one student observed:

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[174] See *Altjiringa* annuals 1949-1953.
[175] Interview 93_S_M1949.
[176] Prizes and Trophies - University of Newcastle Archives, Folio A7456(vii), University of Newcastle Archives.
[177] Interview 54_S_F1950.
[178] *Altjiringa* 2, no. 4 (August, 1950): 1.
[179] Interview 10_S_F1949.
[180] *Altjiringa* (Special Issue, 1950): 1.

> there wasn't much studying going on, well at least not of the course material. There was lots of other activity, and it was good chance for the students and staff to get to know each other better in a less formal atmosphere.[181]

Another remarked: "I will be forever grateful for the Teachers College Camp, I first started to date my husband at our second year camp".[182]

In the same way as the social events figured prominently in specific recollections of the students and staff, the sporting events figured in the student recollections. There was little distinction between these types of events, with social and sporting events often being viewed interchangeably. Both contributed to the spirit of the College and the informal curriculum frequently provided interviewees with unique personal memories of their contact with the College.

College Houses

The College houses provide an almost complete microcosm of the way that the College operated in the period, the ethos of the College, and as discussed below, it also provides a valuable example of the value of the 'entwined history' methodological approach being taken in this work.

On arrival, students were divided into school houses. The tradition was a long established one in both British and Australian schools. In the case of the NTC, the houses were named after noted Australian educationalists and the College Calendar, issued to each student, contained a short synopsis of their contribution to the development of teacher training in Australia. The names had been selected by Duncan and Staines at the College's foundation, and students were allocated to their houses alphabetically based on their section.[183]

The houses formed the basis of many of the sporting and other activities. The NTC Calendar proudly announcing that the:

> house competition plays a large part in College activities. The Armstrong Cup is awarded each year to the winning house at the College Athletic

[181] Interview 30_S_F1951.
[182] Interview 2_S_F1949.
[183] The College houses were named after William Wilkins, J.W Turner, Alexander Mackie, Percival Cole, and Cecil Newling. *NTC Calendar 1952*, 24-25.

> Carnival and the Scott's Shield to the House most successful in the whole year's activities.[184]

The importance of the House system to the College's aims of cultural transmission were obvious to all who attended in these early years, but just in case there was any doubt, the Calendar further stated:

> Be loyal to your house. Its name is the name of a great man who has given years of devoted service to the cause of education in N.S.W., a man whose life has symbolized the ideals of service, group spirit and nobility of character which it is the purpose of the House System to foster.[185]

Methodologically, the process of reducing the number of houses from five to four highlights the value of the "entwined history' approach within this work. The NTC handbook of 1952 lists the College houses as being Wilkins, Turner, Mackie, Cole, and Newling.[186] The 1953 handbook lists the College houses again but the house of Turner is no longer listed.[187] The Calendar is completely silent on the process of reduction, and the rationale for the deletion. Here, however, the strength of the data sources in the 'entwined history' approach come to the fore. Duncan thought that the number of houses should be reduced for pragmatic reasons. He was supported in this by Gillard, the Physical Education lecturer, who indicated that the various "house events" worked better if there were an even number of houses. He recommended that the number be reduced to four houses. A staff meeting was held in late 1952 to discuss the matter.[188] A staff member from the time recalled:

> Griff was very keen to allow everyone to have their say. It seemed sensible to me that … you know, as the students were placed alphabetically and there were two houses that were almost the same alphabetically … Mackie and Newling, that one of them should go. But Griff was having none of it. He had apparently overheard that some of the students thought that Turner house had been named after the Turner who was currently Principal at Sydney Teachers College, Ivan Turner, and he wasn't happy about it … and as usual … Griff got his way.[189]

A contemporary student remarked:

> I can't remember what the house was called that I was in for first year, but I was moved into 'Cole' for my second year - there were some of us that

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[184] *NTC Calendar 1953*, 25.
[185] *NTC Calendar 1953*, 25; The exact same paragraph was present in all the Calendars for this period.
[186] *NTC Calendar 1952,* 24-25.
[187] *NTC Calendar 1953,* 24-25.
[188] Ian Renwick, personal notes, 1952.
[189] Interview 31_S_F1951.

> were very unhappy about this as we had won the debating for our house in first year, and then we were split up for the next year. As it turned out, my team won it again for 'Cole' the next year.[190]

The handwritten personal notes of Renwick, soon to be Vice-Principal, also confirm the process.

Student Interaction with the Staff and the College

If the staff interactions with each other were seen as generally positive with some exceptions, then the same was true of the staff interactions with students. The involvement of staff in student activities was almost always seen in a 'friendly' light. The students composed songs featuring staff idiosyncrasies and prepared visual caricatures for the College magazine.[191] Noel Pride, one of the Pioneer students, singled out Kitty Barnes, Griff Duncan and Harold Gillard for special praise in terms of their personal involvement in enhancing the student experience.[192] Similarly, as noted above, it was reported that:

> Griff was always at the dances at the YMCA and often turned up unannounced and [at] various rugby matches. It served to make us feel as if we were cared for. Griff used to always talk to us about being *in loco parentis* and he certainly lived up to that - he really cared for his students.[193]

However, the praise was not universal, with different takes on the same actions being recalled by different students. One of the 1949 students reported that Duncan was interested in everything and was always involved in all of the student activities – "supporting and cheering us on." A second student recalled Griff's presence at the same events in terms of surveillance:

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[190] Interview 48_S_F1952: this was also a useful triangulation piece, as confirmation is provided through a check of the written records which shows that Turner House won the debating trophy in 1952, and that Cole House won the debating trophy in 1953: See Prizes and Trophies - University of Newcastle Archives, Folio A7456(vii), University of Newcastle Archives.
[191] See *Altjiringa Annual 1950* and *Altjiringa Annual 1951* and individual issues in 1949.
[192] Noel Pryde, "From a Pioneer Student,"14.
[193] Interview 93_S_M1949; '*In loco parentis*' meaning operating in place of a parent while the child's parents are absent.

> He was always just there - you couldn't do anything in the college without Griff knowing about it. He would show up at sporting events to check that there wasn't any drinking going on, and show up at the dances to make sure that we were all behaving ourselves.[194]

However, as with the relationships within the staff, the hierarchical power balance was maintained. The staff were beyond question, and the authority of the Principal was almost absolute. This is perhaps best summed up by a comment about chaperones at College dances:

> It wasn't that we objected or didn't object - we just didn't think about it in those terms- we … we had just come from school where we had spent five years doing what we were told. It didn't occur to us that there was another way to behave.[195]

As a further example here, students generally saw the move from Broadmeadow to Union Street as another part of the chaos that ruled during the early days of the College. The move itself highlights a key characteristic of the Teachers College itself. Some of the students had forgone their two-week swimming camp to remain at the College and prepare for the move. With the preparation for the move described by a student as "all hands on deck" in the period between the swimming carnival on the 11th of December and the Graduation on the 13th.

> If we were in any doubt about the College being a big school, some of us, myself included, had to miss the swimming camp at the end of our first year because we were needed to help get things ready for the move. I think I was selected as I was a good swimmer, but I was very disappointed as the camp was something that we all looked forward to. Now … the Department was going to actually move the things, but we had to pack all the boxes, and there were lots of books, and some other equipment … sports equipment and science equipment and such … so it was just like in school- we were told to do things and it didn't even occur to us to object or even complain. It was just the way things were.[196]

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted a number of methodological and historical trends which have emerged in the narrative around NTC. First, the chapter has highlighted some of the strengths of the 'entwined history' approach. The narrative in this chapter has emphasised the prevalence of specific types of recollections, and the precedence given to recollection of

[194] Interview 64_S_F1949.
[195] Interview 48_S_F1952.
[196] Interview 53_S_ F1953.

social events over educational ones. The strength of the 'entwined history' approach is displayed under these conditions as the documentary evidence preserved in this case is primarily of the structural kind. The NTC Calendars for example, record the overt and published curriculum, but little remains of the lived experiences of either the classroom or social endeavours related to these experiences. As noted by Thompson, the strength of oral history is in this field, and the strength of the 'entwined history' approach, allows for the seamless integration of these sources. [197]

Many of the themes which had been established in NSW teacher training in the first half of the century found embodiment in the early years of the Teachers College at Newcastle, and the four recurring themes of control, pragmatism, the influence of external forces, and cultural transmission are certainly prominent amongst these. Additionally, as suggested in the introduction to this chapter, there is certainly a thread of compliance which runs through the commentary. The new Teachers College staff and students found themselves controlled centrally. Unlike the college at Sydney, whose focus was on academic excellence, or the college at Armidale, that concentrated on practical matters, NTC claimed that it had strengths in both areas. Duncan, and indeed the staff and students, saw the small size of the College as providing the platform to excel in all areas. Thus there was an local influence of the staff and students, but it operated within departmentally set parameters.

It is evident that the role played by the individual principal could have a significant impact on the development of the approach to teacher training. In the same way that Wilkins, Gladman, and Mackie had played a vital role in confirming the direction of their institutions, so Duncan forged a college which valued college spirit, academic achievement, social responsibility, and cultural contributions. The perception of this educational leader is evident not just through the documentary records but through the use of linguistic terms such as "his college" in the personal narratives. These values would find both reinforcement and challenge in the next ten years of the College's development as NTC expanded its offering to include training in secondary education. It was also a reaction to greatly expanding numbers. In the decade to come NTC began its journey towards becoming a more diverse institution.

[197] Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past: Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 25.

The curriculum, staff appointments and overall structures from 1949 to 1953 were established by the Department and the College was in some ways a conduit through which the centralised system trained teachers to replicate itself. The students were bonded, and in most cases would have been seriously financially challenged by becoming a 'private student' even for a short period, and certainly had no prospect of paying back a bond of such magnitude in its entirety. Likewise, the students and staff were all 'within' the system for the entire duration of the period under consideration. Criticism, as Mackie had learnt two decades earlier, was not viewed favourably, but more than that there was a sense that any criticism was of 'themselves', they were teachers in training and then teachers and, thus, would ultimately bear some responsibility for any problems which were inherent in the system of which they were part.

There was the usual degree of pragmatism within the local administration of the College, with many changes to processes needed to meet the special requirements of its development. The local variations to the centralised model were almost invariably implemented as solutions to local problems, and those solutions became distinctive features of the NTC program. Again, the balance between what was desired and what could be afforded was evident, both in the buildings which were quite unsuitable for Australian conditions, and in the curriculum. Duncan's attempts to significantly alter the training of Primary teachers, through the standing committee on teacher training, being rejected on pragmatic grounds, again highlighted both the centralized control the Department exerted on the colleges, and also the importance of the pragmatic approach which had been a driving factor in NSW education since its inception. The positive response to central requests for a shortened course also highlighted the focus on control and pragmatism.

The external forces, highlighted in the previous chapter, were changing throughout this period. The total ascendance of British and European teaching methods, structures, and ideologies had started to give way to a growing trend of American influence that was prevalent in the immediate post-war period. The United States began to have an impact in all spheres on Australian life, and the trend was evident in education. Notably, this tendency did not extend to the notions of cultural transmission. The culture to be transmitted was clearly still based on British traditions, as evidenced through both the 'house' systems and the adoption of the Latin motto. The fact that over half of the students themselves voted for the Latin motto serves to highlight the importance of the cultural transmission to both the staff

and students. The students were willing participants in this process where it was noticed, and in most cases, it was so ingrained into the College's ethos that it was not detected. It was both expected and willingly received. Some, however, were not so sanguine in the face of tradition. There were also issues of gender equity which, although obvious in retrospect, were only just beginning to be addressed in college life and starting to register within staff and students' recalled lived experiences. As time progressed, both the method of transmission, and the culture to be transmitted, would come under increasing scrutiny, as will be highlighted in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Growth and Transformation: NTC 1954-1974

> We grew with the needs of the department ... We grew with the needs of the schools and the students … We just grew like topsy in every direction ... Growth was the order of the day and it was usually chaotic … When I first went to college it was such a conservative place … blazers and ties and the college song ... By the time I came back as a member of staff the world had moved on ... the students were marching in the streets, about Vietnam, about college conditions, about almost anything ... and it took the college a while to adjust. [1]

Introduction

Newcastle Teachers College underwent significant growth and transformation during the period 1954 to 1974, and this development was caused by both internal and external forces. The changes can be seen as part of the greater development of the Newcastle region and the transformation of the NSW Teachers Colleges. The various Federal education reports, such as the Murray and Martin Reports, transformed not only the higher education landscape nationally but also influenced the local scene.[2] Changes in the NSW school system heralded a gradual move away from the need for 'the tradition of general education' that was deemed by Connell to be a key tradition in educational programs to that point.[3] The expansion of the high school system by the addition of a year and the more systematic approaches to curriculum development introduced through the Wyndham scheme, transformed both the nature and focus of education and the students themselves.[4] The changes in staff, student and

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[1] Interview 32_B_M1953.

[2] Australian Government, *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities, (The Murray Report)* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1957); and Australian Universities Commission*, Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, (The Martin Report)* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia Printers, 1964).

[3] William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.

[4] New South Wales Department of Education, *Report of the Committee Appointed to Survey Secondary Education in New South Wales,(The Wyndham Report)* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1957), 72.

staff relationships, and internal embodiments of the world-wide 1960s 'counter culture and social revolution' produced a very different college by the end of the period.[5]

As was common across all the state teachers colleges, the control of the NTC was gradually shifting away from the centralised nature of state control towards a more self-regulatory process. NTC became part of a group of educational and cultural institutions in Newcastle during the 1950s and saw itself as occupying the leading position within Newcastle's academic community. However, this position was usurped by the establishment of a local University in the early 1960s. Internally, there was a reduced emphasis on the transmission of culture, and instruction around the 'tradition of personal behaviour' became less important in NTC's programs as the period developed.[6] By the mid-1970s the culture of the College was much more open and both students and staff theoretically had a greater say in the running of the institution. This was not universally embraced by staff, who often still saw their gatekeeper roles as a primary function of the College. The generational battles which were 'writ large' on the world stage during the 1960s and early 1970s were also enacted in the NTC context.

Pedagogically, there were changes too. Driven by both the internal initiatives of individual lecturers and external changes inspired by major educational movements, the teaching processes also changed. Progressive education and various other more experimental approaches to educational instruction and educational systems were utilised and explored at the College. Indeed some argued that the process brought a more theoretical and ideological approach and a less practical one to the preparation of teachers, and it is certainly true that the various social movements, such as those inspired by Marxism and feminism, became forces in colleges during this time.[7] However, the 'reality check' of the students' contact with schools, and the intrinsically conservative nature of the College itself, ensured that 'replication' rather than innovation was the driving force of teaching practice. While there were individual exceptions, the dominance of the 'training tradition' and a pragmatic

[5] For a more detailed discussion on the National impact of these movements see Stephen Alomes, "Cultural Radicalism in the Sixties," *Arena* 62, (1983):28-54, or for a more global perspective see Arthur Marwick, *The sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c 1958-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[6] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.
[7] Alan Barcan, "The Struggle over Teacher Training," *Agenda* 2, No,1 (1995):49-62, 49.

approach to Department needs ensured that the College continued to see itself as an instrument of the state Department of Education.

Realistically, the financial ties, staff appointments system, and bonded nature of the students throughout the period, really allowed for no other pathway. As had been the case with earlier state-controlled training systems, the individuals within the NTC made an impact on the local scale through the selection and utilisation of the sections of 'the system' which were viewed as the most desirable for their context. Notably, all the courses offered by NTC in the period were teaching courses. By the early 1970s the diversification of purpose beyond teacher preparation was envisaged but not yet enacted.

Sector-Wide Initiatives, Developments and Changes

The 1950s and early 1960s saw a continuing growth of the diversity of teacher preparation within teachers colleges across the country. Sydney Teachers College (STC) had 1700 students by 1956 and the most popular of the two-year courses were those leading to teaching of the junior secondary school years. Courses were established in French, Mathematics, Biology to add to the courses in English, Social Studies and Science. By 1957 STC had 19 distinct courses and included two-year courses in areas such as Nursery, Secondary Craft, Biology and Library, the traditional areas of Infants and Primary, and also included courses of a considerably longer duration. There were four-your courses in both Art and Music.[8]

The distinction between training for secondary and primary schools was blurred further during this period as a response to the secondary shortage. This was largely to cater for the additional demand created by population growth and school-based changes. In NSW for example there was a great deal of additional demand for secondary teachers after the introduction of the Wyndham scheme, which was based on the 1957 report, and saw the introduction of more comprehensive schooling, an additional sixth year, and a core curriculum.[9]

[8] Interestingly both of the four-year courses were transferred to the newly opened neighbouring college, Alexander Mackie College, in the mid-1960s. Graham Boardman, Arthur Barnes, Beverley Fletcher, Brian Fletcher, Geoffrey Sherington, and Cliff Turney, *Sydney Teachers College: A History 1906-1981*, (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger,1995), 125.
[9] *The Wyndham Report*, 72.

Traditionally metropolitan colleges were the only colleges authorised to prepare students to teach in secondary schools owing to the proximity of a University to complete the necessary academic studies. In times of emergency, 'workarounds' were introduced where teachers were prepared for one-teacher schools, and junior secondary schools without these University studies and then appointed to secondary schools where the allocation of teaching duties was a matter for the school principal.[10] Similarly, some states allowed teachers who had trained as primary teachers to teach in secondary schools whilst undertaking their degrees.[11]

In all cases 'efficiency' was one of the main priorities. Indeed, Professor Butts, a visiting American educational scholar, noted with concern that efficiency was almost the only priority and

> he made rather ruthless comments on the inspectorial autocrats who made decisions which were based on efficiency, avoiding other problems such as the growth of pupils and development of their creative powers.[12]

Nationwide the interactions between the colleges and the Universities continued to be varied. The pathway into secondary teaching remained that the student would undertake a three or four year degree in Arts or Science at a university followed by a one year diploma of education course that was either run with the University, albeit with college assistance in most cases, or delivered entirely by the teachers college.[13] The development of University courses which focused on Education and the increasing tendency for Teachers Colleges to cover content areas at higher and higher levels led to demarcation disputes. Typical of the strain in these relationships was the situation in Sydney. Despite the objections of the Director General of Education, Sydney University established a four-year undergraduate degree in primary education. In its first year, 1959, there was a single enrolment and the

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[10] Armidale in NSW was an exception to this in that it had been authorized to train teachers for 'rural service' in secondary schools almost from its inception, see Ivan Turner, *The Training of Teachers in Australia: A Comparative and Critical Survey* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1943), 233.

[11] See Hubert Penny, "Brief History of Adelaide Teachers College," in Adelaide Teachers College Handbook (Adelaide: Hawes Government Printer, 1966) for the South Australian situation and Elvin Fist, *Gladly Teach: A History of the Launceston Teachers' College 1948-1972* (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1993) for the situation in Tasmania.

[12] Josephine May , Allyson Holbrook, Ally Brown, Greg Preston, and Bob Bessant, *Claiming a Voice, The First Thirty-Five Years of the Australian Teacher Education Association* (Bathurst: ATEA, 2009), 6; W.E. Andersen, "'to see ourselves…': Australian education as viewed by Overseas visitors," *Australian Journal of Education* 10, no. 3 (1966): 235-7.

[13] Cliff Turney and Judy Taylor, *To Enlighten Them Our Task: A History of Teacher Education at Balmain and Kuring-Gai Colleges, 1946-1990* (Sydney: Sydmac Academic Press,1996), 51; Stuart Macintyre and Richard Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne* (Carlton, Vic: University of Melbourne Press, 2003), 115 for the situation in Melbourne; Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 124 for Sydney.

NSW Department refused to grant the student a scholarship as her course was not being conducted by a teachers college. However, as the 1960s progressed, the Universities generally became more amenable to college requests for cooperation, partially due to changed funding models which placed a higher value on student numbers, and partially due to marketplace competition. In Melbourne and Sydney for example the newly established Monash University and University of New South Wales respectively had both established substantial education groups, with Monash establishing a Faculty of Education from the outset.[14] This development further enhanced the power of the states in the relationships with the Universities as they could work with either of the two local institutes and were therefore able to select the institute that was more amenable to their plans.

The 1960s however were also to lay the foundations for a significant change in the power balance between the state and federal governments, that would result in a complete transformation of the sector. In the same way as the population bubble of the 'baby boomers' had put strain on first the primary school sector, and then the secondary school sector, by the end of the 1950s provision was starting to be made for their potential impact on the tertiary sector. The twin proposals of the Murray Report and the Martin Report laid the foundations for the next transformation of teacher education in much the same way as the Knibbs -Turner Report had done more than half a century earlier.[15]

In 1956 the Federal government responded to pressure from the states regarding the escalating costs of tertiary education. Prime Minister Menzies asked the chairman of the British University Grants Committee, Keith Murray, to head an enquiry into the problems of Australian Universities and to suggest methods by which they could be improved.[16] The committee delivered its findings in 1957. In short, the report called for a significant injection of federal funds to the tertiary sector. The matched federal funding of Universities had been established through the Mills Committee recommendations in the early 1950s, and the

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[14] Selleck and Macintyre, *A Short History*, 114-115.

[15] *The Murray Report*; *The Martin Report;* New South Wales Legislative Assembly. *Commission on Primary, Secondary, Technical, and Other Branches of Education.1904a. Interim Report of the Commissioners on Certain Parts of Primary Education containing the Summarised Reports, Recommendations, Conclusions, and Extended Report of the Commissioners, (The Knibbs- Turner Report) (*Sydney: Government Printer, 1904).

[16] *The Murray Report*, 5; Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980), 333.

Murray Report expanded this approach.[17] This was to enable the expansion of the university sector and to redress issues such as:

> lack of accommodation, insufficient equipment for teaching and research, a salary scale too low to ensure adequate staffing, insufficient scholarships for students, and inadequate provision for the sciences and particularly the technologies.[18]

Additionally the report lamented the lack of basic skills in University entrants, quoting first-year failure rates and indicating that: "such a high failure rate is a national extravagance which can ill be afforded."[19] Additionally, the report recommended that the duration of secondary schools be increased by a year to bring it into line with the matriculation ages in Europe and Britain.

The implications of these developments for the training of teachers were three-fold. First, in being critical of the standard of student learning on entry to University, the committee had once again focused attention of the standards of instruction in secondary schools, and therefore teaching standards of secondary schools.[20] Secondly, they had established the precedent for significant federal involvement in educational matters, which had previously been almost exclusively a state domain. The establishment of emergency grants for 1958 through 1960 and the establishment of an Australian University Grant Committee, whilst not immediately applicable to teacher education issues, firmly placed the financing of post-secondary education in the federal sphere.[21] Finally, the adoption of the recommendation of an additional year for secondary schools would, in and of itself, create a significant additional need for trained teachers.[22]

The recommendation for extending the duration of secondary school was eventually taken up in all states often through major transformations, such as the 'Wyndham Scheme' in NSW.[23] The implementation of the Wyndham Report through the 1961 *NSW Education Act* transformed both the structure of the curriculum and the duration of secondary school, although as with other states, the Wyndham Report only formalised initiatives which were

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[17] Commonwealth of Australia, *Commonwealth Committee on the needs of Australian Universities, Interim Report of the Committee, (Mills Report)* (Canberra, 1950).
[18] *The Murray Report* 122-123; Barcan, *History of Australian Education*, 333.
[19] *The Murray Report,* 35.
[20] *The Murray Report*, 35-36.
[21] *The Murray Report*, 124.
[22] *The Murray Report*, 124.
[23] *The Wyndham Report.*

already underway. The committee which Wyndham chaired as NSW Director of Education, had been established in 1954, and the fact that it was going to recommend an extension of one year to secondary schooling was well known early in its tenure.[24]

If the impact of the Murray Report was indirect in its effect on teacher training, the same cannot be said for the Martin Report. According to Hyams, "the recommendations of the Martin Report … constituted a watershed in Australian Higher Education".[25] Following the establishment of numerous commissions of enquiry into tertiary education by the states, the federal government also became active in this field.[26] In establishing the Martin Report, Prime Minister Menzies made overt mention not only of the NSW and Victorian reports, but continued the well-worn path of emulation of British precedents. The Robbins Committee, which had been commissioned by the British Parliament in February 1961, clearly formed the blueprint for the Martin Commission's terms of reference.[27] The Martin Committee, established in August 1961, was:

> to consider the pattern of tertiary education in relation to the needs and resources of Australia, and to make recommendations to the Commission on the future development of tertiary education.[28]

In terms of teacher education, the basic findings of the Martin Report agreed with the survey completed by Turner some twenty years earlier to the effect that:

> There is the obvious need to produce, in the near future, a greater number of teachers, and there is the more significant need to improve the quality and the preparation of all aspirants to the profession.[29]

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[24] This is evident in discussions at NTC meetings in 1955 and 1956: Personal Notes: Ian Renwick. Author's Archive, Newcastle University.

[25] Bernard Hyams, "Teacher Education in Australia: Historical Development," in *Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher Education, (The Auchmuty Report)*, (Canberra: Australian Government Printing Service, 1980), 258.

[26] There were state based enquires reporting on higher education: in Victoria there was the Department of Education, *Report of the Committee on State Education in Victoria (The Ramsey report)* (Melbourne, 1960); and in NSW, NSW Department of Education, *Department of Education Committee appointed by the Minister of Education to enquire into various aspects of higher education in New South Wales*, (The McRae Report) (Sydney: Government Printer, 1961).

[27] The text of prime ministers press release was issued as appendix A of *The Martin Report*, 225; Committee on Higher Education (England), *Higher education: report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961–63, (The Robbin Report)* (London: HMSO, 1963), accessed May 16, 2019, http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/robbins/robbins1963.html

[28] *The Martin Report,* 225.

[29] Turner, *The Training of Teachers*; *The Martin Report,* 114.

The obvious potential contradiction in these two objectives remained as real as it had been in the immediate post war era, and the lack of additional funding encouraged pragmatic solutions. Martin indicated that an additional 10,000 places would need to be found and funded to train teachers in the following decade, and that the minimum length of the course needed to train these teachers should be increased from two years to three years.[30] The committee also recognised the need to break the nexus between the employing body and the training and accrediting bodies in terms of teacher education and specifically recommended the creation of a 'Board of Teacher Education' in each state to act as both an accreditor of courses in teacher training to institutions, and as the issuer of teaching certificates to individuals.[31] Further, all positions within teacher training colleges were to be filled through open appointments, and the institutions themselves were to work towards being 'autonomous institutions' with the help of federal funding.[32]

All this was to be achieved through a structural change in the overall tertiary education landscape. The Martin Report recommended that all areas of tertiary education should be expanded, and that this should happen within three general groupings. There were to be three sections within Australian tertiary education being 'university institutions', 'institutes of colleges', and 'boards of teacher education'.[33] The committee clearly argued that the expanded work of the non-university sectors would provide opportunities at a lower academic level than that of the Universities and for a different purpose, and set out the key distinction that would drive an Australian higher education binary system for the next 25 years:

> The objective of the education provided by a … college is to equip men and women for the practical world of industry and commerce, teaching them the way in which manufacturing and business are carried on and the fundamental rules which govern their successful operation. The university course, on the other hand, tends to emphasize the development of knowledge and the importance of research; in so doing it imparts much information which is valuable to the practical man but which is often incidental to the main objective. Both types of education are required by the community, and in increasing amounts, but it is important that students receive the kind of education best suited to their innate abilities and

[30] *The Martin Report,* 103-4.
[31] *The Martin Report,* 104.
[32] *The Martin Report,* 103-4; Hyams, "Teacher Education," 258.
[33] *The Martin Report,* 175, D.S. Anderson, K.J. Batt, D.G. Beswick, G.S. Harman, and C.S. Smith, *Regional Colleges: A study of Non-metropolitan Colleges of Advances Education in Australia. Vol 1-3* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1975), 22.

> purposes in life. At present, certain pressures tend to overtax the academic ability of a considerable segment of the student population which could be better provided for in institutions offering courses of different orientation and less exacting academically.[34]

The immediate reception of the report was mixed. The general recommendation of the report in relation to the development of technical education were accepted in principle in 1965, and the government provided substantial funds, as both capital and recurrent funds, to revitalise the post-compulsory technical education area. [35] The Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education (CACAE) was also established to oversee the development and triannual funding of the new Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs). [36] The recommendations on expansion of the University sector were also gradually implemented. The expansion of the number of the universities was slowly realized and the number of universities in Australia had grown to 15 by 1968.[37] In 1966 the *States Grants (Advanced Education) Act* introduced recurrent and capital grants for the CAE sector.[38]

The recommendations for teacher education did not meet with the same positive response and the federal government rejected the funding of teacher training based on the close association between the current training systems and state needs. The *States Grants (Teachers Colleges) Act 1967* provided capital and equipment grants for teachers colleges but no recurrent funding.[39] This produced a situation which was basically untenable from a financial point of view. The states were to continue to fund teacher preparation in all its forms, and this was producing a situation where the resources provided within this sector were soon noticeably inferior to the other sectors. This was further compounded by the perceived inequity where teaching courses which existed within federally funded CAEs were not federally funded while all other courses were. There were similar problems with the lack of funding of

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[34] *The Martin Report,* 165.

[35] Ian Wark, "Colleges of Advanced Education and the Commission on Advanced Education" in *The Commonwealth Government and Education 1964-1976: Political Initiatives and Developments*, ed. Ian Birch and Don Smart (Richmond, Victoria: Drummond Printing, 1977), 132.

[36] Grant Harman, David Beswick and Hillary Schofield, *The Amalgamation of Colleges of Advanced Education at Ballarat and Bendigo*, (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1985), 43; Hyams, "Teacher Education," 258.

[37] Although much of this growth could be attributed to the Murray Report rather than the Martin Report, the effect was the same in terms of improved financial and structural stability. The count of 15 Universities includes the University of Papua and New Guinea, which was federally funded prior to Papua's independence in 1975. David S. Macmillan, *Australian Universities: a Descriptive Sketch* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1968), 59-60.

[38] Australian Government, *States Grants (Advanced Education) Act 1966,* Federal Register of Legislation, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1966A00089.

[39] Australian Government, *States Grants (Teachers Colleges) Act 1967,* accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2004A03750.

University places to complete Education Diploma courses. It was obvious to all concerned that the teachers colleges would eventually come under the CAE umbrella, and from 1965 onwards, various plans were made for the NSW teachers colleges to move towards federal funding.[40]

Political and public pressure soon dictated that both the CACAE and the Federal Education Minister departed from the stated policy. As early as 1967 there was agreement with the states both for matched and unmatched grants to establish buildings for teacher training. The state gave concessions on bonded places, and accepted restriction of education spending, but did not give up ultimate control of key logistical decisions. By 1970 the Federal Government had given a total of 54 million dollars in capital expenditure grants to teacher education for the period 1967 to 1973, and in 1971 the Australian Advanced Education Commission was established to advise the Commonwealth in this area and promote the development of the sector. [41]

Ultimately, however the financial pressure around recurrent funding of teacher education drove the states to continue to seek federal assistance, and in August 1972 the change was announced. The federal minister of education in the McMahon Government, later to be prime minister, Malcom Fraser, announced that teachers colleges would be absorbed into the advanced education sector and eventually funded on the same state-Commonwealth basis as the Universities and CAEs.[42] The conditions imposed on the funding arrangements were that the teachers colleges needed to be either autonomous or moving towards self-government. In some states where teachers colleges had already developed some degree of autonomy, the process was to be relatively simple, in others less so.[43] Generally, the states simply moved towards a single funding body to work with the commonwealth to organise the funding arrangements and administration by including the teachers colleges in the existing arrangement for CAEs. In Victoria the teachers colleges retained a slightly separate structure

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[40] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 259.

[41] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 259. An example of the control exerted here includes the location of the building of CAEs to house teacher education. States still saw this as part of their responsibility and privilege, see the discussion on the location of Queensland Education courses at Capricornia Institute of Advanced education. Tim Fishburn, *The Regional College: Number 1. A directory: A study of Nine Regional Colleges* (Bathurst: Mitchell College of Advanced Education, 1978), CI25-CI35.

[42] Harman, Beswick and Schofield, *The Amalgamation of Colleges,* 46.

[43] This move towards self-regulation was further clarified by the Senate enquiry into the potential role of the commonwealth in teacher education, see Commonwealth of Australia, Senate Standing Committee of Education, Science and the Arts, 1972*, Report on the Commonwealth's Role in Teacher Education (*Canberra: CGPO), accessed May 16, 2019, http://historichansard.net/senate/1972/19720831_senate_27_s53/.

through the establishment of the State College of Victoria (SCV). The teachers colleges then affiliated with the SCV to create a discrete administrative structure. In both cases there was, in theory , no change in the responsibility of the federal and state governments in terms of control of program development, curriculum matters, and employment structures.[44] However, the increasing inclusion of teacher education in the financial responsibilities of the federal government clearly emphasised the anomaly of state control of teacher instruction and accreditation, and:

> by 1970 most states followed the urging of the Martin Committee in either passing legislation, or announcing their intention to do so, to accord autonomy to teacher training institutions under the general authority of statutory co-ordinating bodies.[45]

By 1973, however there had been a change of federal government and the new higher education landscape included the abolition of higher education fees and implemented universal student financial support.[46] The new government was much more sympathetic to the second section of the report delivered by the Martin Committee which strongly urged the government to include the teachers colleges in the new funding arrangement, and take steps to ensure that the states granted institutions greater autonomy.[47] The new Prime Minister Gough Whitlam wrote to the states in March 1973, proposing that the federal government immediately "assume full financial responsibilities for universities, colleges of advanced education and teachers colleges".[48] The states, soon to be deprived of any student contributions to recurrent funding, and still providing funds for student bonds, were left with little choice, and at the June 1973 Premiers Conference and Loan Council Meeting, they formally accepted the proposal.[49]

This meant that nationally there were now four types of CAEs which provided teacher education. The first type were those institutions where an amalgamation between independent technical colleges and teacher colleges was possible. These were common in Victoria, which had a tradition of strong technical education often founded on the Mechanics Institutes and

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[44] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australian Parliament- Higher Education Funding*, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/archive/hefunding.
[45] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 259.
[46] Australian Government, *Student Assistance Act,* Federal Register of Legislation, 1973 accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2017C00184.
[47] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 260; *Australian Parliament- Higher Education Funding*, 1.
[48] *Australian Parliament- Higher Education Funding*, 1.
[49] *Australian Parliament- Higher Education Funding*, 1.

Schools of Arts developed in the previous century.[50] An example of this type of college was the one that formed from the amalgamation of the Bendigo Institute of Education and its teachers college. Both institutions had substantial histories, and the merger, while not always completely amicable, was certainly conducted on more civil terms than those at the end of the CAE period.[51]

The second type was formed where a former technical college branched into teacher education, such as the Canberra College of Advanced Education or the Western Australian Institute of Technology. The third type of college developed where a teachers college expanded its offering to include other professional courses effectively transforming an existing teachers college into a CAE such as in Hobart, Newcastle, or in Bathurst with Mitchell CAE.[52] The final type was a brand new college which had been created specifically in response the Martin Report's request for extension, for example, the Darling Downs CAE.[53] The funding for all of these types of CAEs now rested with the federal government. In NSW this meant that from 1973 onwards all of the teachers colleges were gradually moving toward a management structure which was responsible to the Higher Education Authority, so there were reporting requirements to the Board of Teacher Education, and, as with most other states, state based advanced education boards.[54]

As a result of this funding change and the new opportunities for all to attend higher education, the sector saw a considerable increase in student numbers as shown in Table 5.1.

[50] For a more detailed discussion of this see Greg Preston, "A Comparative Evaluation of the Aims and Achievements of the Mechanics institute Movement" (Med. Stud. diss., University of Newcastle, 1990).
[51] Harman, Beswick and Schofield, *The Amalgamation of Colleges*, 48 ff.
[52] Hyams, "Teacher Education," 259.
[53] Fishburn, *The Regional College,* DD 5; interestingly the Martin Report itself, (page 180) took the unusual step of identifying through an aerial map, a proposed site for the new institution.
[54] For example, the New South Wales Advanced Education Board, constituted under the NSW Higher Education Act, 1969, accessed May 16, 2019, http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/num_act/hea1969n29180/.

Table 5.1. Students in Colleges of Advanced Education and Universities, 1968-1974.[55]

Year	CAEs	%	Universities	%	Tertiary Total
1968	28,615	21.9	101,537	78.1	130,152
1969	31,992	22.9	109,662	74.4	141,654
1970	37,692	24.4	116,778	75.6	154,470
1971	44,351	26.3	123,776	73.7	168,127
1972	52,385	28.9	128,668	71.1	181,053
1973	61,577	31.6	133,126	68.4	194,703
1973*	94,882	41.6	133,126	58.4	228,008
1974*	107,192	42.8	142,859	57.2	250,051

* Includes students in teachers colleges which became Colleges of Advanced Education in July 1973.

In 1973, ten percent of all tertiary students were enrolled in teachers colleges, with a further thirty two percent enrolled in other CAEs. The student numbers nationally were significant in terms of the overall numbers in CAEs and, as the Martin Report had envisaged, contributed to the growing influence of that sector on both professional and vocational training. As shown, the growth in the CAE sector far outstripped the growth in the University sector, and this was at least partly due to the changed funding priorities.

The students were likewise changed. Boardman remarked that "looking back from the current vantage point, 1968 seems like a watershed in the history of the culture of this country."[56] The notion of the student as a passive receptacle for knowledge was losing favour both from an educational perspective as well as a sociological one. Students were becoming involved in politics in a way that had not been previously seen, and world-wide issues such as the student riots in Paris, anti-Vietnam war movements, and the reaction to the Kent state massacre, moved the student body, or perhaps drove it, towards a different relationship with authority than had been present in the early 1960s in Australia. Similarly, the political transformation which led to the first Federal Labor government since WW2, and the continued dismantling of the 'White Australia' policy, led to changes in pedagogy, educational purpose and social ambition.

[55] Anderson et al., *Regional Colleges,* 28.
[56] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 167.

While this change was not unique to the CAE sector of Higher Education, in an area where the personal and professional were so closely interwoven, the impact was significant. The abolition of fees gave students different educational chances, and students who had previously not considered higher education now had such opportunities. In terms of teacher education, some of the more able students without financial resources, who would previously have been compelled to use a teacher college scholarship to gain access to Higher Education, now had other university-based opportunities. The adoption of different funding models, which did not require a full 'bonding' process allowed a different demographic of student to take up funded positions. Equally, whilst the fees had gone, so had the majority of the scholarships, and Turney and Taylor argue that the trend towards part-time study and the 'working student' started during this time.[57] In any case, the national student profile was greatly different in 1974 than it had been in 1954 and the educational and social changes evident on the international and national stages also had significant effects on the local scene.

The Development of NTC

The Newcastle region underwent an educational revolution in the early 1950s. Beginning with the NTC, a number of educational and cultural institutions were established as part of this makeover. The work of the Free Library movement, librarians of the Newcastle School of Arts Library, and considerable community agitation resulted in the establishment of the Newcastle Public Library in 1952.[58] The NSW University of Technology established an 'outpost' university college in 1951, and a Conservatorium of Music was set up in the central business district in 1953, albeit in a series of huts in Civic Park.[59] 1954 saw the formalisation of the University presence in Newcastle with the 'Newcastle University College' offering technical courses from the NSW University of Technology and arts courses from the University of New England. The University College established an advisory committee which included "prominent citizens of Newcastle and representatives of local, industrial and

[57] Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, 154.
[58] Barbara Heaton, Greg Preston and Mary Rabbit, *Science, Success and Soirees* (Newcastle: Newcastle Public Library, 1996), 109; *NTC Calendar 1960*, 18.
[59] *NTC Calendar 1960*, 18; See discussion on the foundation of the Conservatorium of Music at "About Us", accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.newcastle.edu.au/community-and-alumni/arts-and-culture/the-conservatorium/about-us

cultural interests."[60] As would be expected the NTC principal, Duncan, was part of this group.

These final two developments directly affected the expansion of the NTC, with the opportunity of local University instruction convincing the Department of the value of adding selected secondary courses to the College's offering, and the College working closely with the Conservatorium to include Music education in its curriculum. In truth the Department did not need much convincing regarding the addition of the secondary courses, as the anticipated number of teachers required for state secondary schools were well beyond the capacity of the state teachers colleges to supply.[61] This pattern of Departmental need and NTC response was generally repeated throughout the period, although there were local opportunities to modify the way that need was met both in terms of the courses that were offered and the way those offerings were taught.

In addition to the expansion of student numbers and teaching courses, one of the key distinguishing features of the period was the development of sector-wide groups which started to draw the different teachers colleges together. In addition to the centralised authority provided by the Department of Education, the cross-college meetings, which had begun in the immediate post war period, had gained impetus in the 1950s. This provided a forum for teachers college staff to express their opinions on educational matters within the confines of departmental structures. This was evident not only through meetings of the Teachers College Principals in groups such as the Standing Committee on Teacher Training, which was convened directly by the Department but there were conferences organised by the staff themselves, often in response to educational challenges.[62] Whilst they could not have proceeded without the approval, and in some cases organisational input of the Department, the specific organisational details were left to representative organisational committees. The centralised administration of the colleges provided at once the freedom and dependence for individual colleges.

A good example of this was the 1960 Teachers College Lecturers Conference, held at Sydney Teachers College in April 1960. The conference planning committee included a

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[60] *NTC Calendar 1955*, 3.
[61] NSW Department of Education, *Minutes of Standing Committee on Teacher Training, 1955*, 12.
[62] *Minutes of Standing Committee on Teacher Training*, 1949-1960; *Minutes of meetings of the Conference of Principals of Teachers Colleges (01/01/1948 - 31/12/1973)*, Records Series 4069, State Records of New South Wales.

representative from each of the seven NSW teachers colleges and was chaired by Mr D.J.A Verco, the State Director of Teacher Training, who also addressed the conference on student recruitment. Mr Bert Wood from the English department was the NTC representative.[63] The primary focus of the conference was the impact of the newly released Wyndham Report, and there were sessions on in-service training, the education of teachers, and developments in both primary and secondary education. The format was generally a presentation followed by a workshop discussion, with additional workshops held on various additional matters of importance for the College staff. These included areas as broad as 'an examination of teaching methods in teachers colleges', to topics as specialised as 'poetry at the tertiary level'.[64] Interestingly for a conference of this nature the details of the discussions held in the workshops are also reprinted in the conference booklet.

In an overt example of the increasing perception of democratic freedom which was to sweep through the teaching service during the 1960s, the conferences also moved and voted on various resolutions. At the 1960 conference the resolutions passed included the recommendation to 'expand teacher training courses to five years', 'to gain improved status for teachers who had undertaken junior secondary training', and the introduction of degrees awarded by teachers colleges.[65] The departmental representatives voted against each of these proposals, and it was clear, through the recorded discussion that these proposals would not be supported. The votes, in effect had no "status", but the department at least gave the appearance that they were listening, even though by the end of the 1960s the lecturing staff were not convinced by this appearance. A lecturer from the late 1960s remarked:

> I went to one of the Lecturers conferences; it was held at Bathurst. We all went down in a bus, and there were about fifteen of us. We discussed all sorts of things, and I remember Bill Newling getting quite heated about the wording of one of the resolutions in one of the sessions … That's right about the importance of reading instruction, until someone ... I think it was Eddy … Yes, Eddy Braggett reminded him that nothing ever came of the resolutions that were made, and the Department just did what they liked anyway.[66]

[63] NSW Department of Education, *Conference of Teachers College Lecturers* (Sydney: NSW Department of Education, 1960), 2.
[64] NSW, *Conference of Teachers College Lecturers*, 68 and 80.
[65] NSW, *Conference of Teachers College Lecturers*, 73-76.
[66] Interview 27_A_M1958.

Major changes however were now being recommended, at least behind closed doors, and the Department was providing a forum for this to happen. The recommendations concerning 'internal college matters' were perceived as being more valuable. The discussions on the ways that staff were finding practicum placements, teaching various sections of the curriculum, and the diversification of teaching techniques were seen as important. The same lecturer who had highlighted the lack of action on major issues also appreciated the discussion of more practical points:

> The whole conference was worthwhile though. We had the chance to exchange ideas about the various syllabus documents and look at the way that other colleges had structured their courses and the like … quite useful.[67]

It was through these types of meetings and associations, which were also continued through the various other college interactions such as sporting and cultural exchanges, that contact was continued, and educational and practical ideas were shared. The growing influence of the NSW Teachers Federation, and the less militant Lecturers Association, were also providing important conduits between staff in various colleges.[68] The entire teachers college system was seen almost as a single entity, and the system tended towards a uniformity of courses and similarity of staff approaches, based on their common experiences and backgrounds. This similarity of response was also evident in the reaction to the increasing federal involvement in teacher preparation. Thus there were both localised and external forces working towards change within the colleges. At NTC the forces included the sector wide initiatives identified above, and an increasingly empowered and enlarged staff.

As the period developed, all NSW teachers colleges began the move towards federal funding models, and ultimately federal reporting processes were implemented. In 1969 Duncan had established an 'Academic Board' at NTC, which he viewed as one of the first steps to "increasing participation in governance", yet in truth almost all the colleges across the state developed Academic Boards during this time.[69] By 1970 it was reported by Duncan that a new structure, an Advisory Council would be put in place:

> The college is working towards the formation of an Advisory Council, consisting of members of the academic and administrative staff, lay

[67] Interview 27_A_M1958.
[68] Morris Graham, "Twenty Years of Change" in "*Speaking of Union Street . . .": Reminiscences of Newcastle Teachers' College 1949-1973,* ed. Jess Dyce (Newcastle: Hunter Institute of Higher Education, 1988), 24.
[69] "Interview with Griff," *Altjiringa 1974,* 40.

> personnel and student representation. Initially, its function will be to advise the Principal on matters of policy and procedure, but it is intended that increased powers of decision-making will be granted to the council, which would thus form the basis of a governing body if and when the college becomes a self-governing institution.[70]

This was clearly in response to the new *Higher Education Act*, which had been passed in 1969. The establishment of the state based Higher Education Authority, with its Advanced Education Board and University Board, set up a structure whereby the state committees directly mirrored those at the federal level, and it was clear that the advanced education sector was the ultimate destination of the State's teachers colleges.[71]

The process of the establishment and final adoption of the Advisory Council highlighted the transformational journey which the College was to undertake. The 1972 Calendar indicated that the College was still "working towards" the formation of an Advisory Council which would be advisory to the Principal.[72] By the following year Duncan had nominated what he saw as a suitable range of individuals to form the council. The 1973 Calendar reported these individuals as having been nominated awaiting approval. The proposed members included Duncan himself, his deputy Elliot and three external members, being two professors from the University of Newcastle and the Principal of Newcastle Technical High School. The other nine representatives were all staff hand-picked by Duncan.

When the Interim Council of the College was established later in 1973, Duncan was in for a shock in terms of the new balance of power. The new board appointed by the NSW Minister of Education, shown in Table 5.2, contained only four College based individuals with voting rights on the Council: Duncan himself, two elected staff representatives and one student representative.

While two of the school principals, Forster and Bensley, had extensive links with the NTC, the new order was clearly going to be one where the ability of the Principal to make independent decisions was greatly curtailed. One of Duncan's colleagues from the time remarked:

> Griff was decidedly unhappy with the make-up of the college council. He had thought … well we all had thought … that the college would continue much as it had, with just a few external schoolies added to the Academic

[70] *NTC Calendar 1970*, 19.
[71] *NSW Higher Education Act 1969.*
[72] *NTC Calendar 1972*, 22.

> Board. But the reality was that the council was made up of people who actually wanted a say in how the place was run, and many of them knew how to run things ... it was a shock for us all, but Griff particularly.[73]

The make-up of the College Council also displayed the industrial roots of Newcastle.

Table 5.2. Details of the Interim College Council, 1973.

The Interim Council[74]		
Member's Name	Qualifications	Reason for appointment
Mr L. Y. Gibbs	B.E.M. F.A.I.M	Chairman of The Newcastle Permanent Building Society-Council Chairman
Ald. G. C Anderson		Deputy Lord Major of the City of Newcastle
Mr F.B. Bensley	B.Sc., Dip Ed	Principal of Newcastle Technical High School
Mr J.H. Brennen	B.A. A.A.S., A.C.I. S	Principal of Newcastle Technical College
Monsignor V.F. Dilley	S.T.I., M.A., Dip. Ed., Dip. Ed (Admin.), M.A.C. E	Director of Catholic Education for the Diocese of Maitland
Professor C.D. Ellyett	M.Sc. (N.Z.), PhD (Manch.) F.R.A.S., F.R.S., (N.Z.) F.A.I. P	Professor of Physics at the University of Newcastle
Mr R.J. Foster	B.A.	Principal of New Lambton South Primary School
Mr E. E. Gray	B. Ec	Area Director of Education
Mr R.G. Harden	A.S.T.C., B. Sc(Met.)	Assistant General Manager of the Broken Hill Proprietary Limited(BHP)
Mr H.D. Harding	M. Inst. E. (Vic.) F.R. Inst. Pub. Admin, F. Aust. Inst. Management	Commercial Manager of the State Dockyard
Mr R. L. Hodgins	B.Sc., A.S.T.C.	Lecturer NTC (elected rep)
Mr G. Jacobson		Student NTC (elected rep)
Mr R.A. James	D.T.C.P.	City Planner
Mr R.E.A. Patrick	B. Com, F.C.A., A.C.I.S.	Chartered Accountant
Miss J.E. Poole	M.A.	Lecturer NTC (elected rep)
Mr J.A. Reeves	B.Ec., Dip.Ed. Dip. Bus. Studies	Solicitor of the Supreme Court of NSW
Professor L. Short	M.Sc (Syd.) D.Phil (Oxon.), Dip.Ed (Syd), M.A.C. E	Professor of Education, University of Newcastle
Mrs K. Stewart	B. A	Principal of Newcastle Church of England Grammar school for Girls
Mr G.H. Duncan	O.B.E., M.A., B.Ed., F.A.C.E.	NTC Principal

[73] Interview 212_A_M1970.

[74] *NTC Calendar 1974*, 15; with additional occupational details sourced from various editions of Altjiringa and the NTC Campus News (See for example *NTC Campus News* 2, no. 1 (January, 1981): 1, for details on Gibbs).

The College itself which had been founded on BHP land, now had a member of their management group on the College Council.[75] The balance of status between the two local higher education institutions was also firmly reinforced. There were two professors from the University on the College Council, but no-one from the College on the University Council. The disappointment of Duncan with the College Council was no doubt additionally fuelled by the problems that Kemp, the principal of STC had begun to have with the council there. The make up of the STC council was similar to the one at NTC, albeit with commercial rather than industrial external representatives, but the Council Chair, Judge Goran, had begun to impose his will on the council, and was in dispute with both the academic staff and Kemp himself.[76] As it turned out Duncan needed to have no such fears, and despite the increasing role of the council, the Council Chair Les Gibbs enjoyed a good working relationship with Duncan and his successor, Richardson, through to Gibbs' retirement in 1981.[77] One member of the College staff recalled:

> Les [Gibbs] was always a little let down by the retirement of Duncan. It was on his recommendation that he had taken the job, and I think Les felt that Griff had left him with unfinished business - he did it well, but I am not sure that Les saw the arrangement as ideal. He was always supportive and well-liked by the staff and other council members.[78]

The 1974 College Calendar which had announced the interim council had also reprinted in full the relevant sections of the *Higher Education Act* which established the NTC as a College of Advanced Education (CAE). It was clearly a matter of great pride that the College was to be an autonomous institution. Many staff saw it as a way of ensuring the continued development of the College, and while there were some personal misgivings around lack of job security, the major issues which lay ahead were not seen as problematic at this time. The difficult relationships between the College and the University, particularly around teacher preparation and higher degree courses in education, were still some years away, and the working relationship between Professor Short as the foundation Professor of Education at the

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[75] The relationship was generally a very useful one for the College. For example, the College received its first computer as a gift from the BHP central research laboratories, in 1973. See Newcastle College of Advanced Education, *Promotional Pamphlet* (Newcastle: Newcastle College of Advanced Education, 1974), 10.
[76] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 184-85.
[77] Interview 26_A_F1961; See the announcement of the honorary degree for Gibbs in *NTC Campus News* 2, no. 1 (January 1981): 1.
[78] Interview 6_A_M1971.

University of Newcastle and Duncan was certainly amicable.[79] The move toward the self-governance which the Martin Report required had established new ways of reporting and funding the College, which were to be vital in the next fifteen years of its development.

Physically, the College continued to expand on the Union Street site for most of the period. The number of 'demountable' buildings continued to grow and these were supplemented by a free standing assembly hall in 1962 and the addition of a library in 1964. Both events were heralded as 'breakthroughs' for the College, but in fact represented the College receiving the same basic infrastructure which had been present at most large secondary schools in the area for some years. The assembly hall was seen as a significant advance for the students as one of them recalled:

> it was a major advantage to the college when the assembly hall was built ... It's the only part of the old college that is still standing you know? … it meant that we had a place to have school assemblies in the wet, and we no longer had to beg for the loan of school halls to rehearse and produce our plays.[80]

A diagram of the layout of the College in 1972, shown in appendix B-2, highlights the structural similarities between the College and a state secondary school. Figure 5.1 shows the College on Union Street in 1966 and highlights the temporary nature of the buildings.

The early 1970s however saw the new premises, promised as early as 1950, built and occupied at the Shortland site. There were three colleges on the state's building plans for the late 1960s and Premier Robert Askin announced that the new college site in Newcastle along with the sites at Lindfield and Goulburn were ready for tenders to be received in August 1968.[81]

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[79] NCAE Council Meeting Minutes, 1975, Governance - Committees - Council - College Council - 1975 To 1986 Folio 11/2725, University Of Newcastle Archives: 3.
[80] Interview 46_A_M1960.
[81] *Government Gazette of the State of NSW* 93 (August 1968): 3183.

Figure 5.1. Pre-fabricated Buildings NTC at Union Street, 1966.[82]

The new site was an area of 24 acres and was situated directly adjacent to the University some 11 kilometres from the location in Union Street. While there had originally been discussion about the College site being entirely "surrounded" by the University, which had moved to the site in 1965, Duncan pressed for the College to be located at "one end" of the campus. The initial building was erected in two stages and the first stage, which housed the industrial arts classrooms and staffrooms, was completed and occupied in 1971. The balance of the building "Stage II" was completed during 1974. The first year in which the Shortland site was considered the main campus was 1973, but classes actually persisted at Union Street into the 1980s for some groups. The structure was much larger than the Union Street location and, as was the architectural trend in educational buildings at the time, had central and

[82] Ada Renwick personal papers, Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.

subsidiary courtyards.[83] The building had a dedicated library which housed more than 50,000 volumes, and also included extensive serial and audio-visual collections.[84]

All of the main teaching spaces were contained within a single structure with the exception of the gymnasium which was located between the main college building and the adjoining playing fields, basketball and tennis courts.[85] The promotional pamphlet produced for the opening of the College also boasted that the building contained twenty-four piano practice rooms, an auditorium with a seating capacity of 950, and "a stage comparable in size with the Opera Theatre of the Sydney Opera House". [86] There was clearly considerable pride evident in the new buildings. However, in reality, the new college structure which had been planned for 1500 students and 130 staff was destined to be overcrowded for its entire existence as part of the College.[87] When it was officially opened by the NSW Governor General on November 23 1974, the College had over 2000 students and 168 staff.[88] While the planning had been difficult for a future as a teacher preparation institution, it was to prove even more problematic for the developing multipurpose College of Advanced Education, particularly given the increasing number of administrative staff required.[89] Again pragmatic local solutions would be required, and the change to federal financial control added a new administrative layer to be navigated in this process.

College Staff

By the beginning of 1954 the lecturing staff had grown to 26, and they were employed in broadly the same areas as had existed since the College's foundation. Duncan and Staines remained in the key executive positions while Huldah Sneddon had been added to the executive group as Warden of Women's Students. By 1974 the number of academic staff had grown to 168 and there were 14 identified departments, indeed there were now the same

[83] The design was in keeping with Brutalist architecture of many new tertiary education buildings at that time and was typical of the work of the NSW Government Architect and Humphrey, the NSW Director of Public Works, who worked closely with the firm of Fisher, Jackson and Hudson during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Glen Harper. *The Brutalist Project Sydney*, (Sydney: NSW Architects Registration Board, 2015), 29-30; Public works drawing, Newcastle Teachers College. Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.
[84] *NCAE 1974 Promotional Pamphlet*, 9.
[85] See appendix B-3 for a building plan of the main structure of NCAE in 1973.
[86] *NCAE 1974 Promotional Pamphlet*, 2.
[87] "Interview with Griff," *Altjiringa 1974,* 40.
[88] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 10.
[89] "Interview with Griff," *Altjiringa 1974,* 40.

number of departments as there had been individual staff members at foundation. These departments ranged from small departments of health education and teacher librarianship with two members each, through to the department of education staffed by twenty-five. In addition to the discipline-based departments there was also a department of external studies headed by Mr John Moore. As would be expected in a period covering more than twenty years there was considerable staff turnover, however the basic core of the college staff was relatively stable throughout the period. By 1964 five of the original 14 remained at NTC. Messrs Duncan, Crago, Wilcox and Gillard remained at NTC until their retirements, and Barcan who was still present in 1964, had moved to the neighbouring University by the end of the period. Almost half of the names on the 1964 staff list are present in the staff list for 1974. The staff list for 1974 also shows the domination of long-standing staff in the executive ranks of the College. All but two of the 14 heads of department in 1974 had been on the NTC staff in 1964 and the Principal and Vice Principal added to the continuity of service. The staff list of 1974 also contained many alumni from the NTC, now returned as staff members, with individuals such as Doug Huxley, Noel Pride, Fred Bishop and Kevin McDonald all making substantial administrative and teaching contributions across the College. The area of industrial arts and crafts was almost dominated by ex-students with Barry Abelson, Allan Taylor, David Corney, Owen Barry and T. Owen all having previously featured in the prize lists for NTC.[90] Thus the continuity of approaches, which was provided through the stability of staff employment patterns, was further enhanced through the employment of staff who had been trained at NTC.

The NSW Department of Education through the NSW Public Service Board remained the sole employer for NTC staff during the period. The process of appointment was likewise controlled by the Department and was conducted using the same general system by which promotions and transfers were handled. The development of "Lists" of suitability had been a long-standing tradition within the NSW Department, and rather than applying for individual positions, staff first needed to be placed on the appropriate promotions list.[91] This took place following an inspection conducted by department personnel. Should the inspectors consider that the individual was suitable for promotion they were placed on the relevant promotions

[90] *NTC Calendar 1974*, 29; Prize Lists in *NTC Calendars 1949-1974*.
[91] O. Jones, "Developments in Primary Education" in *NSW Teachers College Conference 1960, 35.*

list.[92] Once staff were placed on a promotions list the 'ranking' of applicants for any position was based on seniority on that list, and the advertisement of a position in the *Education Gazette*, became almost a formality. It was extremely rare for a position to go to interview. It was usual that staff appointed by the Department to a teachers college had been placed on a promotions list, and this system was scrupulously observed at NTC during the period.

Figure 5.2. Staff of NTC, 1965.[93]

Once individuals were appointed, however, the promotions system within the college structure was a different but parallel one. The structure was Principal, Vice Principal, Lecturer IA-Division 1, Lecturer IB-Division 1, and Lecturer Division II. In the case of each of the lecturer divisions, the position was followed by a number in brackets which represented the number of years the individual had held this designation. Thus on the 1956 seniority list Mr W. Wilcox of Newcastle Teachers College is listed as a Lecturer Division II (10) indicating that his seniority date was established on his appointment to Wagga Teachers College in 1947 some ten years earlier.[94]

The teachers college system therefore represented a way to 'move sideways' and many young staff in schools, who had long waits ahead of them to rise to the top of the school based

[92] The promotions lists were hierarchical and thus there was a "2nd List" for secondary teachers waiting to take up the position of "Subject Master", and a 3rd List for those subject heads awaiting appointment as a Deputy Principal etc.
[93] *Altjiringa 1965, 3.*
[94] NSW Department of Education, *Seniority of Teacher College Lecturers, NSW, (Sydney, 1956) Folio A7460(vi), University of Newcastle Archives.*

promotions lists, saw the teachers colleges as a suitable way to get ahead. The reality, however, was again different. Whilst the original promotion was there, once within the college system the opportunities were few and far between, and generally required a relocation, especially for positions at the higher lecturer level. One lecturer recalled:

> it was very hard to become a division one lecturer. The stars had to align perfectly. There had to be a position, the Principal had to recommend you for it, and you had to be almost at the top of the Division two grade.[95]

The appointment of the Vice Principal, however, seemed to be less problematic, and more directly influenced by the College Principal. During this period at NTC three of the four vice principal appointments were made to 'internal' candidates. Mr Ian Renwick, who replaced Staines, had initially been at Wagga Teachers College and then took promotion to Senior Lecturer (Div1) at Newcastle in 1951. On the retirement of Staines in 1961 Duncan lobbied hard for Renwick's appointment.[96]

Duncan's support was also vital when Huldah Turner (nee Sneddon) was appointed as the first female Vice Principal of a state teachers' college on 12 August 1964 following the death of Renwick.[97] Bass, the only outsider, stayed for 1967 and 1968 before taking up a position as Principal at Lismore Teachers College in 1969. His replacement, Gordon Elliot, who was appointed Vice Principal of NTC effective from November 1969, was also a long time NTC staff member having been on the staff since the early 1950s.[98] Thus the senior leadership of NTC remained very stable during this period, with Duncan's continued presence, and his involvement in the selection of the Vice-Principals and all aspects of college appointments and promotions. As one former staff member commented: "No-one was in any doubt that it was Griff Duncan's college."[99]

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[95] Interview 27_A_M1958.
[96] NTC Personnel File, Ian Renwick- Archives box C3392(iii), University of Newcastle Archives.
[97] Government Gazette of the State of NSW 111 supplement (1964): 3011.
[98] Government Gazette of the State of NSW 153 supplement (1969): 1609; *NTC Calendar 1955*, 9.
[99] Interview 95_A_F1965; This sentiment was repeated often in the interviews from this time, often using the same words, for example in interview 47_A_M1950, "There was no doubt that it was Griff's college."

Figure 5.3. Griff Duncan Oversees the Building Works at the Shortland Campus, 1971.[100]

Elected heads of departments were gaining traction within Universities,[101] but this was not the normal procedure in CAEs and Duncan made appointments based almost entirely on seniority. Again, this was expected by the Department, especially at the beginning of the period. This is not to say that Duncan was not able to break from tradition when required. The maintenance of Wilcox as the head of the arts and crafts section seemed to owe more to personal allegiances, than qualifications and seniority and Duncan did often support local individuals when the Department was less accommodating. A case in point here being the aforementioned appointment of Huldah Turner to the position of Vice Principal of the

[100] Photo B16469-1949, University of Newcastle Archives.
[101] Don Wright, *Looking Back: A History of the University of Newcastle* (Callaghan: The University of Newcastle,1992), 143.

College against the recommendation of the Department.[102] Another former staff member commented that: "Duncan looked after his staff and he expected loyalty in return."[103]

However, there was a gradual change in the way that these allegiances were displayed during the period. Initially, the allegiance was demonstrated through compliance. A staff member from 1966, Morris Graham, recalled: "heads of department and staff accepted without question Griff's authority and judgement".[104] The change to this process was led by Mr Bert Wood. Graham again described their interactions:

> Bert Wood was the exception to this compliance. He often became the lion in Griff's path at staff meetings, and the maulings given and received by Bert and Griff, who was no pussycat, made staff meetings more interesting and longer than they would otherwise have been.[105]

The change from compliance to more democratic processes meant that dissent was tolerated but not often effective, as noted by one staff member:

> If Griff didn't like your ideas he just said … oh that is an interesting idea, and then that was the last we ever heard of it. Very few people would openly tell Griff one of his ideas was not good … but in fairness he usually had thought things through before he announced them so they usually were good ideas … (laughs).[106]

Dissent, as Mackie had found in the 1930s, needed to be kept 'in-house' and Duncan was absolute in his requirement for loyalty to the College. The following recollection highlights both the perceived importance of the college ethos, and the standing of the College Principal.

> There was a staff member … I won't name them … who was caught out saying bad things about one of their fellow lecturers in a school on practice teaching supervision … you know, going on about them being a poor teacher and what not … well Griff wouldn't stand for that … it was the only time that I saw him genuinely angry in a staff meeting ... he said that it was disloyal to a fellow professional, and the department and most of all disloyal to the college and he wouldn't have that … he made a big production of it … the lecturer applied for a transfer the next day.[107]

After the mid-1960s the growth of the number of college staff and the importance placed by the Department on their placement on the Department's promotions list led to an increasing

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[102] NTC Personnel File, Huldah Turner, Archives Box C3392(xiii), University of Newcastle Archives.
[103] Interview 67_A_F1960.
[104] Graham, *Speaking of Union Street*, 25.
[105] Graham, *Speaking of Union Street*, 25.
[106] Interview 89_A_F1955.
[107] Interview 46_A_M1960.

number of staff who were appointed from school positions where they had previously had considerable say in running their schools. In some cases, these schools had been similar sizes to NTC and had similar resources and budgets. It was unreasonable to expect that these staff members would be silently compliant. According to one of the contemporary lecturers, the influence of these staff was directly related to the establishment of an Academic Board at NTC. While there is little doubt that this contributed to the process, the establishment of an academic board was one of the features of the process of self-governance required by the change into a CAE, and almost all of the state teachers colleges established academic boards at similar times.

Staff Qualifications

While the number of secondary school staff with degrees fell during the first part of this period, the same cannot be said of staff in teachers colleges, and it was certainly not the case at NTC. [108] The promotions situation outlined above meant that further study was often expected to gain a place on the promotions list, and therefore prior to appointment at a teachers college, and the internal applications for promotion form contained sections for "further degrees since initial appointment to the teaching service", and "details of published works".[109] The 1974 Handbook shows that almost all the staff in the NTC had at least an initial degree with many also having completed further study. The trend was for teachers once appointed to a school to complete university studies, particularly if they wished to "convert" from primary to secondary teaching or gain a place at a teachers college. If they wished to gain a place on the 'list' to become a subject head, they were often to undertake a Masters course.[110] The trend in schools was replicated at NTC, many of the staff who were appointed during the early period began with either a teaching certificate qualification, or initial degree and ended the period with a higher degree. As an example, the NTC Department of Education had twenty-five members in 1974, and three are listed with PhDs, and a further twelve had other higher degrees beyond their initial Bachelor degrees.

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[108] Alan Barcan, "The Decline of Teaching," in *Australian Teachers: From Colonial Schoolmasters to Militant Professionals*, ed. Andrew Spaull (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1977), 151.
[109] Ada Renwick personal files, Author's Archives, University of Newcastle; NTC Personnel File Ada Renwick, Archives box C3392(iv), University of Newcastle Archives.
[110] See NTC personnel files, Archives Box C3392, University of Newcastle Archives; Fred Preston inspection reports. Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.

Many of the NTC "alumni" and other staff who were appointed during the period continued their studies.[111] However, the expectations in the more 'physical', as opposed to 'intellectual' subjects were not the same. Almost none of the staff in the industrial arts and crafts section, or home science or physical education sections undertook degree studies. This was partly because Duncan did not always see the value in those groups undertaking further studies, but more practically, there were often no relevant degrees for them to undertake. This is not to say that those staff did not improve their education. The industrial arts staff almost all had completed technical education diplomas which qualified them for the designation of Associate of Sydney Technical College (ASTC).[112] Similarly, by the end of the period, nearly all of the physical education staff had undertaken a Diploma in Physical Education. Thus the encouragement of the Department and the NTC leadership meant that the NTC staff resisted the trend to "lower qualifications" which accompanied the expansion of the colleges in the mid-1960s, and by the end of the period had a staff which retained the comparatively high number of well qualified staff members that it had possessed in 1954.[113]

Staff Social Interaction

Overall the staff saw themselves as a unified group. Socially there were distinct events which provided additional coherence to the group. There were various social events away from the College and Duncan would invite people to his house in New Lambton Heights on occasions, and there was a keen Bridge group within the College.[114] Other staff also held social events and the 'Mint Julip evenings' at Ada Renwick's were mentioned by more than one interviewee. The social bond however was based on the College's common purpose and this was cemented through the College morning tea. Attendance was expected at the morning tea

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[111] As examples here Huxley, who originally qualified from NTC, and by 1974 is listed as having a B.A. Litt.B., and M.A. Noel Pryde, who was one of Pioneers group, is listed with a B.A. and MA. Ada Renwick, who initially had a teaching certificate from STC, completed a BA with First class honours in 1962; *NTC Calendars, 1954-1974*; NTC personnel files, Archive Box C3392, University of Newcastle Archives.

[112] The exception here was Alan Taylor from the industrial arts section, an NTC alumni who had not only had the ASTC designation, but had completed a B.A, and also undertook a Master of Science in Engineering, *NTC Calendar 1974*, 29.

[113] *NTC Calendars 1954-1974*; See also the *Seniority of Lecturers in Teachers Colleges* documents and the transference of staff from the teaching service documents, *NSW Education Gazette,* 1977. The exception here was STC, which had significantly more staff with all types of higher degrees and PhDs in particular, See Minutes of Meetings of the Conference of Principals of Teachers' Colleges (01/01/1948 - 31/12/1973), Series 4069, State Records of NSW, for a discussion on this.

[114] Notes on NTC, Bridge group and bridge lessons. Author's Archive. University of Newcastle.

held every day at 11am in the staff wing at the Corlette Street end of the main NTC building in Union Street. The staff were rostered on to provide the catering, and many staff recalled the event as one of harmony and conviviality.[115] Information was communicated, discussions were had, and as one staff member recalled:

> the college seemed to run on the morning teas. If there was a problem you could always find Griff or anyone else and sort it out face to face - there was no need to call or write, and certainly no email … (laughs). The college was small enough so that we all knew each other but large enough so that the class sizes weren't too bad. It was the best of times.[116]

The group generally maintained similar attitudes to core educational issues and Duncan was clearly still in charge of the staff. There were internal divisions, but these were considered minor. The need to have demonstrated some success in teaching prior to entering the College also mean that the staff were generally of a similar age, with the youngest appointments being around thirty.[117] As with the period of foundation of the College the staff were all trying to achieve the same goal - to create the best teachers, however during the period there was a developing diversity of views on both how that was to be done, and what characteristics the "best teachers" possessed. Those on the receiving end of these developing views, the students, mirrored the trajectory away from automatic compliance so that by the middle of this period they were starting to test the College with their own developing autonomy.

College Students

At the conclusion of 1954, the College had just under 350 students of whom 312 were engaged in the primary two-year program and a further 36 engaged in programs jointly taught by the University College and the Technical College.[118] By 1974 the total number of students had grown to 2004, and included more than 100 part-time students and over 300 students studying in external mode.[119] During the period the growth in student numbers had been consistent. In 1960 there were a total of 726 students within the College. There were 299

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[115] See Interview 26_A_F1961; Interview 4_A_M1949; and Interview 67_A_F1960; Bert Wood "Morning Tea at Union Street," *Speaking of Union Street*, 3.
[116] Interview 32_B_M1953.
[117] Interview 32_B_M1953.
[118] *NTC Calendar 1955*, 11.
[119] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 12.

students in the first-year program, 252 in the second-year program and 175 in the university and graduate diploma programs. There were 310 males and 416 females in the College and almost half of the total number of students were enrolled in the standard primary teaching offering.[120] While the institution still had the two-year primary course as its foundation, there was an increasing diversity within the teaching courses offered. However it was not necessarily true that this led to an increased diversity of students attending the College. One remembered:

> Straight after the first assembly we were organised into our sections and there was much wailing and gnashing of teeth that there weren't enough people in the Science section … which was the section I was in, ... what were we going to do? … so a couple of minutes later Mr Duncan came back with a few extras in tow. They had been going to do the general primary course, but he had convinced them to swap to Science on the spot. [121]

The recruitment process for students to enter NTC remained similar for the majority of the period. School principals acted as the first line of gatekeepers. The information, forms and medical cards for scholarship places were sent to schools in August each year. Principals were required to conduct interviews and based on these interviews were required to tick the appropriate box, which varied from: "He is definitely suitable for training as a teacher and can be accepted with full confidence" to the other end of the spectrum which indicated that "He has no reasonable prospect of becoming a satisfactory teacher and his application should be rejected."[122]

To this was added, the informal exclusion process added even before the interviews were completed. A student from the 1960s recalled:

> My mate George wasn't even allowed to fill in the application form to go to college. We both went to get the forms and the Principal said "Barnes ... there is no point in you filling this out, you would make an awful teacher and I won't send your form in" … funny how it turns out - he ended up doing a Science degree at Sydney Uni and worked for the CSIRO for more than 20 years - always reckons he was lucky that the principal hated him so much.[123]

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[120] "College enrolments," *Altjiringa 1960*, 2.
[121] Interview 20_S_M1961.
[122] David Verco, "Some Questions of Student Recruitment" in *Conference of Teachers' College Lecturers 1960,* 22.
[123] Interview 63_S_M1960.

The key items for consideration for a scholarship were the standard of academic attainment, medical suitability, and personal attributes. David Verco, later to be Director General of Education, had an exceedingly candid moment when addressing the 1960 teachers college conference in relation to the importance of the personal attributes tradition. He announced:

> that the personal suitability is used as a negative criterion. Those cases where there is a sufficiently marked indication of unsuitability may be excluded from the award of scholarships not withstanding their leaving certificate result.[124]

Importantly all those who wished to obtain a scholarship needed to fulfil the vital "Regulation 7" of the *Public Instruction Act*, which required that "Satisfactory evidence as to character and previous history shall be furnished by each candidate".[125] Despite these checks, or perhaps because of them, by 1964 a record number of 3,260 teachers college scholarships were awarded. "In the first term of 1964 there were 7,302 students training in teachers colleges, 759 more than at the end of 1963." [126] Of these new awardees, 492 took up places at NTC, to bring the total enrolment to over 1000 student for the first time[127]

The number was regulated by Departmental need and was always growing throughout the period. By 1974 the College numbers had doubled from 1964 and the total number of students enrolled had grown to 2004.[128] The teachers college scholarships were still viewed as a way for those without independent financial means to gain access to tertiary education. Further, teaching was still seen as the most respectable of jobs, and especially suitable for women. One former female NTC student recalled how gender and class intersected in her choice of teaching as a career, as well as noting the ambiguity and contradiction in the transition from student to adult experienced in the early 1960s:

> My parents encouraged me to go College. We couldn't afford Uni without the scholarship and my dad particularly saw teacher as respectable job for a lady. If only he had known what we got up to in college he wouldn't have thought that.[129]

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[124] Verco, "Some Questions of Student Recruitment," 24.
[125] Government Gazette of the State of NSW 165 (December 1957): 3993.
[126] Government Gazette of the State of NSW 101 (August 1964): 2693.
[127] Student Records 1964, Archive file 8840(xi) D146/4, University of Newcastle.
[128] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 12.
[129] Interview 84_S_F1961.

In addition to the growth in numbers there was distinct change in the outlook of the students. From 1960 the College had included some older students within 'artisan' courses,[130] and the gradual lengthening of the NTC courses, combined with the increased age of students undertaking the Leaving Certificate, brought about some fundamental changes in the age of the student body. These older students also had different outlooks in the interactions they had with the College.

This change partly coincided with and was partly driven by the social upheaval present in 1960s Australia. The impact of various social movements, such as the counter-culture typified by Timothy Leary's "Turn on, tune in, drop out", the rise of the hippy culture and the sexual revolution, was important both on campus and in Australian society in general. When this was combined with the inevitable establishment reaction to this development, the upshot was that the College became a vastly different place by the end of the 1960s. Perhaps the most important trigger for this change was the reintroduction of National Service in 1964, with the 'Birthday Ballot' added in 1965 and the potential for any 20-year-old male to have to serve in the army in Vietnam. Again, the contrast between the student reaction to National Service in 1955 and in 1965 was profound.[131] These latter students were the students who would start to come back as staff into the NTC in the late 1970s, one of whom recalled:

> It all started with the Vietnam protests. Some of us went down to the big Canberra protests, but we also held some rallies locally, so by the time of our second year, we seemed to be out protesting something every second day ... I am sure that they were all worthwhile causes, and we eventually achieved something in the Vietnam protests, but there was a feeling that we had to do something to change things, and protest was our weapon. It was the start of the generation gap and we wanted change. Inside the college and outside.[132]

By the beginning of the 1970s things had progressed to the point where the students were extremely active in the political spectrum and saw everything through the prism of their involvement in the protest movement, so much so that one student recalled:

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[130] *Altjiringa 1964*, 8.

[131] The Australian government had reintroduced National Military Services requirement in 1964, (previously abolished in 1955) and in 1965 all 20 year old men were required to register for a lottery by which dates of birth were used to select the participants for National Service and potentially service in an active war zone. Australian Government, *National Service Act,* Federal Register of Legislation, 1964, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1964A00126 .

[132] Interview 69_S_M1971.

> One of the guys on the SRC said they were only moving us to Shortland to make it harder for us to block traffic in town.[133]

The students became an important local voice for change within the College, and they were certainly not as likely as their predecessors to be compliant, or to accept instruction in the domain which the historian Connell had previously identified as 'personal behaviour'.[134]

The cultural conflict however was not only generationally based, and it was not exclusively the staff who held on to conservative views. An example of this which caused considerable controversy in 1973 was the running of a Miss CAE Contest. According to the 1973 Annual, the beauty and fund raising pageant "weathered severe criticism from different sections of the College in regards to sexism and female exploitation", and despite the event being a charity fund-raiser, there were numerous suggestions to either change or disband the contest.[135] The social changes were also reflected in student dress and the photo below, Figure 5.4, of Section 101 in 1973 stands in stark contrast to the section photo of the Pioneers group from the foundation year that appears in chapter four, yet would be typical of most college section photographs from across the state at this time.

Figure 5.4. Section 101B NTC, 1973.[136]

[133] Interview 21_S_M1972.
[134] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.
[135] *NTC Annual Booklet 1973*, 36.
[136] *NTC Annual Booklet 1973*, 11.

On some issues however the student body was united, and finances was one of them. The pressure of 'withdrawal of scholarship' was increasingly used as a weapon in the culture wars which took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the Teacher Trainee Association called a state-wide day of action to fight such threats at Wagga Wagga College in 1973. The situation in Newcastle was quite different. Perhaps the threat of withdrawal was enough, but there are no records of students being withdrawn from scholarship positions at NTC during the period. The final shots in this melee however were fired at the federal level rather than the local level, as the introduction of universal college and university funding severely lessened the impact of the expulsion threat. The pressure of the state government 'bond' still remained until the late 1970s, even though from 1973 onwards students were not required to sign the bond documents until after they had had their first experience in schools.[137] There was a gradual change in the power dynamics on the college campus here. At the beginning of the period the Department, and the College had all the financial control and could bring serious pressure to bear on individuals who were not sufficiently compliant. As the 1970s advanced, the financial control became increasing external to the College itself, and was certainly seen by students as less directly related to the day-to-day teaching activities of the College.

These individuals who had been students in the 1960s became the teachers of the 1970s and became the group from whom new NTC staff were recruited. They were also becoming representative of the teaching service that the students of the late seventies and eighties were being prepared for. The NTC was moving from being a largely conservative force based on compliance and strong central authority toward being a force of cultural transformation. The College would remain a site of cultural transmission but the 1960s particularly heralded an increasing diversity in the culture to be transmitted.

Curriculum and Pedagogy

College enrolment in 1954 was dominated by the two-year general primary course, infants and small schools course - the same course that had been established at the foundation of the College. New courses were initially added in 1954. The first was a home economics course servicing seventeen students and the second, variously described as the 'university' course and the secondary training course, had fifteen students in an arts programs and four in science

[137] *NTC Annual Booklet 1973,* 38.

programs at the fledgling Newcastle University College.[138] The university students were required to complete a two hour College based course on educational history and additionally undertake two practicums per year.[139] The home economics course was certainly not a university course, though the students were treated in the same way as the university students. The courses that were undertaken by the home economics students included 14 hours of courses at the Newcastle Technical College. There were nine hours of food and home management, and five hours of needlework.[140] These fulltime courses added to the January 'refresher course' that the College ran in the January school break. Starting as part of the College's reunion activities, these gradually took on a meaningful in-service function, and by 1955 there were 270 enrolments for the 20 summer school courses offered.[141]

As the decade progressed additional courses were added in manual arts and secondary school biology. The rationale for these additions being the expertise of the existing staff with the 'Arts and Craft' section of MacKay and Wilcox taking the lead on the Industrial Arts course, and Messers Moore and Cornwell, both with qualifications in agriculture, setting the direction of the Biology courses. Two-year courses in the junior secondary areas of English, History, Geography, Physical Sciences and Mathematics were added in 1958, and a four-year specialist Music course was added in 1960. The latter was taught in conjunction with the Conservatorium of Music, while the two years courses were serviced entirely 'in-house'. The University College made a number of offerings in both arts and technical subjects which fed the growing numbers in the Graduate Diploma of Education.[142]

By the late 1960s there were five clearly defined types of programs offered by the College, all in teacher education. The first and still the most popular was the general Primary and Infants course. The next in terms of student enrolments were the junior secondary courses in specific subjects such as Science and Industrial Arts. There were also the graduate courses, offered in conjunction with the University, which had grown considerably since the University of Newcastle has received its Autonomy in 1965. The final Pre-service courses were the two four-year courses offered in Art and Music. The College was also engaged in

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[138] *NTC Calendar 1955*, 106; *Altjiringa 1957*, 7.
[139] *NTC Calendar 1955,* 106-7.
[140] *NTC Calendar 1955*, 95.
[141] *NTC Calendar 1960*, 18.
[142] See *NTC Calendars 1954-1960.*

various in-service courses which were run on a more *ad hoc* basis depending on Department and school requests.[143]

The Primary program had changed little in the intervening years, as can be seen by comparing the program of study for students in 1949 and 1969 in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3. Lecture Hours per Subject in the General Primary Courses in 1969 and 1949.[144]

	Year 1: Hours per week		Year 2: Hours per week	
Subject	1949	1969	1949	1969
Art	0	0	2	2
Craft [1]	2	2	2	1
Education	4	4	4	4
English	4	4	4	4
Health Education[2]	0	0	1	1
Mathematics	2	2	0	0
Music	2	2	2	2
Physical Education	1	1	2	2
Science[3]	2	2	2	1
Social Science[4]	2 + 2	2	2	2
Demonstrations	2	2	2	2
Option	3	2	3	2
Total Hours	26	23	26	23

1. The course 'Craft' was called 'Craft and Needlework' in 1949.
2. The course 'Heath Education' was called 'Hygiene' in 1949.
3. The course 'Science' was offered exclusively as 'Biology' in 1949.
4. The 1949 curriculum had the Social Science courses History and Geography both delivered as separate two-hour courses in Year 1.

Despite the fact that there had been a major school syllabus change in 1953, and the upheaval of the introduction of the Wyndham Scheme during the 1960s, the program structure and approaches remained extremely stable, with almost identical time allocated to each of the content areas. The Social Studies area had 'lost' two hours in the first year of the program, and the option or elective had also lost an hour in each year. Craft and Science had each had their time allocation reduced by an hour in the second year, otherwise the attendance patterns were almost identical. The content of the courses was also similar. The Australian History

[143] See *NTC Calendars 1965-69*; Personal Notes Renwick, 1963. Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.
[144] *NTC Calendar 1952*, 26 and *NTC Calendar 1969 (supplement)*, 3.

courses listed in the 1955 Handbook and the 1967 Handbook are almost identical, and even include three of the same four set texts.[145]

> There were changes in the names of what we taught, I think the curriculum changed from social studies to history and geography, and back to social studies about five times while I was teaching at the college, but it didn't change what we taught - the students still need to know their Vikings, Kings and Tundra.[146]

Overall there was very little change until the 1970s.

The 1970s saw the extension of all the preservice courses to at least three years. While the STC had clearly viewed the introduction of three-year courses as a prelude to developing four-year courses, the approach in Newcastle was less clear.[147] The initial plan of the College was to maintain the two-year courses and add a conversion course which was to be completed through either part-time attendance or via correspondence. However, the requirement of the federal funding for a fully integrated three-year program, and the acceptance across the NSW Department of the value in the three-year course, caused a change of heart. Led by Ada Renwick and Gordon Elliot, the NTC developed a range of three-year courses that had not simply had an extra year added but were rebuilt 'from the ground up'. The structure divided courses into areas of general education called General Educational Studies, specific curriculum studies, and practical development studies which included school demonstration lessons and practicum experiences. The overall structure maintained the presence of all the key traditions of education courses identified by Connell in his discussion of the 1950s curriculum, with the personal behaviour objectives now being addressed as "professional skills" and largely being located within the teaching experience modules.[148]

The course content also started to change to include more modern theories. Social and educational movements began to find their way into courses and curriculum approaches. For example in the history courses, there were now sections on "social stratification, and social change", and the works of Marx and Weber were treated as historically important rather than

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[145] "Course 41 Australian History," *NTC Calendar 1955,* 72; "Course 39 Australian History," *NTC Calendar 1967*, 37.
[146] Interview 47_A_M1960.
[147] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 178.
[148] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258; There were also exceptions to this where the moral and social development of students was overtly addressed with the courses. For example, the course "Social Studies Method," *NTC Calendar 1967*, 109, for "The Methods and Problems of Character Training".

as elements of the cold war.[149] The courses had much more diverse reading lists with authors like Brunner and Freire appearing on educational course reading lists, and books on alternative educational approaches by Ivan llich, Sybil Marshall and Alexander Neil also making reference lists.[150] Again external educational movements were having an impact on NTC.

Pedagogically, there were also changes. Duncan had indicated a move towards greater student responsibility for learning as early as 1957. The practicalities however produced a different picture, as is seen through the timetables in Table 5.3. A lecturer from the early 1960s remarked:

> it was really impossible to set any work to be done outside the classroom as the college had no library resources to speak of, and the students just weren't ready to work in that way.[151]

There was group work, however often this was born of necessity rather than the pedagogical ascendency of the idea. A student from the late 1950s observed:

> In the Home Economics kitchens we always did group work, it was mainly because there weren't enough stoves, and other materials for everyone to be able to complete the projects. It was the same in a lot of our subjects we had to work together as the resources just weren't there.[152]

As the conditions within the College improved the opportunities for experimentation also increased, however the object of the experimentation was not always clear to the students. One student from the 1960s reflected:

> we were told to go away and come back at the end of term with a play to put on ... as you can imagine this was a recipe for lots of skiving off. I think we spent about 10 weeks at the Commonwealth [hotel], and then threw a play together in the last week.[153]

There was also a growing need for distance courses, and while the University of New England had the state monopoly on distance courses for universities, there were no such restrictions on teaching courses.[154] NTC developed courses around most of its specialty areas, and by 1974 had developed a separate department of external studies with John Moore as its

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[149] *NTC Calendar 1974,* 380.
[150] See the reference list for the Education I to III courses in *NTC Calendar 1974,* 132-165.
[151] Interview 26_A_F1961.
[152] Interview 16_S_F1954.
[153] Interview 74_B_1963.
[154] *NTC Calendar 1973*, 84.

Head.[155] Primarily working with printed distance materials, and often supplementing this with short residential courses, the College was able to develop a substantial suite of in-service courses in the distance mode to sit side-by-side with the summer program which had continued to develop throughout the period. Ultimately, the College introduced conversion courses, to allow teachers who had done two-year training courses to "upgrade" their status, and consequently their pay, through an external course primarily run in distance mode. The course was not viewed very favourably by either the staff or students, with one staff member recalling:

> the course was a bit of a shemozzle actually - the students didn't want to do it and we didn't want to run it but the department insisted - so it went ahead even though no one wanted to be there.[156]

It did however serve the pragmatic need of the teachers for an opportunity for increased pay, for the Department to be seen to improve teaching standards, and for the NTC to continue its growth spiral.

Practicum

The 1955 College Calendar gives six pages of instructions for students in relation to their practicum experiences. Every part of the experience was to be documented. There were travel warrants to be collected for free travel to practicum locations and completed claim forms to be submitted for refund of practice teaching expenses. This was in addition to books of lesson notes and reflections, and comment and directions from school staff to be compiled by the students.[157] The whole experience was organised as part of an apprenticeship. The students were essentially moving from one place of Departmental employment to another. There were periods of both supervised and unsupervised practice teaching and students received a grade for the supervised component of their work.

The unsupervised practice teaching was to be arranged at the students' expense, and by the students themselves. The timing of this, being the first two weeks of the year, for the second-year student, in effect confined them to schools close to either the College or their home, but

[155] *NTC Calendar 1974*, 25.
[156] Interview 70_A_M1972.
[157] *NTC Calendar 1955*, 20-25 and 140.

in practice almost all student undertook this experience at the school that they had attended as a student. By 1959 the College had begun to impose conditions on the student's choices, and the College needed to approve the schools selected which were nominated by the student in September of their first year. By 1964 the session was referred to as "Home Practice Teaching" and in 1972 following a review it was discontinued altogether. A student from 1970 gives some insight as to the likely reasons for this discontinuation:

> the unsupervised prac was bit of a joke. It was a good idea but just didn't work. Lots of people didn't even go to their schools and had their old teachers, or in some cases father or mother who was a teacher, write a report that they had done well and attended. I think that is why they got rid of it - the experience just wasn't worth it.[158]

The pattern of supervised practice teaching was largely consistent throughout the period 1954 to 1974. The practicum periods were a supervised practicum in the middle of the year for first years and for second and subsequent years there was a three week mid-year block, and with final year students also completing a 'capstone' block of three weeks once all their other studies and examinations had been completed.[159] The effect of this was that all the students were on placement at the same time and the staff were able to attend the school to supervise the students . As the number of students grew, and the student were required to be placed at more remote locations, the logistics of the college supervision became more difficult. By 1966 the College was employing teachers and other co-opted staff to supervise students and utilized college staff to perform a more overarching role as a 'Zone Chairman' in charge of the supervision at a range of schools.[160] This pragmatic approach to a resourcing issues did not go down well with students. Likewise, the use of placements for students at different types of schools, for example Primary placements for secondary students, or in different teaching areas, for example Science placements for English teachers, was also viewed as problematic. A College lecturer had considerable sympathy for the students:

> It was difficult when we had to place students in Primary schools as secondary trainees, but the ones I felt most sorry for were the secondary students who ended up teaching subjects that they hadn't trained for. I remember this one young girl who was in a second year … English … and she was sent to a school where they only had Maths classes for her to teach. She was in a right state ... um ... I think understandably ... but we just

[158] Interview 68_S_F1969; *NTC Calendars 1969-1972.*
[159] *Altjiringa Annual, 1974*, 31.
[160] *NTC Calendar 1966*, 35.

> couldn't get the places so she had to do it or not do a prac that year ... it was difficult all round.[161]

If the students in the foundation period of the College had expressed a major educational grievance it was with the equity around practicum grades. The distribution of students to more diverse schools, and variation in both methods and personnel for grading those experiences during the period of the College's growth did nothing to ally those problems. The practicum was the source of continuing and substantial criticism. The following recollections of two students are typical of the problems raised.

> Student 1: The prac grading system was completely unfair. I mean I was lucky, I got a good school, a good supervising teaching and a good college supervisor. But that wasn't normally the case. There were some people who were thrown into a lion's den and just surviving was an achievement. How they were expected to stick to their lesson plans or actually teach anything, I have no idea.[162]

> Student 2: For my first prac I was sent to [schoolname] which was a complete dive, I mean there were holes in the walls, and broken windows and ... it closed down a couple of years after I went there … Anyway I was teaching there as a High School English teacher at a primary school and being compared with other students who were at places like Newcastle Girls High which had the best of everything, including students … it just wasn't fair ... When I complained about it I was told that the staff would take that into consideration. I asked how many people get "As" from [schoolname] compared to Girls High … I didn't get an answer.[163]

By 1974 the College had largely dispensed with first year practicum. When discussing the change Vice-Principal Elliot indicated that, "Professional opinion held that to place an inexperienced student in front of 30 pupils is the equivalent of throwing a non-swimmer into the deep end of the pool".[164] While the justification was clearly educational, it seems beyond coincidental that 1974 was also the first year that the College was required to pay schools for supervising students. When the College had been part of the NSW Department of Education, there was no payment required as both the school and the College were part of the same organisation. The newly minted certificate of incorporation for NTC as a CAE had an

[161] Interview 27_A_M1958.
[162] Interview 33_S_F1966.
[163] Interview 96_S_F1970.
[164] *Altjiringa Annual 1974,* 31.

immediate cost in terms of practice teaching places.[165] Again a pragmatic solution was found which led to a new approach within the local college.

The College introduced what were known as 'rolling practicums'. The students would attend a school for one day a week for a set period of time. Initially these were unpopular with both staff and students. When these were perceived as more 'demonstration lessons" rather than doing a 'proper practicum' the student did not value them. There were however a considerable number of additional schools added to the list of Demonstration schools with more than a dozen secondary schools added to the primary Demonstration school which remained at The Junction.[166] However, once the perception of the rolling practicums changed and students saw them as an opportunity to go into schools earlier in their training, they were seen as valuable. A 1968 student remarked:

> We thought that the one day in schools thing that was introduced in our second year was a complete waste of time. We had already been out and been teaching so we knew what to expect, we just wanted more practice … we didn't want to watch others do it, we wanted to do it ourselves.[167]

Yet by 1974, the rolling practicum had replaced the first year practicum experience and was seen in a different light.

> I loved the chance to go out and see the school in action. We got to see a number of schools, not just the Dem school which was very ordered and all the teachers were great, we got to see some lessons that didn't work and some kids from different social backgrounds.[168]

The continued location of the behavioural objectives for students, Connell's 'personal behaviour' tradition, within the practicum led to further confusion in the role during students' school contact.[169] The students were in some cases expected to be more "establishment" than the teachers in the schools they were attached to. They had to maintain very strict dress codes through the period, even when the dress codes within the schools themselves had changed. One student humorously recalled:

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[165] *Altjiringa Annual 1974,* 31.
[166] *NTC Calendar 1970*, 32-33.
[167] Interview 41_S_F1968.
[168] Interview 39_S_M1973.
[169] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.

> I was getting a dressing down, [from my college lecturer] if you will pardon the pun, for not wearing a tie to school, and my supervising teacher is sitting right there, and he isn't wearing a tie.[170]

Likewise, staff saw this as a confusing time, particularly in relation to their role as gatekeeper to the teaching profession. A 1970 academic staff member reflected that:

> in the old days we would have just had a word, and they would have been out on their ear, but we couldn't do that anymore. We weren't supposed to be checking their behaviour. Of course, we all did. A few of us called it 'the attitude test', but it was much more difficult to fail a student who didn't have the right stuff to be a teacher, especially if they had good grades.[171]

The staff role as gatekeeper, considered so important during the early 1950s, was preserved only through the hidden curriculum of the college. This became more confusing as the period drew on. In the 1950s students were left in no doubt as to what behaviour was expected. Duncan would address assemblies about moral issues and the importance of setting an example and following the example of the staff. By 1973 however this had become less clear-cut, as exemplified by a piece Duncan wrote called "Years of Change" for the 1973 College Yearbook. He lamented the less modest dress sense, more liberated views on sex and language, the evils of drugs, smoking and alcohol almost as if they were equally abhorrent, with the product being recalled by one student as an "almost classic rage against youth."[172] The almost schizophrenic nature of the student body was exemplified by the fact that this piece appeared in a student publication. By this stage some of the lecturing staff were encouraging students to be 'with it' in the classroom and meet the children half way to get them engaged. Yet in the schools some were faced with very traditional approaches to discipline and pedagogical methods. The reverse was also possible. As the College became a more liberal place, the disconnect between the student's college experience and school experience was potentially increased. There were still the same role confusion issues between being a student and being a teacher identified in the previous section; now added to this was confusion over the social situation, and the place of the student teacher in cultural transmission. They were often confused about not only if they were supposed to be instruments of cultural transmission, but, if they were, what was the culture they were

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[170] Interview 35_S_M1966.
[171] Interview 12_A_M1970.
[172] *NTC Annual 1973,* 2-3; During Interview 21_S_M1972 the student indicated, when handing me the document, that the piece by Griff was why he had kept the magazine, to remind himself "not to become old and grumpy".

supposed to be transmitting. Despite this confusion, the students continued to see the practicum as the most important section of their training with a typical student reaction:

> It was like, this is what it is all about, we have finally got to give it go, and this was our chance, it was good to finally be out there … terrifying ... but good.[173]

Club and Social Activities

The structure of the clubs and societies remained reasonably stable throughout the period.[174] The College camps were gradually phased out primarily due to the increase in student numbers, however selected cohorts did continue to attend the now Department owned National Fitness camps through the period. The social events became less formal throughout the period. The typical event of the 1950s might have been a formal graduation ball, or a debutant ball where young ladies were introduced to society following the English tradition. The photo below, Figure 5.5 shows Ada Renwick, the Warden of Women's Students in the mid-1950s, with Mr Gillard at a College debutant's ball.

[173] Interview 71_S_F1973.
[174] See Figure 5.8 for this structure.

Figure 5.5. Debutant Ball: Harold Gillard and Ada Renwick with Debutants, circa 1955.[175]

By the 1970s the event was more likely to be a cabaret, a 'recovery' ball or a car rally, however there was still some involvement of staff in the student organised functions.[176] In the 1960s there was considerable discussion on the suitability of having alcohol present at College events. Duncan was against it and attempted to ensure that all college events were 'dry', however following considerable agitation from the student body, a compromise was reached which allowed limited alcohol at specific events. A student recalled:

> we were just as strong on the alcohol issue as the staff were. In the end we threatened that the SRC would just organise our own events and not go to the college balls, so they relented, I guess that some control was better than none at all.[177]

There were still some activities where the scale of the event required college cooperation, for example the Intercollegiate (Intercol) events. These had developed from the earlier

[175] Ada Renwick personal papers, Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.
[176] List of social events *Altjiringa 1974.*
[177] Interview 42_S_M1962.

"exchange visits" between colleges and, in time the college 'intervarsity' events, became important events in the life of the College. One woman remembered:

> As a member of the Hockey club our big social and sporting event for the year was the Intercol. We weren't that good a team and we usually lost in our weekend games, but some of the players who played for the good clubs would come and play with us for the Intercol, and that meant that not only did we have the best time of the field we also had the chance to win some games. I am still friends with some of the girls from those days.[178]

The attempts to develop College pride through the use of the 'house' system which had been such a prominent feature of college life in its first few years gradually changed during the late 1950s, and 1957 was the last year the Armstrong Cup for athletic prowess was awarded to a college house. In 1958 the Cup was awarded to "Section 201", and the section awards continued into the 1960s, with events such as the athletics carnivals and swimming carnivals continuing until the move to the Shortland campus was complete.[179] These were now billed as preparation for contribution to school activities after graduation, rather than events in themselves, and the importance of these events to College identity was considerably diminished.

The increased autonomy of the sporting clubs, always championed by Harold Gillard, developed through the period. This was an area in which the College was prepared to give ground and combined with the other recreational clubs these activities continued to provide a positive impact on student College experiences. The awarding of College sporting blues continued throughout the period, and the number and variety of sports offered by the College increased.[180] The Intercollegiate events continued to be popular with the students with Figure 5.6 showing students heading off on the 1958 Intercollegiate visit. The students are still wearing College blazers at this time.

[178] Interview 60_S_F1964.
[179] See *NTC Calendars 1950-1974*; and *Altjiringa Annual 1974,* 10.
[180] See *NTC Calendars 1950-1974.*

Figure 5.6. Students Departing for Intercollege Sporting Events, 1958.[181]

The drama, music and other recreational clubs went on without much structural change during the period. The presence of religious groups became more controversial as the 1960s advanced, as was the case on most higher education campuses, and by 1974 the Christian groups had banded together and described themselves as "the most misunderstood group at college".[182] As the 1960s wore on the staff advisors were increasingly more of a token presence and were only involved if there was some major crisis. As an example of the increasing student domination of the clubs, the students were given total autonomy in the selection of performance pieces as the period wore on, and many of the pieces were more contemporary, or student authored, rather than the staple of Gilbert and Sullivan or Shakespeare that had been popular in the 1950s.[183]

[181] NTC Photo Archive, University of Newcastle Archives.
[182] *Altjiringa 1974*, 20.
[183] See Drama performance descriptions, *Altjiringa 1953-1973.*

Figure 5.7. College Music Group, 1954.[184]

When a student was reflecting on their experience in the Photography Club and was asked about their staff adviser their response was a direct: "I didn't know we had a staff adviser ... none of the staff ever showed up … oh ... a staff adviser … do you know who it was?[185]

These extracurricular events were universally remembered in a positive social light, and while some narrators cast doubt on the educational value of the specific events, the details of these events were often recalled with both specificity and considerable animation. As was typical for the period, the College had backed away from using the extracurricular areas of College life as an attempt to reinforce cultural and behavioural norms and had very much left the students to their own devices. For much of the period there was enough social confusion within the student body to ensure that most mainstream cultural positions were represented through various organisations and their administrations.

[184] Photo Courtesy of Kevin McDonald, Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.
[185] Interview 69_S_F1971.

Student Interaction with the Staff and College

The movement towards increased staff and student involvement in College affairs was a gradual one. As early as 1957 Duncan had indicated an intention to increase student responsibility. This was both in terms of their own learning, and the management of student affairs.

> The time has come to give students greater measure of responsibility for and in decisions affecting their courses and their welfare and in 1958 it is intended to reduce the lecture hours of students so that every section has at least one morning or afternoon free in addition to the sports afternoon. More time will be given for assignments and individual research. Greater provision will be made for differential rates of academic progress. The functions of students' clubs and the Student Union generally will be revised to place greater responsibility upon the student body.[186]

The same structure highlighting the involvement of students in the administration of the College was present from the late 1950s through into the 1970s, and as can be seen in Figure 5.8 the arrangement could be, at best, described as one of power sharing with the Principal retaining ultimate responsibility and oversight.

There were opportunities for students to contribute to the College, but no real power had been devolved. The Principal retained the right of veto in all student matters and College staff were on the committee of every student group, except the Trainee Teachers Association.[187] While this was initially seen as an enlightened approach to student involvement, as the social and cultural changes outside the College developed, further changes were demanded inside the College.

[186] *Altjiringa Annual 1957*, 9.
[187] *NTC Calendar 1967*, 273.

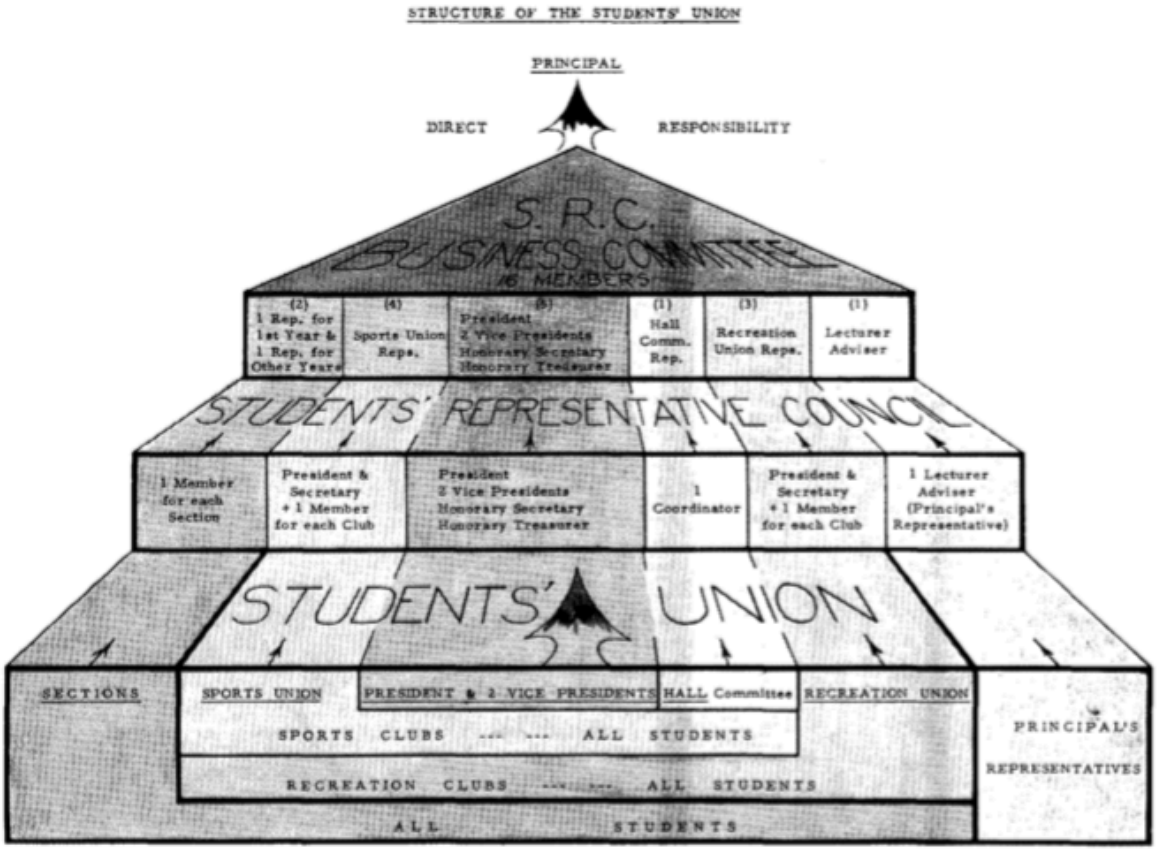

Figure 5.8. Diagram of Student Union and its Reporting Structures, 1967.[188]

An example of the social and cultural demarcation which was present in the College was the battles that raged throughout the 1960s in relation to the College dress code. One of the lecturers said: "The big debate in my early years was about whether women students should be allowed to wear slacks to lectures".[189] The first request for women students to wear slacks came in 1964, although in practice students had been wearing them without approval for some time, but eventually Duncan wanted to put a stop to it as "unseemly".[190] This SRC request was initially denied by Duncan, in consultation with the Warden of Women Students. The second request two years later led to much debate, during which Duncan used a well-worn play on words in the debate on dress standards at the College, "I don't wear Jeans ... and she doesn't wear mine" but, in the end the decision was left to the female staff who

[188] *NTC Calendar 1967,* 272.
[189] Graham, *Speaking of Union Street*, 25.
[190] See "Interview with Duncan," *NTC Annual 1973*, 2-3.

supported the students.[191] The students saw the battle over female attire in a different way, with one student involved in the confrontation noting:

> One of the things I remember most about my time at college was the battles that we had with the staff, particularly with the woman who was in charge of us 'girls' as she called us. She had come right out of the Ark and had no idea what we were talking about most of the time. She had the idea that we should all wear 'dresses and frocks' as she called them and got into a real tizz whenever any of us showed up in slacks … they weren't even jeans - they were nicely tailored and looked very nice. In the end we had to get the Union involved just so that we could wear what the teachers in the schools were wearing every day.[192]

Two examples of student involvement in College matters at opposite ends of the time period, both concerning traffic, serve to highlight the changing roles of students in power relations and show the gradual transformation of the roles that students played in the life of the College. In the first instance the lack of playing fields at the Union Street campus in early 1950s meant that the students needed to cross the road to 'National Park' to complete sports and physical education activities. The students approached Duncan about the possibility of installing a pedestrian crossing at the front gates of the College to make the crossing safer. Duncan, however, thought that the logical place for the crossing would be the nearest street corner. The students kept approaching Duncan and he kept refusing, maintaining his position of the benefits of the corner crossing. The students eventually convinced Duncan, and he approached the Department of Main Roads and a pedestrian crossing was installed at the location selected by the students in the early 1960s. Duncan recalled this in an interview in 1974, in the following terms:

> It took the students 11 years but they got their way in the long run, we had that zebra crossing at that gate whereas I contended that the corner was better. Anyway, I lost and they won. [193]

By 1974 a similar problem where the students perceived an issue of safety developed with the vehicle entrance to the new College site at Shortland. The entrance was located just below the crest of a hill, and the students and some of the staff were concerned about the potential for accidents. Instead of waiting for the College to act, or approaching the principal, the students arranged a demonstration at the site on 21 March 1974. Then, when they were not able to

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[191] Personal Notes Ada Renwick, Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.
[192] Interview 33_S_F1966.
[193] "Interview with Griff," *Altjiringa*, 1974, 37.

arrange a meeting between the Department of Education, Department of Public Works and the Department of Main Roads, they directly contacted the NSW Minister for Transport, Milton Morris, and put the case to him.[194] An alternative entrance was designed and implemented before the end of the year. The students were starting to take the authority which Duncan had seen in terms of a 'winning and losing' power play some ten years earlier.[195] The different approaches also shed light on both the lack of planning and the pragmatic nature of the reactions to these planning issues.

In addition to the changing relationship with college staff, there was another player in the dynamic. The NSW Teachers Federation had always had a presence on campus, through the separate but affiliated Trainee Teacher's Association (TTA), however it was to play an increasing role during the expansion of the College. In 1959 the Teacher Federation Code of Ethics was printed in the College magazine, and Duncan provided commentary on various aspects and concluded by asking students to consider if they would accept "all of it, some of it or none of it".[196] By 1965 the TTA at NTC was claiming close working relationships with both the Teachers Federation and the Trades and Labour Council. In the same way as there had been closer cooperation between various teachers colleges in terms of staff and teaching ideas through various conferences, the students were also moving towards cooperative ventures.

1965 saw the establishment of a NSW State Trainee Teachers Committee to coordinate the activity between the various colleges, and Newcastle was represented at these meetings.[197] In reporting on their activities in 1965 they highlighted a successful campaign for higher allowances, and support for the Wagga Wagga students against various college conditions. It was also claimed: "we supported a campaign to have women students who marry while at college continue training on allowance and believe that this will come into effect next year."[198] The TTA was not a College club and therefore the NTC had no jurisdiction over the meetings, and it likewise had no role in the Student Representative Council. The 1969 Calendar reported that:

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[194] "Somebody Goofed," *Altjiringa 1974*, 22-27.
[195] "Interview with Griff," *Altjiringa 1974,* 37.
[196] *Altjiringa 1959*, 13-15.
[197] "Trainee Teachers Association Report," *Altjiringa 1965*, 59.
[198] "Trainee Teachers Association Report," *Altjiringa 1965*, 59.

> the Principal of the College is to be notified of general meetings called by the T.T.A. five days in advance. Under these conditions, it will be possible for the T.T.A. Executive to obtain approval for the use of College premises for meetings.[199]

Even in this regard some measure of control was to be exerted. The TTA, however, being closely linked to the Teachers Federation, was also therefore closely linked to the Lecturers Association, and while a more defining feature of the following 15 years, by 1974 there were beginning to be issues on which the two groups looked to act in unison.[200]

The 1970s also saw the development of services 'for' the students as well as 'by' the students. The functions of pastoral care which had been a part of the job of the lecturers of the College were gradually outsourced. For example, the position of Warden of Women Students which had been a feature of the College since its foundation was eliminated in 1973, and there was instead a suite of professional services established, including a student counselling service, a student health service and an independent chaplaincy service. These were in addition to the services provided by the SRC which included the recreational clubs, the Sports Union, and services like a student loan fund. The College revues of the 1970s, similar to the one depicted in the photograph in Figure 5.9 below, were funded by the SRC with no direct reference to the college administration.

In the same way as the College had started to move towards more democratic processes, through the establishment of a Council, and an Academic Board, the student organisations saw the move to a CAE as an opportunity to formalise the increased involvement they had won in relation to college affairs. In reality, the wins were small, and the impact was even smaller, however that was not the way the students saw it at the time. One noted:

> I was involved in the creation of the new SRC structures when we were moving out to Shortland. We saw it as a great step forward. We were going to write our own constitution and have a seat on the college council, and things were going to be different. We had some wins around things like the food in the cafeteria, and the opening hours of the health service, but in retrospect, nothing major changed.[201]

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[199] *NTC Calendar 1968*, 190.
[200] See for example the cooperation on the change to the entrance of the new college detailed above; see "Somebody Goofed," *Altjiringa 1974*, 22-27.
[201] Interview 21_S_M1972.

Figure 5.9. College Revue, 1973.[202]

This sense of optimism, and ultimate disillusionment was a common theme in terms of the student representation in the period. There were different masters, but the key decisions were rarely influenced by student activity.

Conclusion

The importance of external forces was paramount in this period of the NTC. The first of these forces was the requirements of higher education legislation which transformed the nature of the sector, and the funding and reporting arrangements of all teachers colleges nation-wide. Secondly, there was a significant societal shift which changed the outlook of the students and to some degree the staff. The changes in student and staff attitudes were prevalent in theoretical positions and within internal college structures, however, the College remained a primarily conservative establishment through this period and in practice there was little devolution of decision making. In some cases, the courses and curriculum showed a moderate change with the adoption of a new social agenda, but overall conservatism ruled while some individuals possessed more socially progressive tendencies. From the late 1960s onwards this

[202] Photo courtesy of Ms Debbie Campbell, Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.

started to change and sections of the College, notably in the areas of educational sociology, educational theory, and the humanities, begin to exhibit more radical tendencies in line with student pressure, epistemological shifts and world-wide events.

Nevertheless, themes which had been significant throughout the history of teacher preparation, and vocational education up to 1954, continued to be significant during this 21-year period. The concepts of pragmatism, cultural transmission, internal and external agencies of control, and the adoption of foreign ideas and processes were again influential in the development of NTC in this period.

The pragmatic nature of teacher preparation was again evidenced through this period. The change from two to three-year courses was implemented not because of the need for improved training within the department, but for primarily pragmatic reasons. Despite the urging of College staff and the recommendation of three government reports, it took a revolution in funding to bring about the change. Likewise, the College itself initially resisted the change proposing the development of a one year "conversion" to minimize the impact on its existing courses, again only changing direction when required by the Advanced Education Board. The same can also be said for the gradual change in the contents of the educational courses, particularly within the sociology of education field. The financial freedom which underpinned the transformation of the educational context, through federal funding and free higher education, produced more change in the last five years of the period than had occurred during its first sixteen.

The theme of cultural transmission which was heavily represented in the early years of the period the College underwent some transformation itself during this period of the College's development. While the College remained involved in the work that Connell would describe as part of the personal behaviour tradition, the nature of that training changed. Not only did the students start to 'push back' on the involvement of the College in their lives away from the College they also started to work towards changing the culture which was dominant in the College itself. The College structures were working towards changing themselves from being instruments of cultural transmission to being instruments of cultural transformation, and while some areas were only at the fledgling stages of this development by 1974, many individuals within the College were at the forefront of the cultural transformation. The higher education sector had generally embraced the Labor Party slogan of the 1972 election "Its

time", and after 23 years of conservative Federal government, the perception was that society was on the move.

Individuals within the College were at the vanguard of this movement, and the College itself was affected by these individuals and this influence was to have increasing importance during the following years detailed in the next section of this thesis where this cultural metamorphosis continued. The adoption of foreign educational processes and movements which had been important prior to 1954 also continued in the period up to 1974. The progressive educational movements of the period influenced pedagogy and curriculum within the College, and while there were certainly areas which remained traditional in their outlook, the College by and large was moving towards a new way of working.

It was in the area of self-governance which overtly had had the most significant changes, where the least actual change took place. While the NTC was now theoretically an independent body, and could set its own agendas, courses and structures through its Council and Academic Board, the reality was little had actually changed by the end of 1974. The Department of Education, as the primary employment destination of the NTC's students, and the sole employer of the NTC staff throughout the period, retained significant control over NTC. The staff were still employed by the NSW Education Department rather than the College, and the students were still bonded to the Department. All this however, was up for negotiation as the new board started to find its feet.

While the first full college board make up and final proclamation was to be made in 1975, the establishment of a governing council for the new NTC in 1974 marked a watershed in the history of the institution. Many of the same issues which had been present in the College from its foundation, and indeed present in teacher education since the Fort Street Model School days, were still active in NTC, however there were significant changes ahead. There were changes in reporting and governance structures, financial models and funding sources, and course approval processes. The autonomy which the Martin Report had recommended, and that the *Higher Education Act* had insisted upon, was coming to fruition at NTC. The relationship with the Department had changed and the stage was set for the diversification of courses into new realms of vocational education, and a change in the nature of the education provided by NTC.

Chapter Six
The Diversification of NTC: 1975-1989

> I am not sure what it was. If it was the size of the place or the extra courses offered but the ethos of the place changed. We were trying to become more worldly by chasing all these shiny ideas… masters degrees, special education centres and health studies, and we did to an extent, but we ended up also being more remote from each other and from the students.[1]

Introduction

The College underwent a period of significant diversification from 1975 to 1989. NTC was officially transformed from a teachers college to a College of Advanced Education (CAE) at the beginning of the period, and gradually added a number of vocational courses to the existing teacher preparation and in-service courses. The College grew substantially during the period, and its internal structures and external reporting mechanisms were also modified to handle this change and, as was the case for earlier periods, this was attributable to both internal and external factors. Internally, the foundation principal retired in 1975, and the College had two principals during the next fourteen years. Individual lecturers influenced the College and were responsible for significant variations in instructional methods and program emphases. Administratively, individuals were influential in the period and the new principals and council members brought changes to the organisational focus. The big changes however were driven by external forces.

The addition of health education and other vocational courses recommended by the Martin Report changed the focus of the College from exclusively teacher preparation to a broader vocationally oriented approach. The vocational approach also influenced the existing teaching courses with a more practical focus returning to the pre-service teaching course during the period. As was common across the sector, the links between the College and the NSW Department of School Education were transformed, and the changes in funding

[1] Interview 6_A_M1971.

arrangements were also solidified during the period. This influenced college dynamics along with the complete elimination of teaching 'bonds' for the mainstream teacher preparation cohorts. New links were forged with other vocational employers, and the relationships with nurse practitioner groups and welfare accreditation bodies changed not only the College's interaction with those groups but also influenced the dynamics of the College's interaction with teaching accreditation bodies.

Further, the student body became more diverse in the period, their level of interaction with the College changed and many more students had other responsibilities to attend to during their studies. Employment and childcare responsibilities became more prominent across the period. The on-campus students continued their push for increased involvement in college administration, and the staff participation in administration became more effective during the period. The importance of Connell's 'personal behaviour training' was still present but even further entrenched with professional practice courses. It became part of the expectations of professional behaviour rather than personal behaviours, and the distinction, while still often confusing to students, became clearer to staff.

The period is bookended by two amalgamations. One in 1975 with the local Art School where the College became the senior partner, and the other in 1989 which ended the College's existence as an independent institution. In the late 1980s, the College began to position itself for the inevitable amalgamation with the neighbouring University. In line with CAEs across the country, the resistance to any form of amalgamation with other institutions gave way to a shoring up of the College's position and negotiating for the best deal in a pragmatic sense for its staff, its students, and to a certain extent, its culture.

Sector-Wide Initiatives, Developments and Changes

By the mid-1970s the three sectors of post-secondary education were firmly cemented in the landscape. The university sector and the advanced education colleges, which now included all of the previously state-based teachers colleges were fully federally funded, with states still having a more substantial role in funding technical education, for example through the

network of technical colleges in NSW.[2] Federal funding was organised initially through three commissions, one for each sector, however these were gradually unified. The government announced the abolition of the University and CAE Commissions and developed the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC).[3] Thus by 1977 all three sectors were again unified through the creation of the more centralised TEC with separate sub-committees for each group and the allocation of funds was to individual institutions rather than generally to the sector.[4]

In terms of university funding, this continued very much as before. The new TEC followed the patterns established by its predecessor, the Australian Universities Commission. Three main factors shaped funding:

- the total student load expressed as broad planning ranges;
- the distribution of students across disciplines and the size of each faculty;
- the provision required for research and the necessary administrative and other services.[5]

In the advanced education sector, the TEC had a greater control. It determined both the total number of students to be accepted into advanced education courses and the institutions they attended. They also worked with the state governments to determine which programs and general areas of study the funded positions were allocated. As with the universities, the recommendations were generally accepted, as they were formulated with a close working knowledge of the overall budgets available and the traditional patterns of expenditure from previous years. Again, whilst the funding was generally given as a 'block grant' with the specific institution having freedom to make internal allocations as they saw fit, the application process required by the CAE sub-committee was so detailed that specific courses were mentioned in funding applications and therefore had at least a hypothetical precedence.[6]

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[2] D.S. Anderson, K.J. Batt, D.G. Beswick, G.S. Harman, and C.S. Smith, *Regional Colleges: A study of Non-metropolitan Colleges of Advances Education in Australia. Vol 1-3* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1975), 25.
[3] This is also referred to as the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission during its early stages of development, however the abbreviation TEC will be used here for consistency.
[4] The last of the individual commissions to be abolished was the Technical and Further Education Commission in June 1977. "Higher Education Agreement with the States", *Higher Education Funding 1973* (Australian Parliament), 1, accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.aph.gov.au/sitecore/content/Home/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/archive/hefunding?print=1 .
[5] "Higher Education Agreement," 1.
[6] Submission for Triennium funding, 1979, NTC Academic Board Minutes, 1978, March AB:73B.

The programs of study and individual courses developed showed that the CAEs took a broad interpretation of their role in higher education. The bulk of courses in the early stages of their development were primarily dictated by the original purpose of the specific CAE. CAEs which had been formulated based on Institutes of Technology continued with that focus until the mid-seventies when virtually all CAEs added teacher education to their suite of programs in one form or another. The CAEs whose existence had begun as Teachers Colleges often had that as the core of their business until well into the 1980s. The survey of selected CAEs conducted in 1978 identified that the key programs were in the areas of Technology and Applied Science, Art and Design, Business Studies, General Studies, and Teacher Education, with many of the courses being offered initially at the Diploma level and later the Bachelor level.[7] In some states, for example Victoria, CAEs maintained a strong Technical Education presence into the 1970s as the distinction between "Institutes of Technology" and "Technical Colleges" had been less sharply defined. In NSW, the tendency had been to keep the 'technical and apprenticeship' courses within the well-established technical education sector, which, being more clearly defined, was absorbed as a complete and independent entity into the advanced education system as it had been elsewhere.[8]

Approval of courses was now seen as more problematic, largely because the approvers were more distant from the course delivery. Prior to 1975, programs of study and initiatives for new courses had to be approved through state controlling bodies. This had been seen as difficult, with most of the college principals surveyed in 1974 arguing that the state bodies had too much control. They reported that programs sent for approval were usually returned for modification, with one principal reporting that there were "controls at every conceivable level".[9] Yet this was nothing compared to the processes developed through the TEC. Courses had to be approved at an additional level and both Federal and State approval was required for many courses. This was especially the case in teacher education as the federal higher education authorities and instrumentalities approved the courses in terms of funding arrangements, and the state authorities approved a course in terms of the accreditation of course and individual student's teaching status. In theory the abolition of the bonding of students and state funding of teacher education courses broke the nexus between state

[7] Tim Fishburn, *The Regional College: Number 1. A directory: A study of Nine Regional Colleges* (Bathurst: Mitchell College of Advanced Education, 1978), WI28.
[8] For more detail on this see Tracy Bradford, "Second Chance Not Second Best. A History of TAFE NSW 1949-1997" (PhD diss., University of Technology, 2010).
[9] Anderson et al., *Regional Colleges,* 72.

government and control of educational courses, the reality was that as the largest employer, the states retained considerable control of curriculum and course development. This was further exacerbated through the arrangements for continuity of employment for existing college staff in the period of transitioning to become a CAE. In NSW, in those institutes where a teachers college was to become a CAE, the existing staff had the 'right' to continue their employment at the new institution.[10] While some elected to return to the schools and remain in the teaching service, the majority stayed in the jobs that they had held, in some cases for decades, and thus there was little change or incentive for change within the new structures.

However, the new structures did have specific and immediate consequences. First, the increased administrative load required an increase in administrative support. The increasing diversity of the courses offered, and the increased cost of compliance, with triannual funding models and federal and state reporting requirements, also resulted in a need for additional administrative structures. Second, the increased availability of 'free' higher education places allowed for an increase in course duration. Just as the courses of Wilkins in the 1880s had pragmatically been kept short to make them affordable, the same had been true of many courses in the 60s and early 70s. The new individual and institutional funding models potentially changed that.

These funding changes led to an increased diversity of courses and an increased length of existing courses. Technical education, visual arts and manual arts teachers undertook courses which stretched out to four and sometimes five years. The Higher Education Board moved to insist on an educational model for teachers that included three years plus an additional two years of part-time study.[11] Primary courses which had been extended to three years duration in the early 1970s now had options to allow for an addition two-year specialisation in Special Education. Courses were available in multicultural and Aboriginal education as well as in

[10] The process of continuity of employment was largely adopted owing to staff resistance. Two teachers colleges in NSW, Bathurst and Wagga Wagga, had become centres for the rural CAEs prior to the more general incorporation and there had been general positional spills, which both federal and state government were keen to avoid; see Elwyn Elphick, *The College on the Hill: A History of Armidale Teachers' College and Armidale CAE, 1929-1989* (Armidale: UNE press, 1989), 287

[11] Graham Boardman, Arthur Barnes, Beverley Fletcher, Brian Fletcher, Geoffrey Sherington, and Cliff Turney, *Sydney Teachers College: A History 1906-1981*, (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger,1995), 179; Cliff Turney and Judy Taylor, *To Enlighten Them Our Task: A History of Teacher Education at Balmain and Kuring-Gai Colleges, 1946-1990* (Sydney: Sydmac Academic Press,1996), 177.

diverse master's specialisations.[12] In-service traditions which had started in the 1950s and 60s continued to grow in the 1970s, with a plethora of courses available in the larger institutes. Advances in technology allowed the development of additional resources for distance learning, and this also led to an increase in opportunities and enrolments. The increase in student numbers and the transformation of the support that students required had a significant impact on the CAEs. As noted above the student numbers had continued to grow through the 1970s, and by the mid-1980s, the number of students in the CAE sector almost matched that of the university sector.[13]

Despite problems with new course approval processes, the 1970s and 1980s saw many new initiatives in courses and programs within the CAEs. The most obvious developments were in two areas. The first was in areas where new technology or new focuses on educational opportunities did not have established educational patterns. In areas such a computing, there were no educational traditions and it was initially not clear exactly how courses in this area would develop or which sector in the higher education field would develop them. Ultimately there were courses in both practical and theoretical aspects of these types of emerging technologies offered at both CAEs and universities.[14] In areas such as business, the universities had been slow to recognise emerging areas of study and extensive programs in certain fields were initiated through the 1980s. While Economics was firmly within the ambit of the university, Accounting or Commerce were more difficult to position.[15]

The second area of growth was in courses where professional groups sought to either place their training on a more professional footing or ensure that their students were able to access funding opportunities to guarantee that the training was cost effective. Often both objectives were discussed in the rhetoric around the change. The most obvious example of this type of development was the transition of nurse education to the higher education sector.

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[12] Elphick, *The College on the Hill* 263; Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, 177.

[13] This was despite a reduction in funded places in the late 1970s after the Whitlam years. Andrew Norton, *Mapping Australian Higher Education*, (Melbourne: Gratton Institute, 2014), 20; Michael Long, Peter Carpenter and Martian Hayden, *Participation in Education and Training 1980-1994* (Camberwell Victoria: ACER 1999), ix-x.

[14] See Fishburn, *The Regional College*, for examples of the types of courses developed and their locations.

[15] For example, the development of Accounting courses is discussed in Elaine Evans and Roger Juchau, *Colleges of Advanced Education in Australia: A lasting Legacy. A history of accounting education in Australian Colleges of Advanced Education* (Berlin: VDM, 2009).

In 1970 there had been a NSW inquiry into nurse training, which had advocated the development of 'post-basic' nurse training.[16] The 'basic' model was a similar apprenticeship model as had been present in educational circles in the early 19th Century.[17] The standard method of nurse training had long been embedded in teaching hospitals and nurses were then accredited by relevant state authorities after this internship.[18] As early as 1975 there had been courses such as the Associate Diploma of Nurse Education offered by Armidale CAE, and its 1978 Associate Diploma in Nursing Studies. In Sydney, the NSW College of Nursing had offered a postgraduate course, and some CAEs such as Kuring-gai offered courses associated with nursing such as "Legal Studies for Nursing Practice".[19] During the 1970s the state and national Nursing Associations had moved to present a more unified approach to nurse education, with the report "Goals of Nursing Education" being produced through a national effort in 1975.[20] The report recommended a move from the hospital-based training system to a system embedded in the tertiary education system. Initially the report was slow to gain momentum, with many medical associations not supporting the move, however in 1983, the NSW Minister for Health, Laurie Brereton, announced that all basic nurse education would be moved to tertiary institutions in NSW by January 1985. The following year the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, announced that a similar transfer would take place nation-wide, with all nurse training to be transferred to the CAE sector prior to 1990.[21]

The End of the Binary System

While the Martin Report had seen a clear distinction between the role of the advanced colleges and the universities, it soon became clear that this distinction was problematic in practice. The Martin Report's 'professional' and 'practical' division was always confusing, as some professional areas, such as law and medicine, were never really considered as potential

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[16] Bob Bessant, "Milestones in Australian Nursing," *Collegian Journal* 6, No.4 (1999): i-iii.; Gillian Dooley, *The Transfer of Australian Nursing Education from Hospitals to Tertiary Institutions: An Annotated Bibliography* (Bedford Park, South Australia: South Australian College of Advanced Education Library, 1990).
[17] Grant Harman, David Beswick and Hillary Schofield, *The Amalgamation of Colleges of Advanced Education at Ballarat and Bendigo* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1985), 46.
[18] Bessant, "Milestones in Australian Nursing," 3.
[19] Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, 176; Australian College of Nursing, "From the Beginning… The History of the Australian College of Nursing," accessed 15 May, 2018, https://www.acn.edu.au/about-us/our-history.
[20] Christine Duffield, "Nursing in Australia Comes of Age!," *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 23, no. 4 (1986): 284; Bessant, "Milestones in Australian Nursing," 3.
[21] Bessant, "Milestones in Australian Nursing," 3.

areas for expansion or appropriation by the CAEs. Similarly, there were no real moves by universities to move into the 'sub-degree' educational provision, regardless of the content area.[22] In many areas the territory was hotly disputed.

Table 6.1. Students Enrolled at Colleges of Advanced Education by Course Level: 1974-77.[23]

Degree Level	1974	1975	1976	1977	Change in enrolment 74-77
Master Degree	188	312	441	534	346
Graduate Diploma	6832	8432	9871	11702	4870
Bachelor Degree	28904	37700	46197	57086	28182
Diploma	62492	65522	69365	62489	-3
Associate Diploma	8786	10591	8740	8501	-285
Total	107202	122557	134614	140312	33110

As can be seen in Table 6.1 above, the growth in enrolments at CAEs during the mid-70s was exclusively in the Bachelor, Graduate and Masters areas, with the Associate Diploma and Diploma areas reversing the general growth trend in the sector and showing declining enrolment. The areas which were common to the CAEs and the University sector showed the most growth, with this growth being driven by colleges moving their courses from Diploma to Bachelor level. The relationship between the colleges and the universities, however, was not seen as problematic by either, as in both cases they saw that their expansion pathways as defined, and they kept proposing courses to the TEC, and those courses continued to be approved. The federal government however saw this as a resourcing issue, and as the funds for the higher education sector dried up in the mid-1980s, the problem was brought to a head. The situation continued to the point where universities were increasingly developing courses which had "alternate pathways" to university studies, and colleges saw themselves as the sole providers of courses at all levels in the professional sphere.[24] Education and engineering were the areas which led to the most difficult discussions, and in some cases there were identical

[22] John Biggs, "The University of Newcastle: Prelude to Dawkins," in *The Subversion of Australian Universities,* eds. John Biggs and Richard Davis (Wollongong: Fund for Intellectual Dissent, 2002),128.
[23] Australian Government: Department of Education, Training and Employment, *The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training: Volume 1* (The Williams Report) (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1979), 239.
[24] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 177.

courses being offered by different 'types' of institutions located only kilometres apart. Examples of this are the engineering courses at RMIT and Melbourne University, and the diploma of education courses which developed and had existed side-by-side at many institutions since the 1970s, for example, at Sydney CAE and Sydney University.[25]

Unusually, the Australian higher education system implemented a change which preceded a similar change in the United Kingdom.[26] The Federal Government, based on the Dawkins Green Paper of 1987,[27] moved to create a single unified national higher education system. While this would largely be achieved through the amalgamation of various CAEs with either each other or with existing universities, in some cases new universities were created or based on CAEs. The upshot was that by the early 1990s CAEs had disappeared from the higher education landscape. Institutions which had either a geographic or political connection with an existing University, commenced discussion on amalgamation. In many cases the amalgamations had been discussed on previous occasions, and in other cases, the concept was as new as it was abhorrent. [28] In all cases the financial imperative was such that there was no practical way that any CAE could survive under the new funding model, as the new funding model had no place for the CAEs. Likewise, those CAEs which had no logical University merger partners could look forward to a transformation in status from a CAE to a University in the same way that polytechnics in the UK were later transformed. The success of these mergers and amalgamations was varied, however in all cases the existing CAEs continued in some form as part of an enlarged or newly formed University.[29] The process of identifying who would be funded as higher education institutions was completed by 1988, and the list of

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[25] Stuart Macintyre and Richard Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne* (Carlton, Vic: University of Melbourne Press, 2003), 145-146; Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 173.

[26] While a number of UK University colleges had been promoted directly to University status following the Robbins report, the final abolition of the Binary system in the UK did not come till the implementation of *The Further and Higher Education Act* in 1992 which promoted the polytechnics and Scottish central institutions to universities, accessed May 16, 2019, http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1992/13.

[27] John Dawkins, *Higher Education: A Policy Discussion Paper (Green Paper)* (Canberra Australian Government Publication Service, 1987).

[28] Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 173-176; Don Wright, *Looking Back: A History of the University of Newcastle* (Callaghan: The University of Newcastle,1992), 144-145; and Elphick, *The College on the Hill*, 286.

[29] In some cases the mergers were ultimately successful, such as the University of Sydney and Sydney CAE, or University of Queensland and the Gatton Campus, in some cases the CAE took a different path than initially envisaged, such as the Northern Rivers CAE which was originally to join University of New England but ended up part of the Southern Cross University, or Canberra CAE which went on to become the University of Canberra in its own right. For more of the outcomes and processes here, see Arran Gare, "The Neo-liberal Assault on Australian Universities and the Future of Democracy: the philosophical failure of a nation," *Concrescence: the Australasian Journal of Process Thought* 17, no.1 (2006): 20-30, or Simon Marginson and Mark Considine, *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

fully funded state institutions in the 1988 final implementation of the *Higher Education Funding Act* included 39 Universities.[30]

The Development of NTC

The NTC once again grew rapidly during this period. By 1989 the college staff had grown to more than 600 and the student numbers stood at more than 4,400.[31] The *Colleges of Advanced Education Act* had placed NTC on a consistent legislative footing, and the finalisation of the College Council under its own by-laws in 1976 further consolidated this position.[32]The College worked towards the diversification of its offerings and generally expanded in both educational and vocational courses. The College added courses around specific technologies and new areas of studies, and these included business, computing, and administration. NTC was also active in expanding the offerings of additional vocational courses such as those in health and welfare. However, the earliest additions were those courses that the College had acquired as part of the merger with the Newcastle Arts School. The structural solution in this case was simple, and the College just added a department, the Department of Art, to the list of departments, and made no other structural changes.[33]

This was seen as a mixed blessing for the staff and students who had been 'merged' from the Newcastle Branch of the National Arts School as they retained some level of independence but had little say in the overall college. The internal structure remained centred on departments throughout the period, and the groupings of those departments varied slightly during the time. The departments, schools and boards all reported through various internal mechanisms to the College Council, whose make up remained a mix of ministerial appointments, elected staff and students and the principal officers of the College.

Initially there were internal boards of studies which controlled the various qualifications on offer, and this was eventually to move to a school structure. In 1980 there were three

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[30] *Higher Education Funding Act Section 4- Institutions*, accessed May 16, 2019, http://www8.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/viewdoc/au/legis/cth/consol_act/hefa1988221/s4.html; Interestingly the Catholic colleges nationwide elected to form a single body, as 'Australian Catholic University'.
[31] *Hunter Institute of Higher Education: Highlights of our 40 year history* (Newcastle: Hunter Institute Print, 1989), 4.
[32] *Colleges of Advanced Education Act, 1975*, NSW legislation accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/acts/1975-11.pdf.
[33] *NTC Calendar 1976*, 22.

schools. The School of Education was the largest of the three and covered the education courses that had traditionally been offered by the College and the expanding offerings in this field. This included primary, secondary and music education and had the areas of special education and Technical and Further Education (TAFE) added to the fold. The School of Paramedical and Community Welfare was the next largest in size, and it incorporated nursing education, studies in social welfare and medical radiography. The smallest school, the School of Visual and Performing Arts, was primarily responsible for the studies in art inherited through the amalgamation and also included some postgraduate diplomas.[34] In practice these last two schools had relatively few students and even less say in the general running of the College for most of the period. The College was dominated by the teaching courses and staff until the very end of the 1980s. By 1986, following approval from the Higher Education Board, the structure had changed to a four-school model. The School of Paramedical and Welfare Studies was split in two and became the School of Administration and Technology, and the School of Health Studies. The School of Education became the School of Education and Humanities in the lead up to amalgamation.

The courses offered were still primarily diploma courses and whilst there was a gradual transition to degree courses, the progress was slow. The first bachelor course was approved in 1975 in Industrial Arts, however even by 1989 students were still making their way through the shorter Diploma of Teaching Programs. The courses in health areas particularly grew and by the end of the period the Diploma in Applied Science (Nursing) was the largest single course in the College. Importantly however, students in the education disciplines still made up the bulk of the student numbers.[35]

The reporting structure and approval structures for courses were now completely external, as were the funding models. All courses and programs were now subject to approval initially through the Advanced Education Board and later through the Higher Education Board. The funding was divorced from this approval process, and was initially managed through the Advanced Education Commission, but eventually came under the auspices of the Advanced Education Council (AEC), a section of TEC.[36] The specific requests however were directed

[34] *NTC Calendar 1980*, 22.
[35] See for example student graduation lists for 1989 and 1990, *NTC Calendar 1989*, 166-182 and *University of Newcastle Calendar 1990* 10, 144-160 which lists the graduating students from NTC for 1989.
[36] "Nursing Wing a Tribute to Principal," *Newcastle Morning Herald (NMH),* April 23 1985, 4.

to the NSW Higher Education Board, as proposals for specific triennium funding periods.[37] The formal annual reports of the College were submitted under the signatures of both the Principal and the Council President and directed to the State Minister for Education. The College also maintained a symbiotic relationship with the NSW Department of Education. The College always prided itself on its close links to the Department, and most staff remained members of the Lecturers' Association which was part of the Teachers Federation. They saw themselves as teachers. While a number of the colleges, and notably the neighbouring University, had moved to a more independent stance regarding admission to their postgraduate teaching qualifications, the College maintained its pragmatic link to the NSW Department. Even in the last year of its existence, the College Calendar proudly announced that: "it is the Institute's practice that all graduates should meet employment criteria set by the N.S.W. Department of Education."[38]

The College also experienced considerable physical growth during this period. The main building was extended in the mid-1980s through the addition of two extra sections. The largest extension was the addition of some 25 lecturers' offices and significant teaching space which was designed to cater for the growth in Nursing and Health students during the late 1980s. The first stage, opened in April 1985, was named the 'Richardson Wing' in recognition of the recently deceased Principal, Dr Edward Richardson. The administrative space of the College was also too small right from the outset. The 1977 funding request highlighting the problem that the administration area had been planned for a teachers college not an independent CAE. The staffing, admissions, and other administrative support which had previously be supplied through the Department of Education in Sydney now needed to be supplied locally. A new administration building ultimately to be named after the 1986 President of Council, Margaret Bowman, was funded through the 1997 funding grants, as was an extension to the library. Interestingly, the funding for the library extensions were seconded by the staff to secure the relocation of some of the portables from Union Street to the Shortland site. They would become additional office space for staff and helped to offset the office shortage in the early days of the College. The relocation of all the staff from Union Street and from the Art School site was completed with the addition of the Visual Arts buildings, which contained space for sculpture, painting and a gallery space. A Student Union

[37] See for example The Proposals for the 1979/81 Triennium, dated 25th October, 1977, within the folio, NTC Academic Board Minutes, 1978. Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.
[38] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 101.

building was added in 1984 and the Special Education Centre which had been established in the late 1970s, was further extended in 1980.[39]

The physical space of the campus was also expanding in other ways. The College developed an 'outpost' at the Newcastle TAFE to assist the Department of TAFE to deliver courses to TAFE teachers, and the College was also was involved with the University in the establishment of courses at Ourimbah and a Myall Lakes study centre [40] The Department of Visual Arts offered courses in the Upper Hunter, and the Department of Education continued to travel to offer in-service courses in regional locations.[41]

The development of the physical campus and the increasing diversity of students at the College intersected with a ground breaking project in the early 1980s. The NTC first became interested in the development of Aboriginal support systems for their Indigenous students in the early 1980s as the number of such students within courses began to rise. The idea of an Aboriginal enclave originated with the student union in conjunction with Indigenous students and elders and developed into a proposal for a separate structure by 1984.[42] $40,000 dollars were allocated to the Aboriginal support group to run the project in 1984 from the Federal Government's Community Employment Program (CEP).[43] An additional grant of $250,000 dollars was offered to the group as part of national bicentennial funding, however the Awabakal Co-operative recommended the rejection of the funding owing to the association of the money with the bicentennial celebration of colonisation, which the group saw as something which should not be celebrated.[44] The funds were eventually found to allow the construction of a separate Aboriginal Education and Resource Centre which was named 'Wollotuka' and the management committee included both Indigenous students and representatives from the local Indigenous communities.[45] Wollotuka was a significant step undertaken by the College which steadily flourished in an area of need over the ensuing years.

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[39] "Work begins on NCAE Union Building," *NMH,* 2 July, 1983; "Centre needs $40,000," *NMH,* 4 July, 1980.
[40] *NTC Campus News* 20, no. 4, (November, 1983): 1; *NTC Campus News* 10, no. 2, (February, 1989): 4.
[41] *NTC Campus News* 7, no. 1, (July, 1986): 1; Interview 73_B_M1976.
[42] "Aboriginal Enclave," *NMH,* 5 December 1984.
[43] "Aboriginal Enclave," *NMH.*
[44] The bicentennial celebration was seen as problematic by many people throughout Australia, and Australia day in 1988 was renamed 'Invasion Day' and was the subject of protests nation-wide; "Awabakal Group rejects $250,000 grant," *NMH*, 2 September 1986.
[45] *NCAE Annual Report 1987,* 7.

If the relationships between the University and the NTC had been generally cordial during the preceding twenty years, the same cannot be said for the period from 1975 through to the amalgamation. The two areas which drove this conflict were the same issues which had been present in the University-Teachers College conflict since the first days of education courses in universities. The issue was of educational authority.

The Relationship with the University

In terms of its relationship with the University of Newcastle, the College was increasingly concerned about the development of the University's studies in education encroaching on their domain. The University of Newcastle had developed courses in education during the late 1960s. Laurie Short was appointed as the first Professor of Education in 1969 and Professor John Biggs was appointed the inaugural Dean of the newly founded Faculty of Education in 1976.[46] The NTC, as a degree granting institution, could now complete all its content courses 'in-house' and graduate teachers with bachelor degrees. They also continued their end-on programs designed to prepare University graduates in various disciplines for the teaching service. Meanwhile the University had added an 'end-on' diploma of education to its undergraduate courses and expanded its other post graduate offerings. There was clearly overlap between the two institutions and it was this overlap which was to prove problematic.

The first suggestion for amalgamation came from Professor Laurie Short in 1971. Unhappy at the prospect of a new federally funded institution operating on virtually the same campus as a CAE, he proposed that the College be 'incorporated' into the University.[47] While Short was invested in this process, not least because 70% of the students in the Faculty of Arts were attending on teachers college scholarships, the rest of the University remained unconvinced. The usual arguments were advanced, with the University citing 'lower' academic standards within NTC courses and qualifications of the teachers college staff. The NTC in turn raised the lack of understanding of University staff of vocational education and their lack of 'real world' or teaching experience. These arguments were to form the basis of the lack of progress in this area for the next two decades. It seems clear that right from the outset, the

[46] Greg Preston and Jenifer Gore, *Celebrating 60 Years of Teacher Education,* (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 2009), 4.
[47] Wright, *Looking Back,* 120.

clash was not about personalities, but about the basic philosophy of education, with the balance between Connell's 'tradition of general education' and 'training tradition' being at the fore in these discussions. In any case, all parties had both a genuine belief in the superiority of their approach to teacher education, and a keen eye on the pragmatic implications of 'win' for the other side. [48]

The revival of the initiative was as a joint proposal of Duncan and Short in 1973, and it proved equally unpopular in both quarters, for the same reasons raised two years earlier. The late 1970s saw a revival of interest in the rationalisation of higher education resources. The Higher Education Board specifically requested that the two institutions review their operations with a view to rationalising resources and in 1977 a Senate Committee suggested increased cooperation and the centralisation of some physical resources such as computers.[49] The following year there was a local report on Higher Education in the Hunter Valley, the 1978 Butland Report, and it identified issues, and some potential solutions including the transference of all pre-service teacher preparation courses to the NTC, but ultimately things continued as before.[50]

The 1981 merger proposals were, however, much more serious. The Prime Minister, Malcom Fraser, first identified the expectation of selected mergers in April 1981, and followed this up with more detailed background and a specific proposal as part of the Tertiary Education Commission Report for the 1982-84 funding period.[51] Both the University and the College were immediately opposed to the concept, and there were joint protests arranged by the Lecturers' Association, and the University Staff Association, which resulted in "the most successful demonstration ever arranged from the University".[52] The 'success' was clearly being measured in attendance rather than outcome, as the Federal Government continued with its proposal and introduced legislation which would jointly fund the two institutions from 1 January 1983. Both parties established models for the proposed amalgamation and there was considerable lobbying of federal and state ministers. While there was a joint

[48] Wright, *Looking Back,* 120-1.
[49] Report of the Senate Committee to Consider the Rationalisation of Resources for Higher Education, folio AB10598, University of Newcastle.
[50] Review of the Committee established by the Higher Education Board to review the Future Development of Higher Education in the Hunter Region March 1978 (Butland Report), Academic Board Folio 1978-80, AB10599; Wright, *Looking Back,* 145.
[51] Wright, *Looking Back,* 153.
[52] Wright, *Looking Back*, 155.

statement on 'broad principles' for the amalgamation issued through a high-level communique, there was little common ground.[53]

A change in federal government put a stop to the immediate amalgamation plans, but the question of the relationship between the institutes was still vexed and rationalisation of resources was expected by the federal government. The two institutions were required to make a joint submission to the TEC in 1985, and in effect that submission showed that they had made virtually no progress in terms of rationalisation. Both the Chair of the Universities Council, Professor D.N. Dunbar, and Dr. G.A. Ramsey, the Chair of the Advanced Education Council, were not convinced that the rationalisation attempts were genuine and demanded more action.[54] The University responded with concessions in the area of pre-service training and agreed to move the Diploma in Education program to the College by the end of 1990. The NTC interestingly gave ground in various areas of health training that they had not yet commenced as well as in relation to some of its masters courses.[55] The NTC was generally pleased with this, but also suspected that it was an indication of things to come. To say that the University education staff were unimpressed would be a severe understatement, and the battle between the University Council and Senate on this issue, and the misgivings of the NTC staff, were again overtaken by external factors.[56] The Federal Minister for Education John Dawkins issued a 'green paper' in 1987 which outlined the government's position on mergers, especially where the institutions had contiguous campuses.[57] As had been the case with the transition of Teachers Colleges to CAEs, the proposal's financial imperative made it logistically impossible for any institution to stand outside the new funding model, and the NTC and University, through a plethora of working parties and amalgamation meetings reached a situation that neither side was happy with. There was a joint press conference given in late 1989 attended by executives from the three institutions, as seen in Figure 6.1, although Huxley had been closely involved in the discussions, he sent his deputy, Dr Eastcott, to the formal ceremony.

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[53] *A Statement of Agreement of Broad principles for the Amalgamation of the University and the College, 30 June, 1982* (University of Newcastle, 1982). See also Wright, *Looking Back,* 155.
[54] Wright, *Looking Back,* 198.
[55] Wright, *Looking Back*, 199; NTC Council Meeting minutes,1986-7; *NTC Campus News* 7, no. 20, (October, 1987): 1.
[56] "Rationalising the Diploma," *NMH,* October 13 1986; "University's Case for the Dip Ed," *NMH,* 22 October, 1986.
[57] Dawkins, *Green Paper*.

Figure 6.1. Amalgamation Press Conference, 31 October, 1989. University Vice Chancellor, Professor Keith Morgan (seated right), Dr Les Eastcott, Deputy Principal of the NTC (seated left) and Professor Michael Dudman, Dean of the Newcastle Conservatorium of Music (standing).[58]

The *Higher Education Amalgamation Act 1989* in Part 5 Section 11, Subsection 1, stated quite simply: "The Hunter Institute is abolished, and its Council is dissolved".[59] With the proclamation of that bill the independent institution of the NTC ceased to be, and the staff, students and assets were transferred to the University of Newcastle, which itself was now governed by the new *University of Newcastle Act (1989).*

College Staff

The foundation college principal Mr Griff Duncan retired on 27 March 1975 and was replaced temporarily by his deputy Mr Gordon Elliot.[60] Elliot had been a lecturer at NTC for more the twenty years at the time, and his background was in educational studies. Elliot had expressed no interest in taking on the role on a

[58] Photo credit Mr John Freund. Photo contained in folio B16453, Newcastle University Archives.
[59] *Higher Education Amalgamation Act, 1989*.
[60] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 11.

permanent basis, and while he had deputised for Duncan during several absences during the early 1970s, he did not see himself as a person who would enjoy the top job. In practice the caretaker role was effectively filled by three senior staff from the College: Gordon Elliot, Ted Crago who was appointed Deputy Principal, and Bert Wood, the Head of the English Department.[61] As one of the interviewees stated: "They effectively ran the College as a modern day triumvirate with Elliot as Caesar. They all had different skills so it was effective in the short-term."[62]

The appointment of the new principal was an opportunity for the council to set a different direction with an 'outside' appointment. Following an international search, the appointment of Dr Edward Richardson was not seen as controversial. Dr Richardson had experience in technical education in the UK, and possessed a Bachelor of Science, a teaching qualification and a PhD from University College in London. Immediately prior to his appointment he had been working as an Associate Professor in the Education Department of Macquarie University in Sydney.

Whilst most staff had seen the previous principal as a cohesive force within the College, the same cannot be said for Richardson. One staff member recalled:

> Eddie was a difficult man to work with. While Griff had been all at ease and oozed personal charm, Eddie was from the North of England and was very direct. It was as much the contrast with Griff that caused him problems.[63]

There is little doubt that his approach was different to Duncan's, however the approach he took to course expansion was at the heart of his lack of popularity. Richardson saw the future of the College in areas other than teaching. He was very keen for NTC to expand into areas including health, journalism, theology, and administrative courses. Of the 28 courses put forward by NTC for introduction in 1979, only three had any links whatsoever to education.[64] They were dominated by occupational therapy, physiotherapy, town planning, and speech pathology.

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[61] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 11.
[62] Interview 23_A_M1974.
[63] Interview 6_A_M1971.
[64] Newcastle College of Advanced Education proposed course development for Introduction in 1979, NTC Academic Board Minutes, 24 April, 1978. AB:78-AB:85.

By this stage the number of new teacher preparation places, funded or otherwise, was shrinking rapidly. The senior College staff were looking to a growth pattern which would assure the College of a significant presence in teacher training for the foreseeable future, and while the new courses in educational administration, curriculum development and educational technology would go some way to assuring this, the current staff thought that more could be done. Staff were worried about continued employment. In practice, favourable industrial agreements and the shortage of resources, ensured that the current staff would continue to be employed, and pragmatism was again to the fore. Staff who had taught high school home economics, lectured into nutrition and dietetics courses, staff from special education taught speech pathology, and by 1986 the School of Health was filled with staff who had been originally employed to teach something vastly different.

The unexpected death of Richardson from a heart attack in October 1984 saw the College return to a more teaching based direction, albeit with an eye on growth.[65] Huxley, who had been appointed to the position of Deputy through a competitive process in 1976, stepped into the vacated Principal's position. Huxley was a former student of NTC having completed his teacher training as part of the first group to graduate from Union Street. He had constantly upgraded his qualifications culminating in the award of a PhD from the University of Newcastle in 1976. Appointed to NTC at the end of the 60s after 16 years' experience teaching in NSW schools, his specialty was English teaching, and he was very much seen as the friendly face to Richardson's less popular style.

Huxley was certainly well liked and capable, however even more than that, he was a known quantity. He had been on Council since the early 80s and was well liked, particularly by Margaret Bowman, the Council President. Just as the previous world-wide search had resulted in the appointment of a candidate from less than 100 kilometres away, the 1984 search resulted in the appointment of Huxley who was clearly 'an insider'. The appointment was met with relief from many of the teachers college staff, as one remembered:

> we were glad when it was announced that Doug [Huxley] had got the top job … It was good [to have] a friendly face back in charge.[66]

The appointment of Ray Hodgins, who had also been at NTC as part of the teacher training group in the early 1970, as Huxley's Deputy left the College in no doubt that the primary

[65] "Head of NCAE dies after heart attack," *NMH* 15 October 1984 .
[66] Interview 32_B_M1953.

focus of NTC was still teacher training. Hodgins retired in 1984, and the final appointment by the Council, continued the trend for the ascendency of those with educational backgrounds. Whilst Les Eastcott, the Deputy appointed in 1984, was certainly a capable and experienced practitioner in the higher education space, he was also a former student of the NTC having completed his training in 1966.[67] Thus in the entire history of the NTC, there was only one principal or vice principal of the College who had not completed educational preparation to be part of the NSW teaching service, and indeed all of the appointments made by the College Council, with the exception of Richardson, were alumni of the College. There was not much diversity in the college leadership and the culture at the top remained consistent despite the transition to an independent college structure.

The College staff had more than tripled during the period 1974 to 1989 with the total staff standing at over 500 by 1989 and they did start to embody more diversity. The academic staff were divided into schools, and within those schools there were departments. Each of these organisational entities had an administrative leader, who was always appointed by the college principal in the early stages of the period and through an application process in the later period. The structure also allowed for academic leaders, known as Principal Lecturers, to be promoted. Thus, the School of Education and Humanities had a overall head of school, and a head of each of the departments of Humanities, Education and Pedagogy.[68] The institute had four heads of school in 1989, and 14 heads of department. The College Council continued to oversee this structure and its makeup remained stable during the period. Of note here was the slight increase in female representation during the period. Following the retirement of Les Gibbs as Council President in 1981, the Minister made a concerted effort to appoint more women to the council and this, combined with the tradition to usually appoint one male and one female as the two representatives from the staff and students groups, led to an improved, but still extremely uneven, gender balance.[69]

Margaret Bowman, who was one of the three presidents of Council that followed Gibbs, took the female representation to the ultimate level by serving five years as Council President, and a further two as Vice President. She was extremely active in college events, an ex-student of

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[67] See Prizes information in *NTC Calendar 1966,* 67.
[68] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 17.
[69] See the *NTC Calendars* 1975-1989; The balance throughout the period was in the order of four females to twelve males. The students were actually more likely to appoint even numbers of males and females than the staff during this period, for example the 1989 staff appointments were both male, with Dr Phil Foreman and Mr James Cramp filling the positions in that year. *NCAE Annual Report 1989.*

the College, and most interestingly was also a member of the University of Newcastle Council during this period.[70] However, Bowman was often the only female on council committees and without her representation there would have been no females at all on important groups such as the Finance or Planning Committees.[71] It was clear that she represented the community, and she saw the College in its current form as part of that community.

There was also significant change in the gender balance in terms of staff during the period, however this was primarily caused by the addition of new areas which appointed substantially more female staff. This was most notable in the area of health studies. Of the four heads of school in 1989, the newly appointed Ms Jenny Graham was the only female. She had been appointed, with expertise in health studies, to replace Faith Trent who had been appointed for her administrative skills as much as her experience in Welfare Studies. Of the 14 heads of department, only two were female, and both of these were in the School of Health. Similarly, the representation on Academic Board was dominated by male appointees through the period. For example, the Academic Board in 1975 had 23 staff as members, and of these four were female. By 1989 the Academic Board had nineteen members again with only four females. All of the females in 1989 were from the School of Health.

The number of staff employed in the administrative area also helped to address the gender balance on campus, if not the balance in terms of college power. As with most new CAEs steps were required to address the administrative needs of the College. In places like Newcastle where the majority of the administrative tasks had been performed centrally by the Department of Education, the sheer volume of the task was overwhelming. One staff member recalled that daunting workload:

> All of a sudden we need to do all the detailed record keeping and manage getting stationery and all sorts of things we had never done before … well we had to hire people to do this ... we were teachers, we didn't know about accounts ... but then there was nowhere to put the people that we hired, so one of their first jobs was to do the paper work to apply for a place for them all to sit.[72]

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[70] See *Living Histories: Margaret Bowman* accessed 15 May, 2019, https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/view/65437.
[71] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 15.
[72] Interview 58_P_M1967.

Areas such as admissions, welfare, travel, stores and purchasing requisitions, were all areas which now needed staff to attend to them. As an indication of this growth, the 1974 College Calendar lists 13 staff under the heading administrative staff, with some additional staff listed as teaching support staff. By 1989 there are four pages of administrative staff listed under headings such as 'Bursar's Division' and 'Registrar's Division', the later having 34 positions.

If the first 15 years of NTC's existence could be typified by stability of employment, the same is certainly not true for the last 15 years of the College's existence. At the beginning of this period the academic staff had a significant decision to make about leaving the Public Service for the CAE structure, and by the end of the period, they became employees of the University. With the transformation of the NTC from teachers college to CAE, the staff were to be employed directly by the College rather than by the Department of Education through the Public Service Board. While only one teacher chose to leave the College and return to schools based solely on this criterion, it was a factor in people's thinking, with one staff member recalling:

> There was a meeting where we all thrashed out the pros and cons of moving to the College. The Public Service was a big safety net, and I remember thinking that this could be very bad- in the end it wasn't but there was some serious thinking to be done.[73]

The majority of teaching and administrative staff remained with the NTC and their transference to CAE employment was published in the NSW Gazette in 1977.[74] The transfer was aided by the inclusion of identical services conditions, and the important factors of preservation of superannuation and leave balances and conditions.[75] The outcome was generally viewed favourably.

However, two factors ultimately were not viewed favourably. The first item of difference was the workload. In the first days of the CAE the tradition in terms of workload was as it had been in the Teachers College, that is, with each staff member teaching fourteen hours per week 'plus or minus two' hours.[76] The new College had an increasing number of night

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[73] Interview 26_A_F1961.

[74] Only two members of the staff did not elect to formally join the college staff, one returning to the teaching service, and one returning to employment with the Public Service Board, *NCAE Annual Report 1977*, 11; *Government Gazette of the State of NSW* 27 (March 1977): 1042.

[75] This was not the case at all CAE's and Kemp had difficulty securing staff conditions at STC. Boardman et al., *Sydney Teachers College*, 182-184.

[76] Morris Graham, "Twenty Years of Change" in *Speaking of Union Street . . .": Reminiscences of Newcastle Teachers' College 1949-1973*, ed. Jess Dyce (Newcastle: Hunter Institute of Higher Education, 1988), 24.

classes as diversity of courses developed, and this was seen as problematic by some, and a change for all. By the end of the period the workload had spiralled out of control for some. One said that:

> By the end of 1988 I was teaching almost 30 hours a week and traipsing all over the countryside running in-service courses. When you include the evening classes I was away more nights than I was home.[77]

The second area that was viewed unfavourably was in the area of promotion and pay. Teachers' pay, especially within the promotion's positions in schools, slowly began to outstrip the pay of staff at the College. This was not seen as big problem by existing staff, who were generally happy with their lot, at least in terms of pay, but was a significant problem in terms of recruitment. By the end of the period a teacher who wished to join NTC could be financially disadvantaged. One such interviewee remarked:

> I looked at applying for a job at the college in about 78, but in the end, I just couldn't afford it. I was a Deputy Principal by then, and I would have had to start at the bottom again, and the pay was about a third less. [78]

Similarly, the position on promotion, seen as one of the 'shackles of the Department' that would be left behind in the change to a CAE, did not really change. In the early 70s the hierarchical constraints ensured a slow progression through the promotion ranks. The system dictated one principal lecturer per area, and only promotions based on Principal's recommendations. Once Departmental constraints were gone, the financial constraints of reduced earnings in terms of student numbers, and greater financial restraint from a Federal Liberal Government ensured that nothing really changed in the college sector, whereas staff in the schools continued to move up the staff priority lists, and gain promotions.

Staff Qualifications

Staff qualifications continued to improve during the period. A PhD was becoming a common qualification and was almost compulsory for the higher administrative positions by the end of the period. The 1989 Calendar listed six academic officers of the Institute of whom four had PhDs. Similarly the change is clearly evident in the appointments to the Academic Boards of

[77] Interview 40_A_F1977.
[78] Interview 20_S_M1961.

1975 and 1989. The Academic Board of 23 in 1975 had one individual, Harold Lindsay, who possessed a PhD. By 1989 seven of the Board had doctorates. Whereas the 1975 Board had four members without a degree of any kind, the 1989 Academic Board had no members without degrees.[79]

Study leave became something that staff expected during the period. For example, the 1978 minutes of Academic Board containing seven reports from staff returning from study programs. The nature of the study leave tended to change during the period with requests early in the period tending to be for observation of how programs worked, fact finding about overseas programs, and looking at new instructional methods. By the end of the period study leave was usually given for some kind of qualification, with staff asking for time to complete higher degrees, and in some cases to obtain teaching qualifications.[80] Certainly by the time the amalgamation with the University was appearing more and more certain, the importance to credentials became more apparent to both the institutional hierarchy and the individuals who were preparing for a future in a combined institution. Despite increasing workloads and the quest for higher qualifications however, the college staff remembered that they had good working relationships with colleagues.

Staff Social Interactions

The initial years of College life were typified by good inter-staff relationships. Numerous staff from the late 1970s and even the early 1980s recalled significant events which contributed to social and academic cohesion. One recalled that in general the friendly tone started at the top and was experienced by the staff:

> Doug [Huxley] was always in and out of the staff room. He would join in conversations and ask about courses and wives and children, he was very accessible. Even while Eddie was there, there was a sense of togetherness in the staff.[81]

Typical of these events were the social occasions held at 'the railway station'. A number of members of staff had decorated one of the demountable buildings behind the main building as a railway station, which one staff member recalled as being the source of fun: "I mean it

[79] *NTC Calendars* 1974-1989: *NTC Calendar* 1989, 15; *NTC Calendar 1975*, 19.
[80] Study Leave Reports 1978-1985; Academic Board Minutes, AB:78-AB:85.
[81] Interview 24_A_F1974.

sounds like childish fun, and it was, but everyone was in it."[82] One of the administrative staff recalled:

> We would have get togethers and Friday afternoon drinks there, Jimmy Stokes was the station master, and would issue people with tickets, and wave the railway flag, I don't know where they got all the stuff, but it was great fun ... made everyone feel included.[83]

During this period the collegial nature of the College began to break down. Initially the situation was much as it had previously been throughout the teachers college period. However the increasing number and diversity of staff led to a lack of common purpose. The establishment of teaching areas which were located at a physical distance from the main building, such as the art spaces, and the nursing areas, also created a disincentive to congregate in the common spaces. At best, the issues with lack of social interaction were seen as artefacts of the different cultures, with one nursing staff member remarking:

> Most of the teacher education staff used to get together in the staff common room for morning tea, but that wasn't really for us. It wasn't that we weren't welcome, it just wasn't a tradition that we brought with us from our work place - you can't all have morning tea at the same time on the ward - there had to be someone to look after the patients.[84]

At the other end of the spectrum, there were some newly appointed members of staff who saw the cultures as more than just a little different and were quite forthright on the differences. One lecturer commented about the teacher educators:

> These people had basically been institutionalized for their entire lives. They went from school to college then back to school then back to college. It wasn't a very diverse group of people.[85]

Even the newer education staff could feel intimidated, with one remarking: "The bosses would all sit together, and it was too intimidating to join them."[86]

It was clear that by the end of the period the common purpose which had unified the staff throughout the Union Street period was no longer present. A final, and perhaps more practical rationale for the change in staff relations, was offered by a long-time member of the

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[82] "Don Matthews," in Tom Griffith, ed., *Training Better Teachers: reflections on work and the NTC, CAE, HIHE & Faculty*, (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 1996), 41.
[83] Interview 38_P_F1976.
[84] Interview 41_A_F1985.
[85] Interview 17_A_F1985.
[86] Interview 78_A_M1986.

College, who suggested that the size of the College was a factor in the changing relationship between staff.

> It was impossible to even know everyone, there were lots of new people, and they came from different backgrounds, but it was almost impossible in the end to hold a social event - there was nowhere that could fit us all in.[87]

Thus, even if there had been a desire to maintain the unity which had typified the staff during the College's time as a teacher training institution, the logistics of such an undertaking were to become almost impossible as the size of the staff grew. Just as the staff increased in number and in diversity over the period, the same trends were magnified for the College students.

College Students

In addition to the sheer growth of numbers, the types of students attending the College changed during the period. In 1975 the majority of the students were full-time on-campus students who were studying for a teaching qualification. The Annual Report for 1975 shows that of the 2,214 students enrolled in 1975, only 131 were enrolled part-time. A further 343 were enrolled in external studies, with more than 200 of those being enrolled in the General Primary Course which was designed to give two-year trained teachers three year trained status.[88] Only 107 students were enrolled in a course which was not directly related to Education, all of these were enrolled in the newly acquired Diploma of Art.[89]

By 1981 the situation had changed. The College had earlier made an overt attempt to include more mature age students and had dedicated a fixed percentage of enrolment of students through a defined mature entry pathway.[90] The teaching service had also recognised a surplus of teachers in many areas and the federal and state governments had moved to reduce the intake to pre-service teacher preparation courses.

Financially, students were no longer bonded to the Department and while there were still some scholarships and bursaries, the usual methods of funding a teaching qualification was now through 'means tested' government loans and the Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme

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[87] Interview 23_A_M1974.
[88] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 12.
[89] The program had been transferred to the NTC as part of the amalgamation of the Newcastle Arts School and the teachers college on the formation of the College of Advanced Education structure; NCAE Annual Report *1975, 13.*
[90] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 13.

(TEAS) introduced in 1973. Thus, with no financial incentive to use teacher degrees as a 'cheap' access point to tertiary education, and an uncertain job market, the numbers enrolling in teacher preparation courses plummeted. The College Annual Report for 1981 tried to put a positive spin on the situation claiming that the "continued contraction of initial teacher education intakes … indicates a stabilisation in teacher education numbers", but the reality was that the numbers were in free-fall. The total enrolments in the primary programs, which just six years earlier had been approaching 1000 students, were now just over 300. The same was true in the secondary programs, with only the physical education program managing to grow overall, and the industrial arts area keeping afloat through its conversion programs.

Thus by 1981, the enrolled base of students was no longer almost exclusively education students. There were students in police studies, three different nursing programs, and in associate diplomas in a variety of business courses. Additionally, the education students were increasingly involved in post initial training, and came from more diverse areas, such as nurse education, teacher librarians, and TAFE educators. The attendance patterns had also changed. Of the 2689 students enrolled in 1981, almost half (1304) were enrolled in either part-time or external mode, and many of the new courses were only being offered in those modes. This led to the development of distinct types of students. The College services had to change. Figure 6.2 shows both the changing more casual dress standards, and that the library by the late 1970s was moving towards longer opening hours to accommodate these evening students.

The diversity in the types of future teaching careers of the students is also evident in the comments of one interviewee who recalled:

> So in the one group there were teachers from Boilermaking, Bricklaying, Carpentry, Electronics, which is what I was, … engineering, the whole spectrum.[91]

Another aspect of student diversity was reflected in their varying ages. One former student reflected on the difference between the older students and the younger ones:

> We had more in common with the lecturers than with the other students- they were doing the sorts of things that students do, and we were … well we were past that, we had families, and jobs and we were just different - we

[91] Interview 73_B_M1976.

> would go in for our classes and then straight home - we didn't have time for the socialising.[92]

Figure 6.2. College Library at the Shortland Campus, circa 1979.[93]

The change in the government bonds during this period also brought about a change in the students enrolling in teaching courses. The NSW State Labor Government agreed to release more than 3200 students and teachers from their bond requirements in May 1976, and the intake of teaching students in 1977 were no longer required to complete a minimum service period to 'pay-back' their bond.[94] While this had a liberating effect on some students, there were also drawbacks. From the students' perspective the bond had also been a guarantee of employment, the requirement to teach had also meant that employment was assured, albeit in a potentially remote location. The bonds were more financially lucrative than the Federal TEAS scheme and the scholarships and bursaries which followed, and many students were financially impacted. Likewise, some of the staff also noticed the change in the quality of the students, with one remarking:

> After the bonds were done away with the students that we got into the program were vastly different. There were lots of mums from Merewether,

[92] Interview 51_S_F1982.
[93] Photo credit Mr John Freund. Photo contained in folio B16453, Newcastle University Archives.
[94] "Teaching Bonds to be Ended," *Newcastle Sun,* 13 May 1976 ; "No sure job for trainee teachers," *NMH,* 30 June 1977.

> but the students that we got straight from school were also different. Academically they weren't as good as the previous students had been, one of the main attractions for the academically excellent students had been withdrawn … but they also tended to be less … well, less suited to teaching. I think that the old selection process for the scholarships had kept some of the undesirable students away from teaching … but after the bond went they came flooding in.[95]

It is interesting that in this recollection the quality of the student is measured in both academic and behavioural terms, reflecting the continuing importance of the behavioural and academic parts of Connell's analysis of teacher preparation traditions in the perceptions of the college staff.[96]

The diversity of the student body also extended to Indigenous students with the College developing programs specifically for them towards the end of the period, and student support groups formed one of the key drivers of the newly established Aboriginal enclave, and its development into the Wollotuka Centre.[97] While the Indigenous students were initially found primarily in the associate diploma courses, particularly the Associate Diploma of Social Welfare, by the end of the period there were students undertaking courses across the full range of College programs.[98]

The most significant change however came with the announcement that nurse education would be moving to the advanced education sector. Richardson, who had earlier pushed for the introduction of nurse education courses, ensured that NTC was at the forefront of this movement, and the student numbers were healthy from the start. The Diploma of Applied Science (Nursing) became the single largest course by 1986 with the annual report noting that it had more than 400 enrolments.[99] The students however took a while to acclimatise, with one reporting:

> At first we thought that we didn't belong - everything seemed to be set up for the teaching students, but by the end we kind of took over everything. There were lots of us in nursing, and when you added the other health courses we could have the run of the college.[100]

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[95] Interview 12_A_M1970: Merewether is a local suburb of Newcastle which is considered quite affluent.
[96] William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.
[97] "Skills for Aborigines," *NMH*, 19 February 1987; "New Aboriginal Centre at CAE," *NMH*, 19 August 1986.
[98] "College Success for Aborigines," *Sun-Herald,* July 20 1986.
[99] *NCAE Annual Report 1986,* 21.
[100] Interview 61_S_F1987.

The change in the gender balance that the influx of primarily female nursing students caused did not go unnoticed by the teacher education students.

> It was quite difficult once the nurses arrived, there had been a good balance around the college, with the industrial arts boys offsetting the home ec[onomics] girls, but the introduction of hundreds of nurses threw the balance out - it was much harder to get a boyfriend … (laughs).[101]

The diversity also had an impact on the student representative groups. Not only did the SRC develop positions such as women's representatives, and Aboriginal representatives, the mode of study became important. An employee of the SRC recalled:

> it was very hard to be a truly representative – the students had such different needs - there were the part-timers who wanted services after hours, the jocks who wanted more money for sports, and the nurses and nobody knew what they wanted. The other problem was that we had to try to cater for the different educational levels, there were students who were coming into College who could barely read, especially into some of the associate diploma courses, and we had to try and support them as well.[102]

The increased diversity was creating challenges not only for the College but for student body itself, with the students now perceiving that even educational support was part of their responsibility.

Finally, an interesting linguistic trend emerged during the student interviewees in this period. Students changed from using first person pronouns to using the third person pronouns when referring to the College. The students at the beginning of the period referred to their experiences in the first person. "At College we were always doing …". By the end of this period there was increasing tendency to refer to actions of staff as separate, as 'other'; for example, "they made us …".[103] This was present both in student responses and, to a lesser extent, staff responses. Perhaps this was a linguistic reflection of the increasing size and diversity of people who made up the institution that in turn created a more impersonal milieu in which formerly recognisable identities were submerged into a more distant 'they'.

[101] Interview 52_S_F1984.
[102] Interview 15_O_F1984.
[103] See for example Student Interviews 49_S_M1981, Interview 52_S_F1984, and Interview 72_S_F1982.

Curriculum and Pedagogy

As noted above, the curriculum diversified considerably during the period. The 1974 NTC Calendar lists the programs of the College as being primary and secondary teacher education. These programs were both offered as three-year diploma of teaching courses. There were two courses, Music and Art, which were offered in a four-year configuration. The graduate diploma established in the 1950s was also being offered throughout the period and the number of specialisations varied depending on staff expertise and availability. There were two main changes to the curriculum during the period. The first was the diversification and internal changes in the education courses offered, and the second was the addition of a range of courses in fields other than teacher education.

In terms of the teacher education domain, the early part of the period saw the addition of a number of bachelor degrees in education. Industrial Arts, Home Economics and Art led the way, with the Industrial Arts program also being the first to be offered as a four-year program nationally.[104] In the other subjects, the three-year diploma of teaching courses slowly gave way to bachelor of education programs. The April 1978 Academic Board meeting considered the possible introduction of three-year degree programs, and the same arguments were advanced as had been raised when the two-year diploma courses had been extended to three years. The consensus was that the development of a three-year degree program provided an opportunity to improve the College's offerings and that various new directions could be followed.[105] By 1980 only Physical Education had been added to the bachelor courses yet in 1981, the standard pathway offered to the teaching service was a three-year bachelors program. The difference again was the external pressure from the Butland Report and the agitation around a proposed amalgamation.[106] The Annual Report of 1981 noted that approval was received from the Higher Education Board for the introduction of the three-year general primary course, and all of the secondary specialisations which had been developed as three-year degree courses.[107] The diploma programs were slowly phased out.

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[104] "Barry Abelson," in *Training Better Teachers,* 4.
[105] There was considerable discussion on the value of including courses in special education in the undergraduate program, but substantial lobbying from the increasingly powerful special education group within the college led by Dr. O'Connor, won the day. NTC Academic Board minutes, 14th April 1978 AB78:3B, 1.
[106] Academic Board Minutes, 1979 AB;79:4B, 3.
[107] *NCAE Annual Report, 1981*, 15.

The bachelor courses also underwent transformation during the period. The mainstream courses were initially proposed as three-year courses, but again owing to external pressure from the Higher Education Board, the courses were developed as a '3+1+1 model', with students undergoing a three-year pre-service component, one year teaching placement, followed by a one year post employment component. The administration of this was problematic and the schools were not in favour of the continued study required of the beginning teachers. By 1986, all of the secondary three-year courses had been extended to run for four years to match the original degrees in Home Economics, Industrial Arts and Music which had always been four year programs, with only the primary course remaining in the 3+1+1 model. The first three years allowed completion of a Diploma of Teaching (Primary), with the final year being completed via external studies.[108] As had been the case with both the two to three year expansion and the three year diploma to three year degree transitions, conversion courses were offered to allow teachers to enhance their standing within the Department.

The internal structure of the pre-service teacher preparation courses continued to include elements of the three traditions of teacher preparation identified as present in such courses in the 1950s. A consideration of the general primary four-year degree program in Table 6.2 shows the breakdown of the typical courses.

Table 6.2. Structure of Bachelor of Education Primary in Credit Points, 1989.[109]

Course group	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Total
Education Studies	12	12	12	18	54
Professional Preparation	12	12	12	12	48
Practice Teaching	8	8	8	8	32
Specialisation Studies	48	48	36	18	150
General Studies			12	12	24
Independent Studies				12	12
Total	80	80	80	80	320

[108] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 92.
[109] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 92. The course also contained a number of "zero credit point" tests in literacy (spelling, mathematics, dictation, comprehension, for example).

The importance of students' learning 'the content' is evident in the structure of the program presented here. There had been a shift back towards the practical and vocational aspects of teacher preparation, after the more liberal interpretations of the late 1970s where students could undertake significantly more electives and general education units. In fact the 1979 Calendar had so many options, it included a page entitled: "example of how a primary course might be structured" to help students plan their program.[110] The program detailed above shows electives within the general studies area, however students needed to take almost all of the components during their study, they could simply elect the order in which they completed them.[111]

The other major development in the education courses during the period was the development of numerous Graduate Diplomas. There were basically two types of graduate diplomas: the pre-service and the in-service programs. The pre-service courses were based on the courses which had been offered by the College to allow university graduates to become teachers since early in the NTC's existence. These programs, offered in both primary and secondary versions, were generally less popular than the equivalent courses offered at the neighbouring University.[112] The in-service certificates were more popular, and covered areas as diverse as Computing, Drama and Special Education. The NTC had also developed three masters courses in the education field. The one offered in industrial education had begun in 1986, while the Master of Physical Education was offered in 1988 but had been dropped the following year. The Master of Special Education which was developed with the University of Newcastle was a direct but belated response to the Butland Report and the federal call for rationalisation of higher education in the Hunter, and set the precedent for a successful special education program in the post amalgamation period, despite its lack of popularity with staff.[113]

The courses which developed in the non-teaching areas were to become increasingly important during the years of declining teacher preparation enrolments. Richardson had advocated the diversification of the non-teaching programs since his appointment in 1976,

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[110] *NTC Calendar 1979*, 150.
[111] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 93.
[112] "Universities Case for Dip Ed," *NMH,* 7th October 1986; See also the graduation numbers of both institutions for 1989, *NTC Calendar 1990*, 151 and University of Newcastle Award of Degrees, Faculty of Education, 1990.
[113] Interview 40_A_F1977; Review of the Committee established by the Higher Education Board to review the Future Development of Higher Education in the Hunter Region March 1978 (Butland Report), Academic Board Folio 1978-80, AB10599.

and the number of courses in the area grew. The development of the School of Paramedical Studies was mainly based on a very successful Associate Diploma of Social Welfare which had strong numbers and, being a two-year program, allowed for the adjustment of intake year on year without an extensive financial commitment. The addition of courses in radiography, nurse education and dietetics confirmed the College's commitment to the health sector. The addition of a nursing pre-service course in the mid-1980s rounded out the offerings.[114]

The internal structuring of the courses did not always seem logical, and it is indicative of the 'ad hoc' development of courses within the College. Courses were seen to 'belong' to the schools and staff that developed them. This led to some interesting placement of courses within the college departments. There is almost logic in the placement of the Diploma of Applied Science (Medical Radiation Technology) in the school of Administration and Technology, however it is certainly a stretch to see the relationship of the Bachelor of Social Science (Tourism and Recreation) with the School of Health.[115] The College adopted a 'try it and see' approach to the introduction of courses in new areas, with the general progression being from shorter diploma or associate diploma courses, with those that were successful being developed into full Bachelor courses. Thus, the Associate Diploma of Business Studies had developed into a Bachelor of Business by 1989, yet the Associate Diploma of Police Studies had not developed into a bachelor program at the time of amalgamation.[116]

Figure 6.3 below shows an excerpt from the 1989 Calendar which details the courses available to students in that year.[117] The drift towards higher qualifications identified in Table 6.1 is also highlighted through the courses offered at NTC. Nine courses were offered at the sub-bachelor level, 23 courses were bachelor courses, and the final 16 courses led to post graduate qualifications. The demarcation between the CAE sector and the university sector was increasingly blurred, with numerous courses being offered in only slightly different forms within a few hundred metres of each other.

Despite these vast changes in curriculum, pedagogy was largely similar for the duration of the period under consideration. The notion of a lecture followed by tutorial was common in the theoretical courses, and the 'practical courses' remained focused on the practical skills.

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[114] Course lists, *NTC Calendars 1980-1986.*
[115] Course lists, *NTC Calendars 1980-1988.*
[116] Course lists, *NTC Calendars 1978-1989*.
[117] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 5.

	DURATION OF COURSE (F/t = Full-time) (P/t = Part-time) (Number = years)	
SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATION AND TECHNOLOGY		
Associate Diploma of Adminstrative Studies (Aboriginal)	F/t 2	P/t 4
Associate Diploma of Computing Studies	F/t 2	P/t 4
Associate Diploma of Police Studies		P/t 4
Diploma of Applied Science (Medical Radiation Technology)	F/t 3	
Graduate Diploma of Multicultural Studies	F/t 1	P/t 2
Graduate Diploma of Social Administration	F/t 1	P/t 2
Associate Diploma of Occupational Health and Safety	F/t 2	P/t 4
* Bachelor of Business	F/t 4	
* Bachelor of Applied Science (Information Technology)	F/t 3	
* Graduate Diploma of Applied Science (Occupational Health and Safety)		P/t 2
* Graduate Certificate of Applied Science (Occupational Health and Safety)	F/t 1	
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION AND HUMANITIES		
Bachelor of Education (Art)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Education (Early Childhood)	F/t 3 + F/t 1 or P/t equiv	
Bachelor of Education (English History)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Education (Home Economics)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Education (Industrial Arts)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Education (Mathematics)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Music Education (in assoc. Conservatorium of Music)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Education (Physical Education)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Education (Primary)	Ft/3 + F/t 1 or P/t equiv	
Bachelor of Education (Social Sciences)	F/t 4	
# Bachelor of Education (Technical and Further Education)		
Diploma of Teaching (Technical and Further Education)		P/t 2
Graduate Diploma of Education (Primary)	F/t 1	
Graduate Diploma of Education (Secondary)	F/t 1	
Graduate Diploma of Education (Technical and Further Education)	F/t 1	
Graduate Diploma of Education Studies (Computer Education)		P/t 2
Graduate Diploma of Educational Studies (Educational Drama)		P/t 2
Graduate Diploma of Educational Studies (Special Education)	F/t 1	P/t 2
Graduate Diploma of Educational Studies (Adult Special Education)	F/t 1	P/t 2
Master of Education (Special Education) — with University of Newcastle	F/t 2	P/t 3-4
Master of Education (Industrial Education)	F/t 2	P/t 3-4
* Graduate Diploma of Educational Studies (Speech and Language Remediation)		P/t 2
SCHOOL OF HEALTH		
Associate Diploma of Social Welfare	F/t 2	P/t 4
Diploma of Health Science (Nursing)	F/t 3	P/t 4 ●
Bachelor of Health Science (Nursing)		P/t 2-6 ●
Bachelor of Social Science (Welfare Studies)	F/t 3	
* Bachelor of Arts in Social Science (Tourism and Recreation)	F/t 3	
* Bachelor of Health Science (Nutrition and Dietetics)	F/t 4	
Bachelor of Health Science (Occupational Therapy)	F/t 3½	
* Bachelor of Health Science (Physiotherapy)	F/t 4	
SCHOOL OF VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS		
Associate Diploma of Creative Arts and Crafts	F/t 2	P/t 4
Bachelor of Arts (Visual Arts)	F/t 3	P/t 6
Bachelor of Arts (Communication Studies)	F/t 3	P/t 6
Graduate Diploma of Art	F/t 1	P/t 2
Specialisations of Ceramics, Illustration (Plant and Wildlife), Painting, Photography, Printmaking, Sculpture, Fibre Art/Textiles		
* Bachelor of Arts (Design)	F/t 3	P/t 6
* Bachelor of Arts (Performing Arts)	F/t 3	P/t 6
* Master of Arts (Visual Arts)	F/t 2	P/t 3-4

* Proposed courses — subject to approval by the NSW Office of Higher Education.
\# Admission with Advanced Standing is available to qualified TAFE teachers. Duration depends on status at time of entry.
● Part-time study available only to registered nurses.

Figure 6.3. Course List, NTC Calendar, 1989.[118]

[118] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 5.

The areas of art and sculpture for example remained heavily dependent on the demonstration and practice of specific techniques, and by and large the areas of teacher training, in Connell's training tradition, were similarly oriented. There were however some variations on the theme which were mentioned by numerous individuals and in sources from this period.

The first of these was the concept of 'micro-teaching'. While it technically began in the early 1970s, it was not until the use of technology allowed the process to be more holistically developed that it made an impact on students' experience. The process was based on the Sydney Micro Skills process where students would observe a particular skill and then attempt to construct a learning experience which they could implement with a small number of students that would allow them to demonstrate that skill. The skills within the set were things like questioning, exposition, discovery learning and creativity.[119] Numerous students from the period reflected on the value of these sessions for assisting with classroom nerves. Typical of these recollections was a primary student from 1976:

> I had my first teaching experience with a small group at (school name) high in my first few weeks of College. I was scared stiff. We all had to do it, we would take it in turns to teach the lesson, observe it and video record it. In the end I was less scared of the school kids than I was of the other students in my class. They were always ... 'oh you could have done this, or you did that wrong'... but it did help us get used to the kids.[120]

The process had the complete support of Huxley, who had a special interest in video and film production and the process was active in various pedagogy classes right up until amalgamation. The use of video observations also spread to other schools at the NTC with the nursing and other health groups video recording key skills and patient interactions.[121]

Figure 6.4 below shows a group from the late 1970s engaging with the Micro skills activities.

[119] Cliff Turney, *Sydney Micro Skills Manual* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976).
[120] Interview 13_S_F1976.
[121] Interview 41_B_F1968.

Figure 6.4. Class using Video System at NTC, 1978.[122]

While the concept above was remembered by both staff and students, the next variation in pedagogical approach was widely praised by contemporary staff and appeared in numerous press articles. The 'Crago scheme' was designed by a long-standing geography lecturer Edward Crago. It was based on a system of contract learning that he had seen at the University of Florida.[123] The intention was to move towards 'open education' with learners taking responsibility for their own learning and progress. They were also able to set their own learning agenda and content, as is the case with many open education schemes.

> The Crago scheme was a fantastic initiative, and when it worked well the students got a great deal from it ... the problem was that it only worked for the very best students. The mature students in particular were attracted to the more flexible attendance patterns that it allowed. It wasn't suitable for all areas, as the students didn't have the resources or equipment for some discipline-based studies but initially most areas opted in and students would do their English or maths studies in this way."[124]

Another staff member reflected on the demise of the program:

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[122] Photo credit Mr John Freund. Photo contained in folio B16454, Newcastle University Archives.
[123] "Teachers College tries experiment," *NMH,* 18 February 1974.
[124] Interview 26_A_F1961; see also "Matthews", in *Training Better Teachers*, 36.

> Ultimately however it didn't survive Ted's [Crago's] retirement. The time taken to follow up students who had missed appointments was enormous, and there just weren't the resources to keep it going, so once it lost its champion it died a natural death. [125]

Only ever optional, the Crago scheme had been completely phased out by 1980.

The next example of a type of change in the period was one which was structural and harked back to the early days of teacher preparation. In 1984, the Department asked NTC to assist with the shortage of students within the maths and science area, and Terry Sheedy, the head of the science group put together a plan. Pragmatically, the plan involved a significant shortening of the duration of training for science teachers. Sheedy, together with a local science head teacher, devised an 'Alternate Mode Diploma of Education' instead of the normal one year course, the students would be out in schools teaching after 14 weeks.[126] The Department accepted the proposal with open arms and the process was arranged to commence later that year. The Department eventually added various requirements for ongoing supervision for the students first six months, and the program ran until 1987. The death of Sheedy in 1987, signified the end of the program which had been controversial from its inception. It was clear that the alternate internal teaching methods needed an active supporter, and once that individual was no longer present they generally had a short shelf life.

The other mode of instruction which developed substantially during the period was the department of external studies, initially led by J.W. Moore and then Bill Newling, and finally John Schiller as Director of Off-campus Studies. The growth of graduate diplomas which were targeted at teachers in the schools, and the captive audience that developed throughout the period of the 3+1+1 undergraduate degrees, led to a thriving external studies program. The College developed a positive reputation for the preparation of external packages and was successful in gaining numerous state government contracts for distance education. Importantly however, the actual preparation of the material was done by the teaching group not the external studies group:

> The external studies, I think they might have even called them a department in those days, but the external studies group was purely a distribution centre. We ... ah … other departments like TAFE who had external courses would produce the materials, the external studies centre would keep track of

[125] Interview 37_A_F1974.
[126] "Murray Fitzgerald," in *Training Better Teachers,* 31.

> the … the student enrolments and send out the materials to them, collect the assignments all that sort of stuff, they didn't have an academic role at all.[127]

Invariably the Higher Education Board was not happy with courses which were exclusively distance and they usually demanded a face-to-face component. Pragmatically the College produced courses which had the minimum contact required by the Higher Education Board. A lecturer during the early 80s recalled running contact sessions state wide:

> So for Tamworth and Grafton, lecturers from here would go to those places for two days a week, two consecutive days, with an overnight stay, and for Broken Hill somebody would go out and do three days each fortnight. So we had this combination of face-to-face and them working on the external material. [128]

Also, the lecturers who went out to these remote locations would run all the courses, one lecturer within this TAFE program said:

> So in those days there was no thought that you would specialize in say the educational psychology component or the teaching strategies component or whatever, you had to be able to lecture in everything. So .. ah.. you were supposed to be a jack of all trades in that regard- and then back here for the face-to-face stuff, likewise you were expected to be able to lecture in any component of the program.[129]

Practicum

The Teaching Practicum changed little during this period but its location within the program and duration was subject to considerable variation. The move to a three-year program had allowed for the increase of the number of days spent within schools to be expanded, as the number of practicum days per year remained a constant three weeks per year plus there was a three-week capstone experience. The transition to a degree structure, combined with the falling numbers with the pre-service programs led to some structural changes. The development of the 'rolling practicum' had reduced the number of days that students spent in schools and the days that students experienced were now quite close to the Department's required minimum number of days. The NSW Department of Education set a minimum number of practicum days to be completed prior to granting approval to teach within NSW

[127] Interview 73_B_M1976.
[128] Interview 73_B_M1976.
[129] Interview 73_B_M1976.

Department schools. NTC was always guided by this Departmental regulation through the period, even after the link through College staff employment and student bonds was broken.

The experiences in the final years were lengthened to four-week placements, and the range of schools used widened. The increasing emphasis on the practical components within the teaching preparation degrees was also met through the model which included a full year in schools as part of the standard structure however this was not seen as part of the College experience by either the staff or students. As the courses changed to a fully on campus four year model, the length of the practicum was also expanded, especially during the final year, and by the end of the period some areas, such as Industrial Arts, were experimenting with longer placement periods which would eventual evolve into a ten week "internship" shortly after amalgamation.[130]

In terms of the graduate diplomas, the one year 'end-on' pre-services graduate diplomas maintained their two blocks of four week long practicum experiences. The new graduate diploma programs in education almost invariable did not have assessed practical components, however the reinvigoration of teacher preparation in the 1980s led to the return of a number of the issues which had been present at the start of the 1970s, and the changing nature of the College added some new complications.

The increasing numbers of students made it progressively more difficult to find practicum places for students. The issues with students being placed away from their subject areas, or even in a different kind of school, had been the subject of considerable agitation by the SRC in the mid-70s, and in order to avoid this, the practicums were 'staggered'. The 2nd year students were on placements at a different time from the 3rd year students for example. This however was a short-term fix, and the placement of secondary students in primary schools again became a feature of certain practicum experiences. The combination of the rolling practicums and the staggered block pracs meant that there was no longer a 'fixed' practicum period. The academic staff were expected to be out in the schools and giving lectures at the same time. A lecturer from the mid-1980s recalled:

> It was just impossible. I had to be at a school up the Valley in the morning, and back to give a lecture in the middle of the day, and then out to

[130] Interview 18_A_M1982.

> supervise another student down at the Lake [Macquarie] in the afternoon ... it just wasn't physically possible. [131]

These factors combined to increase the diversity of the students' practicum experience, which had long been a subject of student complaint. The College relied much more heavily on the 'in school' supervision of the students, with the College supervisors often only seeing two or three lessons in a four-week period. This was compounded by the increasing use of external supervisors to complete the College supervision component. Whilst overseen by College staff it was possible for a student to have no contact with any of their lecturers during the practicum period. As was seen in the previous periods, the students were not pleased about this, one noting:

> I didn't see anyone from the College while I was on my last prac. There was someone who was supposedly my college supervisor, but I had never seen them before, and they didn't actually work at the college - I think that a lot of the college staff were just scared to set foot in a school- they might melt or something.[132]

Another student quite perceptively noted:

> There was a disconnect between the college experience and the school experience and this wasn't helped by the lack of contact between the college and the school, I only saw my College supervisor once … they didn't even look at a lesson.[133]

This problem with supervision was not unique to the teaching courses. The nursing students often felt that they were drowning in paperwork, with lots of individual competencies to be ticked off.

> We had to be observed doing everything. There was a checklist of what we had to do on each hospital placement, and there were all sorts of different types of things - from patient interactions to specific medical procedures, right down to health and safety things like lifting a patient - it was difficult to keep track of everything.[134]

The mismatch between the College experiences and the perceived 'real world', so long a part of teacher training programs, was also a part of nurse education programs from their inception. While the teaching situation was slightly alleviated by the fact that the supervising

[131] Interview 13_A_F1980.
[132] Interview 51_S_F1982.
[133] Interview 72_S_F1982.
[134] Interview 61_S_M1987.

teachers had also experienced a college-based training system, this was not the case for the nursing students.

> The more senior nurses felt sorry for us. They had been trained in the hospital system and saw that as the only way to do it properly …, there was a lot of discrimination in the early days.[135]

Again, it is important to stress that the students across all of the vocational courses saw the practicum component as amongst the most valuable parts of their courses. With even those students who were quite disparaging about the assessment or the contact between the College and the workplace, evaluating the process as valuable.

> It was the most valuable thing that we did at college, not the most enjoyable but the most valuable. We all felt that way, the experiences were all different but whenever I was in the schools I thought that I was actually learning things- which wasn't always the case with College lessons.[136]

Another typical response was:

> it was great to be out on the wards, I loved it from the very start. It was great to know that I had made the right choice in going into nursing, and I just wanted to get started. It was hard work, and it showed me how much I had still to learn ... but I loved it from day one.[137]

Club and Social Activities

The student social experience gradually moved away from being College-centred during the period and the clubs followed this process as well. There was an increasing diversity of clubs, but they were less college-centric. The increasing number of mature age students ensured that the sporting clubs had fewer students to get involved in their activities, and the SRC, looking to represent all students, was under increasing pressure to allocate funds to a broader range of activities. A college staff member who had considerable contact with the SRC recalled:

> They had to start to cater for more serious things as the years went by. I remember there was budget allocated for childcare, and the Aboriginal

[135] Interview 28_S_F1988.
[136] Interview 90_S_F1981.
[137] Interview 28_S_F1988.

> centre, and employment services which had not been typical of the budgets in the seventies.[138]

The sporting clubs tended to resist the trend towards decreasing participation, and the intercollege events were still popular, however, many clubs also started accepting members who were not students to further bolster their numbers. Even where the numbers were still strong, the sporting clubs were less likely to be in the top divisions with the male soccer, hockey and rugby league teams all playing in the lower divisions.[139]

> I played soccer but didn't sign up for the College team they were in quite a low division. Besides I wanted to keep my college life and my social life separate. I had my friends and made some good friends in my course but it was work and that was different from my private life.[140]

This represented a significant change in attitudes of students, with students earlier in the period indicating that college *was* their social life, and this was further compounded given the increasing numbers of students in external and part-time courses.

Many of the more 'cultural' pursuits were less likely to be an active part of college life by the end of the period, and administration of these clubs, and indeed all the social activities was now completely divorced from the College. The Revue, Drama and Music clubs which had been so active in the College in the teachers college period had been disbanded by the late 1980s, and in their place were cohort-based groups, such as the 'Primary Students Club', which were mainly responsible for organising the end of year function.

The distinction between official College activities and unofficial student activities was made more pronounced, and while the use of clubs as part of the students' personal development had been prevalent in the early college days, the college staff were completely divorced from the sports and clubs by the end of the period. Whereas the Student Union had its constitution and activities printed in the College Calendar at the beginning of the period, this was not the case by the end. By 1979 the student club and social activities were listed under the ubiquitous "Student Services" heading and still included the constitution, however by the following year, the constitution had gone, and students were referred to the SRC itself for

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[138] Interview 57_A_M1977.

[139] This was in stark contrast to the University where in most sports they had strong teams in most of the 1st division competitions, with many of the best College sports people already playing with University teams prior to amalgamation: Sports Union Minutes,1989; University of Newcastle Hockey Club minutes, AGM November, 1989. This is not to say that the students were not loyal to the College clubs, and many College clubs continued on after amalgamation despite the urging of a combined SRC.

[140] Interview 61_S_M1987.

further details.[141] The trend toward providing services *for* students as well as *by* students was continued, and the SRC was again at the heart of these endeavours, with a dedicated Activities Officer being employed from 1979 onwards.[142] The SRC established a range of services and, as was common across the sector, began to use student contributions to generate additional revenue. At NTC, for example, the SRC had acquired an independent building in 1984, from which to stage its activities, and by 1989, the SRC listed almost a dozen services, including a coffee shop, equipment hire and a bar in its list of services for students.[143] The College also continued to provide services such as health services, counselling and a child care centre was established.

Students recalled College events, such as end of year dances, and parties, in the same terms as had always been done. They were still seen as significant events in College life, but they were more about the friendship groups and less about the college. One student demonstrated this divide in the following recollection:

> I didn't really mix with anyone but my own group. I mean all the PE people stuck together and we had the annual parties and the odd pub crawl etc but we didn't do anything with the whole College.[144]

Indeed, the overall pattern of student interaction with staff and the College was one of diminished interaction and engagement.

Student Interaction with the Staff and College

There was much less interaction at any level. There was a tendency for students to spend less time on campus, and the growing diversity of student backgrounds and potential futures contributed to this lack of cohesion.

The financial pressures which accompanied the abolition of the bonding system, and increasing family demands of the older students, led to a college experience which was increasingly away from the College. The 'section' system was had been designed to ensure that cohorts established a good rapport with each other was discontinued, and while certain

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[141] *NTC Calendar 1979, 101*; *NTC Calendar 1980, 133.*
[142] *NTC handbook 1979*, 101.
[143] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 49.
[144] Interview 52_S_F1985.

groups, notably, the physical education and home economics groups, maintained those close associations, the general trend was away from such bonds. The larger size of the College and the increasing number of staff meant that an individual student would have a range of different lecturing staff across all sorts of courses. While this was not new, the size of the College led to less connection between year groups and an increasing disconnect between the staff and students with one staff member commenting:

> You just didn't get to know the students like you did in the old days. We used to see them on prac, have them for methods classes every year and develop a relationship with them. In the end you would only get to know a few ... either the very good ones or the problem cases.[145]

This was not universally the case and the increase in mature age students led to the development of both friendships and romantic attachments between staff and students, which had previously been the exclusive preserve of the students. The first mention by students of unwelcome advances from staff also emerged during this period.

> There was one lecturer, Mr [name] who was just creepy. He was always hanging around the girls in the class, and just being … well inappropriate ... in the end a few of us changed classes.[146]

The increasing distance between staff and students was not always unwelcome.

Overall, though, staff-student relationships were professional.

> In general, there was a good relationship between the lecturers and the students ... I think largely, because we were all mature aged students, it was a new program so the lecturers were keen to make it work. It was interesting in that none of the lecturers had any experience in TAFE (laughs).[147]

Students were increasingly aware of the level of practical experience of the staff in their courses. As noted in the comment above, students generally knew when staff had no vocational expertise, and while this was not generally an issue with the teaching programs, in places where the education staff had been asked to teach into non-teaching areas that practical experience was generally lacking. An example here was the police course, which

[145] Interview 23_A_M1974.
[146] Interview 90_S_F1980.
[147] Interview 73_B_M1976.

Les Pennington, the course coordinator, indicated has been "developed with the help of senior policemen" ran from 1980 through to the late 1980s without any dedicated staff.[148]

> We used to demand that our education staff had teaching experience and claimed, especially in the negotiations with the University over amalgamation that this was vital, but it wasn't so important when we wanted to teach other vocational courses like police studies. We had no cops on staff- it didn't bother us ... but it did bother the students.[149]

By the end of the period there were virtually no staff invited to student social events, and even events which were arranged by specific cohorts did not universally invite staff. When asked about how the staff and students got on at the social events, one student replied:

> Oh that was easy, for our end of year party, we only invited the staff that we liked. Mrs [name] and [name]… in the end they would only stay an hour or so, so there were no problems.[150]

Figure 6.5. Staff and Students Marching in Newcastle CBD to oppose Amalgamation.[151]

Politically the students and staff were usually on the same side of the various political issues of the day. The students would be working towards better conditions, and the staff would

[148] *NSW Police News*, June 1985, 15.
[149] Interview 40_A_F1977.
[150] Interview 28_S_F1988.
[151] Photo credit Mr John Freund. Photo contained in folio B16453, Newcastle University Archives.

usually accommodate any actions that they were taking as much as they could. The staff were sympathetic to the plight of students who were surviving on the federal TEAS funds, and later the Austudy payments. The same was the case with the various attempts throughout the 1980s on amalgamation. The Lecturers' Association and the SRC organised a number joint protests. The photo above, Figure 6.5, shows one such demonstration with staff and students from the University and NTC marching together in Newcastle's main street to oppose Amalgamation.

However, the students and staff did not always see eye to eye on political or educational issues. A case in point is the 'Alternate Diploma courses' developed by NTC to help the Department overcome the teaching shortages in Maths and Science (see page 245 above). The students were not happy about the introduction of these courses. They saw the acceleration of students through these programs as a course of action which could led to diminished employment opportunities for graduates from the 'standard' courses. They were also unimpressed that the Department had reverted to its usual course of action in difficult times, the introduction of a bond, to attract student to these courses. The President of the SRC claimed that: "These people will be paid $300 a week while other students are surviving on TEAS or their own savings."[152] The SRC got the NSW Teachers Federation involved, and there were some tense moments, as the Lecturers Association was also part of the NSW Teachers Federation.

Ultimately the students were unable to prevent the courses going ahead. The Teachers Federation was more worried about the quality of the courses and the standard of education these accelerated teachers would provide than the impact on the students. The official college position was as was usual a pragmatic one: they had intervened when the Department had intended to run the courses 'in-house' and maintained that the NTC involvement would provide a better outcome than would otherwise have been possible. In the end the NSW Teachers Federation put a complete ban on the courses until the duration of the courses was extended to a nominal one year, even if the on-campus component remained 14 weeks. The students were assured that there would be no impact on their future employment prospects but the whole affair was very divisive.[153] An SRC representative recalled:

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[152] "Teachers' Crash Courses for Newcastle," *NMH,* 2 August 1984.
[153] "Teachers' Ban to Hit Courses," *NMH,* 10 august 1984; Academic Board Minutes, Special meeting August 27, 1984. Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.

> The whole introduction of the short courses in eighty four left a bad taste in the mouth, we had been working closely with the college over a number of issues and when push came to shove they would support us. Some of the staff took our side but the powers that be wouldn't listen.[154]

Nevertheless, throughout this period the College was seen as a social place as much as an educational place. Even once the College itself was no longer prominent in the formation of the friendships, the personal relationships still formed an integral part of individuals' recollections of their college experiences:

> I am still friends with a lot of the group that I went to college with, we get together every couple of years. There are eight of us who were particularly close and we do stay in touch, through Facebook and email, but we don't … well I don't see anyone else from our year - I didn't have much to do with them even at the time - I certainly wouldn't want to see them now.[155]

Conclusion

Expansion was again a key characteristic of the change within NTC during this period of its development, and this growth included an increasing diversity of courses and individuals. The College moved from offering courses exclusively in the teaching domain to offering a plethora of vocational courses. Academically the courses became more highly accredited. As with the general trend across the sector, the College moved first to three-year diplomas, then to three- and four-year degrees and finally to various postgraduate offerings, including masters courses.

The influence of external forces also continued to play an important part in the life of the College. The gradual diminishment of the importance of the NSW Department of Education, as staff transferred to College employment, and students moved from bonded scholarships to independent federal funding was significant during the period. The Department of Education however continued to exert considerable influence on the teacher education components of the College throughout the period as the employment destination of most of the graduates. The importance of additional external regulatory boards grew during the period, and this included federal and state advanced and higher educational boards which had funding and course approval oversight on college courses. Also important here were the additional

[154] Interview 15_O_F1984.
[155] Interview 90_S_F1980.

professional associations, such as the NSW Police Association, and the various Nurse and Health accreditation boards. Educationally, the influence of external factors continued with initiatives such as the Crago scheme being based on American examples, and the Micro Skills approach being copied from more local sources.

Pragmatism continued to play an important role in the development of the College. Seeking the line of least resistance, its leaders sought to maintain organisational operations by accommodating both externally forced and internally generated changes occurring throughout this period. In so doing they oversaw the transformation from a niche college with one role – to educate teachers as teachers – to a mass educational institution responsible for the education of a range of professionals vital to society's functioning. This pragmatic leadership was expressed through course developments and staff appointments. The development of the shortened diploma course shows that NTC was only a Departmental request away from a return to the pragmatic offerings of earlier years, even right at the end of its existence. The fact that the College was willing to use existing staff with no experience in various new vocational areas but was adamant that teaching experience was vital for teacher preparation courses highlights this pragmatism but also the importance of teacher education to the College itself. Perhaps the position was more straight-forward than that. Perhaps the staff genuinely believed, as was expressed by one staff member, that they were "jack of all trades in that regard".[156]

The gradual transference of the 'personal behaviour" component of Connell's three educational traditions continued its move away from overt instruction. The sections of college life where these trends had survived through the 60s, the clubs and sporting groups, were beyond the reach of the College and its staff by the end of the 80s. The messages of cultural transmission which had been so prevalent during the 50s and early 60s were now almost completely dissipated. The attempt to fulfil the gatekeeper role which had been so important to the staff of the early seventies was now almost entirely devolved to the schools during the practicum experiences. The staff themselves no longer presented a unified front to the students and students were aware of these differences and their perceptions of the College changed. The culture to be transmitted, was further fragmented. The diversity of students had been accompanied by an increasing diversity of staff, and while there was consistency within

[156] Interview 73_B_M1976.

the educational appointments, the new staff in the health and administration areas were gradually making their mark.

Politically, the College which had begun to head down a path of cultural transformation in the previous period, did not continue universally down that path. The first elements of the neo-liberal approaches to higher education which were to dominate the 1990s in Australian higher education emerged and led to further divisions both in terms of what the "better world" of the college motto looked like, and how it was to be achieved.[157] The exploration of these political transformations, along with linguistic features of the interviews and consideration of the overall themes of this work form the substance of the final two chapters.

[157] For an overview of the early stages of this process see Simon Marginson and Mark Considine, *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); John Biggs and Richard Davis, eds, *The Subversion of Australian Universities* (Wollongong: Fund for Intellectual Dissent, 2002), accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/dissent/documents/sau/sau12.html.

Chapter Seven

NTC: An Exploration of Transformation

> In the early days we all knew what we were doing and why we were there. By the 1980s, it was confused. The College was going in so many directions and the staff was not sure which way we should jump, and the students ... they were off doing their own thing, and we didn't seem relevant to them anymore.[1]

Introduction

This chapter, together with the next chapter, directly addresses the research questions posed at the start of this work. This chapter primarily concerns the changes which took place at NTC and explores their underlying causes. The next chapter continues this exploration through a consideration of transformations in individuals' recollections and perceptions of change and continuity at NTC. An evaluation of the NTC, both by individuals as well as an aggregated view of the institution has emerged. An understanding of the transformation of the institution and the expression of this transformation within both the lived experiences of the interviewees and the existing documentary records has become apparent through the work and is consolidated here in line with key historical markers and previous studies. Specifically, the impact of the three-part explanation of the nature of teacher education in the 1950s as raised by Connell, is adapted to the work through the generalised ambitions of the NTC expressed at the College's foundation.[2] The work has found that the balance between the concepts of general education, the training tradition, and the attention to personal behaviours varied through the history of the NTC, yet each tradition has been present throughout. The importance of local, centralised and cultural issues have driven this variation. The current chapter then explores the change in educational focus from a greater emphasis on cultural transmission, through the importance of skills, toward what Aspland describes as the

[1] Interview 26_A_F1961; The inclusion of fragments from the interviews in this chapter is intended to be illustrative only, and the data items presented serve to represent the issues raised earlier in the work and focused within this chapter.

[2] "Teachers College Taking Shape," *Newcastle Morning Herald (NMH)*, 11 February 1949; William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.

'scholarly approach'.[3] The way that these changes are evidenced through curriculum changes, the actions of the staff and students, and through the recollections of the participants themselves is the focus of the next chapter.

In responding to the research questions, this chapter and the next chapter focus on a number of key themes which have emerged in the work. The first is the varying level of compliance within the College, and the importance of methods of dissent throughout the period 1949-1989 as a marker of wider cultural and societal changes. Further, the related dimension of institutional and centralized control of both staff and students is traced through fluctuating levels of democratic, patriarchal, paternalistic, distributed and authoritarian administration. The variation of staff and student perceptions of involvement in college governance and levels of self-determination have provided insights here. Similarly, observations on the practicum have emerged as both a reflection of the disputes relating to its own importance, and the practicum as a site of the battle between the practical and theoretical dimensions of teacher preparation. The practicum also emerged as the site of the student's cultural transformation from student to teacher, with the commensurate issues which arise from a program which called on the student to perform multiple changes from 'teacher' to 'student' and back again.

The shift of the focus of teacher preparation within the period, that is evidenced both in the personal narratives and the documentary evidence, is also foreshadowed in this chapter for more detailed discussion in chapter eight, with, for example, the change from the preparation itself being named 'teacher training' to the dominance of the term 'teacher education'. Similar discussions are implicit in the 'education as art or science' debate, the pragmatic nature of teacher education, and the theory and practice conflicts are highlighted in the oral narratives.

Finally, the importance of social and cultural transformation, specifically in relation to issues such as class, gender, and social change are highlighted in both of these concluding chapters, with the College changing its perceived institutional identity as a bastion of social conservatism to becoming an agent of social change. This transformation however was envisioned through a predominantly white, male, middle-class, educated lens, and remained a perception of the College's place in society, rather than an accurate representation of the

[3] Tania Aspland, "Changing Patterns of Teacher Education in Australia," *Educational Research and Perspectives* 33, no. 2 (2006): 140.

reality of the lived experiences. Whilst individuals became agents for social change, the College itself did not quite make this leap and remained a mainly conservative institution.

The work has employed an 'entwined history' approach, which builds on both oral and documentary historical traditions, and has produced the first comprehensive history of the transformation of NTC during the period selected as the case study. In this chapter the sections which follow present the responses to the specific research questions raised in chapter one. The first section outlines the changes which took place at NTC during the period covered by the study. The second section explores the causes of these changes. Whilst these two sections could be interpreted as providing responses to the first two research questions independently, some combination of issues has been necessary to allow the events and their potential causes and influences to be explored in an entwined manner.

Changes in NTC in the Period 1949-1989

The first research question posed which sought to understand the changes that NTC underwent prompted an exploration of the change of the NTC from a small local teacher training institute in 1949, to a federally funded multi-disciplinary College of Advanced Education (CAE) by the end of the 1980s. The changes to the NTC can be broadly divided into three general areas of transformation: structural changes; changes concerning the scope and purpose of the institution; and the changes in the staff and students.

Structural Changes

To begin, the structural changes evident in the period under consideration included changes in the physical location and infrastructure of the college, and changes in its administrative and reporting structures. The first type of structural change highlighted the *ad hoc* approach to the planning of educational resources, and the pragmatic responses to educational needs prevalent throughout the period. The trend of pragmatic solutions to educational challenges which had been present throughout the development of education in NSW since its colonisation was evident in the development of the physical environment of the College, the buildings and the location of the College's resources. The College, through its staff and

students, was able to react to these internal and external pressures and find solutions within the boundaries supplied by external bodies.

Physical Infrastructure

As was usual for the establishment of colleges throughout the 20th century, the immediate need for increased teacher numbers developed more quickly than the ability of the NSW Department of Education to plan for such needs. As had been the case with both Sydney and Armidale teachers colleges, all of the colleges set up in the immediate post-war period were established in temporary premises, and Newcastle was no exception. Starting its tenure in the grounds of a partially completed high school in Broadmeadow, the College operated out of its temporary premises until its more permanent, but still temporary, premises in Union Street Cooks Hill were available. In both cases the premises were not regarded as satisfactory for the task at hand. From the very first, the College leadership had to take pragmatic decisions to adapt to the lack of resources and planning. The dispersal of students to local schools for their first two weeks of college life for the Pioneer students was a potentially innovative approach but had been driven entirely by practical considerations. As the school site had moved towards completion, the College was in a position to use the newly built spaces and thus the teaching spaces grew from the few classrooms in the manual arts block. By the time the College vacated the site it had expanded to the point where the College had use of multiple teaching spaces, playing fields and an assembly hall.

The relocation to Union Street for the start of the 1952 academic year provided staff and students with a sense of ownership of the new site, but again the resources had not been well thought through. The prefabricated huts which were used for College building were the subject of considerable dissatisfaction. The staff were quick to highlight the problems. Some of these deficits were noted and corrected, such as the establishment of a library and hall at the Union Street location, and others, such as the lack of playing fields, were beyond the scope of correction and, therefore, other solutions were found.

In keeping with the planning traditions of both the establishment and relocation of teachers colleges throughout the state, the early occupation of the Shortland site was considered problematic and provided further evidence of poor planning requiring pragmatic solutions. The establishment of the permanent teachers college on the Shortland site, which was

promised as early as 1951, was not realised until twenty years later. The building there was initially constructed in two stages. The first stage, the industrial arts section was occupied in 1971, with the remainder of the College's second stage completed in 1973. Again, the necessary planning was lacking on a number of levels.

As had been the case with the Union Street site, additional buildings were added in response to specific needs. Building initiatives included the Special Education Centre, the Student Union Building, and the establishment of a specific space for Aboriginal students. In terms of teaching spaces, the 1985 development of the 'Richardson Wing' was designed for Nursing students and was the first section of the College developed to house "non-education" courses. Again, the students arrived first, and the accommodation for them followed. The same was the case with the new Student Union building. The building, known throughout its life as "the Bar on the Hill", was completed in late 1983, and the then president of the Student Union, Ms Jennie Lang, specifically noted that the building had been designed with expansion in mind, yet the structure being erected by a local building company called McCloys was already long overdue.[4] Throughout the period the teachers college was reactive, rather than proactive and one of the ways that this was embodied was through the physical structures of the NTC.

Typical of the staff reactions to these changes was a sense that the external bodies had the opportunity to be more proactive, and to relieve the internal pressures through more considered planning. This is evidenced through a typical comment from a staff member at the time of the relocation from Union Street to the Shortland site.

> It is not as if the department did know what to expect. They were the ones who appointed us, they had all the figures on how many students and how many staff and so forth but they still couldn't get it right.[5]

However, there were many reports, such as those by Huldah Turner and Griff Duncan, that the need to develop pragmatic responses to their physical environment enhanced the sense of camaraderie amongst the staff, and that there was a feeling that they were all in it together.[6]

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[4] "Work Begins on NCAE Union Building," *NMH* 2 July, 1983. The head of this company, Jeff McCloy, was a graduate of the University of Newcastle.
[5] Interview 70_A_M1971.
[6] See comments discussed on pages 123 -5.

Administrative and Reporting Structures

The internal administrative structures were typified by an increasing democratisation of the processes for both staff and students. The initial situation had the principal of the College as the undisputed representative of the controlling body of the College. The NSW Department of Education was the sole arbiter of the student intakes, staff appointments, and course objectives and coverage. The College was part of the Department, and both the students and staff were employees of it.

This external locus of control was evident throughout the period up until the mid-1960s. While the Department was still clearly 'in charge' of the running of the College up until 1975, they were taking a much less direct role in the daily affairs of the College in the period 1960 to 1974. Similarly, the staff of the College felt that they had a greater role in the daily running of the College as the 1960s progressed. This was common across many of the colleges, however Newcastle seemed to be quite liberal in terms of staff involvement in college administration. Many staff reported that they were consulted about issues which concerned them, and that the centralised control which the Department exerted was almost transparent. It is clear here that there was less need for direct control. The appointments of all staff and the appointments of students to schools were controlled by the Department. As a mature administrative structure there was less need for intervention, all the participants in the system knew what was required of them, and in the case of staff, they had been specifically appointed from the ranks of the teaching service that they were preparing students for. There was little need for control as there was little dissent.

By the time of the mooted change from a teachers college to a CAE the staff attitudes ranged from an optimistic acceptance through to outright rejection. As noted in chapter six, the overall situation was summed up by one lecturer writing in 1988 who had started at the College in 1966:

> There was general support for the changeover from the College under the control of the NSW Department of Education to a corporate college with its own council. We were going to be free from the heavy hand of centralised authority. As the heady days of the early 1970s with an oversupply of

> students and almost an oversupply of money turned into the years since then of an undersupply of both, staff began to long for the good old days.[7]

With the movement towards the autonomy demanded by the Martin Report, the College became structured along more corporate lines. Interviewees of the time talked about the proliferation of boards and meetings. The *College Act* had a range of administrative requirements which primarily stemmed from the Martin Report's notion of self-regulation. The change to a CAE required an administrative divorce from the Department. The early years had a been typified by a quite flat structure with the principal reporting directly to the Department, through both personal meetings and annual reports to the Minister. CAE annual reports were still required but copies were to be sent to the State Minister, the Federal Minister, and at times up to three different approval bodies.[8] Likewise within the College in the 1950s there were no real committees of staff, but a single staff meeting, held weekly, in the same way as occurred in most large schools at the time. Funding was allocated within the state education budget and requests for materials were prioritized by "head office".

By the end of the period there had been a significant change to these administrative structures. In 1972 the College was "working towards" the establishment of an advisory council, and by 1975 they had conformed with all the requirements of the *Higher Education Act 1969*, to become a self-governing body.[9] In 1989 the College had two major administrative pathways. The Council, which included external, student, and political representation, was responsible for the strategic and financial administration of the College. Working alongside this was the Academic Board, responsible to the Council. In both cases there were a plethora of additional sub-committees which reported to the main body, however they usually had the same personnel.[10] So while there was representation, the diversity was lacking. In the 1989 Council, for example, only four members of the 22-person council were female, despite the overwhelming majority of staff and students being female at the time.[11] The Academic Board did slightly better with six females of the 23 representatives. In both cases one of the females was the elected student representative. In almost every case the

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[7] Morris Graham, "Twenty Years of Change" in "*Speaking of Union Street . . .": Reminiscences of Newcastle Teachers' College 1949-1973,* ed. Jess Dyce (Newcastle: Hunter Institute of Higher Education, 1988), 24.
[8] For approval processes see *NCAE Annual Reports 1975-1989.*
[9] *NTC Calendar 1972*, 22; *NTC Calendar 1974*, 51.
[10] Interview 18_A_M1982.
[11] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 14, For figures on staff and student enrolment see *NCAE Annual Reports 1986-1989.*

academic committees were dominated by the senior officers of the institute, and strategic committees added the ministerial appointments to this ascendency.

The Council and external representation were considered 'tokenistic' by some, and irrelevant by others. The internal academic representation was almost tribal during the latter part of the NTC's history. Many staff interviewees spoke in terms of 'us' and 'them' when reflecting on different groups within the College, and the diversity of topics taught led to a different perception of the representation of the College. Staff who had been involved in the College prior to the change to the CAE often spoke fondly of the 'benevolent dictatorship' of Griff, and indicated that things were easier then.[12] Staff from the newer areas, especially the health areas, indicated that they were often considered an 'add on' to the teachers college, and they had no real representation. While there was the opportunity for this to change under the leadership of the only non-local Principal, Eddy Richardson, as discussed in chapter six, this did not occur. The appointment of Doug Huxley, a long time NTC staff member and Alumnus, to the top job on the death of Richardson did little to improve this perception.

Externally, the funding lines for the College changed from the state to the federal government. The change from state to federal funding sources during the 1970s had a significant effect on the College. The requirement of the NTC to report to both commonwealth and state bodies led to a somewhat schizophrenic approach to course development and financial accountability. It seems that the college staff had to "please two masters" and believed that the administrative load in reporting was increased exponentially.[13] Additionally the federal government, through the various advanced education and tertiary education commissions, moved to a three-year cycle of financial planning. Thus, through the Commonwealth triennial funding allocations, Higher Education Board, and various other commonwealth authorities, NTC was required to make more formal submissions for both recurrent and special grant funds. The NTC in the 50s and 60s had almost 'filled in the appropriate form' once the Department had allocated the NTC its number of scholarships for the year and then received its funding. While the accounting processes were systematic, there was considerable flexibility and more than one teachers college overspent their budget and was able to justify, and claim back, additional funds from the state government. The federal funding models had no such leniency, and therefore the College needed to find ways to deal

[12] Interview 6_A_M1971.
[13] Interview 74_A_M1976.

with this. The development of the neo-liberal higher education institution can thus be traced through the administrative changes evident in the NTC.[14] By the end of the period, the funding models were almost completely divorced from the practicalities of the operation of the college.[15]

While the College Council set the directions, the practical purpose of the College, to produce job ready vocationally oriented students was the common theme. Staff were present on committees however the reality was that the real power was still concentrated in the hands of the senior executive staff and the key decisions were still taken by the principal and his personally selected inner circle. The practical trumped the theoretical, the pragmatic retained pre-eminence, and overall the staff and the students embraced this culture. There was an acceptance that the key difference between the CAEs and the universities expressed in the Martin Report, as the practical and vocational component, was the life-blood of the NTC.

Growth in the Scope and Purpose of the College

The structural changes discussed above were invariably linked to changes in the size and scope of the College. The growth of the College was clearly one of the most important changes in the period 1949 to 1989. The College started with an initial intake of 181 students, 14 members of staff and a single course of study. By 1960 the College had grown to an enrolment of 726 students and 40 staff including a number of administrative support staff. The College had expanded to run more than a dozen courses.[16] The growth was steady through the 1960s and 70s and by the time the College became a CAE in 1975 it had 168 staff and a total enrolment of 2,214 students across twenty-three teaching courses.[17] In its final year as an independent institution, the College had grown to a point where it had more than 600 staff members supporting 4,440 students, in more than 50 distinct courses. The College had as many librarians in 1989 as there had been total staff members in 1949.[18] Despite the fluctuations in vocational need, the growth of the College remained consistent during the period and doubled in size approximately every five years. In the early years this

[14] Simon Marginson and Mark Considine. *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia. (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 27-30.
[15] Interview 40_A_F1976.
[16] *Altjiringa 1960*, 2, and *NTC Calendar 1960*, 13-14.
[17] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 10-12.
[18] *NTC Calendar 1989,* 21.

was evidence of the continued need for teachers within NSW. By the time that the teacher surpluses of the late 1970s restricted enrolment growth in the teacher preparation courses, the College supplemented its numbers through increased program length and program diversification away from an exclusively teaching training focus.

The College changed from being a single purpose institute which was designed to train primary school teachers through a two-year program, through to a diverse institution with almost 55 courses across multiple domains. Initially, the teacher training programs increased in their diversity in line with the other colleges throughout the state. In the early 1950s the College added some in-service and 'refresher' courses, and then slowly added secondary courses. The establishment of the University College, later to become the University of Newcastle, allowed for this development and the development of a graduate diploma of education and various other diplomas including music and art. The addition of secondary courses followed both staff expertise and the needs of the Department, with areas such as industrial arts and science leading the way, with maths, english, history, home economics and geography added by the mid-1960s The Diploma in Teaching course was the principal award offered by the College through the mid-1970s. The teaching courses gradually increased in length with the primary course extended to three years by 1971. Additional courses were added in art in 1975 following the College's absorption of the technical education "art school', and the first bachelors degree, being a four-year Bachelor of Education (Industrial Arts), was approved by the NSW Advanced Education Board in 1975.[19]

Once the changeover to a CAE was underway the number of courses expanded slowly, and the change of teaching programs to Bachelor and Graduate Diploma courses was almost universal. It was not until the early 1980s that there were many graduates from courses which were not teaching related, and even then the numbers in these courses were still relatively small. The 1983 graduating students list highlights the College's continuing teaching emphasis, with more than 800 students graduating with a teaching qualification. The only non-teaching graduates in the list are 65 students graduating with Art Diplomas and slightly more than 50 students split between the Associate Diplomas for Nursing Education, Medical Radiography and Social Welfare. The last five years of the NTC saw it start to change into a more genuinely multi-purpose college. While the College still had more teaching students than students from any other discipline area, the numbers in courses such as health,

[19] *NTC Calendar 1976*, 5.

computing and social welfare continued to grow. By 1988 the single largest course in the College was no longer a teaching one, it was nursing and almost 140 students graduated with the Diploma in Applied Science (Nursing) that year. The initial teacher education courses had almost all changed to bachelor level degree programs, and there were also some masters courses being offered.[20]

The lengthening of the teaching courses from two to four years provided an opportunity to expand the diversity of the courses. The courses continued to maintain a blend of educational theory and more practical curriculum-based courses. Similarly, the general education needs of the students were not neglected. The improvement in the systematic nature of public education led to a position where the College, at least overtly, could assume that the incoming students were well versed in the material which they had covered in their Higher School Certificate, the pressing needs were not the general education of the students as had been the case with the Fort Street Model school in the late 1800s. So, referring back to Connell, the balance between Connell's three traditions had changed. Importantly however, all three traditions were still present.

As an example of this the 1989 course outlines identify no overt need to teach the "basic content" in individual primary syllabus areas. The basic science courses being characterised as "K-6 Social studies-syllabus content and classroom approaches" with no direct mention of teaching the students the content.[21] The assumption was that the students had these basic skills for the primary courses. The same could not be said of the secondary courses where content was still directly mentioned within module descriptions, with many courses being entirely content focused.[22] This was seen as a necessary structural response to the establishment of the NTC as a degree granting body. Whereas previously all secondary teachers had undertaken a blend of university and college training, the introduction of the bachelor programs in the 1970s had obviated the need for this process and secondary teachers could complete the whole of their training at the teachers college. Notably, interviewees of both course variations recall that despite the nomenclature, the instruction was still primarily about the *what to teach* rather than *how to teach*, even in the primary program. The inclusion

[20] The NTC Calendar for 1989 lists two master's courses being offered by the College and one course (Master of Education-Special Education) being offered jointly with the University of Newcastle. *NTC Calendar 1989*, 5.
[21] See Bachelor of Education (Primary) Module descriptions *NTC 1989 Calendar*, 92-94.
[22] See the description of the module for Economics, *NTC Calendar 1989*, 98.

of program hurdles such as spelling and mathematics tests further compounded this impression.

The pedagogy during the College's growth also changed. The development of educational movements can be traced through the course descriptions and set texts of the key educational courses. The 1950s books on psychology gave way to the more in vogue sociologically-based books around things like Montessorian method in the sixties and 1970s books describing alternative educational movements such as the 'Summer Hill' movement and Illich's *Deschooling Society* found their way into 1980s education course reading lists.[23]

These developments were also reflected in the methods used within the courses. The transformation to 'greater freedom' for students within courses, voiced by Duncan in 1957, was gradually introduced and expressed through more autonomy in student learning during the development of the College.[24] There were numerous attempts at problem-based learning, cooperative and collaborative learning, as well as most forms of instruction that students could be expected to encounter in schools. The development was often introduced to students as something that they needed to know to do their job, rather than a method of teaching that might be the most appropriate for their own learning. Most examples of classroom learning which were not lectures or standard tutorials were cast as demonstrations of required skills, rather than billed as the best method to teach a given subject.

There were two exceptions to this trend. The first was the centrally endorsed and technologically driven 'Sydney Micro Skills' approach to teacher preparation. The use of the videos, which had been produced by Cliff Turney at STC to explore key skills, provided a good example of local adoption of an external resource which in turn drove pedagogy. Many student interviewees recalled the Micro Skills videos, in both positive and negative lights, and the tapes featured in almost every teachers college in Australia in the 1970s. Unsurprisingly, the positive recollections were almost always about the students' own recording experiences in school, and their negative recollections revolved around passive observation of the pre-recorded material. The use of technology, in this case video tapes, had

[23] The works Alexander Neill, *Summerhill: a Radical Approach to Child Rearing,* (New York: Hart Publishing, 1960), and Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1971) appear of the Education course list for ED306 for 1980. *NTC Calendar 1980*, 92; *Course Notes,* Folio 11/2478. University Of Newcastle Archives.
[24] "A Word from the Principal," *Altjiringa 1957*, 9.

started to influence the pedagogy of the College and lead to an increasing standardisation of materials and approaches.

The second pedagogical variation was a local adaption of a more international movement. The "Crago Scheme" had as its stated objective to "help the personal development of the student" and was essentially an individual contract learning system which NTC staff member Edward Crago had adopted from a program he observed in Florida.[25] This was a local adaption of an external idea and was seen as symbolic by staff at the time as the College trying something new.[26]

Thus, the NTC had examples of external and localised adoption of pedagogical and curriculum approaches. The basic concepts were 'standard' with the core curriculum varying little from the teachers colleges anywhere in the State, however the local individuals were able to select from the available options and ideas, in the same way as Wilkins, Board and Mackie had been in their contexts. This localised influence grew as the College gained increasing autonomy and was able to more directly create and endorse its own courses, and this was reflected in the discipline and domains covered by the college-developed courses. The two cases cited above also provide examples of the growing importance of the 'research basis' in teacher preparation which was increasingly relevant to both university and college-based approaches.[27]

Changes in the Staff

The staff numbers grew enormously during the period, and by 1989 there were approximately 237 academic staff located in 14 departments. There was also an enormous growth in administrative staff after 1974, often to deal directly with increased reporting and managerial responsibilities but also to cater for additional student needs, and by 1989 the general staff were reported as outnumbering the academic staff with a head count of 283.[28] Likewise, the College became responsible for its own staff appointments. While the public service board had originally dictated the appointments centrally, albeit with local advice, by the end of the

[25] "Teachers' College tries experiment," *NMH*, 18 Feb 1974.
[26] Interview 32_A_M1965.
[27] Aspland, "Changing Patterns," 142-159.
[28] *NTC Calendar 1989*, 4.

period the College was free to make appointments as it saw fit. Again, in practice there was little change here. The individuals appointed to the College in all stages of its development had an emphasis on the practical. It was extremely rare for a person without teaching qualifications to be involved in the teacher education program, and as additional areas were added to the College's scope, those areas too were dominated by practitioners rather than theoreticians.

The introduction of higher-level content courses provided an opportunity to appoint individuals who were primarily experts in their content area, for example historians, or economists, but invariably the appointments were history teachers, or economics teachers despite the abundance of courses which contained no 'teaching' content. This was contrasted in other areas or the higher education sector, especially in the universities. As an example of this contrast, the University of Newcastle's School of Education specifically made four appointments in the mid-1970s of individuals with backgrounds in areas other than school-based education, for example professional psychologists and sociologists with experience in the prison system.[29] This was not the focus of the NTC and the College sought diversity *of* programs, not necessarily diversity *within* programs.

The emphasis in the NTC was on growth and the majority of the college staff were very confident that the students simply needed the education that they themselves had received. It can be noted that many of the staff who had originally been appointed to the 'teaching only' institute found homes in some of the schools which were reflecting the diversity of the new College. Physical education and home economics staff merged into the Department of Health Management in the School of Health, and the industrial arts staff ended up in the school of Administration and Technology. Thus, each of the four schools in existence at the time of amalgamation had strong representation from the groups who had been responsible for teacher training.

This was an interesting and perhaps anomalous development. The 1970s had generally seen a growth in the number of courses which taught specific teaching methods. There was a recognition that different areas needed different methods of instruction, and separate courses were developed for teaching different subject areas. Teaching music was seen as different from teaching art or mathematics; they all had their own idiosyncrasies. This had not been the

[29] *Faculty of Education Handbook 1986*, (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 1986); Interview 77_P_M1985.

case in the 1950s and 1960s where the teaching methods courses had been combined as teaching methods were seen to be universally applicable and "good teaching is good teaching".[30] The 1980s reallocation or redistribution of existing staff to the newly developing areas of health, business and even police studies was again a case of pragmatism triumphing over educational theory. The exact same staff who had been making a case for the difference of instructional methods between various knowledge domains, were perfectly comfortable to teach into domains where they had no expertise when it was required, pragmatically.

As was the case across the sector, the formal qualifications of the staff of the College gradually increased. The pattern was generally one where individuals who had been appointed on practical merit added academic qualifications to their resume once they had commenced their work in the College. This trend, started with Jim Staines in the 1950s, continued through the NTC's history, and by the end of the period became the norm rather than the exception. The 1960s and 1970s saw individuals with higher degree qualifications, especially PhDs, seeking employment in universities, and by the end of the 1980s it was more usual to find individuals at all levels of the NTC with higher degrees.[31] Unlike the university sector however, there were still many individuals appointed without any formal qualifications beyond an initial degree and in some cases, especially in the manual and creative arts, even a degree was optional should the appropriate experience be evident.[32] The panels convened for the appointment of individuals, even when devolved to the College, invariably featured few outside representatives, and the college hierarchy tended to appoint those who were most like them. Even the appointment of Dr Richardson to the position of principal, which was seen as an uncontroversial but revolutionary appointment of a 'new broom', was in fact the appointment of an education academic from another higher education institution currently working in the same state.[33]

Indeed, for much of its existence, there was a slightly anti-intellectual thread running through sections of the College. For many staff the practical nature of the teaching task was the dominant focus within the College, and this was later strengthened with the addition of other vocationally oriented courses. According to some, the students had no use for theoretical

[30] Interview 26_A_F1961.
[31] Examples were the moves of Alan Barcan and Eddy Braggett from the staff of the NTC to the new University of Newcastle School of Education. Interview 4_A_M1949.
[32] *NTC Calendar 1989,* 16-19.
[33] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 5.

psychology for example - they just needed to know how to control their class. The battle which Connell had identified in relation to teacher education in the 1950s, the distinction between the 'tradition of general education' and the 'training tradition', was not one which was ever 'won or lost' within NTC. Throughout its history the pre-eminence of the particular approach was determined through the influence of individuals. Duncan and Huxley, for example, while keen on the value of educational diversity, especially in the arts, always ensured that the practical components of the courses were 'front and centre'. When segments of the program needed to be altered for pragmatic reasons it was invariably the more theoretical components which were dropped or reduced in scope. The work of Renwick and Crago, however, showed a much more direct focus on the overall educational needs of the students. Individual lecturers, although often personally from the same ends of the qualification's spectrum, seemed divided on the relative value of experiential learning, and the need for a rounded individual in order to complete their vocational training.[34] Thus the individual experience of students, even attending in the same years, could vary significantly in this regard.

Changes in the Students

The students in the college in 1949 were clearly different from those who were present in 1989. The first major change was in the age of the students. The leaving age for students had in effect been raised by one year with the addition of a sixth year of schooling as part of the Wyndham Scheme and from 1968 onwards the students were likely to be 18 years old at commencement. Likewise, with the introduction of three- and four-year courses the students were often in their early twenties once they had completed their training. Additionally, the number of mature age students increased. While there were a number of returned servicemen in the initial cohort, by the mid-1950s the usual pathway to NTC was directly from the Leaving Certificate. There were various groups that did not conform to this trend, notably the 'artisan' group of the 1964, however the average age of a final year student in the early 1960s was almost a full three years younger than a the average age of a student who had come straight from school in 1989.[35] Add to this the increasing number of students who were

[34] Interview 12_A_M1970; Interview 23_A_M1974.
[35] *Altjiringa 1964*, 8.

commencing their studies later in life and the student demographic profile was considerably changed.[36]

In the 1950s all students were 'bonded' and therefore largely subject to the control of their employer during their period of training. A poor report or a failure could have serious implications for either their financial or employment prospects. By the mid-1970s, with the introduction of free higher education places, the competition for places at NTC changed. Students were free to take courses part-time, change courses, and students who had the ability to undertake university courses were no longer 'tied' to the College to gain a funded place. Many students who would have been financially 'forced' to take a teachers college scholarship to gain a foothold in higher education could now directly enter University. This led to a change in the student cohort, and an expansion of the Graduate Diploma programs at most teachers colleges, and Newcastle was no exception.

In addition to this age and educational difference, the social and political outlook of the students was also altered. The 1960s had seen a world-wide social upheaval, and this was manifest within the ranks of the students of NTC as much as it was elsewhere in Australian society. The belief that students would automatically be compliant was almost expected in the 1950s, and yet bordering on laughable in the 1980s. This variation in compliance was further impacted through the change in funding arrangements for individual students. Teaching courses were redesigned to cater for these changes, and experiments such as the Crago Scheme were developed with this changed demographic in mind. [37]

Likewise, the student body became more diverse during the period of the College's existence and this increased diversity in the student population injected a new dynamic. For example nursing students were perceived to be 'different' as shown in chapter six. Their cultural and educational aspirations did not mirror those of teaching students. More than this, the 1980s saw an increase in ethnic diversity of the student population. The children of the first wave of post war migrants who had fuelled the initial growth of the numbers of teachers college in the 1940s and 1950s, began to have a presence on campus on the 1970s. The abolition of fees had supported Aboriginal and mature age students, particularly women, in their endeavours to realise their educational aspirations. To this mix was added students with a more commercial orientation through bachelor of business courses, and the police courses and

[36] *NCAE Annual Report 1975*, 13.
[37] "Teachers' College tries Experiment," *NMH,* 18 February, 1974.

associate diploma in social welfare particularly further diversified the student body. The College had also invested heavily in external courses and as a result had a substantial 'off campus/residential' student group to cater for by the late 1980s.

The same issues which were prominent in staff representation were also important in terms of student involvement in the administration of the College. While in theory the move towards to a collaborative decision-making model was evident, albeit slower than with the staff, there was no substantial decision making devolved to the students during most of the period being studied.

After the mid-1970s there were attempts to increase student involvement in the administration of the College. This is not to say that students had no say prior to the 1970s. Students from the early years often reflected that they had the ability to directly influence their own destiny through a personal approach to the principal or other staff.[38] Students were also able to make approaches, through the student representative council (SRC) as well as through various other clubs and section representatives, to have various things changed. In practice however, these approaches were primarily about small logistical matters, things like chairs or ashtrays in common rooms, or locations of college dances. In the 1957 *Altjiringa,* Duncan indicated that students were to play a greater role and outlined a new structure for the student union and sports and social clubs, yet it was clearly experimental rather than foundational. He considered that the students' actions within the system were on trial and should the system 'work out' it might be continued.[39]

While this limited experiment with self-governing activity was continued through the 1960s there was little real authority distributed to the students before the 1970s. The section of the 1967 College Calendar presented as Figure 5.8 in chapter five shows a very elaborate diagram highlighting the ability of the Students Union and Students Representative Council (SRC), clubs and other student committees to contribute to the life of the college. It also shows a line of 'direct responsibility' to the principal of the college and identifies that each stage of the process has numerous principal's representatives, and 'lecturer advisers'. The text however reminded the students that "the Principal may, should he deem fit, exercise a right of veto".[40] By 1972 the student representative body had been renamed as a SRC, and the

[38] Interview 19_S_M1955.
[39] *Altjiringa 1957*, 9.
[40] *NTC Calendar 1969*, 272-3.

Calendar makes no reference to principal's veto, but talks instead of "Powers, Rights and Responsibilities of the Students Representative Council".[41]

The changing roles here are demonstrated by the two differing responses to traffic matters detailed in chapter six. The first waiting on the Principal's approval, and the second taking direct student action. By the 1980s the SRC had its own building and was very active in campus affairs. As had been the case throughout the early years, the SRC was active in lobbying for improved conditions for the student body but as the College grew, the SRC were increasingly willing to take the issues outside the NTC. The Student Council often contacted the *Herald* to brief them on an issue which would subsequently by run in the local paper.[42] Further they had become increasing involved in issues concerning wider social issues, and the fact that the NTC was one of the first colleges to have a specifically designed Aboriginal enclave was a product of the efforts of both the local Awabakal people and the agitation of the SRC. The student body was attempting to represent the increasingly diverse needs of its constituents.

The students had also gradually obtained positions on a number of the administrative boards of the NTC. The change of NTC to a self-governing body as a CAE brought about an increase in the number of committees. In 1974 there was a single committee, the discipline committee, which had student representation, having two elected student representatives. By 1988 there were two student representatives on the 25 member strong College Council, and each of its constituent sub-committees also had two student members. There was also a significant representation of students on the Academic Board with a student from each of the four schools in the 17-member constituency. The concept of a staff member to guide the SRC which was considered both normal and helpful in the 1950, would have been considered overly paternalistic, if not patently ridiculous, by the end of the 1980s. However the opportunity for meaningful student influence was never truly realized within the NTC structure: during the early period the students were constrained by the requirement to focus on their employment; by the 1980s the concentration of power and bureaucratisation of higher education institutions made the institution much closer to a corporate administrative

[41] *NTC Calendar 1972*, 351.
[42] See for example the discussion on the amalgamation issues or the discussion on student fees in chapter 6. See also "Student Unity urged in fee fight," *NMH,* 10 March 1981; "Trainee teacher grants cut," *NMH,* 9 July 1979.

model than previously envisaged.[43] As is often the case with student representation, the constant 'change-over' of students on boards meant that they were just getting to grips with the task when their tenure was over. Essentially, the SRC now saw themselves as almost separate from the College. They had their own events, shops, and funding sources, and even ran academic support services for students. They were completely autonomous in relation to their sphere of influence; it was just their sphere of influence largely did not intersect with key college administrative or academic decisions.

From Motto to Marketing

The transformation of the College in this period can perhaps be summarized through the account of the adoption and modification of the College motto and logo. In 1949 following Griff Duncan's suggestion and some student participation, *Ad Meliorem Mundum*, the Latin for 'towards a better world' was selected as the College motto. The motto and crest remained but were twice transformed during the NTC's existence. First the language was changed from the Latin to English. Following a staff meeting in 1973, the Latin version no longer appeared on official college publications after the official opening of the CAE in November 1974.[44] The English translation "towards a better world" subsequently appeared on handbooks, letter head and official publications.[45] Symbolically, the College was to move with the times, and leave behind the traditions which linked it, even symbolically, with the older style of establishment. Secondly, various implementations of the motto on the crest of the College between 1975 and 1989 highlight an increasing involvement of non- educational forces in the higher education sector. By 1985 there was a committee to review the logo and crest. By the late 1980s the group recommended a change in both logo and name as part of an overhaul which is "expected to improve the marketability of the institution".[46] The decisions which had been part of the academic process in the early stages of College's existence were now the

[43] For a discussion of this change see Marginson and Considine, *The Enterprise University,* 151.
[44] See *NTC Calendars 1970-1989.*
[45] The College emblem also remained primarily the same throughout its history. The emblem is a stylised representation of the legend of Prometheus and contains "the torch of Knowledge standing free above the rock of despair from which it has freed the spirit of mankind by breaking the chains of ignorance". See appendix B-4; Interview 3_S_M1949.
[46] "College gains approval to change name," NTC Press release, Information and Publicity Officer, October, 1987, 1.

province of marketing and administrative staff, with academic staff informed of, rather than involved in, the outcome.[47]

The futuristic focus of the motto allowed it to retain relevance throughout the period. The type of "better world" that the students were being guided towards was vastly different in 1989 than had been envisaged by the College when it agreed to the motto in 1949. While details of the transformations which led to these changes have been outlined in the section above, the next section will thematically examine some of the driving forces behind the changes described above, and further explore the impact of local and global forces on the College.

An Overview of the Factors which Influenced Change at NTC

This section moves the discussion from the changes specified above to the internal and external influences that impacted on NTC and brought about transformation more broadly. These include educational, cultural, social, political, economic and geographical factors. The degree to which the influencing factors were universal or context-specific is also be explored here. While many of the causes of specific events have been detailed in the section above, this section organises and classifies the transformational factors into five broad areas which the thesis has recognised as primary drivers of institutional change within the NTC. These are: pragmatism, issues of control, the influence of external forces, the importance of individuals within the college and the role of cultural transmission.

Pragmatism

Pragmatism in decision-making was present right from the start in the original decision to establish a teachers college in Newcastle. Firstly, NTC was established, along with a number of other NSW teachers colleges, in response to the growing demand for school teachers brought about by the increase in population in the immediate post-war period. Throughout its history this demand was consolidated through increases in school duration and changes in the state's requirements of both primary and secondary teachers. Secondly, the rationale for the

[47] See appendix B-4 for the change of the College's crests and mottos.

location of the College was both logistical and political. Newcastle was selected as the location of the College for both of these reasons. The political reasons were grounded in the importance of the Newcastle and Coalfields area to the NSW Labor Party in the 1940s, and is evidenced through the speeches of the various parliamentarians of the time in relation to the College.[48] In much the same way as the college in Armidale had been established by the County Party in a Country Party stronghold, the Newcastle College was established by the Labor party in a Labor Party stronghold.[49] The logistical reasons were clearly enunciated in an article in the *Herald* in 1948, which spoke of the population growth in the area, highly evolved local educational infrastructure, and potential for further development of higher education and cultural resources.[50]

Furthermore, the relationship between the lack of planning and the pragmatic 'needs must' approach prevalent through NTCs history, was demonstrated by the various locations in which the College was expected to operate. Housed first in an as-yet completed high school, then in demountables at the Union Street site, pragmatism was again on display when the new buildings at Shortland needed to be immediately extended and expanded, and a number of the demountable buildings from Union Street, which had been deemed unsuitable as early as their first occupation in 1952, were transported to the new site and were still being used by the College in the 1980s.

As with the issue of location, so with the educational issue of courses. The importance of the pragmatic approach to the College's courses was clear from the outset. Internally, the lack of planning caused a program change to the structure of the courses. The students were sent out to schools for the first two weeks of their studies. Evidence of the responses to pragmatic external requests was likewise established within the Pioneers. Twenty-five students were co-opted into schools prior to the completion of their two-year training program to assist the department to deal with a teacher shortfall. Importantly however, this departmental request was made to all NSW teachers colleges, and they all agreed to provide some students early to address the shortfall.

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[48] "College Opens in Centenary Year," *NMH*, 16 March 1950.
[49] Elwyn Elphick, *The College on the Hill: A History of Armidale Teachers' College and Armidale CAE, 1929-1989* (Armidale: UNE press, 1989), 37; Votes and Proceedings of the NSW Assembly, 19th October 1948, 20.
[50] "Newcastle Obvious Site for Teachers' College," *NMH*, 22 August, 1947, 2.

In terms of the educational pragmatism, the College was able to ignore their stated position on the importance of vocational experience when asking existing staff to teach into new areas. Despite arguing that a 'one-year' end on Diploma of Education was not long enough to cover the material, they were more than willing to shorten those courses when the NSW Department of Education requested this in 1984. This was particularly salient, as the other CAEs at the time bowed to union pressure and withdrew from the process. The NTC, located in a strongly 'union' town, was the only college to comply with the Department's wishes and go against the union advice. There were clearly different approaches to pragmatism in effect here, and the notion of control was an important factor in the power relations which were developing between teachers, teacher associations, employment bodies and the teacher preparation institutions. The growing importance of the concept of teachers as professionals, which had been present since the days of Alexander Mackie, remained unresolved. However, the relationship of individuals, and through them institutions, to tight structures of control, limited resources and large scale change could just as well be described as flexible rather than 'pragmatic', and certainly the operations of education in 20th century NSW, and in NTC during the same period could also fit either description. NTC was required to operate in changed environments with every increasing numbers of students, and the local solutions, while often not considered as ideal allowed for the continued existence of teacher preparation in Newcastle. The choice was often not between an ideal solution and the one that NTC developed, the choice was between the NTC solution and no solution at all.

Within this context, it is important to note that this pragmatism tended to be a feature of teacher preparation, and CAE institutes rather than specific to NTC. The patterns of staffing, course development and involvements in Departmental 'short courses' for example were implemented sector wide. These same issues of financial constraints driving course duration, and to a certain extent pedagogy, had been present in Australian teacher preparation since the days of the Fort Street Model School and would continue long after the NTC's demise. Other features were simply a result of external processes such as the standardisation of vocational education and accompanying problems with the growth in that sector.

Control Within and of the College

The College was never a truly autonomous institution, and for the entirety of its history was reliant on external bodies for its justification, funding, student accreditation, and course approval. In the period from 1949 until 1974 the College was a part of the NSW Department of Education. In line with all the other NSW teachers colleges, its staff was employed by the Public Service Board, and its courses were subject to approval by the Department. Issues such as course duration, staff employment and numbers of students were determined by the Department. The staff and students saw themselves as 'part' of the Department and the process of teacher preparation was the entire focus of the institution.

Initially there was no thought given to any deviation from Departmental control, and within each layer of the structure, the roles to be played by each participant were clear. The control structure was hierarchical. The principal was answerable to the Department for the College, the staff were answerable to the principal, and the students were answerable to the staff. There was very much a belief in the system and only slight internal modifications were possible.

While in theory moves were being made that would lead to more autonomy, this was more in theory than in practice as similar reporting lines were still present for the College and the staff. The college numbers and course approval process were still external, except now it was the Higher Education Board rather than the Department that approved the courses. In many areas the College still had additional controls on those courses set through approval processes for course accreditation, or funding sources.

Importantly, the separation of the College from the Department was never complete. The relationship between the NSW Department, and later groups such as the Nurse Accreditation Board and various other accreditation bodies, was maintained through the students and their employment prospects. While in the later stages of the College's history, it would have been perfectly possible for NTC to offer a teacher education program which did not lead to NSW departmental accreditation, this was never attempted. In fact, the College would not even let individual students complete their pre-service teaching courses unless they were going to be eligible to teach in NSW state schools. The requirements of other states, or various private or religious systems, were not important to the College in this context.

The staff and students, however, did gain a greater degree of autonomy during the period. The control which had extended deep into their private lives was gradually relaxed as the decades passed, and the by the end of the period, students were much more confident to set their own agendas, in terms of elective studies, and social and political activities, as well as personal grooming. The threats of scholarship withdrawal for students, or transfer from the college for staff, were no longer viable by the end of the period, and in line with the global and national trends towards additional workplace participation, the College staff and students were invited to contribute to the administration of the College. In fact, as with many of the 1970s power sharing arrangements, the establishment of a multitude of committees led to little actual change in power structures, and the internal management systems of the College remained managerially dominated throughout its history.

Influence of External Forces

As with the issues of pragmatic accommodations of practical concerns and hierarchical control, the influences of a range of larger external forces were important for the entirety of NTC's history. Whilst the external forces of financial management and administrative control have been addressed above, this section considers the importance of educational and social forces to the development of the College.

Social Forces

The general societal changes are perhaps the most important driving forces behind the changes in the College in the period of the case study. The transformation of Australian society during the late 1960s and early 1970s certainly led to enormous changes in the behaviours, dress standards, and general attitudes within the College. The College was always a part of its community, and it would have been impossible for the College to continue as an 'island of the 1950s' whilst the change around it was so influential. The changes around generational conflict, social revolution and gender equity which were important in the world-wide transformations of the period, had individual and collective manifestations in the College.

The watershed of social change referred to by Hyams, along with other social changes, were clearly discernible at NTC.[51] While there are many examples discussed in the narrative perhaps a single example encapsulated the influence of social change on the College. The 1960s demarcation over female dress codes highlights the process of accommodation of external social forces in the College.

By the early 1960s women were commonly wearing slacks in the workplace. The first attempts by college students to follow this trend, which was seen by some as an important marker of gender equity, was resisted by the College hierarchy. Duncan and his warden of women's students, Ada Renwick, saw the attire as 'unladylike'. By the time a second request was made the external pressures on the College had mounted even further. The students looked to the standards within the schools, and involved the union, and finally the staff influenced the management to yield to the social change. It was a common process throughout the College's history and can be seen in areas such as student access to alcohol at college events, opening hours for the library, and student representation on college committees. As the 1960s advanced, the staff became increasingly open to some elements of 'youth culture' and this further transformed the focus of the College. Importantly however, the College as with other institutes of advanced education remained a socially conservative entity during the period.

Most significant here were the changes in the social attitudes of students and staff of the college during the period. While the students were generally compliant during the early days of the College, this cannot be said for its later stages. Similarly, the era of protests was important within the College with many issues driving the students to the streets; on occasions joined by the staff. It is difficult to imagine the largely paternalistic relationships between staff and students that were almost expected during the 1950s being tolerated by either students or staff in the 1970s, and by the 1980s it would have been simply impossible. The world had moved on, and the College had followed.

[51] Bernard Hyams, "Teacher Education In Australia: Historical Development," in *Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher Education (The Auchmuty report)*, (Canberra: Australian Government Printing Service, 1980), 258.

Educational Forces

The transformation in the purpose and scope of the College also led to significant changes. The restructures in education, both through external federal and state reviews, drove many of the key changes in the College. The state-based Wyndham Report, which heralded the development of a standard curriculum and an extra year of compulsory schooling, changed the nature of the students entering the College and also changed the nature of the schools that the teaching students were being prepared for. The federal Martin Report changed the landscape of education for the teachers colleges and propelled them into a different and more diverse future. This diverse future saw the further ascendance of the vocational approach to teacher education as the newly defining feature of teacher education in the early 1970s. To this was added a greater variety of instructional subjects as well as methods.

The influence of global and local changes in approaches to education in general were also played out in the College. Initiatives such as the "Crago" Scheme, locally named but part of the world-wide open education movement, was a clear example of the importance of external educational influences. Similarly, the transformation of educational courses to a more diverse coverage of approaches, which included Illich and Freire, highlight the College's reaction to the increasing importance of more diverse approaches to instructional methods typical of world-wide education in the 1970s and 80s. Finally, the adoption of the Sydney Micro Skills approaches, can be seen both as a rear-guard action against the increasing importance of the general education tradition, which was gaining ground in the late 1970s, as well as an example of the College's adoption of external material. Importantly here the educational pressures were similar throughout the period, however towards the end, the selection of which approaches to adopt were taken locally, rather than centrally. There was an increasing interest in the research basis for teacher preparation and the "anti-intellectual" approach of some within the teaching service was increasingly at odds with those who constructed teaching as a profession.[52]

Various external groups also had an increasing role to play within the educational lives of the college personnel. First there were professional groups that were based around either content areas, such as the History Teachers Association or existed as general teaching groups, such as

[52] Aspland, "Changing Patterns,"; See also Bob Bessant and Allyson Holbrook, *Reflections on Educational Research in Australia* (Coldstream, Vic: Australian Association for Research in Education, 1995).

the Australian Teacher Education Association.[53] These groups exerted force on specific curriculum areas and the teaching methods employed both in schools and in the colleges, as well as the general culture of teaching. Next there were the various groups of lecturers who met to consider areas of common interest. Prominent in these were the meetings of the colleges lecturers, which commenced in the mid-1950s, and the meetings of the teachers college principals which were held from the end of WW2. The third external group of this type which played a role in the NTC was the teachers union and its various constituent parts.[54] The Teachers Federation was increasingly active during the 1970s, and the student arm of the body, the Trainee Teachers Association, also became increasing active on a state level as the 1970s progressed. The Teachers College Lecturers Association, also affiliated with the Teachers Federation, provided the final part of the tripartite influence of the Teachers Federation at NTC. While the narrative in the previous chapters contains examples of the ways that all of these groups provided an external influence on the change at NTC, these groups were also, by and large, providing the same external input to all the colleges and CAEs. These external groups were, therefore, ultimately forces for standardisation as well as change.

Importance of Individuals

The external forces detailed above can be juxtaposed with the importance of forces which were exclusively internal to NTC. While many of the global and national movements found a voice in the College through those external forces, more often they were embodied in staff or students who enacted those global issues on the local stage. These individuals, through their presence and actions, also played a significant role in the transformation of NTC.

The first of the individuals who has a significant role in the development of NTC was the foundation principal. In the same way as the initial principals of each of the teachers colleges are recognised as influential in setting the direction and standards for their colleges, NTC was seen almost as the personal dominion of Griff Duncan for much of its history.

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[53] See for example Josephine May , Allyson Holbrook, Ally Brown, Greg Preston, and Bob Bessant, *Claiming a Voice, The First Thirty-Five Years of the Australian Teacher Education Association* (Bathurst: ATEA, 2009).
[54] William Connell, *Reshaping Australian Education 1960-1985* (Hawthorn, Vic: ACER, 1993), 400.

Of the forty-one years covered by this thesis, Duncan was in charge for almost two-thirds of the time, and through the appointments that were made, both during his tenure and in the period after it, his legacy remained in force for the entire period. Huxley, the second longest serving principal in the time-frame, had been student of Duncan, as had many of the staff especially those appointed during the expansion of the staff in the early 1970s. It is clear that Duncan was a man who was both compassionate and approachable, and he engendered loyalty in his staff. The praise was not universal, with some identifying personal character traits, such as "over-friendliness" as out of place in an academic leader, but no one on the staff saw him as anything but a leader of the College. The same was true of the students who attended the College in the early period, who recalled him as being friendly, if at times a little foolish. By the 1970s however, the student's perceptions (discussed in more detail in the next chapter) had changed. Duncan was seen as the figurehead for the establishment, and his almost puritanical views on various social issues did not help his cause. It was clear that throughout his tenure the best interests of the staff and students were his guiding principles, however towards the end of his time in the college his views on the best interests of staff and students and the views of the staff and students themselves on these matters did not always coincide.

To the importance of Duncan can be added the roles played by Ms Huldah Turner, as the first female deputy principal of a teachers college, or the importance of the diversification strategies of Dr Richardson, or the educational innovations of Crago, or Sheedy, or Fullerton. Overall these individuals played a part in making NTC an individual example of the teachers college 'type'. The uniqueness of the College invariably stems from the intersection between the externally devised structures, and the individuals who operated within these externally devised structures. In the same way as Mackie, Wilkins or Newling had selected the approaches they thought were most appropriate to the demands of their time, the same was true for NTC. These differences between the various 'versions' of teachers colleges and later CAEs were well known to the staff who served within them. While the College staff often reflected positively on the position of NTC in relation to other colleges, this assessment also acknowledged the intrinsic differences in the curriculum and outcomes of the various NSW colleges. For example, one interviewee commented:

> The college at Newcastle had a reputation for producing students with an appropriate blend of skills. The graduates from Sydney were seen as too

> theoretical, and the ones from Armidale had good skills but didn't have the background in educational theory. We seemed to get it just right.[55]

These differences, together with the ways that these forces and individuals interacted to produce the lived experiences of students and staff will form the focus of the response to research questions three and four in the final chapter.

Cultural Transmission

In terms of cultural transmission, the staff were gradually transformed from the willing purveyors of standards and cultural norms to a position where they often saw themselves as siding with the radicals. The much discussed 'generation gap' in terms of personal grooming and attitudes was a constant battle ground during the 1960s.[56] Duncan noted in an interview on the changes during the 25 years of the College prior to the move to the Shortland campus that "the greatest changes have been to attitudes to dress, bearing, and demeanour".[57] There was no mention of changes in educational standards or curriculum or teaching methods. The two-page principal's report was dedicated to social commentary on issues such as modesty of dress, sex and drugs.[58] While this had significantly changed by the end of the period, ultimately the notion of cultural transmission was unproblematic for the College. The enforcement of standards of behaviour which had long been part of the role of teacher education institutes was devolved to the vocational work places. Nurses needed to adopt correct behaviour for the nursing work place, teachers correct behaviour for the school, and police officers correct behaviour for their workplace. The student's attire at College is a case in point. The enforcement came during periods of practicums, and students who were free to wear what they liked at College had to conform to workplace standards at the appropriate time. While there was nothing standard about the behaviours, overall there was generally a middle-class acquiescence to behavioural processes involved. Students became increasingly aware of the separation of their private and work lives and were perfectly at home with this dual identity. The staff of the 1950s were trying to mould the person, the staff in the 1980s

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[55] Interview 4_A_M1949.
[56] Based on Manheim's work on generational difference Karl Mannheim, *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning,* (London: Routledge, 2006) ; Ramaa Prasad, *Generation Gap, a Sociological Study of Inter-generational Conflicts,* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1992).
[57] "Principal's Report," *NTC Year Book 1973*, 2-3.
[58] "Principal's Report," *NTC Year Book 1973*, 2-3.

were trying to mould the teacher. The increasing importance of professional behaviour, which had been instrumental in the movement of various vocational courses to the higher education sector and was largely responsible for the growing importance of degree qualifications within the teaching services, was also important here.

The change was at least as much to do with the change in the aspirations of the students. The student who took up a teachers college scholarship in the 1950s saw this as a way to improve their lot in life, and social mobility was mentioned in many of the interviews from this period. Teaching was seen as a good middle-class profession and a way to elevate social status, and the students were willing to be moulded to their new role. The socio-economic status of the applicants for the NTC in this regard did not change much, but increasingly the students saw their aspirations in different terms. The applicants were still predominantly middle-class but were often older and had, and were comfortable with, set patterns of behaviour. As evidenced in the interviews, even those who came straight from school saw their role as providing opportunities to their students that they had not had. They were looking forward not so much to teaching as they had been taught, but expressly teaching in an overtly different way. They no longer wanted to be like their best teachers; they wanted to avoid being like their worst teachers. They did not want to be part of the establishment, they wanted to be part of the 'solution' to the establishment.

This was further compounded by the diversity in first the students and then the staff, which made it increasingly difficult to identify a single 'culture' to transmit. Initially the agenda of cultural transmission was clear. The culture was very much a monoculture and staff were clear on what was to be transmitted, and the value of such transmission. After a time, however, it became less clear that the purpose of education included cultural transmission in the singular and typical of the comment here is the quotation which begins this chapter and expresses both the confusion around the College's purpose, and the growing disassociation between the students and staff.

Eventually, the culture which was to be transmitted was one of diversity, and the staff often viewed themselves as against the traditional views - not so much in an intensely radical way, but more in a politically reactionary way. For example, as discussed above the 'It's Time' movement of the early seventies was influential in terms of agendas on educational campuses, as well as funding models.

> Once Whitlam came to power we saw ourselves as leading the change towards something different and the importance that the Labor Party placed on education seemed to vindicate what we had all been working for.[59]

Staff were less committed to the culture they were transmitting and students less receptive to such transmissions from cultural institutions. Thus the students became more independent and they changed from seeing themselves as 'part of the establishment' to 'a force for change', and lecturers were not only less likely to see themselves as agents of moral change, but also they had fewer opportunities to engage in such activities. The places where this education on personal behaviour had taken place in the 1950s and early 60s was increasingly not inhabited by college staff. Staff were no longer running counselling or employment advisory services, there was no longer a Warden of Women's Students to assist young women to find suitable accommodation, or deal with dress codes. The health services and student services had been outsourced or taken over completely by the students, and the social outlets such as clubs, dances and camps had either been discontinued, or were no longer appropriate for staff involvement.

Thus, while the importance of the three traditions of Connell's 1950 educational exposition – the tradition of general education, the training tradition, and training relating to personal behaviour – survived into the late 1980s, they were transformed.[60] The struggles between the training tradition and the tradition of general education, as described above, continued within the college courses; the third area identified by Connell, the 'personal behaviour' tradition, was outsourced to the schools as a vocational not a personal issue. Not all staff were happy with these arrangements however, the political and social changes of the 1960s and 1970s had ensured that things had to change. The effect of these changes further confused the change from apprentice to practitioner, and the mixed messages of practicum, typical within the sector, are taken up in next chapter which explores the ways that these changes were perceived.

[59] Interview 24_A_F1974.
[60] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the principal changes which took place in NTC between 1949 and 1989. Chief amongst these have been the changes in various structures. The modifications in the structure of the College have been presented in relation to the College's physical structures, reporting and administrative structures, and scope and purpose. The changes have also been expressed in terms of the make-up, background and expectations of the staff and students across the period.

These changes have then been considered in light of the primary influences which acted upon and within the College during this time. The themes of pragmatism, control, and internal and external forces have been considered along with the social, economic and political dimensions and the issue of cultural transmission within the College. These dimensions are also briefly considered in relation to the general development of the advanced education sector. In line with the case study methodology, consideration is also given as to the generalisability of the findings in this case. These latter considerations will be continued in more detail in the chapter which follows.

The final chapter, chapter eight, will explore the ways these transformations were experienced. This will be achieved through a consideration of the ways that the changes described in this chapter were discernible, including changes in curriculum, pedagogy and the lived experiences of the College's staff and students. Chapter eight will also review perceptions on the value of the College and its activities, before considering the nature and value of the sources used to assemble this narrative, specifically concentrating on the alignment between the oral and documentary sources.

Chapter Eight
Recollection and Perception in Institutional History: NTC

Introduction

The chapter continues the discussion of the research questions begun in the previous chapter. In addition to providing the direct responses to the three research questions which centre on perceptions of the College and memory, this chapter makes suggestions for future research and considers the contribution of the work.

The lived experiences of the students and staff, and the transformation of the curriculum and pedagogy, provide concrete examples of the changes within the College. This seems true across all the dimensions of change discussed in the previous chapter. There are situations where the perceptions of specific events are shared between the staff and students, and other occasions where divergent views emerge. When considering staff perceptions on the value of the College there was considerable uniformity. However, that uniformity is situated in relation to their own experiences, with almost all the interviewees seeing the 'best period' of the College as coinciding with the period when they had the most power, either individually or in relation to the importance of their favoured philosophical approach to teacher preparation. There is less uniformity of opinion on the value of the college within the student recollections. Whilst the students all saw some value in their programs of study, some saw their success as taking place in spite of, rather than because of, the College's intervention. There was an almost universal agreement that the College did what it set out to do, however there was considerable disagreement around the value of the objectives which the College sought to achieve.

This divergence is representative of the individual nature of the college experience and the nature of recollection itself, as well as in any substantive variation. There are clearly a range of lived experiences possible across the years covered within the case study, but also within the same years by different individuals, cohorts, and staff and student groups. Both continuity and change are represented. Likewise, while the substance of the individual recollections are largely consistent, they are influenced by the importance of personal perspectives, and those

sections of memory which have remained either unexamined or unrehearsed, have produced varying conformity with the experiences of others.

The work, through the use of the 'entwined history' approach, has also highlighted aspects of the nature of recollection itself, with the uniqueness of the nature of the event, rehearsal, and personal impact of the event prominent within the recollection process. The nature of the entwined history approach, which has overtly drawn on both oral and documentary historical methods has highlighted the points of evidentiary convergence and divergence throughout the work. The section of this chapter in response to research question five explores the importance of rehearsal and the development of collective memory within different types of recollections, with the nature of alignment between oral and documentary sources also discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with suggestions for further research, an overview of the contribution of the work, and a summary of the key issues raised within the case study. As with the previous chapters some combination of issues has allowed the discussion of the recollections and their formation to be explored in a more comprehensive manner.

Perceptions of Change and Continuity in the College

This section will consider each of the three areas identified within the third research question concerning memories of curriculum and pedagogy, practicum, and other formal and informal college experiences in turn. There is considerable overlap between these three areas and the next section which explores the relative importance of these different areas in the formation of the individual's overall perception of the College also covers these three areas.

Curriculum and Pedagogy

As would be expected, the details of the classroom activities recalled by the participants were concentrated on the unusual, while overall impressions were situated in the ordinary.[1] This was true for both staff and students.

[1]As with the previous conclusion chapter, the inclusion of fragments from the interviews in this chapter should be seen as illustrative only, and the data items presented serve to represent the issues raised earlier in the work and focused within this chapter. Interview 8_S_M1949 , Interview 21_S_M1972; Interview 35_S_M1966; Interview 35_B_M1953 Interview 46_A_M1960; Ronald Grele, "Oral History as Evidence" in *History of Oral*

Staff invariably recalled the changes in the curriculum however other individuals who spent considerable time at the College often had no recollection of change in curriculum at all. One interviewee even went so far as to identify that even where there was apparent change, there was little actual change.

> There were changes in the names of what we taught. I think the curriculum changed from social studies to history and geography, and back to social studies about five times while I was teaching at the college, but it didn't change what we taught - the students still need to know their Vikings, Kings and tundra.[2]

The staff interviewees were very keen to highlight methods or processes which were closely linked to current educational issues. There was an almost total absence of these methods or processes in the recollections of the students. An example of this was the Crago Scheme. Every interview with a staff member who was present at the College in the mid-1970s mentioned the Crago Scheme. Many of the staff did so with considerable pride. In counterpoint to this, the Crago Scheme was always voluntary, never included more than a few dozen students per year, and did not feature in the recollections of any of the students of the period. Likewise, while the introduction of courses in Aboriginal education and the development of the Aboriginal enclave featured prominently in the recollections of staff, these issues were totally absent from the interviews with the students of the period. Thus, while these changes could have had considerable impact on individual students, the overall effect on student consciousness was not significant at this historical distance. The events were not recalled.

Understandably the longer-term changes in methods and curriculum were more likely to be discussed by staff who had spent a considerable time at the College. This duration of tenure was often necessary to allow for a single staff member to personally experience the changes in the systems. Added to these were the statements by staff which were clearly comparing their own training to the training which they were involved in delivering. Interestingly, there was a tendency for staff when remembering their own training to assume that all students who trained during the same time period as they did, had the same experience in training as

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History: Foundations and Methodology, eds. Thomas Charlton, Lois Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless, (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers 2007), 5.

[2] Interview 46_A_M1960.

they had. Staff, however, acknowledged differences in student experiences for the cohorts they were teaching.

These longer-term changes were often expressed in terms of 'loss' and many staff interviewees expressed a longing for the 'old days'. Typical of this sense of 'loss' was the following statement from a lecturer who had been at the College since the early seventies.

> When I was a student, we all had to be completely professional, there was no misbehaviour in class, and we had to do all the assignments and homework and pass our exams … the staff could just throw you out if they didn't like you. By the time I retired you couldn't even get rid of someone from the college if they failed everything ... they would always get one more chance.[3]

In this case, the interviewee experiences the expansion of student rights and autonomy as 'decline', and this highlights the importance with which some staff had embraced the value of the teacher preparation tradition that Connell identified as personal behaviour instruction throughout the period under review.

Increased program duration by definition allowed for more courses, yet the balance between the general education tradition and the training tradition was subject to fluctuation through the period regardless of the program duration, and the staff recollections generally conform to the processes of change described in the previous chapter. One staff member remembered:

> it is not that we didn't want to include more general education courses ... um it would have been fantastic if we could have included something like philosophy of education, but there simply wasn't time. To do that we would have had to take something else out of the program, and there was no 'fat' in the program at all.[4]

The staff were aware of the variations in the balance between the training tradition courses and the general education courses, and the balance between the theoretical and practical education courses, and were generally happy with the way that their programs were structured. The preferences, values, and priorities of the staff were confirmed. Staff were also aware of the differences between the types of programs, as evidenced by two comments from staff who were speaking about the same time period:

> We had managed to get some extra hours for our students to learn a range of skills, workshop safety and the like, and this meant that they had less of

[3] Interview 46_A_M1960.
[4] Interview 26_A_F1961.

> the theory. This made it a better program than the one that the primary students did.[5]

Conversely, a secondary English lecturer saw this differently,

> there were two types of courses at the college at that stage: there were the academic courses, your English and Maths and Science and the like and then there were the practical courses, the PE and your cooks and woodworkers, with the primary students somewhere in between. Well we had to change the courses for the practical programs because the students just didn't have the academic wherewithal ... they could have never passed.[6]

Again, as would be expected, individual students were not always in a position to observe curriculum or pedagogical change, as their experience did not include repeated courses or programs, so the students' perceptions of change in this area needed to be constructed across multiple narratives. However, it is also important to note that despite the lack of direct experience, individual students did often make remarks about the changes in curriculum. These types of statements seemed to be influenced by the development of collective memories about types of events, signalled by the use of the plural pronoun 'we', that is, the contemporary's group:

> We were much better off than the students who had done the course before us, as they didn't get the same amount of behaviour management as we got ... it still wasn't enough ... but apparently it was much more than they used to get.[7]

This comparative evaluation was not always positive, and there was considerable disappointment expressed by those students who were the first to complete the extra year of the three-year diploma course in terms of lost earning time.

The students made comments on three specific types of issues in relation to College courses, and very rarely distinguished between curriculum and pedagogy. The areas that they spoke of were a general impression of the teaching, specific courses, and specific individuals. The recollections of the teaching in general and the specific impressions of the courses were generally negative, and the recollections of the individuals who did the teaching were generally positive. While this disjuncture may be related to memory formation, which is explored below, the comment below is typical of the student recollection on courses:

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[5] Interview 6_A_M1971.
[6] Interview 23_A_M1974.
[7] Interview 80_S_F1979.

> The courses we took were generally of two types. They were usually easy and boring, but sometimes they were just completely irrelevant, I mean there was one course were we spent six months looking at King Lear - I was going to be a primary teacher - I was never going to teach that, and what made it worse most of us had already done it for our HSC [Higher School Certificate] ... they had no idea what they were doing.[8]

Within these recollections, there was also often a distinction been utility and enjoyment. The students' recollections often contained a distinction between the utility of the teaching event and the enjoyment of that same event. Typical of this was the statement of a 1960s student:

> We had a great time with all the drama productions ... it had nothing to do with my subject area, and it didn't seem to be a very good use of our time. But we all enjoyed it.[9]

The same was true where students attempted to distinguish between teaching method and curriculum content.

> I can remember sitting in this little AV [audio visual] room and watching these tapes of people teaching. There were sometimes good points that were made but it took so long to get to them ... in the end it was just so boring that most of us stopped going.[10]

The exception to this generally negative impression emerged when students recalled individuals. There were numerous individuals recalled within the oral narrative, and these recollections included both positive and negative experiences but were predominately positive. Interviewees often recalled a staff member who had delivered a particularly interesting course and who demonstrated competence across both curriculum and pedagogy, with an example being this student's recollection of whole courses by one teacher educator from the 1950s:

> The courses given by [name] were responsible for my lifelong interest in statistics. His explanation of standard deviation has stayed with me all my life, and I still use it with my students today.[11]

In a similar vein, a student responded that another lecturer showed mastery of pedagogy and curriculum:

> The classes by [name] in Primary Craft were the best preparation for teaching that I could have had. [Name] showed us the skills and how to

[8] Interview 90_S_F1980.
[9] Interview 21_S_M1972.
[10] Interview 83_S_F1978.
[11] Interview 19_S_M1955.

> teach them all in one simple lesson … he was a great example for us, and his books were fantastic.[12]

Not all the recollections of individuals were positive however, with a 1980s student noting an absence in both pedagogical skill and content knowledge:

> [name] was the worst teacher I ever had in my life, and she was supposed to be teaching us how to teach. She couldn't present, she didn't know anything about teaching, and she was just so boring.[13]

While the majority of the recollections about individual staff members and their courses were positive, the general theme running through the students' perceptions of the College's curriculum and pedagogy was one of dissatisfaction. During the 1950s the students perceived the classes as 'too easy', and too much like school. By the late 1960s the courses were seen as not relevant, and often not focused appropriately on their needs. The 'split' here was quite interesting. While there were few specific courses recalled in interviews, there was a distinct difference between the 'practical' and the 'theoretical' courses. In line with the work of Holbrook, the theoretical courses were perceived as not relevant and the practical courses were perceived as too easy.[14] Students complained about either useless knowledge, or tedious completion of forms and checklists. Thus, the difference in the balance between the training tradition and the general education tradition took on a new dimension, and the balance between the practical and theoretical became important in the experiences of the staff and students.

While there were reported differences between the general education of students in different college courses, the reality was that the improved standard of general education meant that students had already covered the 'content' and largely now saw this as surplus to requirements. The additional educational dimensions were able to be implemented through more theoretical educational courses which covered areas such as educational sociology and psychology, and these courses were not always seen as relevant looking back from the vantage of their careers as teachers after college, or their perceptions of this by the staff. It seems that the recollections of the curriculum and pedagogy were shaped by the individual's understanding based on the demands of their careers. Additionally, these recollections would appear to support the findings of Holbrook who reported that students had generally reported

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[12] Interview 25_S_F1976.
[13] Interview 80_S_F1980.
[14] Allyson Holbrook, "A Chorus of Condemnation: Memories of NSW Teacher's Colleges 1940s-1950s," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* 16, (1994): 42.

their college experiences in either a negative or ambivalent light, however the recollections of college teaching only tells part of the story and the practicum recollections discussed below, are completely different.[15]

Practicum

The practicum was almost universally viewed as the most important section of their program by students, and often the most problematic by staff. The practicum was where the staff lost control of the students' teacher education experiences. In the early days of the College where there was a close relationship between the College and schools - they were after all two parts of the same organisation - the relationships between the school teachers and the College staff was good. The message perceived by students was uniform: they were all part of the one system working towards the one end. Over time however these relationships became more difficult, especially as the programs changed to a more research-based approach. By the end of the College's existence, the 'ivory tower' accusations from school teachers to college staff were frequent, and students were often in the middle of this disagreement. The dilemma which the students were placed in here was clearly articulated by a 1970s student:

> On the first day of my prac at [school's name] the principal told me to forget everything that I had been told in College - that this is where you would learn to teach. [16]

In areas where the previously site-based vocational education had recently been relocated to the higher education sector, such as in policing and nursing, the value of the college-based training was often questioned, both by the students and the staff with whom the students were 'placed' in the workplace:

> The students that I had in one of my police groups, quite senior cops from around the district, some of them called the course the WTC which was short for 'Waste of Time Course'- they had an acronym for everything those guys.[17]

Similarly, a nursing student from the late 1980s reported:

[15] Holbrook, "A Chorus of Condemnation," 43.
[16] Interview 87_S_F1977.
[17] Interview 74_B_M1963.

> On my first night shift one of the senior nurses told me straight out that she didn't think that the training should be at the College, that we wouldn't learn anything and it would be better for everyone if they could just put it back the way it was.[18]

In these situations, not only was there evidence of resistance to change, but in the same way that supporters of the pupil-monitor scheme and the various forms of apprenticeship models have highlighted the value of imitation and practical experience, individuals who had been instructed in this fashion saw the value in it, and they often saw the process of training as part of their identity. Just as the visiting American scholar, Butts indicated in the fifties that the pupil-teacher tradition was hard to dispel, so it was with all forms of apprenticeship models.[19] Both the students and the staff perceived this as an area of conflict.

Whilst the nature of the practicum did not change much during the existence of the NTC, the lived experience of the practicum was extremely variable even within the same cohort. Difference in schools or hospitals, for example, the abilities and interest of cooperating staff, work place locations, and expectations meant that students could have significantly disparate experiences within the locations to which they were sent on their practicum. Students were also extremely aware of this. Initially this was seen as a 'luck of the draw' event, however, as students became more aware of their rights within the administrative structures, 'placement' was the subject of considerable agitation. There were many changes made to the assessment of practicum in an effort to account for these differences, and to a certain extent 'equalise the experience'. Conceptually, there was an interesting change here, in that the initial idea was that increased supervision would be able to moderate the variation in the student experience. An experienced teacher, it was argued, would be able to assess the student teacher's ability relative to opportunity:

> Students were expected to do more with better classes- so when I was at (selective school) the expectations of my teaching were higher than when I was at (school name) which was ... ah … how should I say this ... a more difficult school.[20]

Ultimately however, the staff supervision of the practicum was also constructed as problematic, and as the college staff became perceived as more distant from the 'real world'

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[18] Interview 52_S_F1984.

[19] Robert Freeman Butts, *Assumptions Underlying Australian Education* (Melbourne ACER: 1955), 69-70; W.E. Andersen, " 'to see ourselves…': Australian education as viewed by Overseas visitors," *Australian Journal of Education* 10, no. 3 (1966): 236-7.

[20] Interview 60_S_F1964.

this process became more difficult. It therefore led to changes in assessment methods, such as the introduction of competency-based assessment, for example, 'ungraded' passes and the greater involvement of school staff in the assessment process, but ultimately the practicum assessment remained a source of conflict and dissatisfaction. Against this background, the students' perceptions of the value of the practicum were often driven by issues of equity and fairness. There was always a sense that the practicum was the 'real world' and that the rest of the college experience was at a distance from it.[21]

The practicum was also the site in which two key conflicts of the period found their ultimate expression. The first of these, eluded to above, is the perpetual balancing act between practice and theory. Student interviewees often reported that they felt underprepared for their practical experiences. This lack of preparation was never expressed in terms of lack of content knowledge or in terms of Connell's 'general education' tradition.[22] The students did not say that they wished they knew more about trigonometry, or Henry V, or alluvial plains. They always expressed their deficiencies in terms of the practical teaching dimensions. Students from the earlier years indicated that they needed more on classroom management, and students from the later years added procedural and Departmental regulations to the deficit ledger. One recalled:

> I was like a babe in the woods. I remember standing in front of my first geography class with a whole arm full of beautifully prepared stencils on the major rivers of New South Wales. I had no idea what I was doing ... I can still remember the smell of those handouts ... the lesson was a complete disaster ... the students just rode roughshod over me ... I had no idea how to control them … we hadn't been taught that … but we knew our major rivers … (laughs) … it's funny now, but it certainly wasn't at the time.[23]

The students were clearly aware of the conflict between the importance of curriculum knowledge and pedagogical knowledge in both abstract and practical terms as were the staff interviewees. Notably, the division in memories in terms of the practicum preparation was almost completely based on the role of the interviewee. While the students were concerned with Connell's 'training tradition'[24], the staff were much more worried about sending

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[21] For a contempory view on the same issue see Malcom Vick, "'It's a Difficult Matter': Historical Perspectives on the Enduring Problems of the Practicum in Teacher Preparation," *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 34, no. 2 (2006): 181-198.
[22] William Connell, "Tradition and Change in Australian Teacher Education," *The South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 6, no. 4, (1978): 258.
[23] Interview 39_S_M1973.
[24] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.

students to schools without the required syllabus knowledge, thereby demonstrating the students' point that preparation for the pedagogical challenges of the practicum was not foregrounded by the teacher educators. A staff interviewee reinforced this point:

> The biggest problem here was that they needed some of everything. We couldn't send students out who had no understanding of the English syllabus or the Maths syllabus, or Social Sciences. They needed to have at least some exposure to every Primary syllabus area before they went out into the schools, and ... and this gave us problems in fitting everything in … there just wasn't enough time in the course to cover everything.[25]

The students on the other hand had a very different view of the balance required.

> We knew the content already, I mean we had just done the HSC [Higher School Certificate], we didn't need to learn how to add up, or the days of the week … we needed teaching strategies and to learn what to do with ... with difficult children ... and they didn't give us that.[26]

Further evidence of this feeling of lack of preparation was often expressed in terms of the level of nervousness the cohort displayed in the lead up to their first practicum. This was especially evident with the Diploma of Education students, who throughout the period generally felt that they had less practical experience through demonstration lessons and school visits than their Teaching Certificate counterparts. One of the Dip Ed students from the early 1960s noted:

> The only part of the work that we were nervous about was the Prac teaching - all the other stuff was easy- I had just finished English Honours and we were learning about parts of speech for God's sake ... but our first prac ... that frightened the hell out of us.[27]

The second area where the practicum provided a source of both conflict and anxiety for the students was in the multiple roles that they were required to play, each with differing expectations. The students were to play the role of student, student teacher and teacher, often at the same time. A student on practicum was expecting the school students in their class to treat them as a teacher; the other teachers in the school to treat them as a student teacher or junior colleague; and their supervising lecturer invariably viewed them as a student. This role

[25] Interview 27_A_M1958.
[26] Interview 71_S_F1973.
[27] Interview 74_B_M1963.

conflict, and perspective on liminality was more overt in the memories about the early stages of the College's history:

> On the Friday I was at college and the lecturers were telling me to tuck my shirt in and that I need to make sure that my tie was straight and that I needed to be wearing my blazer, as we had a visitor coming … then on the Monday I was in a school and I was responsible for telling all the students the same things - it was quite a switch, and one that I found hard to adjust to at first ... Especially the first time that we were out in schools. The staff didn't know if they should treat us as students or teachers or what they should do with us. I had been a student at [school's name] and finished my Leaving only a couple of months before, and then to be back again as a teacher without much preparation … that was hard.[28]

As the century wore on this conflict was reduced. This was at least partly as the role of 'student' in the College became less closely associated with school behaviour and students were treated more as adult students. This was congruous with the lowering of the age at which individuals were being considered adults within Australian society. For example, in 1973 the federal voting age was lowered from 21 to 18 by the Whitlam Labor Government.[29] As the regulations on student behaviour at the College were relaxed, the distinction between the roles was minimised and students were given more autonomy to conduct their own affairs without college intervention. They were able to arrange their own lodgings and take responsibility for their own dress codes, and completely administer college student clubs and other bodies (see chapters five and six). Additionally, after the establishment of the Wyndham Scheme which required the students to complete six years of secondary school, students became older at the point of entry to the College and this further diminished the conflict for many students. The development of courses with a minimum length of three years by the 1970s also meant that the student stayed at college for a further year. Thus the graduate from the standard primary teaching qualification in 1970s was in their early twenties rather than their late teens as had been the case in the 1950s. The more mature students seemed to become adept at separating their personal and professional lives and were more at home with these types of distinctions.

[28] Interview 19_S_M1955.
[29] *Commonwealth Electoral Act.* Accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Series/C1918A00027.

Other Formal and Informal College Experiences

It is largely the perceptions of individuals of their informal College experiences which have dominated and shaped their recollections of the College. The specific recollections of classroom activities, and even practicum experiences, were dwarfed by the sheer number of recollections which centred on activities which were not based around specific curriculum-based events. Indeed, there was an acknowledgement by staff, and particularly students, that it was these activities which defined the College experience for them. Activities such as College balls, interaction with sporting groups, College clubs, religious groups, specific College cohorts, and other social events, were invariably the things mentioned by the interviewees when asked about their NTC experiences. In many cases the student respondents required considerable prompting to recall activities which staff saw as the heart of the College activities. The recollection of College camps, and intercollegiate sporting events were recalled fondly by respondents, with more than one recalling these events being responsible for the formation of life-long friendships.[30] This was an abiding theme from the first through to the last group of students. One of the Pioneer group stated:

> College was a social place. It was the first time many of us had experienced any freedom and we started to become adults. I made life-long friends and there were lots of people who found their wives and husbands at College. The lessons were just secondary to the social side of it.[31]

Likewise, a student from the 1980s remembered her time at College in the following terms:

> I really don't remember anything about the classes or the courses that I took. I know that me and my friends had a good time. I was in the Magazine Club, and we really enjoyed that … we got free tickets to the college do's and could always go to all the events. I remember the fun things but don't really remember anything else.[32]

Over the period however the frequency of these events diminished with the students having less informal College involvement and distinguishing more between a 'professional' life and a 'private' life. The increasing maturity of the students, the gradual reduction in the College's face-to-face teaching hours, and the growing numbers of students engaged in part-time

[30] See Interview 54_S_F1950 on page 144 in chapter 4, and Interview 90_S_F1980 on page 257 in chapter 6.
[31] Interview 1_S_M1949.
[32] Interview 80_S_F1979.

employment no doubt contributed to this bifurcate, however the salient point is that this distinction would have been unthinkable for the Pioneer group.

Similarly, the staff recalled social events, morning teas, and more light-hearted moments as being the core of college existence, however the increasing diversity and number of College staff led to a growing lack of coherence of both purpose and culture.

> It was easy for us to get together when we were at Union Street, we were all schoolies, and were all had the same background and experiences. Once we were at Shortland that started to change. The staff was too big and we didn't have much in common with a lot of the newcomers.[33]

It was also in these non-class based areas where the 'tone' of the College, in terms of staff relationships with students, was set. The initial directly authoritarian, and often paternalistic control of the students by the College, slowly gave way to a more distributed power sharing model. This was not perceived through the classroom activities. None of the student respondents reflected unfavourably on the amount of control the College exerted within the classroom. There was an expectation that when they were present in class that they were in the role of students and that control was necessary for learning to occur. As the decades progressed the students saw themselves more as adult students, as indeed they legally were, and they perceived that they had different characteristics than 'school students', but they still saw themselves as students when in this mode. It was in the domains of conduct, dress, and other areas considered by Connell as 'personal behaviour' where the change in the college-student relationship was most evident.

The change in College clubs stands as an example of the move from a paternalistic and often patriarchal model, to more distributed model of power sharing. In reality this was because the staff 'ceded' the area - rather than any overt implementation of any actual power sharing arrangements. One staff member recalled:

> We slowly had less to do with the students outside of the class room - there wasn't that personal contact. Now it was partly because the college got so much bigger, but we also weren't as welcome at the student events as we had been. [34]

The same was true with areas such as the Health Service and Counselling. The increased academic demands and the elevated level of expertise required to give appropriate advice in

[33] Interview 32_B_M1953.
[34] Interview 40_A_F1977.

these areas meant that staff were not involved, and the relationship was more bureaucratic and less personal.

Thus, across the board, the social and non-classroom-based activities were perceived as vital in the formation of student and staff overall impressions of the College. In the earlier times these events were more centralised and the experiences, while diverse, were more uniform, and also more directly controlled by the staff. As the decades advanced the experiences became more divergent, and the social events became less about the college and more about friendship. The tone of the College was still set by these events and this allowed for less uniform impressions to be presented by the respondents as to the value of the College. This development is explored in the next section of the work.

Perceptions of NTC Staff and Students on the Value of the College

This section explores the assignment of value to the activities of the NTC. The perception of the 'worth' of instruction in teacher education is a well-researched area, and this section examines previous work in this field in the light of the aims and objectives of the NTC and other studies.[35] This is not an attempt to quantify success through any external measure or comparative validation. Rather it is an attempt to ascertain if the institution was judged to be valuable by those who attended it. The perception of 'value' in this context is drawn primarily from the questions which asked the participants to identify what they saw as the purpose of the college during their attendance, and to assess how well they considered it fulfilled that purpose. They were also asked to assess how well the college prepared individuals for the specific vocations that the college offered courses in (eg teaching).[36] Thus this section is primarily concerned with the interviewees' perception of the value of the college in these areas.

While the interviewees were often negative concerning many individual aspects of their College experiences, when asked to evaluate the success of the institution overall, the picture was both more positive and less clear. The divergence of views on practicum and formal

[35] Holbrook, "A Chorus of Condemnation," 37-45; Cliff Turney and Judy Taylor, *To Enlighten Them Our Task: A History of Teacher Education at Balmain and Kuring-Gai Colleges, 1946-1990* (Sydney: Sydmac Academic Press,1996), 187.

[36] Full details of these questions are available in appendix A-5 and A-6.

curriculum and the value of social and intellectual growth were often harmonized, both within individuals and within cohorts of different periods. There was also a tendency to conflate their own overall experiences with the overall effect of the College. If the individual had a positive College experience, they almost universally reviewed the value of the College in the same way. There were also differences between staff and students on this dimension, with staff more likely than students to explore the value of the College against more external points of reference such as other colleges or systems. However, the overall trend here was to evaluate the College as being a valuable experience for themselves and for others. There is also evidence for a shaping narrative of the 'golden age' in memories of the value of the college experience for both staff and students.

An interesting dimension of the reflections was the comparative nature of the perceived value of the College experience by individuals. In almost all cases the students saw themselves as having a 'better' College experience than other students who had come either before them or after them. This was especially true for those students who attended the college in the 40s, 50s and 60s. In each case, their perception was that the experience that they had was better than those who came after them, that theirs was the 'golden age'. The balance of the courses, the nature of the cohort, or the relationship with staff were often expressed as being the optimum, despite the fact that they had no first-hand experience of what it was like to be in another cohort. The evidence offered as proof for this 'golden age' was the number of members of their group who had long and distinguished teaching careers, or the number of individuals who attended reunions. This question seemed also to summon the collective identity in individual recollection, demonstrated again by the presence of the plural pronoun 'we':

> We were very lucky to be in College when we were. There was a fantastic staff and our group was just the best possible. We still keep in touch you know … we have reunion every few years and nearly everyone comes. You wouldn't get that from the modern students.[37]

By the 1970s, however, there was less likelihood of students expressing their experience in these terms. Students often saw the idiosyncrasies of their experiences as less than optimum. For example, one recalled:

> We were in the first group at Shortland, and it was so disorganised. There were no rooms, we couldn't find anything, and the teachers ... well they

[37] Interview 33_S_F1966.

> couldn't find any of their equipment. In the end I think they just wanted to get us through and start fresh with the next year.[38]

The transformation of NTC from a teachers college to a CAE seems to have been chronologically linked to this attitudinal change.

The staff were also likely to express their experience in terms of a 'golden age', however this was common to staff through the entire period of the NTC's existence. There was no chronological consistency in this golden age, and understandably it was more likely to correspond with the period where the College's approach to teacher preparation most closely coincided with the interviewee's personal beliefs in the area. The previously quoted interview where a staff member compares the NTC experience as preferable to those of Armidale or Sydney, is amplified by numerous recollections which compare various time periods with other times at NTC itself. Typical of these reflections was this comment from a long-term staff member:

> I think we had it just about perfect in the early 1970s, just before we moved from Union Street. The college was the right size, we had good relations with the schools and the program had the right balance … after that we started to become too theoretical again.[39]

This is clearly contrasted with another staff member who spoke about the NTC program of the late 1980s and maintained:

> The best program we offered was the four-year program. We had enough time to actually teach the students all the things they needed to cover, and we didn't have to be so beholden to the department anymore - we could experiment, and the students loved it.[40]

A positive trend was also apparent in those reflections on the value of the College that attempted to perceive its effect more holistically. There was often an attempt to place the value of the College into a local context assessing impact on the region, with the following two staff evaluations typical of the range of reflections here:

> The College was an important institution for Newcastle. It allowed the town to start down the path towards being the educational centre it is today.[41]

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[38] Interview 71_S_F1973.
[39] Interview 95_A_F1965.
[40] Interview 22_B_M1976.
[41] Interview 57_A_F1977.

and,

> The College had a profound effect on the local area, it served as a focus for educational endeavours and had an important cultural impact on Newcastle.[42]

Additionally, to this local emphasis a more general vocational context was added:

> The College was one of the most important centres for teacher training in the state. It produced excellent teachers … mostly … and changed the lives of countless individuals.[43]

And finally,

> The College had a positive effect on the lives of thousands. The students who went here were turned out as quality teachers and through them thousands of students in their classes received a better education.[44]

Individuals often saw the process of 'evaluation of value' as a comparative process and often reflected on their own experiences compared to their perception of the experiences of others. These comparative reflections on the value of the College produced four types of evaluations or motifs. These four motifs, present to varying degrees in both staff and student narratives, stressed the importance of individual impact through professional preparation, personal utility, personal transformation, and the development of social relationships.

Professional Preparation

A commonly expressed response to the value of the College was in terms of the effectiveness in preparing the individual for their role in their profession. This was true of both students and staff. If the College turned out good teachers, then it was seen as a good college. The yardstick was the ability of the students to perform the task for which they had been trained:

> The college was well known for turning out good teachers, and that was the case for the whole time we were a teachers college.[45]

[42] Interview 32_B_M1953.
[43] Interview 78_A_M1986.
[44] Interview 40_A_F1977.
[45] Interview 4_A_F1949.

Some staff however saw the college experience of the students as a missed opportunity, with the staff member's ideological position on teacher preparation being incorporated into their judgement on the value of the College. One staff member from the 1970s recalled:

> The College was very good at what is was trying to do, that was train teachers to be part of the New South Wales teaching service. But if you wanted a more broadly educated teacher, one who could think for themselves, and develop the profession ... well then, the college at that time was not much use at all.[46]

The students were generally positive about the value of the College in developing their teaching skills.

> Yes, my time at College was very valuable … the school placements especially. I wouldn't have lasted ten minutes in the classroom without that help early in my career.[47]

Other students however described their teaching skills as developing owing to their own efforts rather than the impact of the College.

> I think I ended up being a good teacher, but I am not sure that the college had a great deal to do with that.[48]

Alternatively, some reflected both on their initial perceptions and the later transformation of their thoughts on the value of the College.

> It wasn't until I have been teaching for a few years and had the crowd control aspects of the job sorted that I was able to use some of the techniques that we had learnt at College. If you had asked me in my first year out I would have said no but now ... now … Yes, I think the college made me a better teacher.[49]

Personal Utility

The dimension of personal utility, or assessment of the value of the College in terms of what it allowed the interviewee to do, was also expressed in response to the request for interviewees to assess the value of the College.

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[46] Interview 23_A_M1974.
[47] Interview 41_S_F1968.
[48] Interview 25_S_F1976.
[49] Interview 71_S_F1972.

> It was very straightforward. I went to College to get my teaching degree and I got my teaching degree, so it did its job.[50]

Typical of a more moderate but still pragmatic response, another student recalled.

> It was very much a case of going through and doing what you had to do to come out at the other end with my teaching certificate. I ended up teaching for almost 30 years so it can't have been all bad.[51]

The personal utility motif was also expressed by the staff. There was an interesting continuum expressed here, from the extremely self-centred, to the altruistic.

> The College was a great place. It let me get away from the schools at a time in my life were I really needed to ... I couldn't have faced another day in schools, it [sic] had just worn me down.[52]

At the other end of the spectrum, although starting with the exact same six words, another staff member indicated:

> The College was a great place. I had more than 15 wonderful years working with a fantastic staff and great students ... I feel like the college gave me the chance to make a difference in people's lives.[53]

Personal Transformation

Another common theme which emerged in the positive reflections on the value of the College were points of personal growth. There were individuals who reflected positively on the changes that they underwent during their time at NTC and saw these as contributing to the overall positive effect of the College. There were two broad groups of outcomes which were addressed here, educational outcomes and those relating to social status. A student reflection which was typical of the first of these types was:

> I learnt so much at college, especially from [staff name]. I started to think about things in different ways - much more deeply, and I could put everything into perspective better.[54]

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[50] Interview 56_S_F1959.
[51] Interview 20_S_M1961.
[52] Interview 18_A_M1982.
[53] Inteview 26_A_F1961.
[54] Interview 71_S_F1973.

Alternatively, others saw the College a vehicle to social elevation:

> My parents were keen for me to take on the teacher's college scholarship. It gave me access to something that we couldn't have afforded. It was seen as a good way for a working-class girl to get ahead … teaching or nursing, or being a secretary were our only options if you had no money.[55]

As discussed in the previous chapter, some students saw the paternalistic nature of the College as a means to social acceptance, rather than as a burden to be endured and both nursing and teaching were viewed as a 'suitable profession' for females.[56] As other opportunities for this social advancement became more common, the contribution of this aspect to the value of the College became less important. However, up until the abolition of higher education fees and teachers college scholarships, students spoke about elevation of social status and improved economic opportunities - especially for females – as being a point of value for the College.

Social Relationships

The final, and most common, reflection on the value of the College was deeply imbedded within the college's social structure. NTC was seen as valuable because of the friendships formed there and through social events. This was a more common recollection of the students than staff. The students recalled student pranks, dances, sporting trips, club activities, car rallies and long days playing cards and relaxing, and the College was seen as valuable owing to the friends that were made there, the good times that were had, and the interesting characters encountered. One student thoughtfully reflected on the nature of the social experience in the following terms:

> It was the best time of my life. We were all young together and it was the college that allowed the 'together' part of that.[57]

[55] Interview 56_S_F1959.
[56] Debra Schulzetenberg, "A Suitable Profession," *Nursing* 24, no.1 (January,1994): 88.
[57] Interview 68_S_F1969.

Reflections on Transformation

In addition to the issues of personal impact, there were also insights into the changes within the institution itself and in particular of the diverse nature of the College experience. There was a clear recognition of change within the individual narratives of the College with many respondents commenting on how their experience was different to the experiences of others. This contributed to a collective feeling that the precise time that individuals went through was the 'best time' to receive their training, or in some cases, the worst, but in almost all cases different from those that others had received. The narratives, even those where the interviewees had only a narrow window on NTC, had defined ideas and recollections on events concerning the broader brush strokes of educational change. They had positioned themselves within the educational debates, and the match between their current position was important in their attribution of value to the College itself. Some saw this in a negative way. A student who had had no further contact with the College after leaving in 1951 was quite clear that:

> The College didn't stay true to its initial goals - the idea was to create the best teachers possible, and in the end they moved away from that.[58]

Others saw this as a positive factor, with one saying:

> The College changed a great deal from in my day - then it was all filling in forms and lesson plans and having your tie straight - none of that was important, and luckily training had changed by the time I had retired.[59]

In both cases their understanding of the College curriculum and methods was obtained from third parties. They had no problem joining their first-hand experiences with the experiences of others to create a value judgement on the College's transformation.

Individual Transformation

In addition to this institutional change, there was a recognition of an individual transformation to mark the passage of the student to their role as a professional. In the education programs this was the change from pupil to teacher. Later, in the other

[58] Interview 65_S_M1950.
[59] Interview 16_S_F1954.

professional courses offered by the CAE, from 'outsider' to 'insider', or apprentice to practitioner. Within many of the early training systems there was a clear intermediate stage. The pupil-teacher for example was clearly undergoing that change, they were in an 'in-between' stage and were clearly identified as such. Similarly, with nurse trainees, who had different uniforms, and status on the wards. Once the College assumed the responsibility for this stage of vocational training, the students themselves received confusing cues on their position in the process and indeed their position could change on an almost daily basis. Students for example were told that they were not students and should act like professionals and yet were simultaneously regaled with a plethora of behavioural and conduct rules which were not presented to other professionals.[60] This confusion in role was to remain with students throughout the second half of the 20th century and was to help cement the ever-present importance of the practicum in the teacher training process.

The practicum was the place where this change was located in the experiences of the NTC students. The recollections of this role conflict within NTC formed a significant part of the way that students and staff perceived the College. There were many who recalled this mismatch in problematic terms:

> I didn't know what I was supposed to be doing. In some classes you were expected to be creative and ask questions, and at other times that was the last thing they wanted, and then there were the placements, and after 25 years of teaching I still don't know what they were looking for there.[61]

However, in those cases where the students understood the nature of their expected relationship, their perceptions of the College were more positive.

> Once I got the hang of the what they wanted from me it was an easy place to be. They just hoped that you would be a quiet little sponge and suck up all the knowledge, and only show any form of initiative once you were out in the schools ... once I got that, I got college.[62]

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[60] See for example the rules in the STC Calendar 1938, and contrast these with the Sydney University Calendar for the same year. The professionals that Alexander Mackie was so keen to equate to his teacher trainees received no such behavioural direction. *Sydney Teachers' College Calendar 1938* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1938), Accessed May 16, 2019, http://sydney.edu.au/arms/archives/stc_adminhist.shtml; *Sydney University Calender 1938*, (Sydney: Government Printer, 1938), Accessed May 16, 2019, http://calendararchive.usyd.edu.au/Calendar/1938/1938.pdf.

[61] Interview 35_S_M1966.

[62] Interview 71_S_F1973.

Once students understood the paternalistic role that the College played they were able to navigate their space in it more assuredly, either through compliance or resistance, however it was the acknowledgement of the position that was key to the experience.

One final dimension of the reflections of the value of the College relates directly to the concept of control and ownership and stems from the use of first person plural pronouns in the student and staff recollections of their time at the College. The recollection of staff and students who attended the NTC prior to the move to Shortland, which coincided with the College's change to a CAE, invariably used plural first person personal pronouns to describe the activities of College itself, and the actions of the College. Thus, students and staff discussed what "we" did, and this could mean either their friends or their section or the College as a whole. Thus, the form was often "we had an intercoll trip to Wagga", or "we did a range of lessons about butterflies".[63] This seemed to be marker of institutional allegiance, as there was not only a sense of ownership of the College and its activities, but a universally positive construction of the role of the College amongst those who saw the College in this way. After NTC had transformed into a CAE there was an increasing tendency to refer to the College using impersonal third person pronouns: 'they made us do ..." or "it wasn't up to us it was up to them".[64] This linguistic variation was extremely common in the oral narratives, and was directly mentioned once in an interview, when a student from the 1950s was asked why they were using the first-person plural. The reply was:

> It was our College, we saw ourselves as part of the Department and we had a deeply held allegiance to the college.[65]

Clearly the efforts designed to produce college loyalty in the 1950s had been effective, and the lack of those initiatives as the College grew, while socially driven, had an effect on the students' perception of the College.

In summing up this section on the perceived value of the College, the majority of the individual recollections indicated a positive view of the College's aims, and its ability to achieve those aims. The fact that the overwhelming majority of individuals saw the College as being valuable is anomalous with some previous work and with some of the individual recollections of the constituent parts of the lived experiences. It is important to note that

[63] Interview 10_S_F1949; Interview 60_S_F1964.
[64] Interview 40_A_F1977; Interview 28_S_F1988.
[65] Interview 88_S_F1956.

methodologically those who were interviewed tended to have continued their contact with NTC. Few were openly hostile and most had fond memories of at least parts of their experiences, but the distinction is still stark. While most students recollected non-classroom experiences in a positive way, many saw the classes themselves as 'easy' or 'boring'. Overall this may go some way to accounting for the difference between the negative reports of teachers college experience in the work of authors such as Holbrook and the positive evaluations provided by Turney and Taylor and Elphick.[66]

Within the NTC narratives, an emphasis on curriculum, on what the College did, produced a more negative recollection, while if the emphasis was on what 'we did' then the overall experience was invariably more positive. Combined with this, the classroom journey was seen as more individual. The assumption was that different people had different classroom experiences, however there was an expectation of greater uniformity in the overall experience. The College journey was seen as more collective than its constituent parts. It seems likely that it was therefore subject to greater modification through processes of creating a collective memory. The issue of the importance of collective memory in the development of individual narratives, along with an evaluation of the narratives themselves, is taken up in the methodological review of the sources undertaken in the next section of the work.

Comparison of the Oral Narrative and Documentary Sources

This section addresses the requirement expressed in research question five to take a step back from the oral testimonies themselves to consider the methodological issue of the relationship of the oral history records gathered for the study with that of other historical sources. The entwined historical method in this study demands the examination of this aspect of the two main types of sources that are entwined to produce a history of the NTC. The purpose is to explore the significance of different types of historical source types, and therefore to further understand the place of oral history and case study within the current debates on historical method.

[66] Holbrook, "A Chorus of Condemnation," 42; Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them,* 187; Elwyn Elphick, *The College on the Hill: A History of Armidale Teachers' College and Armidale CAE, 1929-1989* (Armidale: UNE press, 1989).

This section begins with a consideration of the alignment and variation between the documentary and oral sources. Variation within and between the oral and the documentary sources is considered in light of the general convergence of all the forms of documentation gathered for the project, the emergence of a cohesive narrative around events and experiences, and the individual points of disjuncture within the accounts. Memory formation prior to the interview and memory expression at the time of interview are considered as possible markers of both cohesion and disjunction with the emerging narrative.

Alignment and Variation in the Data Sources

Overall the narratives emerging from the project form a cohesive whole. There are few conflicts between the oral and documentary sources and where they exist, they do not seem substantive. This is at least partly attributable to the fact that the events which were recalled most frequently by individuals were unlikely to appear in the written record. There was little opportunity for conflict between the types of sources. The recollection of the activity within individual classrooms, at specific social events, and between various groups of friends generally make no appearance in the formal or written record of the institution, and it is precisely this factor which provided the value of oral narratives.[67]

The entwining of the oral and documentary records provides the opportunity for a cross checking of the types of sources, which allows for the most likely pattern of reality to emerge.[68] The recollection of interviewees about dances at specific venues are supported by artefacts, such as tickets for these events, or documentary sources such as newspaper articles advertising or describing the events. The issues raised by individual students have thematic links with issues raised in college magazines and principals' addresses such as recollections of dress standards, or practicum arrangements. The cohesion between the sources then

[67] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2;Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69, (Special issue: Grounds for Remembering, 2000): 135.
[68] Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past: Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed. eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 25; Allyson Holbrook, "Methodological Development in Oral History: A Multi-Layered approach," *Australian Educational Researcher* 22, No 3 (1995): 26.

emerges through the documentary evidence providing the structure or scaffolding into which the personal narrative is intertwined.[69]

Likewise, the oral histories have an internal consistency. The themes which have emerged based on issues around practicum for example were common across dozens of oral testimonies, and decades of College life, and while there is certainly the opportunity for this to have been influenced by the development of collective memory, discussed below, there is a thematic uniformity which tends to confirm validity.[70]

This is not to say that there were no conflicts. As described above, the interviewees clearly had differing opinions on many issues in the College's history. It seems that methodologically almost all historical narrative has a place for varying opinion of events. For example, victors write different histories than the vanquished. The recent 'history wars' clearly demonstrate the potency of heuristic divergence within the remembrance and writing of history. In fact, in almost all historical writing, it is possible for different individuals to construe events as either positive or negative, for example. Where the methodology potentially becomes an issue is when those discrepancies centre on the factual reconstruction of the events themselves.

As the methodological framework within this project was designed to give precedence to the voice of the individual and allow the stories, however divergent, to emerge, ultimately the issue of alignment between oral and documentary sources was not problematic. The degree of convergence around key events and structural and administrative markers was extremely high. The majority of the mismatches were around either the sequence of events or the specific timing of events; there were no cases where the recollection or documentary narrative present views of individual events which were unreconcilable. Items of mismatch were just as likely to stem from the conflict between two documentary sources, or two oral accounts as from the conflict between the oral and documentary sources. This gives further strength to the contention of Portelli and Lummis that the issues with oral and documentary sources are similar and the processes for checking both are comparable.[71]

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[69] James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), xi; Sharan Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998), 136.
[70] Trevor Lummis, "Structure and Validity in Oral Evidence" in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed, 255; Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different" in *The Oral History Reader*, 37.
[71] Lummis, "Structure and Validity", 255: Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," 37.

It is useful to consider examples of two types of mismatch to explore the potential impact on the relationship between the sources. First, mismatches occurred based on individual perspectives of the same events. For example, there is a difference between documentary sources on the specific date that NTC moved into the Shortland buildings. The College Calendar of 1977 details a date of 1971 for the move, while the HIHE commemorative booklet lists 1974.[72] This type of mismatch is accounted for through overtly different perspectives of the same event. The mismatch is partially accounted for by the gradual relocation of sections of then college, and the official records adopted different dates of occupation based on the sections that they were responsible for. However, there is a mismatch. The variation was also present in the oral narratives, with some students adamant that the Shortland building was not used before 1974, and others describing their experiences in the building prior to that date.[73]

In a further example of this type of mismatch, it is interesting to note that a number of staff interviewees were adamant that the NTC began as a CAE in 1977. This may have been driven by their recollection of their status as an employee. The official gazetting of the staff as NCAE employees did not take place until mid 1977, while NTC was officially proclaimed as a CAE during 1974.[74] It would appear then that personal contact was the key determinant. There is a notion of the individually situated nature of recollection, that is, 'this is when it became a CAE for me'. In this type of mismatch, it is clear that personal perspective is driving the recollection, and that the importance of individual realities is significant in these types of cases, and that this is part of the individual's lived experience woven into their life story.[75]

Potentially more problematic are the second type of mismatch where individual recollections, or in some case documentary evidence, provide alternative positions which cannot both be accurate. As an example of this, the variance in the recollection of the initial practical experience of the Pioneer group, provides a case in point. Both oral and documentary sources converge on the notion of the timing of the experience. It seems clear that the 1949 students

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[72] *NTC Calendar 1977*; Newcastle College of Advanced Education, *Promotional Pamphlet* (Newcastle: Newcastle College of Advanced Education, 1974).
[73] Interview 39_S_M1973; Interview 41_S_F1968; Interview 69_S_M1971.
[74] Government Gazette of the State of NSW 27 (March 1977): 1042 and Interview 6_S_M1971; Interview 12_A_M1970.
[75] Holbrook, "Methodological Development," 29. For a discussion on the social nature of memory construction see Josephine R. May, "Gender, Memory and the Experience of Selective Secondary Schooling in Newcastle, New South Wales, from the 1930s to the 1950s" (PhD Diss., Newcastle University, 2000), 39.

commenced their teacher training with a two-week placement within schools at the beginning of 1949. However, the specific details of that experience vary between the written record and within varying oral testimonies. This variation is present both in the rationale for the event and the specifics of the event. One of the lecturers and some students recalled that the two-week placement was required as the College rooms were not ready. Other students recall that it was because residential accommodation could not be found for incoming students. Some claim that the schools used for this experience were exclusively local, yet one individual has a recollection of undertaking this placement at a more distant location. In these cases, it is impossible to definitively ascertain the direct causes or location for the event, however, as had been previously noted, the difference is not substantive, and the alternate views have been given voice within the project. What is clear is that the work supports the contention that the personal is memorable, the collective less so.[76]

In most cases, the sources are supportive rather than either confirmatory or contradictory. For example, the students' recollections of their practicum contain detail about their experiences including what their supporting teachers were like, the issues that they faced, and the supervision that they received. The documentary evidence supports the duration of the experience, the schools that students were allocated to, and the methods of supervision. Thus, between the two sets of sources, the administrative and lived experience of the practicum emerges. However, this is not to say that there are no issues with the creation or reproduction of the memories within the oral histories, some of which are explored below.

Insights into Memory

In order to more fully explore the qualities of oral evidence employed in this project, and the types of data it yielded, there is a need to acknowledge issues with memory aggregation, rehearsal, and the development of collective memory in relation to the specific oral testimony within this project.

[76] Dismas Masolo, "Community, identity and the cultural space," *Rue Descartes* 36, (2002): 19, Accessed May 16, 2019, https://www.cairn.info/revue-rue-descartes-2002-2-page-19.htm.

Aggregation

First it seems clear that in the formation of memory, individual 'types' of events were often grouped together. For example, individuals often 'grouped' practicum experiences together:

> I was just talking about my placement at [school's name] but I am not sure if that was in second year or third year … it doesn't matter ... the important thing was that the College supervisor didn't show up for the whole time.[77]

Other types of experiences were also aggregated. Some students spoke about 'in class' experiences with staff. The aggregation point was either chronologically based, for example their 'first-year experience', or based around the content covered, 'my English classes'. Typical of this, the memories of excursions and sport were often "grouped" together. While some specific events were fixed in time or place through external references, by and large the impressions of these types of events were positioned through grouped recollections. This aggregation led to potential issues of conflict within the data, and sequences of events were often incongruous with documentary sources. Examples here include events such as plays being recalled as being performed in different sequences, or sporting trips recalled as taking place in different years than had been suggested by other interviewees or the documentary sources.[78]

There are two salient issues here. First, it is not clear within the overall narrative which is emerging about the experience of College life if these anomalies are important in any way. The narrators seemed unconcerned by the specific sequence of events and saw the events as part of their overall experience. The act of recollection was clearly part of their own sense-making of their experience. Secondly, it is unclear whether the aggregation is actually problematic from a data integrity perspective either, as the individual memories seems to have maintained their structural cohesion. In each case the "recalled event" seemed to maintain its internal integrity. This is congruous with comments on the nature of recollection offered previously where Holbrook reports:

> All of the informants treated time in a non-linear way, interspersing older memories with newer ones. Sometimes the pattern was random; at other

[77] Interview 96_S_F1970.

[78] Interview 20_S_M1961; Interview 88_S_F1956; Interview 39_S_M1973; Astrid Eril, "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction" in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Eril and Ansgar Nunning, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008), 5.

> times it was evident that particular combinations were the result of much reflection and reduction.[79]

Again, regardless of the influence of aggregation within this context, the narrative itself has become part of the lived experience of the individual and therefore of the College. As observed by Portelli, the recollections can never be 'wrong', they are always meaningful because they are what the person remembers, part of their memory narrative of self.[80]

Rehearsal

Interestingly, recollections of specific events also provided numerous examples of the importance of rehearsal on the creation of individual memory. Many student interviewees noted that in retrospect, events were different from the way they had been initially perceived, and in one case, a student was reflective on the importance of contemporary rehearsal on the process of memory. When speaking about his Practicum he recalled:

> It was all … it was so traumatic at the time, we just wanted things to be different. Later, when I was supervising student teachers, I would ... I would try to explain that they would pick the classroom craft up as they got more experience, and not to worry that they didn't know what to do in every situation … but I always remember that that wasn't how I felt when I was in their shoes. We would … we would all get together on a Friday each week during our practice teaching at the Commonwealth [hotel] and all share our horror stories for the week … **So looking back** I guess my feelings about that time were set very early, and they haven't changed since ... (laughs) despite any evidence to the contrary.[81]

This reflection on the process of memory formation was not unique, and students often raised this issue through the use of the concept of retrospective justification. The term here *"so looking back"* is a clear indication of the belief by the narrator that the memory was appropriately formed, and justified at the time, but additional information or perspectives have presented a different perspective. Not all interviewees had either the need or ability to change their previous perspectives on the practicum.[82]

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[79] Holbrook, "A Chorus of Condemnation," 37.
[80] Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," 37-38.
[81] Interview 42_S_M1962.
[82] For the importance of repetition see Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts. The Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12; and May, "Gender, Memory", 41.

The collective or unusual narratives were also more likely to have been the subject of rehearsal. Likewise, where there had been continued contact between individuals with the same experiences such as at reunions, the memories of significant events became standardized. For example, the Pioneer group had numerous reunions and the notion of rehearsal of recall was acknowledged by the participants both at time of interview and through written recollections. One Pioneer noted that: "I wish a had a dollar for every time I had told this story" before discussing a particular glitch with a play being performed at college. The story was also recounted, in an almost identical form, by others of the Pioneer group.[83] This type of recollection was not restricted to oral expressions or memory, with one of the Pioneers noting in a written reflection: "These memories are fresh in my mind, and they get a good airing fairly regularly."[84]

There is a long tradition in storytelling of emphasising the 'outlier', and a number of the interviewees seemed to be aware of this.[85] One nurse observed when asked about the dynamic nature of their recollections of college life:

> It's like I told my husband when he asked why I … umm ... always tell such gruesome stories ... nobody wants to hear "I went to work – nothing special happened and I came home" … Boring.[86]

Likewise, one of the teachers when asked about his practicum experience, started the recollection with the words: "whenever we get together with my old section group we relive these experiences, and this is the most popular story …".[87] Indeed, this awareness of the rehearsal process was common through the interview process, especially amongst the Pioneers.

This was also the case of a combination of aggregation and rehearsal. In this case the rehearsal seemed to 'blur' individual events. There was no separation of recollection, and in many cases, events which were clearly discrete events, in some cases taking place in different locations and over numerous years, were 'joined' into a single experience. In some cases, this seemed to be the result of significant rehearsal, and in at least one case, the recollection

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[83] Interview 2_S_F1949; and also recalled by Interview 3_S_M1949; Interview 10_S_F1949; Interview 93_S_M1949.
[84] Noel Pryde, "From a Pioneer student" in *Speaking of Union Street . . .": Reminiscences of Newcastle Teachers' College 1949-1973, ed.* Jess Dyce, (Newcastle: Hunter Institute of Higher Education, 1988), 14.
[85] Linda Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities," in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed. eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge 2006), 261-270.
[86] Interview 50_S_F1982.
[87] Interview 69_S_M1971.

survived an 'in-interview' challenge from the interviewer, based on both documentary information and previous interviews.[88] Likewise the oral testimony was clearly able to withstand a degree of cognitive dissonance, with internal conflicts being reinterpreted "on-the-fly", ignored or acknowledged and left unresolved.

Collective Memory

The origin of the cognitive dissonance mentioned above appears to be at least partially attributable to the conflict between individual and collective memory.[89] Individual recollections of the first principal Griff Duncan provide a case in point. Griff was recalled by some as an unpopular and sometimes 'bumbling' person. However, individuals who expressed those views about 'the bumbling guy' were aware that they were at odds with what others would say. They had an awareness of their own memory as divergent from the 'standard view'. Likewise they often made direct attempts to account for this through the uniqueness of their experience through phrases such as "others might not have seen this side of him" or the individuality of their interpretation "I don't know why, but …".[90] This was also sometimes linked to a strong validation of their own personal recollection, or a belief that the "others were wrong".[91] This was often an indicator of a positivist view of history. If an individual believes that there is only one view of history possible then this could produce a need to justify any form of divergent memory. These individuals were thus more worried about the notion of mismatch between their memories and the recollections of others. Whereas others were much more likely to acknowledge that differing views on individuals and events were likely and were able to either rationalise this through a difference of opinion or, in some cases, were quite happy to simply leave the mismatched manifestations unaddressed.

There were also internal anomalies which tended to suggest the influence of collective memory, and the expectations of the way that events 'should' be recalled. A number of individuals only recalled positive incidents during the interview in terms of college classroom

[88] Interview 64_S_F1949.
[89] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory, trans.* Lewis Coser (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 51-53; Michael Frisch, "Oral History and Hard Times: a review essay," *The Oral History Review* 7, (1979): 70-79.
[90] Interview 4_A_M1949; Interview 26_A_F1961.
[91] Eril, "Cultural Memory Studies," 5.

activities, and yet still concluded that the overall classroom experience was not valuable. There are a number of trends in the narrative which seem to be attributable to expectations of the beliefs of 'others', in addition to the cases of rehearsal outlined above.

One such trend was the overall negative attitude to the theoretical courses offered by the College. While it is certainly possible that the negative commentary indicates an accurate reflection of the courses offered, it may owe much to the general 'anti-intellectual' thread that ran through much of the teaching service during the period under consideration. This anti-intellectual theme was replicated in many of the interviews for this project. In NSW this theme has its antecedents in the 1920s where there was a clear divide between the teacher preparation which had practical components as their emphasis, and those which were more closely based on theoretical or general educational principles. The general education and the training tradition of Connell's work were writ large on the teaching service at this time. Perhaps the most straightforward expression of this comes from a book of memories about NSW schools published in 1929. The author Helen Sinclair bluntly states:

> It is a remarkable fact that teachers with a B.A. after their names are rarely capable teachers … In our days this degree has come to be a danger mark. … The newly graduated seem to have no idea of handling a class or getting down to tin-tacks in the matter of teaching the essential subjects.[92]

This indicator of an anti-intellectual process was common amongst teachers through the period, and while it would seem to be counter intuitive, educators being against education, it was clearly evident in the interviews, especially those from students highlighting this distinction in their practicum experience. Some saw this as an example of giving precedence to their own training methods, and others as a part of the change from student to professional which was so confusing for many students in the period. Additionally, within the recollections there was an authority attached to the "agendas of the generation", addressed in the work of Ivor Goodson, Shawn Moore and Andy Hargreaves, in their work on teacher nostalgia. The importance of the traditions in place at the time of their own training were praised in many narratives. Both the teachers who were coordinating the practicums, and the participants who were reflecting on them were speaking from a position of a "historically situated mission formed decades ago that teachers have carried with them through their

[92] Helen Sinclair, *Tales out of School,* (Sydney:Angus and Robertson, 1929), 72.

careers".[93] In both cases the political and social agendas were important in the formation of the collective 'agenda'.

The passage from student to professional was often seen as being reinforced by the change in the positioning of the scholarship of teaching. The significance of the theoretical approach was seen as something that the College, and by association the college student, saw as important. The practicalities of the 'chalk face' however demanded a different approach.

> Once I became a teacher, it was almost expected that I slam my teacher training, all the experienced staff around me were all about the practical classroom training and there was no value in any of the 'book learning'. I must confess that I was swept away with the majority for a while before coming to my senses.[94]

The same trends were also evident in the interviews of the police and nursing cohorts. This can be seen as part of the conflict that students faced on practicum, but again there are elements of the establishment of collective memory here.[95] If the 'expert' identifies pre-service training as a waste of time, then the individual should conform to this view when they reposition themselves as expert rather than apprentice.

This section has explored the alignment and variation between the documentary and oral sources and the relationship this has to the process of memory formation. The section has proposed that a generally cohesive picture of NTC has emerged and that the sources are most commonly in agreement. The divergence of documentary and oral history sources has been explored and propositions advanced in relation to rehearsal and collective processes in memory formation. Finally, it is important to note that the epistemological position of the work, through the entwined approach, allows for variation in the historical record to remain unresolved, but not unidentified, and markers of both the cohesion and disjunction within the emerging narrative have been explored here.

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[93] Ivor Goodson, Shawn Moore, and Andy Hargreaves, "Teacher Nostalgia and the Sustainability of Reform: The Generation and Degeneration of Teachers' Missions, Memory, and Meaning," *Educational Administration Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (February 2006): 42.
[94] Interview 11_S_M1966.
[95] Aleida Assmann, "Transformations between History and Memory," *Social Research* 75, no.1 (Spring 2008): 60.

Contribution of the Study

This work has addressed the absence of a comprehensive history of NTC.[96] The thesis has provided a critical overview of the changes in, and development of, the College. The work has highlighted the expansion of the College from its single purpose beginning through its growth as a departmental training institute through to its final amalgamation with the University of Newcastle. Following the long tradition of case study in institutional history the work has traced changes in the administrative and physical structures of NTC and explored the importance of these.[97] It has identified transformations in the curriculum and pedagogy, and traced issues with the practicum. It has also explored the lived experiences of the staff and students of the College and provided a window into their perceptions and memories of their time spent at the College, and through the analysis of these perceptions and memories has allowed reflection on the nature of memory and the impact of the individual's college experience on these memories. The memories have also had an impact on the development of the understanding of NTC itself.[98]

The work has also given an enduring voice to the individuals interviewed for this thesis. The archival record of 96 individual recollections, to be added to the University of Newcastle's growing digital oral history archive, ensures that the memories collected for this work will continue to be available for analysis and reinterpretation and potentially further contribute to the understanding of the College and the local region. As with the work of Young, it has allowed those individuals to express their personal narratives, and those narratives have been preserved.[99]

The approach has allowed for the two types of reflection identified by Rury as important within case studies to emerge, namely reflection on how phenomena unfold within their

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[96] This brings NTC in line with the colleges which have histories, such as Sydney: Graham Boardman, Arthur Barnes, Beverley Fletcher, Brian Fletcher, Geoffrey Sherington, and Cliff Turney, *Sydney Teachers College: A History 1906-1981*, (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger,1995), Armidale, Ephlick, *The College on the Hill*, and Kuring-Gai, Turney and Taylor, *To Enlightem Them*.
[97] See John Rury, "The Power and Limitation of Historical Case Study: A Consideration of Postwar African American Educational Experience," *Social and Education History* 3, no.3 (2014): 241-270; Robert Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995) and Martha Howel and Walter Prevnier, *From Reliable sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 146.
[98] Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 178; This is in line with the work of Eril,"Cultural Memory Studies," 5.
[99] Young, *The Texture of Memory*, xi.

immediate context, and how consideration of a case can unlock new and different perspectives on wider events (i.e. internal and external reflection).[100] The 'entwined history' and 'looking both ways' process, described in chapter two, has clearly illuminated both the case and provided insights beyond the case.

The exploration of the rationale for various college activities provides a common theme for the first type of reflection. As indicated in the previous chapters, and returned to below, the College leadership often took specific actions almost exclusively in response to external forces. The actions taken provide insights into the College framed as issues such as administrative and governance structure, and compliance. Similarly, as posited by both Rury and Merriam, the evaluation of the effects of these external forces on the College provide a more nuanced understanding of the external forces themselves.[101] In almost all circumstances the relative value of the 'internal' and 'external' reflection varies. The extensive social upheavals of the mid to later 1960s provide a case in point. The College was greatly changed by these events in terms of student attitudes, staff and student expectations, curriculum, and social interaction. The historical reflection here is almost exclusively 'internal'. The College cannot lay claim to have driven, or greatly influenced the social revolution. As Rury suggests, the 'external' reflection is still useful, as the College provides an example of the types of changes which were typical of change in tertiary educational institutions world-wide at this time.[102] There is no claim that the NTC example is representative, or that the features of the change can be generalised across multiple colleges, that was not the purpose of the work, however the thesis does often present examples of these types of change. Issues raised throughout the case study have consistently allowed for this 'two way' reflection on issues important both to the College and potentially to education more generally.

The first example of these issues is the pragmatic nature of education. The pragmatic approaches to educational development, prominent through the 19th and early part of the 20th century, and highlighted by the problems of the course length at the Model school, the finances of the Church and School Corporation, and the physical surroundings at the establishment of the Sydney and Armidale colleges, were also evident in the history of NTC. The fact that NTC operated for more than 26 of its 41 year existence in temporary premises highlights this organisational pragmatism. The structures and establishment of teachers

[100] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 246-7.
[101] Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study, 170-179.*
[102] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 246.

colleges in NSW could be seen as an example of an immediate response rather than evidence of systematic planning process. The fact that course lengths for beginning teachers could be shortened just as easily in 1985 as they were in 1885 highlights additional dimensions of this pragmatism. First the political importance of teacher numbers over teacher quality, highlighted as problematic by Board in 1905, Butts in the 1950s, and student and staff unions in the 1980s, remained an issue throughout the operation of the NTC.[103] The NTC provided evidence of this phenomena, through the makeshift courses required by the Department, and provided by NTC in the maths and science areas in the 1980s. In addition, the process speaks to the relationship between theoretical understanding of courses of 'best practice" and the realities of teacher preparation. There was no sense that anyone involved in the process of shortening these courses believed that the shorter courses were 'better'. In each case it was a relinquishment of the agreed on 'best pathway' for teacher preparation to the immediate corporate needs. The history of NTC has provided examples of this process and allowed for an understanding of the impact of the process on courses, structures and curriculum through an analysis of a specific case.

The impact of pragmatism on the individual is also pertinent here. The example of the Pioneer group being required to spend their first two weeks in schools owing to the lack of facilities at the fledgling NTC, provides a clear example of the impact on students of these pragmatic decisions.[104] Likewise, the College practice of varying courses to suit staff interests and skills was also illustrative here, with one student recalling the disappointment of missing out on an expected specialisation more that 50 years after the event.[105] In line with the work of May, Holbrook, and Turney and Taylor, the work establishes that the individual impact of these decisions is important.[106] It is also significant to recall that the use of the term pragmatic in this work is not intended to be exclusively negative in its connotations. The pragmatic nature of the decisions taken often also had positive effects on individuals, and the institution itself. From an individual perspective, the establishment of the College provided opportunities, and although NTC was not fully built in 1949, the fact that students did not

[103] Bernard Hyams, *Teacher Preparation in Australia, A History of its Development from 1850 to 1950* (Melbourne: ACER,1979), 94; Butts, *Assumptions Underlying Australian Education*, 69-70; "Teachers' Ban to Hit Courses," *NMH,* 10 August 1984.
[104] See discussion on page 110-12
[105] See discussion on page 133
[106] May, "Gender, Memory"; Holbrook, "Chorus of Condemnation"; Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*.

have to travel to Sydney or Armidale for their training allowed individuals to attend college who otherwise would not have been afforded that opportunity.

From an institutional perspective, the pronounced drop in teacher training numbers in the late 1970s meant that for the survival of the College new programs and approaches needed to be found. Again there was no argument that the courses offered by NTC at remote locations or in distance mode were educationally 'better' than the courses offered face-to-face. The pragmatic decision was made that this was the most economically viable way to deliver those courses, and thus the College survived the 'lean years' and was able to develop in other ways.[107] Again this history of NTC provides a specific example of the implications of these wider issues, of the types identified within broad histories such as those by Barcan and Hyams, and therefore allows reflection on both the individual case and the wider process.[108]

In accordance with the work of Hyams and Campbell, the importance of internal and external factors in an institution's history have also emerged as noteworthy in this case study.[109] Logically, the internal factors are more likely to be local, as they are more directly influenced by both individuals and the local conditions of the site. Notwithstanding this, various parallels can be drawn between NTC and other colleges' reactions to external influences on their development. Typical of these influences are the wider social and political forces such as those discussed in relation to the 'social revolution' of the 1960s, but equally as important are the reflections on change in educational theory, federal educational control, and the importance of funding and social structures. This history of the NTC has provided an example of the way one teachers college adapted to all of these events. Some of these historical markers were clearly common to the sector. Events such as the establishment of an academic board as part of the transformation of a teachers college to become a CAE was an external requirement, and similar issues were experienced across the sector, notably however this history of NTC has provided the detail and a local example for these external processes. Alternatively, where there were individualised local responses which provided unique

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[107] This had not always been the case- see for example the discussion on the closure of Teachers Colleges in Victoria in the depresssion, Grant Harman, David Beswick and Hillary Schofield, *The amalgamation of Colleges of Advanced Education at Ballarat and Bendigo*, (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1985), 45

[108] Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980), and Hyams, *Teacher Preparation.*

[109] Craig Campbell, "The Social Origins of Australian State High Schools: An Historiographical Review," in *Toward the State High School in Australia: Social Histories of State Secondary Schooling in Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania 1850–1925,* Craig Campbell, Carole Hooper and Mary Fearnley-Sander, (Sydney: ANZHES, 1990), 9-28; and Hyams, *Teacher Preparation.*

examples of responses to an external process, such as the establishment of the much vaunted "Crago Scheme" as an example of the open education movement, this history can allow reflection on that movement itself. Again, as suggested by Rury and Merriam, this thesis has allowed the importance of external and internal influences in a specific institution to be considered both as an example of the importance of external educational movements, and an exemplar of the local adoption and adaption of the primary tenets of those movements.[110]

This thesis began with a quotation from the new principal of NTC, Duncan, who had a clear perspective on the value of teacher preparation to the community and the value of that training to individuals who were to undertake it. The quotation highlights a number of dimensions of the three traditions Connell identified as key to teacher preparation in the 1950's: the training tradition, the tradition of general education, and the importance of personal behaviour.[111] The history, as presented, has chronicled the transformation in teacher training signposted by the relative positioning of these traditions across the time-frame studied. The gradual diminishment of the overt nature of instruction in personal behaviour, through its incorporation into practicum, and its final reappearance as a professional code of conduct, enshrining the emerging distinction between professional and personal life, has emerged throughout the work. While elements of the problematic nature of the practicum have been identified in previous work, for example that of Vick and Holbrook, the connection between this process of workplace integration and personal behaviour has emerged strongly through the individual recollections of practicum placements in this history of NTC.[112] The gradual relocation of the gatekeeper role from training to vocational placement through schools and hospitals, is to a certain extent a logical progression of the erosion of the personal behaviour dimension of the teacher preparation traditions identified by Connell.[113]

The issue of social control looms large in this history, and the NTC history provides both an example of the gradual movement to more democratic power sharing arrangements, and institutional and individual reactions to such change. Again, this history of NTC provides individual examples of the value of the case study as a means to consider both internal events and the wider process with which they are aligned. A case in point here is the internal NTC

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[110] Rury, "The Power and Limitation," 246; Merriam, *Qualitative Research, 26-43.*
[111] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.
[112] Vick, It's a difficult Matter," 182 ; Holbrook, "Chorus of Condemnation," 43.
[113] Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258

battle between the staff and students concerning the female dress code that was played out in the 1960s. This can be seen as a result of the cultural change of the 1960, and also as in internal example of that battle which highlights the 'personal' dimensions of that wider movement.

As with the other issues which have emerged as important within this history of NTC their exploration provides, together with other institutional histories, the potential to help inform a more systematic evaluation of the NSW teachers colleges as a group. In short it provides a locally focused perspective which can be compared to, can inform, and can be combined with other perspectives to enlarge the understanding of teachers college institutions individually and collectively.

While the primary purpose of this work was not to establish or evaluate methodological processes or approaches, the nature of the epistemological assumptions underlying the work were given considerable attention during the data collection and analysis, and two significant methodological outcomes have emerged from this study. While they are primarily confirmatory, it is useful to identify these attributes within the approaches taken in this case study approach.

First, in line with previous research, the work has clearly supported the value of oral history most particularly in a case study approach. This has been particularly important in terms of accessing the "bottom up" history of the type referred to by Ritchie.[114] The ability for the oral narrative to access material from within the "black box" of the classroom, but more importantly to access areas of the hidden curriculum has been profound.[115] The oral material has formed the foundation of the work on individual perceptions of the College as well as providing access to the lived experiences in a way that the documentary record often could not. It has confirmed the value of the 'personal' in the case study approach taken here, and provided a different lens on the documented, and uncovered the undocumented.[116]

Secondly, the work has supported research on the importance of various factors in memory formation. Specifically, the recollections in this history have supported the work by Baddeley

[114] Donald Ritchie, "Top down/bottom up: Using Oral History to Re-examine Government Institutions," *Oral History* 42, no. 1 (Spring, 2014): 47-58.
[115] Holbrook, "Methodological Development," 21-44.
[116] Thompson, "The Voice of the Past," 25; Lummis, "Structure and Validity," 255.

on the importance of novelty in the process of memory formation.[117] The 'everyday' is forgotten, the unique or emotional is recalled. This was clearly evident through the interviews in this project. Individuals rarely recalled the everyday processes of instruction or even the topics taught. This was the same for both staff and students. They recalled the unusual occurrence, the personal was made salient and recalled, the rest was forgotten. Significantly, the memories were often not lost, just not evident in the initial schema of memory.[118] This was evidenced through the recollections which were able to be 'prompted' either through other comments or discussion around various documents.[119]

An additional factor which the project has shown as important has been the process of the creation and adoption of collective memory. In the same way that Fentress and Wickham have identified that a commonly held memory can help define a group, it became clear in this project that certain memories had been subject to frequent rehearsal, and that individual memories had often resulted from a collective reinterpretation through rehearsal, or in some cases modification through group expectations.[120] The rehearsal had helped to establish and modify a collective view on teacher training. Typical of this collective view in this project was the expectation that teachers valued classroom practice, while students and academics valued theory. It was almost part of the rite of passage for individuals to change their beliefs about the value of these processes to signal their growth from one stage to the next.[121] This made it hard for some individuals to cross this 'pre-established' divide, regardless of the personal experiences. This was evident from the discrepancies between the overall evaluation of individuals' experiences and their evaluation of independent components of their experiences. To a certain extent this variation in memory can perhaps go some way to reconciling the work of Turney and Taylor who found the College experiences reported by students "universally positive", and the work of Holbrook titled "A Chorus of Condemnation" which reflects on the same period.[122] Whilst there are considerable methodological variations between these works, the difference between episodic and semantic memory could be important here. Individuals within this project have expressed

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[117] Alan Baddeley, "The Psychology of Remembering and Forgetting" in *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind,* ed. Thomas Butler (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 58.
[118] Baddeley, "The Psychology of Remembering", 58; Assmann, "Transformations between History", 60.
[119] See for example the discussion on page 195 or 198.
[120] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *New Perspectives on the Past: Social Memory* (London: Myriad, 1992), 25.
[121] Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory," 135. ; Maurice Halbwachs, Francis Ditter, Vida Ditter, *The Collective Memory* (New York, Harper & Row, 1980) 51-3; Frisch, "Oral History," 70-79.
[122] Turney and Taylor, *To Enlighten Them*, 186-7; Holbrook, "Chorus of Condemnation," 43-44.

negative reactions to specific aspects of their College experiences and maintained that their overall experiences even concerning that 'type of event' were positive, this variation could provide a preliminary explanation of this apparent mismatch in views which may merit further exploration.

Suggestions for Further Research

This is the first historical account of the Newcastle Teachers College and CAE from its inception in 1949 to its amalgamation with the UON in 1989. Utilising an entwined methodology, it is based on intensive gathering of an archive of 96 interviews with former staff and students as well as the amassing of a large volume of documentary sources. Given the constraints of a doctoral project, it is acknowledged that further research would yield an even greater understanding of NTC and would potentially amplify the value of the work undertaken here. Future studies could usefully focus on the experiences of specific groups of staff and students, for example, Indigenous students and staff, students and staff with different ethnic, gender or socio-economic experiences. Work on specific occupational groups, such as nurse education students, social welfare students, individuals within police courses, could also be the emphasis of future work. More detail of the experiences of the non-teaching courses could further round out the experiences and make the history more cohesive. Additional interviews with these foci to further flesh out the dimensions of their experience as 'other' would clearly have produced a different history, and that story remains to be told.

Further work on the individual time periods covered by the work would also allow for additional depth within the lived experience to emerge. An obvious example here is the experience of individual cohorts, for example, the Pioneers, which may allow for a more nuanced or graduated reflection on their experiences to emerge. It is also clearly possible to construct narratives around specific time periods to further highlight the process of change. Specific narratives on individual groups - the experiences of the College staff, or history teachers, for example, or around specific events such as college plays, or sporting teams or other clubs - could provide additional and alternative interpretations of the material collected, and act as micro histories within the case to provide the same comparative evaluation as other

micro histories have done.[123] A change in the focus of analysis could also highlight alternate themes. A detailed analysis of the photographic record of the NTC for example could potentially provide an alternative or affirming reading of the events described in this work, as could further analysis of the existing material for elements important in other emerging historical approaches such as those identified by O'Donoghue.[124]

Likewise, an expansion of the time frame may provide additional insights into various sections of College history. For example, the final years of the College cannot be placed in their proper perspective without an understanding of the impending amalgamation which was described as "almost all consuming" during the last two years of the NTC existence.[125] A detailed analysis of this period may prove instructive in terms of the complete picture of the NTC.

Further, regarding the analysis of the existing body of material, there is both revisionist and expansionary work that could be completed. For example, a more detailed emphasis on the relationship between the interviewees and their own historical beliefs may prove valuable. Of potential interest here is the notion of the effect of an interviewee's beliefs about history and memory, specifically their epistemological position, on the nature and status of their recollections. The potential relationship between the recollections of individuals who hold differing beliefs on recollection itself could be examined to determine if their memories are influenced by those beliefs. The relationship between an individual's positivist view of history and a requirement for the 'single truth' to emerge within their own testimony could be explored, to ascertain if it is important for the individual's story to emerge with no contradictions, or mismatches. In short, will the fact that the interviewee has a positivist historical outlook lead to a more 'rehearsed' and pre-validated recollection? Alternatively, does a more constructivist view of history by the interviewee allow for their individual recollection to be 'at odds' with both other recollections, and the documentary record thus

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[123] For example see the college histories in the general Oxford and Cambridge histories. G. Evans, *The University of Cambridge: A New History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010) and G. Evans, *The University of Oxford: A New History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), or the more local Margaret Finnis, *The Lower Level. A Discursive History of the Adelaide University Union* (Adelaide: Griffin Press Adelaide University, 1975). For a discussion of these items see page 40-46

[124] See here O'Donoghue's discussion of the work of May on cinema, Smith's work on the senses, and Shine and O'Donoghue's work on the representation of teachers in the press; Tom O'Donoghue, "History of Education Research in Australia: Some Current Trends and Possible Directions for the Future," *Paedagogica Historica 50*, no. 6, (2014): 811.

[125] Interview 18_A_M1982.

providing a memory which is more resistant to the creation of a collective or standardised memory, and potentially subject to more intricate validation problems?

Conclusion

The outcome of the research undertaken for this thesis is a comprehensive history of Newcastle Teachers College (NTC), 1949-1989, through the use of both documentary and oral sources in an entwined history approach. The work, the first on NTC, has traced the institution's development from a single purpose state-based training college with 181 students to a diverse higher education institute catering for the needs of almost 4,500 students, and its ultimate amalgamation with the University of Newcastle.[126] The College was transformed and influenced by site, situation, and leadership as well as by broader economic, social and policy trends. The change was also charted against the major national and international trends in both educational and societal contexts. The tensions between different forces: central and local, staff and students, priorities and philosophies, individual and collective, formed the basis of much of this change. In terms of the national trends, the College followed other higher education institutions in Australia in adopting a curriculum which was progressively less influenced by links to the United Kingdom, and increasingly influenced by American trends. There was also a developing localisation and a diminishing centralisation of curriculum during the period. The increasing numbers in the Australian higher education system also allowed for an economy of scale which allowed Australian trends and systems to develop and increasingly influence both curriculum and pedagogy. This was also a period of increasing political involvement in education. While issues around education had been debated on the floors of various parliaments through the history of Australia, it was rare in the 1950s for the methods of education to be considered at the parliamentary level. By the 1980s there was increasing government involvement in both educational outcomes, and educational methods, with both commonwealth and state governments exerting an influence on the College. Likewise, this political influence had become more direct, with the appointment of political representatives on the College Board

[126] *Hunter Institute of Higher Education: Highlights of our 40 Year History* (Newcastle: Hunter Institute Print, 1989).

to replace the influence of the centralised Department of Education representatives. Political rather than education experts became more important.

In terms of societal importance, it is clear that the students of the late 1940s were vastly different in terms of their educational and social expectations when compared to students of the late 1980s. The changes in society had changed the expectations of both the students and staff, and the school system which was being served by both. In the 1950s the role of 'teacher' was seen as a respectable way for an individual to contribute to society and achieve social mobility. Teachers and school principals were viewed as integral parts of society, they were the establishment. The social transformation of the 1960s and early 1970s in Australia led to teachers seeing themselves as part of the reaction to the social norms, rather than part of the establishment. Many NTC staff and students, and certainly the teacher's unions, and trainee teachers' groups, saw themselves as part of the new future rather than the establishment. For many, education was the way that equality and social justice were to be obtained despite the inherently conservative nature of the college processes. The staff and students often saw themselves as fighting for a new world that was 'better' in a qualitative way and even if the notion was not a reality, it was certainly the perception, and the College was increasingly perceived in that way.

It is also true that the major educational debates on teacher education of the period, namely those of 'teaching as an art or science', the relative significance of the components of Connell's three traditions of teacher education, and, towards the end of the period, the increasing importance of the research-based approach to teacher preparation outlined by Aspland, were played out in the College. The College itself never attempted to resolve these issues on an institute-wide basis. [127] This case study shows that decisions on which approaches were dominant were devolved either to larger external forces, or individualised internal forces. The NSW Department of Education, the course approval boards, or the individual lecturers who were developing courses, defined the approach, and the College itself, whilst maintaining the importance of "training tradition", did not ever resolve or even address these issues overtly. The change was embodied as a reflection of a cycle of pragmatic action and response.

[127] Tania Aspland, "Changing Patterns of Teacher Education in Australia," *Educational Research and Perspectives* 33, no. 2 (2006): 146.

This duality of action and response as a process of change was mirrored in the relationship that staff had with the methods of change employed. The early NTC staff, and to a certain extent the students, saw themselves as 'inside' the system and used methods appropriate to internal change. They approached the Department, wrote letters, and attempted to influence central policy documents. The CAE however started to transfer their allegiance to other approaches such as research-based practice or evidence-based instruction and this transference was almost complete by the time the College was forced into amalgamation in 1989. It was not that the changes necessarily led the College in a different philosophical direction, it was simply that the agents of change had a different perspective on the system they were attempting to modify. The staff were no longer exclusively part of the establishment; they were often attempting to change existing practices rather than replicate them. Further they saw themselves in a strange position. In the same way as the students on practicum were simultaneously both students and teachers, the staff of the later period of NTC were both 'inside' and 'outside' the system. They saw themselves both as gatekeepers for the established traditions of teaching practices, and as agents for change.[128] They almost all had experience within the Department of Education, or the nursing service or other vocational system and those experiences had played a role in their appointment to NTC. They had generally been successful within the system, and therefore, frequently saw the value in it. They often had specific role models within the system who were presented in a positive light. They had teachers who had an inspirational effect on their lives, whose work they wished to replicate, and to this was added the desire for a new way of doing things, the chance to experiment and transform the system. The decentralised system allowed for this experimentation, and the natural traditionalism of the educational process, especially embodied in the contact of students with schools through practicums, ensured that the experimentation was largely conservative in its nature. This change was seen by some as a move from craft-based traditions to evidence-based traditions, and it was certainly that, but at least as importantly, it was largely a change in the orientation of the methods of change from insider to outsider.

The adherence of students to an 'inside the system' model would seem to have been amplified through the process of recollection. Students who subsequently spent a working lifetime in the teaching service saw themselves as part of this system, and when reflecting

[128] Vick, "It's a Difficult Matter," 182; Connell, "Tradition and Change," 258.

back on the teachers college experience, some of groups who were 'trained' there saw the training as part of their service. The training process was part of what 'we' did. The 'we' often referring to the NSW Department of Education, and therefore the interviewed student took both credit and blame for the processes. They tended to use plural personal pronouns such as 'we' when referring to the College's action. This was not the case if the interviewees did not remain with the teaching services, or the nursing service for an extended period, but did remain consistent regardless of whether the experiences being recalled were positive or negative. It was however much more common for students from the later period to recall the effect of poor teachers on their decisions to become teachers. The concept that students did not want to replicate the methods of an individual who had played a negative role in their own experiences was more common in the later students. The importance of positive role models was more important in those students who attended the College prior to 1975. This may indicate a shift in motivation, or in the concept of college ownership.

The methodologies selected for this study developed from alternative ontologies and drew from potentially different epistemologies, so the institutional history which has emerged from these positions has the potential to demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of both positions. Methodologically, the 'double helix' of the entwined history approach gives form to the Institution, however whether the form that it gives is complete in all respects is not a logical conclusion from the methodology and historiography utilised in this study. It is however "a history" of the NTC and the first.

The balance between the documentary and oral sources has allowed for the development of indicators of which types of memory are likely to agree with the written record within this project. As is to be expected in research which deals with memory, the personal is memorable, the communal less so. The rehearsed recollections remain both modified and subject to further modification. Within this project the mismatches between sources, although in practice few in number, are presented as divergent views on the institution. It is not deemed necessary for a single historical truth to emerge, simply that the patterns are discerned in the evidence. It is more important that all of the historical agents have voice within the process than that there is historical resolution. Nevertheless, in this project, agreement between the sources on the majority of key historical events was evident. As would be expected, there was considerable divergence in aspects of memory which related to

personal experience of those historical events. It is this variation which gives the historical record simultaneously its conflict and its texture.

The work, through the use of the 'entwined history' approach, has also highlighted aspects of the nature of recollection itself, with the uniqueness of the nature of the event, rehearsal, and personal impact of the event prominent within the recollection process. The nature of the entwined history approach, which has overtly drawn on both oral and documentary historical methods has highlighted the points of evidentiary convergence and divergence throughout the work. The section of this chapter in response to research question five explores the importance of rehearsal and the development of collective memory within different types of recollections, with the nature of alignment between oral and documentary sources also discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with suggestions for further research, an overview of the contribution of the work, and a summary of the key issues raised within the case study. As with the previous chapters some combination of issues has allowed the discussion of the recollections and their formation to be explored in a more comprehensive manner.

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* Many of the images used in this work are available at the "Living Histories Archive" at https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/. Photographs from University of Newcastle Archives used by permission- Mr John Di Gravio, University Archivist.

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Personal Archives

The following items are contained in the personal archives of the author. It is intended that all the materials will be moved to the University of Newcastle Archives at the completion of this project. In some cases (marked *) this transfer has already commenced. The items marked (**) will be copied and the copies moved to the University of Newcastle Archives.

Oral History Interviews:

Ninety-six (96) Interview Tape recordings, Digitised Copies (CDs) and Transcripts.
All materials are currently located in an archive entitled: 'Newcastle Teacher's College History Project'. Author's Archive, University of Newcastle. *
Details of interviews are contained in appendix A.

Additional Material:

The following items are also in the 'Newcastle Teacher's College History Project', Author's Archive, University of Newcastle.

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5. Newspapers, Journals and Magazines

*Altjiringa College Magazine Newcastle Teachers College 1949-1989.**

Attica, College Magazines of Balmain Teachers College, 1956-1970.

Campus Morning Mail, 2018. (CMM)

Newcastle College of Advanced Education Campus News, 1980-1989.

Newcastle Morning Herald, 1920-1992 (NMH).

The Collegian, College Magazine of Armidale Teachers College, 1941-1975.

The Empire 1850-1920 (Empire).

The Newcastle Sun, 1940-1975 (NS).

The Sydney Morning Herald, 1930-1990 (SMH).

*Altjiringa was published in two forms during the period. There was an Annual monograph (1949-1978) and there were periodical publications as a Magazine throughout the year (1949-1989). These have been footnoted using the most appropriate form throughout this work.

6. Unpublished Papers, Conference Presentations and Theses

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Appendices

The Appendices are divided into four sections, labelled Sections A, B, C and D. Section A, containing appendices A-1 to A-6 which all relate to the interviews conducted. It provides an overview of the interviews, interview identification and coding, details of the semi-structured interview protocols for both staff and students, and a sample interview. Section B contains appendices B-1 to B-4 which relate to the college itself. The section includes college maps, details of executive staff and information about the college magazine, crest and motto. Section C, containing appendices C-1 to C3, detail the lists of NSW education Directors, Federal and State Ministers of education along with details on the presiding governments of the time. Section D, which includes appendices D-1 to D-9, contains the information related to the ethics approval and procedural collection of the interviews and documents for the project.

List of Appendices

Section A: Interviews

This section contains the information relating to the interviews. This includes information on interview identification and coding. There is an overview of the interviews, details of the semi-structured Interview protocols for both staff and students, and a Sample Interview. On the completion of this project the original tape recordings of the interviews along with digital copies of all recording will be deposited with the University of Newcastle Archives, This will expand the existing oral history recordings available through the Living Histories @UON project

Appendix A-1: Overview of Interviews

There were 96 interviews conducted between June 2006 and February 2014. All of the interviewees had volunteered to be part of the project and all the interviews were conducted by the researcher. The participants all had direct contact with NTC during the period 1949-1989. There were primarily two groups of individuals interviewed for the project consisting of 25 former academic staff and 55 former students. In addition to these groups there were a number of professional staff interviewed, this included secretarial staff, librarians, media production staff and administrative staff, and three people who had other contact with the NTC, being on various advisory boards such as college council. Finally, there were five individuals interviewed who had been both students and staff members of NTC and agreed to be interviewed about their experiences in both contexts. The recruitment methods for the project are outlined in Chapter two of the thesis.

Appendix A-2: Description of Interview identifiers

Each Interview is identified with a 10-character code. The first two letters are the interview number. This is followed by an underscore and then the code for the interview Type. The types of the interviews are Academic(A), Professional (P), Student (S) Both Student and Academic (B), and Other(O)

This is then followed by an underscore "_" then the Gender (M, F) of the interviewee.

The interview code is completed with a four-digit number which indicates the interviewee's year of first contact with NTC.

Schematically this can be represented by the table below:

ID Code position	1-2	3	4	5	6	7-10
Item meaning	Interview Number	Dash	Interview Type (abbreviation in brackets)	Dash	Gender marker	Year of first College contact
Entry range	1-96	_	Academic(A) Professional (P) Student(S) Academic/Student(B) Other(O)	_	M or F	1949-1989

Table A1.1 The elements that make up the identity code

Thus a female academic staff member who began working at NTC in 1957 and was recorded as the 25th interview would be coded as: 25_A_F1957

Appendix A-3: Interview Coding Information

List of Coding Categories and QSR NVivo nodes

The QSR Nvivo Nodes used here were divided into three primary clusters which are listed below.

Cluster 1 Content

a) the administrative and governance structure of the College,
b) the response of the College to external policy directions,
c) course and program development,
d) curriculum
e) pedagogy
f) practicum
g) staff profiles and qualifications,
h) collegiate life,
i) the relationship of the college with external bodies, and
j) the relationship of the College with the region

Cluster 2 Thematic

a) Pragmatism
b) External forces
c) Social control
d) The training tradition
e) Personal behaviour and cultural transmission
f) Tradition of general education

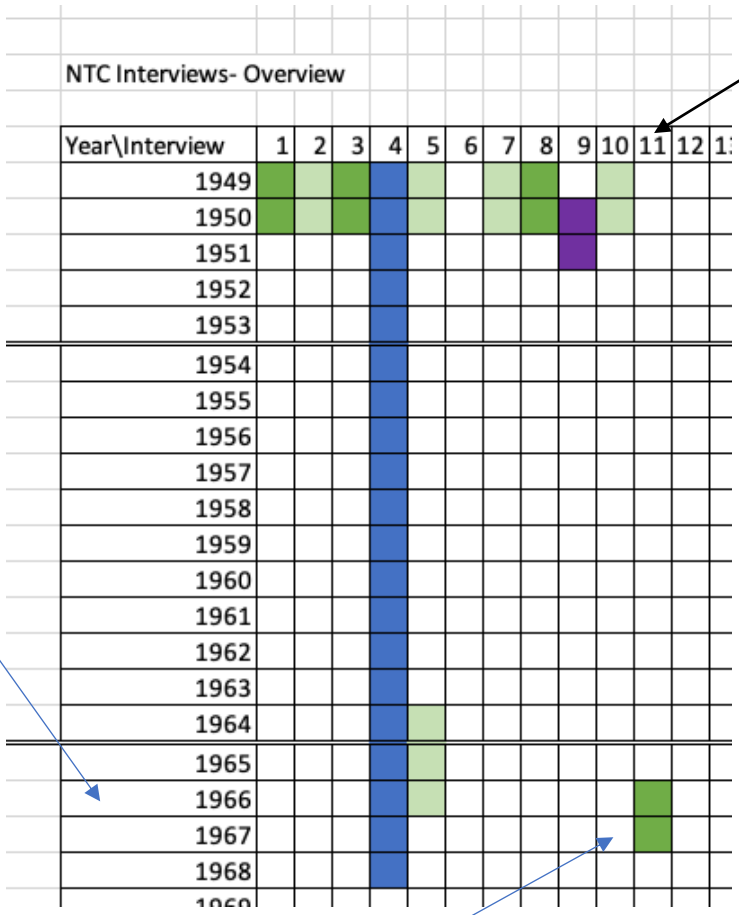
Cluster 3 Linguistic and value attributes

a) Nature of the event
b) Attitude to the event
c) Narrator perspective
d) Narrator's disposition
e) Narrator's linguistic position (us/them)

Appendix A-4: Chart of Interviewees

In the graph on the following page each number across the top of the page represents a single interviewee. The colour coding is Blue for academics, Green for Students, Orange for Professional staff and Purple for Other interviews. In each case the gender of the interviewee is indicated by the shade of the bar. Dark shades are for male respondents, with the lighter shades for female respondents. The coloured bars are placed to represent the years that the interviewee attended or worked at NTC

Graph explanation

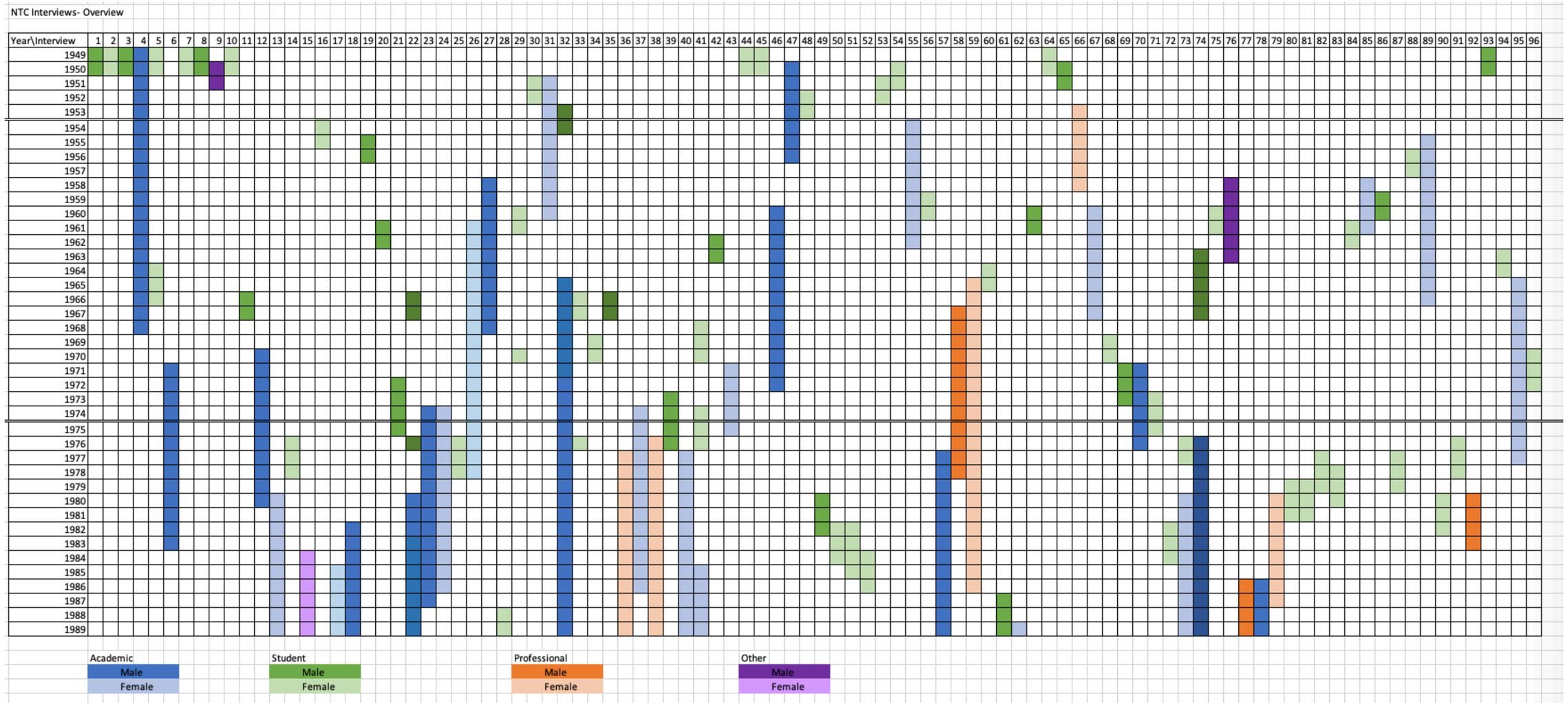


Number of the interview

Year of interviewees contact with NTC

This two-block square represents interview #11. The two blocks show attendance at NTC in the years 1966 and 1967. The dark green colour denotes a male student.

Interview overview chart



Appendix A-5: Interview Schedule-Former Staff

The following is the semi-structed interview schedule used to guide the interviews conducted with former staff of the NTC. The first section provided a reminder to the interviewer of the key issues, followed by a list of specific questions to guide the discussion

The Key Issues to be addressed include:
a) the administrative and governance structure of the College,
b) the response of the College to external policy directions,
c) course and program development and practicum,
d) staff profiles and qualifications,
d) student and collegiate life,
e) the relationship of the college with external bodies, and
f) the relationship of the College with the region

Scheduled Questions include:

What was your first contact with the College?
How were you recruited?
Where did you work? / Who did you work with?
What section/part of the college did you work in?
What where the physical resources like / Classrooms/staffrooms etc?
What were your key responsibilities? (course taught? etc)
What do you remember about the courses that you taught?
Were there any major government policies released concerning your area during your time at the college?
How did the college respond to these policies?
How was policy developed during your time at the college?
How were courses developed?
What courses did you teach?
What was the practicum like?
What were the students like?
What contacts did the college have with the wider region e.g. schools/hospitals etc?
Did you have any social contact with other staff?
What do see as the primary role of the college while you were there?
How well do you think the college fulfilled its role during the time you were there?
What were the major changes to the college during your time there?
How well do you think the college prepared students for post-college employment (eg teaching)?
What was the best thing about your time at college?
What was the worst thing about your time at college?
What other memories do you have of your time at the college?

Appendix A-6: Interview Schedule-Former Students

The following is the semi-structed interview schedule to guide the interviews conducted with former students of the NTC. The first section is a reminder of the key issues, followed by a list of specific questions to guide the discussion

The Key Issues to be addressed include:
a) the administrative and governance structure of the College,
b) the response of the College to external policy directions,
c) course, programs, and practicum,
d) staff profiles and qualifications,
d) student and collegiate life,
e) the relationship of the college with external bodies, and
f) the relationship of the College with the region

Scheduled Questions include:

What was your first contact with the College?
Why did you choose to attend Newcastle?
What subjects/ courses did you study?
How did you choose these?
Where the courses you took what you expected them to be?
What was the assessment like?
Who were your lecturers?
What were your lecturers like?
Tell me about the other students at the college?
What where the physical resources like / Classrooms/staffrooms etc?
Were you involved in any social or sporting clubs?
How did you support yourself during college?
What do see as the primary role of the college while you were there?
How well do you think the college fulfilled its role during the time you were there?
How well do you think the college prepared you for post-college employment (eg teaching)?
What were the major changes to the college during your time there?
What was the best thing about your time at college?
What was the worst thing about your time at College?
What other memories do you have of your time at the college?

Section B: College Information and Maps

This set of appendices contains information that is specific to NTC, it includes various plans of the buildings, and information about crests, and logos.

B-1 Leadership of NTC

B-2 Map of College Grounds Union Street Site, 1972

B-3 Map of College Grounds Shortland Site, 1973

B-4 NTC Crest and Logo details

Appendix B-1 Leadership of NTC[1]

Table B1(a) List of NTC Principals and Vice Principals 1949-1989

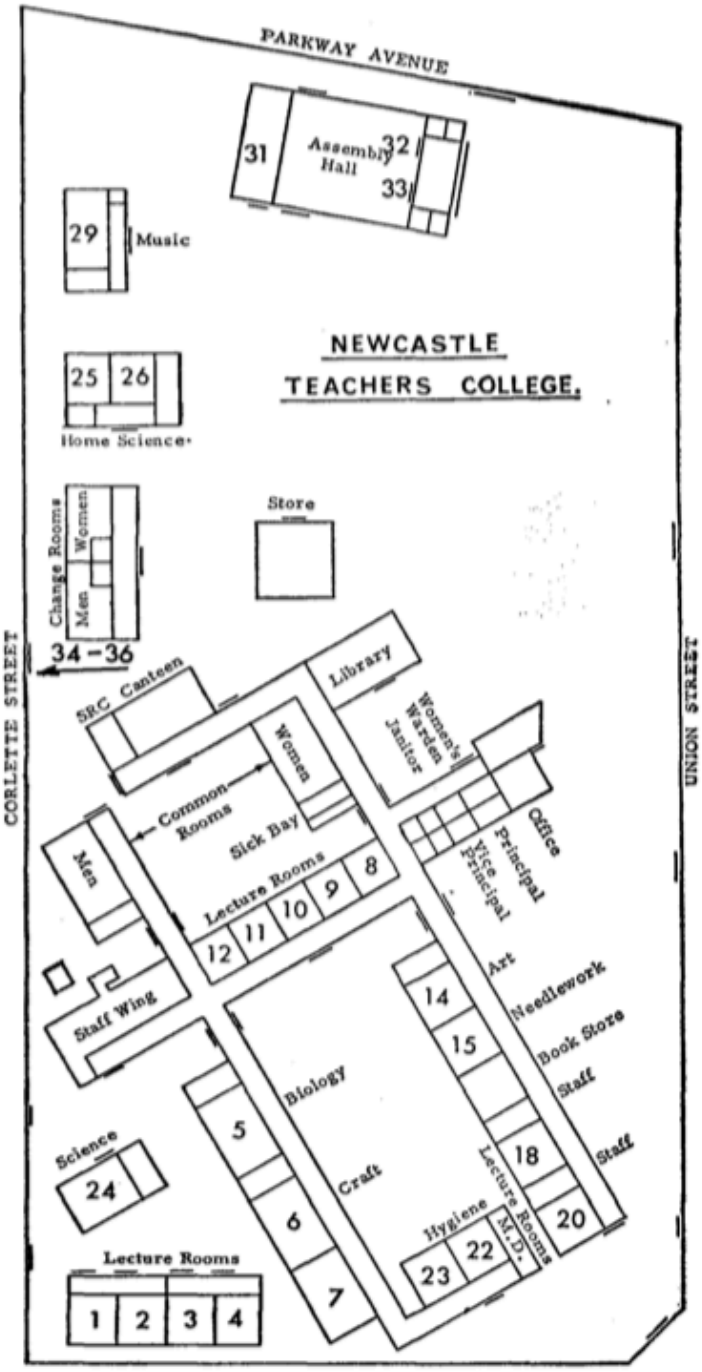
Year	Principal	Vice Principal
1949	Mr. Griff H. Duncan	Mr. James W. Staines
1961	Mr. Griff H. Duncan	Mr. Ian D. Renwick
1964	Mr. Griff H. Duncan	Mrs Huldah M. Turner[2]
1967	Mr. Griff H. Duncan	Mr. Raymond G. Bass
1970	Mr. Griff H. Duncan	Mr Gordon C. Elliot
1975	Mr Gordon C. Elliot[3]	Mr Edward Crago[4]
1976	Mr Edward Richardson	Mr Gordon Elliot/ Mr Doug Huxley
1977	Mr Edward Richardson	Mr Doug Huxley
1984	Mr Doug Huxley[5]	Mr Ray Hodgins
1986	Mr Doug Huxley	Mr Les Eastcott
1989	Mr Doug Huxley	Mr Les Eastcott

Table B1(b) List of Presidents and Vice-Presidents of NTC College Council

Year	Principal	Vice Principal
1974-76	Mr Les Gibbs	Mr G.C Anderson
1977-82	Mr Les Gibbs	Professor A. J. Carmichael
1983	Ms Margaret Bowman	Mr Robert Ansell
1984-85	Ms Margaret Bowman	Mr John Price
1986-88	Ms Margaret Bowman	Mr Elwin Currow
1989	Mr Elwin Currow	Ms Margaret Bowman

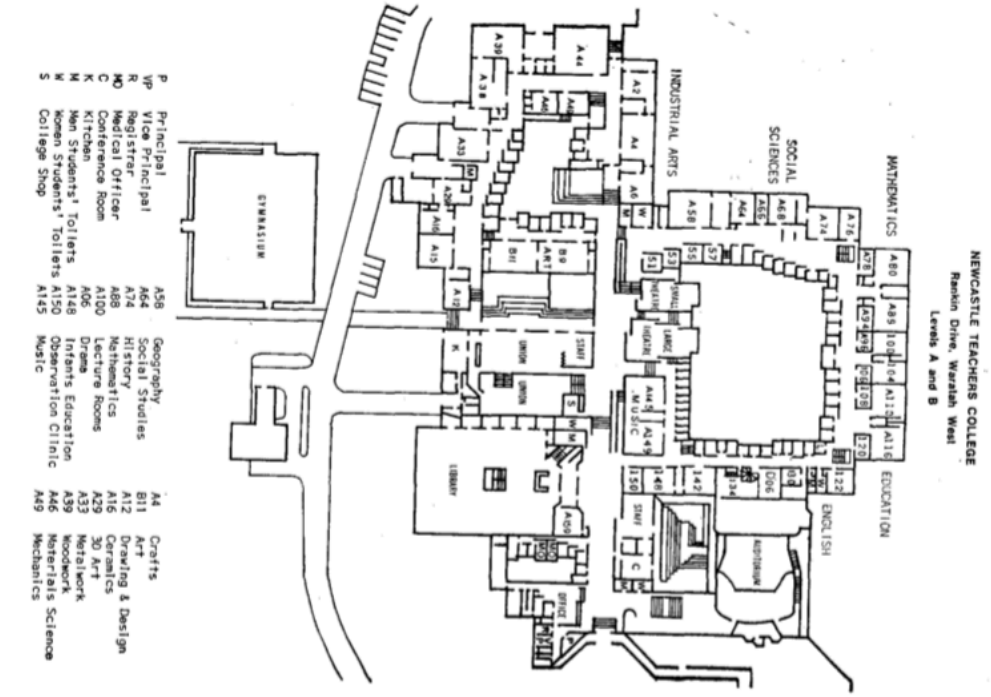
[1] Information compiled from NTC Calendars 1949-1989. Additional information Ian Renwick Personal Papers, 1951-64; College Minutes 1975-1984; Interview 4_A_M1949
[2] Huldah Turner took over part way through 1964 following the death of Ian Renwick in April 1964.
[3] Gordon Elliot was principal following the retirement of Griff Duncan in March 1975 until the arrival of Edward Richardson in early 1976.
[4] NTC Annual Report 1975, 11
[5] Doug Huxley took over after the death of Richardson in October 1984.

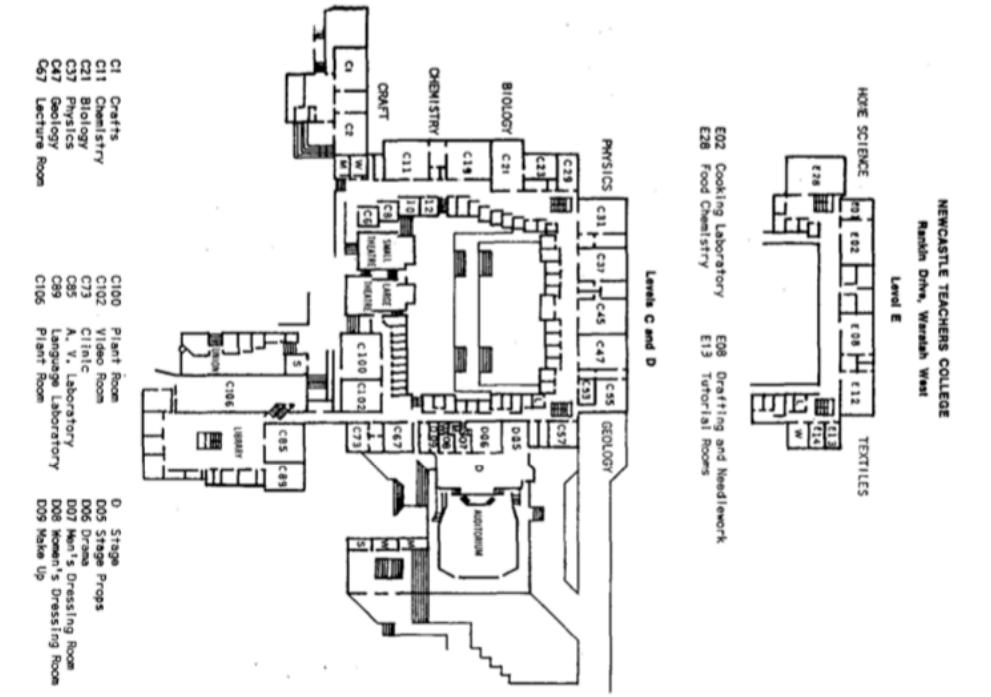
Appendix B-2 Map of College Grounds Union Street Site 1972[6]



[6] Source NTC Calendar 1972, 18

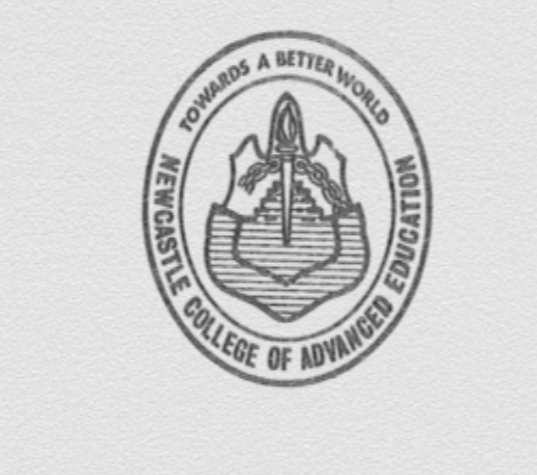
Appendix B-3 Map of College Grounds Shortland Site, 1973.[7]





[7] Source NTC Calendar 1973, 1-2

Appendix B5: NTC Crest and Logo Details [8]

	
Newcastle Teachers College 1949-1974	Newcastle College of Advanced Education 1975-1977
	
Newcastle College of Advanced Education 1978-1987	Hunter Institute of Higher Education 1988-1989

The college was officially granted Arms on the 2nd of June 1977. An explanation of the coat of Arms/Logo was provided in the 1989 Handbook [9] The principle elements incorporated in the arms of the Institute depict the myth of the Greek demigod Prometheus: the rock to which he was bound and chain from which he was freed, and the torch representing the gift of fire and skills to mankind. "Hence the elements in the Arms signify the gift of the power of knowledge, freeing and inspiring mankind to build "Towards a Better World".[10]

[8] Various NTC College Handbooks 1950-1989.

[9] Hunter Institute of Higher Education Calendar 1988, 2

[10] It is interesting that the initial establishment of the college motto "Ad Meliorem Mundum" was the subject of considerable debate, which ended in favour of the Latin (See pages 131 and 279). The change to the English text to coincide with the administrative change to a CAE was directed by the College Board.

Section C Details of Ministers and Directors of Education 1949-1989

C-1 List of Ministers of Education- Federal

C-2 List of Ministers of Education- State of New South Wales

C-3 List of Directors of Education in NSW

Appendix C-1 List of Ministers of Education- Federal 1949-1989

Year	Prime Minister	Education Minister	Party
1949	Chifley	No Minister*	Liberal
1950	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1951	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1952	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1953	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1954	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1955	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1956	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1957	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1958	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1959	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1960	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1961	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1962	Menzies	No Minister*	Liberal
1963	Menzies	John Gorton	Liberal
1964	Menzies	John Gorton	Liberal
1965	Menzies	John Gorton	Liberal
1966	Holt	John Gorton	Liberal
1967	McEwan	John Gorton	Liberal
1968	Gorton	Malcolm Fraser	Liberal
1969	Gorton	Nigel Bowen	Liberal
1970	Gorton	Nigel Bowen	Liberal
1971	McMahon	David Fairbairn/ Malcom Fraser	Liberal
1972	Whitlam	Kim Beazley (Snr)	Labor
1973	Whitlam	Kim Beazley (Snr)	Labor
1974	Whitlam	Kim Beazley (Snr)	Labor
1975	Fraser	Margaret Guilfoyle / John Carrick	Liberal
1976	Fraser	John Carrick	Liberal
1977	Fraser	John Carrick	Liberal
1978	Fraser	John Carrick	Liberal
1979	Fraser	Wal Fife	Liberal
1980	Fraser	Wal Fife	Liberal
1981	Fraser	Wal Fife	Liberal
1982	Fraser	Petr Baume	Liberal
1983	Hawke	Susan Ryan	Labor
1984	Hawke	Susan Ryan	Labor
1985	Hawke	Susan Ryan	Labor
1986	Hawke	Susan Ryan	Labor
1987	Hawke	John Dawkins	Labor
1988	Hawke	John Dawkins	Labor
1989	Hawke	John Dawkins	Labor

*The duties of the Education Minister were performed by the Prime Minister in these years.

Appendix C-2 List of Ministers of Education- State of New South Wales 1949-1989

Year	NSW Premier	NSW Education Minister	Party
1949	James McGirr	Robert Heffron	Labor
1950	James McGirr	Robert Heffron	Labor
1951	James McGirr	Robert Heffron	Labor
1952	Joseph Cahill	Robert Heffron	Labor
1953	Joseph Cahill	Robert Heffron	Labor
1954	Joseph Cahill	Robert Heffron	Labor
1955	Joseph Cahill	Robert Heffron	Labor
1956	Joseph Cahill	Robert Heffron	Labor
1957	Joseph Cahill	Robert Heffron	Labor
1958	Joseph Cahill	Robert Heffron	Labor
1959	Robert Heffron	Robert Heffron	Labor
1960	Robert Heffron	Ernest Wetherell	Labor
1961	Robert Heffron	Ernest Wetherell	Labor
1962	Robert Heffron	Ernest Wetherell	Labor
1963	Robert Heffron	Ernest Wetherell	Labor
1964	Jack Renshaw	Ernest Wetherell	Labor
1965	Robert Askin	Charles Cutler	Liberal
1966	Robert Askin	Charles Cutler	Liberal
1967	Robert Askin	Charles Cutler	Liberal
1968	Robert Askin	Charles Cutler	Liberal
1969	Robert Askin	Charles Cutler	Liberal
1970	Robert Askin	Charles Cutler	Liberal
1971	Robert Askin	Charles Cutler	Liberal
1972	Robert Askin	Eric Willis	Liberal
1973	Robert Askin	Eric Willis	Liberal
1974	Robert Askin	Eric Willis	Liberal
1975	Tom Lewis	Eric Willis	Liberal
1976	Eric Willis / Neville Wran	Neil Pickard / Eric Bedford	Liberal/ Labor
1977	Neville Wran	Eric Bedford	Labor
1978	Neville Wran	Eric Bedford	Labor
1979	Neville Wran	Eric Bedford	Labor
1980	Neville Wran	Paul Landa	Labor
1981	Neville Wran	Ron Mulock	Labor
1982	Neville Wran	Ron Mulock	Labor
1983	Neville Wran	Ron Mulock	Labor
1984	Neville Wran	Eric Bedford/ Rod Cavalier	Labor
1985	Neville Wran	Rod Cavalier	Labor
1986	Barrie Unsworth	Rod Cavalier	Labor
1987	Barrie Unsworth	Rod Cavalier	Labor
1988	Nick Greiner	Terry Metherell	Liberal
1989	Nick Greiner	Terry Metherell	Liberal

Appendix C-3 List of Directors of Education- State of New South Wales 1949-1989[11]

Director-General of Education	Assumed office	Appointment ends
Mr John McKenzie[#1]	September 1940	November 1952
Sir Harold Wyndham	December 1952	December 1968
Mr David Verco	January 1969	July 1972
Mr John Buggie	July 1972	February 1977
Mr Douglas Swan	February 1977	July 1985
Mr Robert Winder	July 1985	April 1988
Mr Fenton Sharp[#2]	April 1988	November 1991

#1 McKenzie's title was Director of Education
#2 Sharp's title was Director-General of School Education

[11] Information sourced from Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney NSW 1902-2001) (NSW Gazette) available https://trove.nla.gov.au/

Section D Ethics

The section contains all the Ethics documents for this project, with the exception of the interview schedules which are located in appendix A. Within this section the formatting and the referencing style of the originally submitted ethics documents has been retained, and therefore these features do not always match with the style used in the balance of the thesis.

D-1 Ethics Application
D-2 Project Recruitment Statement
D-3 Project Participant Information Sheet.
D-4 Project Participant Information Sheet- Document Information
D-5 Project Participant Information Sheet- Interview Information Sheet
D-6 Interview Consent Form
D-7 Interview Release Form
D-8 Document Receipt- Loan Document
D-9 Document Receipt- Donation Document

Appendix D-1 Ethics Application Form.

		Form: HE1:5/02
Human Research Ethics Committee The University of Newcastle	**Hunter Area Research Ethics Committee** Hunter Health	*OFFICE USE ONLY:* Register No:
INITIAL APPLICATION FOR **ETHICS APPROVAL FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS**		Date Received:

NOTE: This form is to be used for applications to The University of Newcastle Human Research Ethics Committee (**HREC**), and/or the Hunter Area Research Ethics Committee (**HAREC**), Hunter Health.

Do not use this form to renew an existing approval or to apply for approval of additions or variations/amendments to an approved project – refer to *Renewal* and *Variation* application forms.

1 SHORT TITLE OF PROJECT *(limit 150 characters – see Guidelines)*

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project

2 APPROVAL FROM ANOTHER ETHICS COMMITTEE

Has this project been submitted (or will be submitted) to another Ethics Committee for approval – this includes dual submission to HREC/HAREC?	Yes			No	X

If *YES*, name the committee(s), and give the status of each application?
(Attach 4 copies of correspondence with each Committee)

Name of Ethics Committee and Institution	*Application Reference No*	*Approved/Pending/ Rejected/To be submitted*

3 CHIEF INVESTIGATOR *or* PROJECT SUPERVISOR *(Note: only **one** person to be named)*

Name: Title / first name / family name	Mr Greg Preston
Qualifications & position held:	BA, DipEd, MedStud. Lecturer in Education
Organisational unit & mailing address:	Education, Hunter Building, Newcastle University
Telephone and Fax:	Ph: 02 49 215891 Fax: 02 492 17916
Email address:	Greg.Preston@newcastle.edu.au

4 CO-INVESTIGATORS *and/or* STUDENT RESEARCHER

Name: Title / first name / family name	
Qualifications & position(s) held:	

Organisational unit & mailing address:	
Telephone and Fax:	
Email address:	

Name: Title / first name / family name	
Qualifications & position(s) held:	
Organisational unit & mailing address:	
Telephone and Fax:	
Email address:	

Copy table and repeat for each additional co-investigator.

5 STUDENT RESEARCH

Is the research the project of a student of The University of Newcastle?	Yes			No	X

(***Note***: *coursework students applying to the Hunter Area Research Ethics Committee (HAREC) must* ***first*** *obtain approval from the respective faculty based research ethics committee.)*

If *YES:*	Name of student:		Student No:	
	Course of study:			
	Principal supervisor:			

6 ESTIMATED DURATION OF PROJECT (dd/mm/yy)

This is the period during which you anticipate contact with participants, their personal records, or human tissue samples.

From:	01/12/04		To:	20/12/06

7 FUNDING

Is the project the subject of an application for funding to an internal or external grants body, drug company, etc?	Yes	X		No	

If *YES*: (a) List the funding sources and give the status of each application.
(Attach 4 copies of the primary application for funding)

Funding Body	*Approved/Pending/Rejected/To be submitted*
University Project grant	Rejected (Attachment 7)
School of Education project development grant	Approved (Attachment 8)

(b) What is the exact project title on the funding application(s)?

"The College": A history of Newcastle Teachers' College, College of Advanced Education and the Hunter Institute of Higher Education

8 PRIVACY LEGISLATION

Does the project involve access to personal information held by a Commonwealth department or agency, or a private sector organisation?	Yes			No	X

If *YES*, will the access to personal information be **without** the consent of the individual(s) to whom the information relates?	Yes			No	

If *YES to both of the above*, specify the type of data to be accessed/collected, the departments/agencies holding the information, and the number of records involved.

9 AIMS AND VALUE OF PROJECT

Using plain English, provide a concise and simple description of your proposed research, which sets out the background, precise aims/hypotheses/research questions, why you consider the research is worth doing, and what its potential merit and significance might be. Include references from your literature review to support the description.

Description

The project is designed to produce a comprehensive history of Newcastle Teachers' College and its legacy organizations from the foundation of the college in 1949 until its amalgamation with the Conservatorium of Music and Newcastle University in 1989.

The research involves traditional historical methods of document, photographic and policy location, analysis, and interpretation. This data will be combined with interview data collected from former students, academic and administrative staff of the college. The triangulation of these data sets will allow a detailed picture of the subject institution to be developed. Additionally, the project will trial the use of voice recognition software as a tool in the transcription of interview data.

Background

In 1989 the University of Newcastle amalgamated with two other tertiary educational institutions to form a single regional tertiary educational entity. One of the pre-amalgamation institutes was the Hunter Institute of Higher Education. Known thought its history as "The College", and previously named The Newcastle College of Advanced Education and Newcastle Teachers' College, this establishment provided educational services to the Hunter region for 40 years.

The period during which the College operated was one of enormous change for Higher Education and, in particular, teacher training. The range of important transitions that occurred in the higher education sector during this period directly influenced the structure and purpose of the college. The establishment of the college itself was largely a response to the Post war "baby boomers'" educational needs. The College developed first to cater for the needs of New South Wales School based Education priorities and later in response to broader vocational and Adult educational needs. The history of the College encompasses the transformation of Teacher preparation from State controlled colleges through the reforms of the 1964-5 Martin report, the increasing involvement of the Menzies Federal government in the process of Teacher training, and the development of Multipurpose Colleges of Advanced Education (CAE) (Barcan 1980,Turney & Taylor 1986). The implementation of the Unified National system proposed by the Dawkins 'White paper' in 1987 saw the end of the binary system of Universities and CAEs and led to the end of an autonomous college entity (Dawkins 1987).

The College had an important role in the preparation of professionals in the region. It influenced the lives of those who attended or taught in the college and, by association, both the lives of those who came into contact with these professionals and the institution into which it was amalgamated.

Aims

The primary aim of the project is to produce a comprehensive history of Newcastle Teachers' College and its legacy organizations from the foundation of the college in 1949 until its amalgamation with the Conservatorium of Music and Newcastle University in 1989.

The key issues to be addressed include:

a) the administrative and governance structure of the College,

b) the response of the College to external policy directions,

c) course and program development,
d) staff profiles and qualifications,
d) student and collegiate life,
e) the relationship of the college with external bodies, and
f) the relationship of the College with the region

A secondary aim of the project is the trial of voice recognition software as a tool in the transcription of interview data. The transcription of interview data is one of the most time consuming components of the utilisation of oral history data. The project will assess the utility of two programs, "Dragon Dictate" and "IBM Voice Type", in the process of interview transcription.

Significance and Expected Outcomes

The history of the College forms an important part of the history of The University of Newcastle. The Institutional structures, courses and programs, and pedagogical techniques currently in place can all be seen as part of a continuum from the initial foundation of the preceding institutions (Elphick 1989,Turney & Taylor 1996, Boardman et al 1995). Recognition of the importance of institutional history is provided through the internal commissioning of a History of the University (up to amalgamation) which was published in 1992 (Wright 1992). That history only tells part of the story of the combined institution. This project will help to add to the institutional and corporate history of the university.
A detailed history of the response of a local institution to the broader education trends in Australian educational policy direction will help shed light on the impact of the policies themselves on the local education situation. Additionally, the wider structural, pedagogical and systemic issues which were addressed nationally throughout the period can be conceptualised within a specific setting.
Finally, the development of a comprehensive history of an institution which had important interactions with the local region will substantially add to the body of research on Local History for the Hunter region.

There are four specific outcomes in addition to the broader historical value of the project outlined above.
1. Informing current systemic and pedagogical structures. The process of reflection on previous programs, issues, solutions, and structures should further consolidate the base of information from which current programs and structures can be viewed. It is hoped that this will provide a more comprehensive data set from which current policy makers and educational practitioners can build.
2. Publications and Conference presentations. Various journals such as "Melbourne studies in Education" or "The Journal of the Oral History Association of Australia" provide possibilities for the publication of this work. Conferences such as ANZHES or AARE provide additional prospects for the dissemination of the work. There is also scope for a more comprehensive monograph.
3. The evaluation of the voice recognition software in conjunction with the transcription of interview data may help to provide additional tools to assist with transcription on future "oral history" projects, and
4. The development of a substantial oral history data set in relation to the experiences of participants in college life and the collection of documents relevant to the topic will ensure that such information is preserved for the historical record.

References:
Barcan, A., (1980) *A History of Australian Education*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Boardman, G., Barnes, A., Fletcher, B., Fletcher, B.H., Sherington, G., and Turney, C. (1995) *Sydney Teachers College: A History 1906-1981*, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger.

Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education (1965) in *Australia Tertiary Education in Australia: Report*, Canberra, Government Printer. (The Martin Report).

Dawkins, J.S., (1987) *Higher Education: A Policy Discussion paper*, Canberra, AGPS.

Elphick, E.S., (1989*) The College on the Hill: A history of Armidale Teachers' College and Armidale CAE, 1929-1989*, Armidale, UNE

Holbrook, A.P, (1994). 'A Chorus of Condemnation: memories of NSW teachers' Colleges,1940-1950s', *Journal of the Oral History Association of Australia*, 16

Hyams, B.K., (1980) 'Teacher Education in Australia: Historical Development', in *Auchmuty, J.J. Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher education*, Sydney, Government Printer.

Kyle, N., and King, R., (1994) Education policy in New South Wales: a bibliographic and historiographic overview, *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1994, 73-96

Turney, C., and Taylor, J. (1996) *To enlighten them Our Task: A History of Teacher Education at Balmain and Kuring-Gai Colleges, 1946-1990*, Sydney, Sydmac Academic Press.

Wescombe, C., and Sherington, G., (1993) *Education in New South Wales: A guide to State and Commonwealth Sources 1788-1992*, Sydney

Wright, D. I. (1992) *Looking Back: A History of the University of Newcastle*, Callaghan, The University of Newcastle.

10 REPLICATION STUDIES

Has the same or a similar study been conducted in Australia or overseas?	Yes		No	X

If *YES*, provide a brief statement giving your reasons and justification for wishing to replicate the work, with a brief but representative, literature review.

11 SPECIFIC TYPES OF RESEARCH

Does the proposed research involve any of the following?

If *YES*, refer to the relevant section of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* (given as NS ….) and provide a statement detailing how your research protocol conforms to the requirements of the Statement.

Children or young people under 18 years of age? (NS 4)	Yes		No	X

People with an intellectual or mental impairment, temporary or permanent? (NS 5)	Yes		No	X

People highly dependent on medical care, eg emergency care, intensive care, neonatal intensive care, terminally ill, or unconscious? (NS 6)	Yes		No	X

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals, communities, or groups? (Guidelines and NS 9)	Yes		No	X

Other specific cultural, ethnic or indigenous groups? (NS 8 –' Collectivities')	Yes		No	X

Assisted reproductive technology? (NS 11)	Yes			No	X
Epidemiology research? (NS 14)	Yes			No	X
Use of human tissue samples? (NS 15)	Yes			No	X
Human genetic research? (NS 16)	Yes			No	X
Deception of participants, concealment or covert observation? (NS 17)	Yes			No	X

12 CLINICAL TRIALS

Does the project involve the use of drugs, alternative or complementary therapies, therapeutic devices, or departure from standard treatment/care?	Yes			No	X

If *YES*, complete and attach **APPENDIX A.**

13 SAFETY IMPLICATIONS

Does the proposed research involve work on, use of, or exposure to any of the following?

Genetically modified organisms	Yes			No	X
Biologically hazardous materials	Yes			No	X
Chemically hazardous materials	Yes			No	X
Carcinogens	Yes			No	X
Teratogens	Yes			No	X
Radioisotopes	Yes			No	X
Ionising radiation	Yes			No	X
Non-ionising radiation	Yes			No	X
Any other potential safety hazard for either participants or researchers?	Yes			No	X

If *YES* to any of the above, provide details **and** contact the Occupational Health and Safety Unit at The University of Newcastle.

14 RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURES

Provide a plain English description of the proposed research plan and procedures, **using the following headings** (*for more information refer to Guidelines)*:

What is the research design/method?

The research approach involves traditional historical methods of document, photographic and policy location, analysis, and interpretation. Some of this data is already in the researchers possession, and additional documents will be collected during the study. This data will be combined with interviews conducted with former students and academic and administrative staff of the college, which will be analysed using oral history protocols. The triangulation of these data sets will allow a detailed picture of the subject institution to be developed.

Where will the project be conducted?
(Identify any schools, hospitals, organisations, etc, that are to be involved.)
Archival material will be viewed *in situ* (eg Newcastle University Archives). Interviews will be conducted either in the Interviewee's home or at the University (at the participants choice)
What is the participant group(s) and why has it been selected?
Former students and academic and administrative staff of Newcastle Teacher's College and NCAE have been selected as the participant group in order to gain a broad perspective into the History of the institutions under consideration, from those who have experiences with them.
How many participants will be recruited and what is the rationale for that number?
It is proposed to conduct a maximum of 100 interviews although the exact number of interviewees in each category will be determined by the response to the recruitment information. The exact number will be conditional on the location of suitable and willing interviewees. It is desirable to interview as many people who have experiences of the institutions under consideration to gain the broadest possible perspective on the various facets of their operation. The maximum number has been set by the resources available to the researcher.
How, by whom, and where, will potential participants be selected and approached to receive the invitation to participate?
(Attach the full number of copies of letters, advertisements, posters or other recruitment material to be used.)
There are three recruitment strategies for this project.
The first is a general recruitment announcement which will appear in both the local press and via the Universities Internal Email system. (Attachment 3- version 1) (To be approved by Media Services once approved by HREC)
Second, a personally addressed flyer (Attachment 3-Version 2) will be sent (via Email) to individuals who, according to the NTC and NCAE handbooks, worked at the institutions in question prior to amalgamation, AND currently work at the University.
Third a general flyer (Attachment 3-version 1) will be sent to ex-student, and ex-lecturer groups.

How much time will potential participants have to consider the invitation to participate?
The invitation to participate is open-ended, that is, the participants may decide to take part at any time during the course of the project. The estimated duration of the data collection period of the study is twenty four months. Thus the participants can initiate their participation in the project for up to twenty four months after receiving the initial invitation to take part.
What is required of participants?
(Attach 4 copies of any surveys, interview schedules, data sheets, etc to be used.)
Those participants who choose to donate or loan documents will need to arrange a suitable time for the collection (and return if appropriate) or the documents.
Those participants who choose to be involved in an interview will be asked to take part in an interview which is recorded on audio tape. The interview will be of between one and two hours duration. The time allocated for this includes time for Interviewee's to review the tape recording of the interview (See Information statement-Attachment 1). The interview schedules to be used are included here as Attachment 4.
Relevant experience of researchers
The researcher has experience in both conducting and supervising research projects. He is currently involved in the RGC funded project on Comparisons of Evaluations by PhD examiners and ARC Discovery Grant Assessors with Professors Lovat, Bourke, and Associate Professor Holbrook The researcher's Minor Thesis on the "History of the Mechanic's Institutes movement" was awarded the NSW Institute of Educational Research award and subsequently formed the bases for the Regional Public Library monograph publication on the subject. During the last 10 years the researcher has successfully supervised students involved in Faculty of Education and Arts Research Higher degree programs, including the joint supervision of Doctoral students.

15 ANALYSIS

Explain how the information you receive will be analysed/interpreted and reported. What specific approaches or techniques (statistical or qualitative) will be employed?

Whilst the project should be seen as a single entity, the techniques involved in the collection and analysis of raw data to support this project fall into three distinct categories.
1. Documentary, photographic, and policy data.
The policy data is available through general library sources.
Initial investigation of primary source material has located three(3) main document sources. The archives at the University of Newcastle contain substantial holdings in relation to the Newcastle CAE and the Hunter Institute of Higher education. Additionally there are some photographic archives for Newcastle Teachers' College at this location. The records of Newcastle Teachers College were returned to the NSW State archive on amalgamation. Archives relating to the NSW Teachers' College association are located at the UNE Library.
Additionally the researcher has built up a substantial set of documents relevant to the project including course outlines, yearbooks, handbooks, photographs, and personal papers from ex-students and staff. The data will be supplemented through the collection of documents during this project. This data will be analysed using traditional historical analysis techniques.
2. Interview data
The interviews conducted will follow an interview schedule (Attachment 4). There are different interview schedules for ex-staff and ex-students. It is proposed to conduct a maximum of 100 interviews although the exact number of interviewees in each category will be determined by the response to the recruitment information. These factors will be conditional on the location of suitable interviewees. The interviews will be transcribed (see point 3 below), and analysed using traditional oral history Qualitative techniques. This will include entering the transcribed data into N5 and line-coding based on the categories proposed above (see Q.9 "Aims" a-f). Additional consideration will be given to the nature of the responses themselves based on dimensions such as the categories of qualitative understanding (Maxwell,1992) and Pasterini's textual analysis (1987).
3. Evaluation of Voice recognition software.
All interviews will be recorded onto audio tape. These tape recordings will then be digitised into Audio CD format. A random selection of ten (10) of these CD recordings will then be subjected to analysis by two voice recognition software packages. The packages to be used are "Dragon Dictate" and IBM "Voice Type". The ten (10) selected recordings will also be subject to traditional transcription methods. A comparison will then be made of the three transcription methods based on accuracy of transcription and time taken for transcription. The most effective system will be identified and utilised for transcribing the remaining interviews.
The final stage of the analysis will involve the cross-tabulation and triangulation of the interdependent data sets to produce a cohesive picture of the nature of the College based on the previously identified key issues.

Maxwell, J.A., (1992) 'Understanding and Validity in Qualitative Research', *Harvard Educational Review*, 62(3), 279-300.

Passerini, L., (1987) *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

16 PROPOSED REVIEW OF PROGRESS, PARTICIPANT CARE, WINDING UP PROCEDURES

Describe the mechanisms that will be put in place to deal with the following.

Review of progress of the project.
The project will be reviewed in the light of each interview. Additional information may come to light which impinges on the questioning techniques required to ensure that participants are treated in a sensitive manner.

Duty of care to participants and research staff.
Every effort will be taken to ensure that participants are comfortable during the interview process. Should the interview take place away from the participant's home/place of work access to refreshments and amenities will be ensured. Where the loan of personal property is involved all care will be taken with such material and the material will be returned in a timely manner(see attach. 5)
Procedures for reporting adverse events.
Should any adverse event be perceived by the researcher full documentation of the event as per the Ethics committee guidelines will be collected and reported to the Ethics committee. Each participant will have the contact details of the researcher and Ethics committee in order to report any adverse events.
Premature cessation of project.
In the extremely unlikely event that the project ceases prematurely participants will be informed by letter.
Feedback of results to participants.
Participants will receive a copy of their taped interview shortly after the interview has been conducted. Further, participants will be informed of any general publications which arise concerning the history of the institutions they were involved with.
Post trial follow-up.
Participants will be sent a letter of thanks for their involvement in the Project.

17 SUMMARY OF ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Address the ethical considerations of your research to satisfy the Committee that the research protocol gives adequate consideration to participants' welfare, rights, beliefs, perceptions, customs and that cultural heritage, both individual and collective, will be respected in the course of your research. Your response should address the following issues *(for more detail, refer to NS 1 and the Application Guidelines)*.

How will voluntary participation be ensured?
At each stage of the recruitment process the onus is on the participant to indicate that they wish to take part. The participants are invited to complete an informed consent form. At each stage where there is contact between the researcher and the participants, the participants are informed that they are able cease their involvement in the project without giving any reasons. Participants are give the opportunity to determine how widely accessible their interview data becomes. (See Attachment 6)
Is active consent being sought from all participants for all aspects of the research involving them? If No, why not?
Yes
How will participants' privacy be protected during the recruitment process, or access to tissue samples, or access to records?
The contact between participant and researcher is direct, that is, no other people are involved. The contact is instigated by the participant at a time and location of their choosing. Contact logs kept by the researcher will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the University where not in use.
What are the benefits and risks to participants and how will risks be minimised?
The participants have the opportunity to have their part in the history of the institutions they attended recorded. They will also receive a copy of the interview for their family archives. There is slight risk that an interviewee will say something which may be construed as libellous to another person. Should such a situation arise during recording the name or identifying information will be removed prior to any access being granted to the recorded material.
Are there any potential conflicts of interest for the researchers?
No
Will the research involve payments/rewards/inducements to participants?
No
How will confidentiality/anonymity of information received be ensured?
The nature of the project is that the information to be collected will become part of the public record. However, participants have the option to restrict their interview and /or documents to use by the current

researcher only. (See Attachment 5 Document loan form, and Attachment 6- Interview release form) Where the participant specifies that the information collected should not be made available through an archive that information will be destroyed at the end of the project.

Any other ethical issues specific to your research?

Whilst the collection of recorded voices gives rise to significant challenges in regards the anonymity of data, one of the key outcomes of this project is the collection of this information for posterity. Following consultation with The University of Newcastle Library Archivist, sensitive information made available to the archives collection would be placed under an embargo, which means that the information would not be available for general use for 30 years after it is lodged. This is consistent with the ethics protocols of the Historical Association of Australia and the Australian Association for Research in Education.

18 STORAGE, ACCESS AND DISPOSAL OF DATA

Describe what research data will be stored, where, for what period of time, the measures that will be put in place to ensure security of the data, who will have access to the data, and the method and timing of disposal of the data.

The primary source documents collected as part of this project, together with the collection held by the researcher from private sources, will be donated to the Archives section of the University of Newcastle Library at the conclusion of the project. Documents which are on loan will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Newcastle until returned to their owners in a timely manner.

The original tapes and transcripts, and subsequent copies not given to the participants, will be held in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Newcastle until the conclusion of the project. Those interviews and documents which the participants have cleared to be donated to the University Archives will then be donated to the Archives. Other interviews and their transcriptions, and documents will then be destroyed through the Faculty's secure shredding system.

Only the Researcher has access to the locked filling cabinet which is to be used for this project.

19 DECLARATION BY APPLICANTS

1. In signing this application, I declare that the research protocol conforms to the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans, 1999*, which I have read.

2. Where I am the project supervisor for the research described herein which will be conducted by a student of The University of Newcastle, I declare that I have provided guidance to the student in the design, methodology and consideration of ethical issues of the proposed research.

3. I make this application on the basis that the information it contains is confidential and will be used by The University of Newcastle and/or Hunter Health for the purposes of ethical review and monitoring of the research project described herein, and to satisfy reporting requirements to regulatory bodies. The information will not be used for any other purpose without my prior consent.

All investigators named at Q3 and Q4 are to sign this declaration.

	Name	*Signature*	*Date*
Chief investigator/ project supervisor	Greg Preston		
Investigator 2			
Investigator 3			
Investigator 4			
Investigator 5			
Investigator 6			

Q20 and Q21 ARE TO BE COMPLETED ONLY FOR APPLICATIONS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE

20 UNIVERSITY INSURANCE

For cover under the University's insurance, the Insurer requires the following information.

Does the proposed research involve physically invasive procedures?	Yes			No	X

If *YES*, briefly describe the invasive nature of the research and why it is necessary?

21 DECLARATION BY FACULTY NOMINEE

At the direction of the Research Portfolio Committee, all applications submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee from 1 July 2002, must have the following declaration completed by the respective Pro Vice-Chancellor, Head of School or other faculty nominee.

1. I declare that the research protocol described herein has been peer reviewed:

   by: *[name]*

   on: *[date]*

2. This application is submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee on the basis that it is methodologically sound and if the research is conducted according to this protocol it is expected to yield valid and useful data.

Faculty Nominee	*Name*	
	Position	
	Signature	

	Date	

NOTE: The above section Appendix A Clinical Trials was deleted from the form reproduced here because it was not relevant to the application …

Form HE1:5/02

Human Research Ethics Committee **Hunter Area Research Ethics Committee**
The University of Newcastle Hunter
Health

INITIAL APPLICATION FOR
ETHICS APPROVAL FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS

CHECKLIST
Complete and attach to your application as the FIRST page

CHIEF INVESTIGATOR *or* PROJECT SUPERVISOR *(The person identified at Question 3 on the 'Initial Application for Ethics Approval for Research Involving Humans')*

Name: Title / first name / family name	Mr Greg Preston

SHORT TITLE OF PROJECT *(as per Question 1 of the Initial Application)*

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project

Before lodging this application, please check that you have done the following: *(N/A = not applicable)*	**Applicant**	*Committee use only*	
	Yes	**No**	
All questions have been answered	**X**		
All investigators have signed the Declaration (Q18)	**X**		
Faculty nominee declaration is completed (Q19) *(University only)*	**X**		
Correspondence from other ethics committees is attached (Q2)	**N/A**		
Funding application is attached (Q7)	**X**		
Participant Information Sheets are attached	**X**		
Participant Consent Forms are attached	**X**		
All letters, advertisements, posters or other recruitment material to be used are attached	**X**		
	X		

All surveys, interview/focus group schedules, data sheets, etc, to be used in collecting data are attached			
Appendix A – Clinical Trials – has been completed	**N/A**		
Appendix A – full clinical protocol is attached	**N/A**		
Appendix A – Investigators' Drug Brochure is attached	**N/A**		
Appendix A – Indemnification for Clinical Trials is attached	**N/A**		
Application has been collated *(see Preparation of your application)*	**X**		

Attach to your application as the SECOND page

(it may be photocopied onto the back of the first page of the Checklist)

			CHECKLIST ***For Committee Use Only*** *(N/A = not adequately)*
Yes	**No**	**N/A**	
			The source of participants, tissue samples, or records is identified (Q14)
			The method by which participants will be recruited, samples obtained or records accessed is explained (Q14)
			What is required of participants is explained (Q14)
			Review of progress, participant care, and winding up procedures have been addressed (Q16)
			The ethical considerations posed by the research have been addressed (Q17)
			Storage, access and disposal of data have been addressed (Q18)
			Participant Information Sheets:
			• Presented on letterhead
			• Written in Plain English and appropriate for age of participants
			• Identifies project
			• Identifies researchers, their institutional affiliations, & contact details
			• If a student research project, identifies student and supervisor
			• Describes the aims and purpose of project
			• Explains how recipients have been selected to receive the information
			• Explains what is involved for participants and scope of consent
			• Describes risks and benefits
			• Addresses voluntary participation and right of withdrawal
			• Explains storage, use and access to data
			• Addresses consent/assent of children if they are to be involved
			• Addresses confidentiality/anonymity
			• Provides details of feedback to participants
			• Informs recipients what to do to consent
			• Addresses tape rule, if applicable
			• Includes the standard complaints statement
			• Signed by researcher(s) and student ,if applicable
			Consent forms:
			• Identifies project and researchers
			• Appropriate consent statement
			• Specific consent statements, eg access to records, excerpts from transcripts, archiving data, etc

			• Has place for participants to print name
			• Has place for participants to sign
			Surveys: Identifies researchers and institution

Appendix D-2 Project Recruitment Statement

Version 1- For placement/distribution
Newspaper advertisement,
Internal University flyer,
Retired Lecturer's association meeting, and
Via Electronic contact groups- eg www.schoolfriends.com.au, ex-students groups.

Text:

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project

Did you attend or work at the college ?

If you have any photos, handbooks, or other memorabilia from the college
Or if you would be willing to share your experiences of your time at the college in an interview

Please contact
Greg Preston on Ph: 02 49 215891
Or via Email at Greg.Preston@newcastle.edu.au

Version 2- To be sent **via Email** to staff currently employed by the University who were previously employed by the NTC/NCAE

Text:

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project

Dear XX,

I am currently conducting a research project into the history of Newcastle Teachers' College and Newcastle CAE. I understand that you worked at the College prior to amalgamation.

If you have any photos, handbooks, or other memorabilia from the college
Or if you would be willing to share your experiences of your time at the college in an interview

Please contact
Greg Preston on ex: 15891
Or via Email at Greg.Preston@newcastle.edu.au

Appendix D-3 Project Participant Information sheet.

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS
School of Education

Mr Greg Preston
Lecturer, School of Education

University Drive Callaghan NSW 2308
Telephone: 02 49215891
Fax: 02 49217916
Email: Greg.Preston@newcastle.edu.au

Information Statement for the Research Project:
Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project

Dear <insert name>,

Thank you for expressing an interest in 'the college' history project. You are invited to take part in the research project identified above which is being conducted by Greg Preston from the School of Education at the University of Newcastle.

The purpose of the research is to compile a comprehensive history of Newcastle Teachers' College, Newcastle CAE and the Hunter Institute of Higher Education. It is important that the impact of these important Educational institutions on both the region and the lives of individuals is recorded for future generations.

Participation in this research is entirely your choice. Only those people who give their informed consent will be included in the project. Whether or not you decide to participate, your decision will not disadvantage you in any way. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw from the project at any time without giving a reason.

The research has two parts.
PART A: The first part is the collection of documents and photos which are relevant to the history of the Institutions.

PART B: The second part involves interviewing people who were staff or students at one of the Institutions.

Further information concerning what is involved in these parts is provided on the pages which follow. Importantly, you may choose to be involved in one section of the study, both sections of the study or, of course, neither section.

Please read this Information statement and the information concerning the two parts of the study before you consent to participate. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you have questions, please feel free to contact me on 02 49 215891.

If you would like to participate, please complete the attached Consent Form and return it in the reply paid envelope. I will then contact you to arrange a time convenient to you for our next contact.

Thank you for considering this invitation,

Greg Preston
Lecturer, Faculty of Education and Arts

This project has been approved by the University's Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval No. H-917-1104. *Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Office, The Chancellery, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, telephone (02 49216333, email Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au.*

D-4 Project Participant Information sheet- Document Information

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS

School of Education

Information Statement for the Research Project:
Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project

Information about PART A: The Collection of Documents and Photos

This section of the project is designed to collect various document, photos, and other memorabilia relevant to the history of the Institutions named above.

Items of particular interest are:

• Formal or informal photographs of staff and/or students of the institutions (especially groups at social, educational, cultural or sporting events)

• Handbooks, Year books, magazines or other official college documents.

• Records of meetings, college organisations, or graduations

There are a number of ways you can choose to be involved in this part of the research.

• If you have material you wish to donate to the project- I will contact you to arrange to collect the material. You will receive a collection receipt for this material. All material donated to the project will be passed on to the University of Newcastle Archives at the conclusion of the project. You may choose to donate the material anonymously if you wish.

OR

If you are happy to loan me the material, I will give you a signed loan receipt and make sure that the material is returned to you within two weeks.

OR

If you have material which you are happy for me to view, I will arrange a time convenient to you for this viewing to take place.

If you agree to participate in this part of the research, please complete the **PART A** information on the consent form before you return it to me, and I will contact you by telephone to arrange our next contact in relation to the material.

Appendix D-5 Project Participant Information Sheet- Interview Information Sheet

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS

School of Education

Information Statement for the Research Project:
Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project

Information about the Interview

If you decide to participate in this part of the research, you will be asked to take part in an interview which explores your experiences at the college.

Relevant information about the interview is listed below.

• The interview will focus on your involvement in any aspects of college life you wish to discuss.

• Interviews will be recorded on tape, and the length of the interview will be somewhere between one and two hours.

• It is desirable for the interview to take place in your home, however it is possible to arrange a room at the University if you prefer.

• You will be able to listen to the tape recording immediate after the interview. You will be able to edit or erase your contribution. Further, you will be able to review any subsequent transcript of the recording and similarly make amendments, alterations or deletions.

• You will have the opportunity to impose conditions on the use of your interview at the conclusion of the interview. This may include things such as ensuring that any items discussed are anonymous.

• You will have the opportunity to donate a copy of the interview to the Newcastle University archive. If you wish to donate a copy to the archive you will have the opportunity to place restrictions on the access to this copy, for example, that the copy will not be accessible for 30 years.

• You have the right to stop and/or withdraw from the interview at any time.

• After the interview is concluded you will be given a copy of the tape for your family archive.

If you agree to participate in this part of the research, please complete the **PART B** information on the consent form, and I will contact you by telephone to arrange a time and place convenient to you to conduct the interview.

Appendix D-6 Interview Consent Form

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS

School of Education

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project
Consent form

Name: <Insert name>
Address: <Insert Address>
Contact telephone: <insert phone>

Part A- The Collection of Documents and Photos

I ..... wish to be involved in the research being undertaken by Mr Preston on the History of Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE

I am aware that Mr Preston will contact me to arrange to view documents or photos I have in relation to the history of the Institutions above. I understand that Mr Preston will give me a receipt for any material I may wish to loan him or donate to the project.

I am also aware that I may withdraw from the research at any time and the information supplied by me may be destroyed at my request.

Signed:_____

AND/OR

Part B- The Interview

I ..... wish to be involved in the research being undertaken by Mr Preston on the History of Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE

I am aware that Mr Preston will contact me to arrange an interview in relation to my experiences with the Institutions above.

I understand that I will receive a taped copy of the interview

I am also aware that I may withdraw from the research at any time and the information supplied by me may be destroyed at my request.

Signed: _____

PLEASE RETURN THIS PAGE IN THE REPLY PAID ENVELOPE

Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Office, The Chancellery, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, telephone (02 49216333, email Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au.

Appendix D-7 Interview release forms

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS
School of Education
Mr Greg Preston
Lecturer, School of Education

University Drive Callaghan NSW 2308
Telephone: 02 49215891
Fax: 02 49217916
Email: Greg.Preston@newcastle.edu.au

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project
Interview release Form
This release form will be signed after the Interview

To be filled in by both the interviewer and interviewee where designated, and a copy retained by both.
Signatures are required for Part 1 **OR** Part 2 and also Part 3
Fill in either Part 1 or Part 2 as appropriate.
Interviewees who have no concerns about the use of the taped interview can sign Part 1. Those who wish to specify certain conditions, for example, that the material be kept confidential, should do so in the space provided in Part 2.

PART 1- Unconditional release

I release all right, title or interest in or to this taped interview, and agree that it may be used without restriction for publication and use by researchers.

Signed..... Date:.....
(Interviewee)
Interviewer:.....

PART 2- Conditional release

I release all right, title or interest in or to this taped interview, and agree that it may be used for publication and by researchers subject to the following conditions:
Conditions:.(please fill in).....
.....
.....

Signed..... Date:.....
(Interviewee)
Interviewer:.....

PART 3-Permission to archive Interview

I give permission ❑ / refuse permission ❑ (please tick your response)
to allow the audio content of this interview and its transcription to be archived in a recognised repository, such as the Newcastle University Archives.
I would like to place an embargo of 30 years on the archived interview ❑ Yes ❑ No

Signed..... Date:.....
(Interviewee)
Interviewer:.....

This project has been approved by the University's Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval No. H-917-1104.Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Office, The Chancellery, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, telephone (02 49216333, email Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au.

Appendix D-8 Document receipt- Loan Document

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS
School of Education
Mr Greg Preston
Lecturer, School of Education

University Drive Callaghan NSW 2308
Telephone: 02 49215891
Fax: 02 49217916
Email: Greg.Preston@newcastle.edu.au

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project
Loan Document Receipt

Name:
Address:
Contact telephone:

Description of document/s:

Fill in either Part1 or Part 2 as appropriate.

PART 1-Unconditional Loan of documents

I agree that this/these documents may be used without restriction for publication and use by researchers. I understand that I will receive my original documents back within two weeks of this date and that they maybe copied prior to their return.

Signed..... Date:.....
(Document owner)
Document collector:.....

PART 2- Conditional Loan of documents

I agree that this/these documents may be used for publication and use by researchers subject to the following conditions:

Conditions:.(please fill in).....
.....
.....

I understand that I will receive my original documents back within two weeks of this date and that they maybe copied prior to their return.

Signed..... Date:.....
(Document owner)
Document collector:.....

Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Office, The Chancellery, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, telephone (02 49216333, email Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au

Appendix D-9 Document receipt- Donation Document

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS
School of Education
Mr Greg Preston
Lecturer, School of Education

University Drive Callaghan NSW 2308
Telephone: 02 49215891
Fax: 02 49217916
Email: Greg.Preston@newcastle.edu.au

Newcastle Teachers' College/CAE History Project
Document Donation Receipt

Name:
Address:
Contact telephone:
Description of document/s:

I release all right, title or interest in or to this/these documents, and agree that it/they may be used without restriction for publication and use by researchers.
I understand that the document/s will be retained by the researcher until the conclusion of the Newcastle teachers' College/CAE History Project.
I give permission for the document/s to be archived in a recognised repository, such as the Newcastle University Archives.

Signed..... Date:.....
(Donor)
Document Collector:.....

Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Office, The Chancellery, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, telephone (02 49216333, email Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au