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The role of teachers
in a changing world

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ERRATUM

In *Prospects*, vol. XXVI, no. 2, June 1996, p. 387–412, we published an article by Jorge Balán and Augusto M. Trombetta on 'An agenda of problems, policies and debates on higher education in Latin America'. This article was not accompanied by an acknowledgement of the source of the research. We are pleased to rectify this omission, as follows:

The article by Jorge Balán and Augusto M. Trombetta is a summary of the report prepared for the Project on Comparative Policies in Higher Education, under the co-ordination of José Joaquín Brunner. The original report, entitled *Educación superior en América latina: una agenda de problemas, políticas y debates en el umbral del año 2000*, was published in Buenos Aires by the Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad and in Bogotá by the Instituto de Estudios Políticos of the University of Colombia. This project was financed by the Ford Foundation.

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EDITORIAL

The social upheavals which our societies are experiencing are increasingly changing the terms of analysis applied to education. The article by Jacques Attali, which appears at the beginning of this issue of *Prospects*, illustrates this change from which at least two important features emerge:

- (a) education is once again attracting the attention of intellectuals, politicians and other social players traditionally aloof from this area of discussion, and
- (b) the new reflections and proposals are based on the idea of a radical transformation and not on the mere adjustment of existing forms of education.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, to note that the problem of teachers is again becoming a priority educational topic. It is no mere platitude to state that good quality education needs good teachers. In recent years, it has been either implicitly or explicitly argued that strategies for educational change should give priority to factors other than teachers, such as textbooks, school equipment or learning time. This approach has to be reconsidered in the light of new challenges and there is every indication that the tone of the debate, far from abating, will sharpen. One sign of this has been the decision by UNESCO's General Conference to devote the forty-fifth session of the International Conference on Education (ICE) to analysing the role of teachers in a changing world. The preparation of the ICE and its results show beyond any doubt that it is no longer possible to pay no more than lip service to the importance of teachers' work, or to underestimate the influence of teachers' efforts on educational results, or to maintain a benevolent attitude which ignores the responsibilities of teachers in explaining the problems of modern education.

The report recently submitted to UNESCO by the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, chaired by Jacques Delors, identified the four pillars of future education as follows: *learning to be*, *learning to know*, *learning to do* and *learning to live together*. The report stresses that all four pillars should be given equal attention, so that education is seen as a total, lifelong experience.¹ In order to meet the challenge of this kind of education, the criteria applied to the recruitment, training, remuneration and career of teachers will clearly need to be reconsidered.

This prospect tends to generate contradictory reactions. For many teachers, change is tainted with insecurity and uncertainty. For them, the crisis in the traditional components of their professional identity is perceived as a threat, a feeling which is reinforced by many of the new educational policies, which introduce change without taking account of the actual situation of teachers. For others, on the other hand, change provides a fresh opportunity to recover prestige and to play a more active role in social development. The former frequently adopt defensive attitudes, which may even hasten the loss of prestige and isolation of teachers in the process of social change. The latter, on the other hand, may at times lean towards ingenuous optimism, which may drift into further frustration. Between these two extremes, it is possible to glimpse a number of strategies based on the need to promote open debate, rising above the view that teachers are either 'victims' or 'blameworthy', and recognizing that there is a broad range of possibilities and alternative approaches.

The first step consists in recognizing just how difficult it is to implement educational changes effectively. This difficulty is generally disregarded or underestimated in opinions regarding the future of education. While there is no doubt that goals have to be set in order to guide the process of change, it is equally sure that the starting point of the process also has to be identified if the success of change is to be ensured.

The articles in this issue of *Prospects* precisely attempt to identify some of the main factors which will need to be taken into account in the strategies used to change the role of teachers.

THE EXPLOSION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The quantitative aspect is the first to be considered. As Eleonora and Fernando Reimers tell us, over 60 million people in the world teach, more than two-thirds of whom as primary or middle school-teachers. There is every indication, moreover, that the number of teachers will continue to grow, on account of either the expansion of educational coverage in countries which have not yet succeeded in offering basic education to all or post-compulsory education to a sufficient proportion of their populations, or of the continuing demand for lifelong education, which increases with social development.

This quantitative expansion of the teaching profession has been accompanied by the same effects as the expansion of schooling, namely a loss of prestige, a fall in quality and significant internal differentiation. Internal differentiation is linked not only to the exercise of the profession on various levels of the system, but also: (a) *to different types of activity*, from classroom work to managerial and supervisory tasks, and specialized attention to particular student needs; and (b) *to very different levels of qualification* required to perform the same activity. This is clearly illustrated by international comparisons; for instance, in many places primary school-teachers only need to complete a few years of basic schooling, while in oth-

ers they need higher education diplomas. In very few professions is such a broad range of formal qualifications accepted.

The tendency to underestimate the quantitative variable in the analysis of policies related to teaching would explain how difficult it is to implement some of the common ideas put forward in action plans and strategies. Teaching is an activity carried on by a very significant number of persons. The tasks they perform may be based on a basic core of skills, but they also require growing specialization, not only from the cognitive but also from the affective and practical points of view. In the light of this internal differentiation, it is clearly advisable to avoid excessive generalizations when broaching the subject of teachers and, even more importantly, when developing training, recruitment and professionalization policies.

DETERIORATION IN THE RECRUITMENT OF NEW TEACHERS

The quantitative expansion of teaching has been accompanied in most cases by a significant deterioration in the prestige of the profession, in its social status and in its material living conditions. All these factors, combined with the increase in job opportunities for women, would explain a situation which is common in most parts of the world, namely that the teaching profession fails to attract the more talented youngsters and, in many cases, provides only a temporary occupation during the search for other, more prestigious, employment.

The importance and magnitude of the phenomenon are not the same everywhere. Nevertheless, there is a generally recognized need to include a programme of action in teaching strategies which is specifically designed to attract talented young people to the profession.

TRAINING AND NEW JOB REQUIREMENTS

The articles by Rosa María Torres, Eleonora and Fernando Reimers and Angel Pérez Gómez analyse different aspects of teacher training, both from the points of view of diagnosis and from that of future action strategies. The most significant points to emerge from these analyses refer to the considerable gap which exists between initial or in-service training and the requirements of effective and innovative job performance. Training programmes are often far removed from the real problems which an educator will need to address in his/her work, particularly those involving socially underprivileged students, situations involving multigrade or multicultural classes, working in marginal areas, learning to read, write and count, etc. The pedagogic approach used in teacher training does not itself respect the principles that a teacher is supposed to learn; frequently a purely academic approach is adopted to training instead of observation and innovative practice, while priority is given to individual training rather than to teamwork, and to purely cognitive aspects rather than affective ones.

This diagnosis is even more serious if we consider the sort of requirements needed by education based on the four pillars mentioned in the report of the com-

mission chaired by Mr. Delors. The difficulties in the way of changing these standards are considerable. Usually the institutions responsible for teacher training are relatively independent of those which decide on reforms. As a result, it is by no means easy to guarantee a sufficient connection and consistency between reforms and training. Teacher trainers also need to be trained. The problems concern not only what needs to be achieved but also how. The above-mentioned articles suggest some possible paths to follow, questions for collective discussion and new ways to experiment and explore. At least two major alternatives stand out in this respect: either professionalization, or, as outlined in some of the policy options common in recent decades, a move towards certain forms of proletarianization of the teaching profession.

PROFESSIONALIZATION OR PROLETARIANIZATION?

P. Perrenoud and A. Burke analyse this aspect of the teaching problem, in the context of both developed and developing countries. The professionalization issue is not—as Perrenoud points out—purely technical or scientific. Political and financial factors play a fundamental role. The problem should also be looked at against the background of the widespread changes occurring in the labour market, due to the impact of new technologies and changing forms of organization. Conditions are changing in all professions and there appears to be a need, apart from the negotiation called for by Perrenoud, to introduce the notion of a *process of professionalization*, to replace a static concept which may paralyse the on-going search for higher standards of qualification and autonomy. As part of this process, it would also be worth introducing a concept which was launched a few years ago in Canada, namely that of *collective professionalism*.² Education, from the point of view of personal development as well as from the institutional point of view, is an activity which needs to be carried out by a team of teachers. If the idea of a team is taken to its logical conclusion, then collective professionalism could be a most useful working hypothesis for the future.

MANAGEMENT MODELS AND THE ROLE OF TEACHERS

The training and professionalization of teachers cannot be analysed without taking account of the management model of education systems. In recent decades experience has shown that any idea of changing teachers without changing schools must be dropped. In this respect, the articles by Ferrer and Göttelmann-Duret/Hogan raise some of the main issues which occur in the link between teachers and educational management. Ferrer's article identifies the four school management models which are most common, especially in Europe, with an analysis showing clearly that each is associated with a different teaching role. The Göttelmann-Duret article, on the other hand, shows that the rules governing the labour market for teachers in developing countries serve neither the basic learning needs of students nor the professionalization requirements of teachers. These management models and

the rules governing the labour market for teachers are two crucial aspects to consider when designing teaching policies.

This number of *Prospects*, like the materials and documents produced for the forty-fifth session of the ICE meeting, have been prepared as a contribution to the debate which, in every social, cultural and political context, can and should take place on the question of teaching.

JUAN CARLOS TEDESCO

Notes

1. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, chaired by Jacques Delors. *Learning: the treasure within*. Paris, UNESCO, 1996. 266 p. ISBN: 92-3-103274-7.
2. Robert Bisaillon. Pour un professionnalisme collectif. *Revue des sciences de l'éducation* (Montreal), vol. 19, no. 1, 1993, p. 225–32.

O P E N F I L E

THE ROLE OF
TEACHERS
IN A
CHANGING WORLD

SCHOOL

THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW

Jacques Attali

At a time when the knowledge industries are suddenly taking off at top speed, when the information highway holds out dazzling prospects and when, in France, a new television channel to be known as the 'knowledge channel' is announced, education has to be seen as a stake of crucial importance in the world economic battle.

A people cannot exist without procedures for acquiring knowledge, enabling their children to take their place in society, to conform to standards and to undergo a rite of passage with success. A people cannot endure without bringing its education system into line with the nature of the dominant system of knowledge, both cultural and technical. A people cannot survive without achieving a subtle alchemy between the teaching of their memory of the past and their vision of the future.

All social functions began, like education, as a dimension of a religious ritual before becoming an instrument of political power, then a collective service, followed by a commercial service and finally, in some instances, a mass-produced object.

Music was the first to embrace this trajectory—from the prayer to the recording. The measurement of time followed—from the sun to quartz. Then it was the turn of transport—from the wheel to the car; or cleanliness—from ritual bathing to the washing machine. Medicine has taken much the same course—from cannibalism to the prosthesis. Education will follow.

Jacques Attali (France)

Doctorate in economics from the University of Paris. Graduate of the *Ecole polytechnique*, the *Ecole des mines*, the *Institut d'études politiques* and the *Ecole nationale d'administration*. Former adviser to the President of the French Republic and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. First President of EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development). Author of more than twenty works translated into more than twenty languages dealing with subjects ranging from mathematical economics to music and fiction (novels). They include: *1492* (1991) and *Lignes d'horizon* (1990). A regular leader writer for the daily newspaper *Le Monde* and the weekly *L'Express*, he is currently President of A&A, an international consultancy company.

At first it was a service rendered by parents and priests. Without ever totally breaking free from religion, it became the prerogative of the State—the inventor of the school, the producer of citizens.

In all industrialized countries, the *demand* for knowledge is now bolstered by the fear of not finding work, of being socially excluded. And the supply of education has become a commercial service, financed for the most part by taxes—a financial burden weighing down more and more heavily upon taxpayers and enterprises. For the time it takes to train an individual is incompressible; it either remains constant or expands, whereas the production of industrial goods requires less time as a result of productivity gains.

Accordingly, the share of educational expenditure in national income, like that of health expenditure, can only increase, thereby contributing to the rise in labour costs.

To control these costs, the solution is obviously not one of reducing the supply of education or of downgrading teachers: the North cannot revert to the South. The solution is to transform the educational process, as has been done elsewhere, by harnessing the new technological potential to the tasks of education.

Whenever a service can be replaced or supplemented by a mass-produced object (the concert by the recording, the bell tower by the watch, the stagecoach by the car, the washtub by the washing machine, or even, ultimately, treatment by prosthesis), expenditure is turned into revenue, costs into profit and the problem becomes the solution. When this happens, growth is restored.

This changeover is still far from thinkable in the case of education. We do not know how to replace the services of teachers by mass-produced objects. We are not sure whether it should be done, even if it became possible, since the effects of such a substitution on the socialization of children and social justice might be disastrous. Yet, surreptitiously, the process that leads to it has started, without the explicit sanction of politicians.

The process begins with the relative *discrediting of teachers* in the eyes of pupils confronting the mass of knowledge dispensed by the media and the needs of the times. For education no longer merely consists in receiving instruction in a classroom at a given time in life, but in being able to update one's knowledge at all times, so as to find or to keep a job, which is precarious by nature. Nowadays academic knowledge soon grows obsolete and social standing is unstable. The time is long since past when a diploma obtained at 20 years of age guaranteed an income for life.

The process continues with the introduction of *distance education*, which brings traditional education into the home, further diminishing the functions and knowledge of teachers. It is designed for large audiences at lower cost or, through downloading, for more targeted audiences of all ages. This is how television 'knowledge channels' work—like the information highway—by extending the range of times and places at which both children and adults can be taught.

The next stage in the process is the *self-assessment* of knowledge and deficiencies. Through the use of videos and CD-ROMs, which are nomadic by nature,

everyone can monitor their own progress and pinpoint their own deficiencies. Educational tests, which structure knowledge in the shape of questionnaires, are helping to usher in self-assessment.

The final stage will be *self-education*, allowing everyone to teach themselves in isolation, in the way that certain cassettes or CD-ROMs already cater for those outside the school system. If this process goes so far as to replace, even partly—and not merely to supplement—direct instruction by teachers, education will cease to be exclusively a cost to society; it will also become a source of profit for the new knowledge industries.

The IQ debate proceeding in the United States of America shows that some people contemplate going much further in this direction by registering individual potential on a genetic identity card to ensure that everyone is given an opportunity to learn adapted to their genetic capacities and individual talents. At a later stage, individuals would be modified by gene therapy in response to social needs. With this, self-education would reach its furthest limit.

Without going quite so far, we will have to make self-education profitable if it is to function at all.

To do this, society will have to pay those who educate themselves, making it worth their while. In self-education, consumers become their own producers. Training oneself is therefore not only a useful form of consumption for the individual, but also socially useful work, for which everyone should be paid. In other words, any form of training deserves a salary.

It would not be difficult to spell out the countless benefits of such a development. To begin with, it would help to train the memory of billions of children who will soon discover that they no longer have very much to learn from adults overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers and knowledge.

The dangers too are clearly immense. I shall single out just three of them:

1. How can individuals learn to live in society if they are no longer taught to be sociable at school? Without this learning process, tribal violence will once again become the rule.
2. How can the unity of a national community be maintained if technology can teach everything, everywhere, in all languages? Without this unity, solidarity can only be a façade.
3. What peoples, what cultures, what languages will take control of these new education industries and impose them on the world? Those who do not succeed will disappear from the historical map.

The answer to these questions is political. It will require radically new *institutions*, *teachers* and *industries*. There will be a need:

- to set up new institutions capable of ensuring the *solidarity*, *integration* and *differentiation* of pupils. School will be one of them. Others will emerge;
- to devise new categories of teachers, whom I shall call *designers* (of the procedures of programmes and diplomas), *pathfinders* (those who guide pupils and award their efforts with a diploma) and *tutors* (those who give help in using the programmes); and lastly

- to promote educational software industries, the main customer of which will be the State and upon which the survival of the language depends.

All this has already begun, elsewhere, and mainly on the Pacific rim. Will Europe, where the first and most perfect of all self-education objects—the book—was invented, lose this ultimate battle? Europe can win it if it now launches a debate on how to make self-education an instrument of progress and responsibility, and not one of solitude.

WITHOUT THE REFORM OF TEACHER EDUCATION THERE WILL BE NO REFORM OF EDUCATION¹

Rosa María Torres

The 'new role' of teachers and teacher education

The need for a thorough reform of the conventional school system is admitted in both developing and industrialized countries today. However, while this movement for educational renovation gains advocates and advances on several fronts, teacher working conditions, and teacher education² (TE) in particular, continue to remain virtually untouched—replicating the old school model under criticism and under transformation. What many policy-makers and reformers have not yet understood is that teacher-education reform is a *sine qua non* condition for educational reform and vice versa.

A 'new teacher' is placed at the epicentre of educational reform. 'Teachers must adapt their relationship with learners, switching roles from "soloist" to "accompanist", and shifting the emphasis from dispensing information to helping learners seek, organize and manage knowledge, guiding them rather than moulding them' (UNESCO, 1996, p. 144). Current education policies ask teachers not only to interpret and apply the curriculum but to adapt and elaborate upon it; to keep abreast of basic disciplines; to select the most appropriate pedagogical and content options for every circumstance; to elaborate an educational project for their school; to identify their students' learning needs and organize the class around them; to encourage group work and for themselves to participate in study

Rosa María Torres del Castillo (Ecuador)

Educationalist, linguist and journalist specializing in the basic education of children and adults. She was professor of languages and linguistics at the Universidad Católica and the Universidad Central in Quito (1971–78). From 1981 to 1986, she worked in Nicaragua. She was educational director of a literacy campaign in Ecuador (1988–91). Since 1992, she has worked as Educational Advisor at UNICEF Headquarters in New York, at the same time editing the UNICEF bulletin *Education news*. She has written many publications on education and communication, several of which have been translated into other languages.

and working groups with other teachers; to follow the messages of mass media and prepare their students to critically select and use public information; to reflect critically and collectively on their teaching role and practice; to collaborate with parents and communities; to be polyvalent resources ready to act as health promoters, cultural activists, community organizers, and collaborators in campaigns of all types (Torres, 1993).

What the teacher is, knows, and is able to do are determining factors in teaching and learning, particularly in developing countries and for poor social sectors, where the school and the teacher are often the only contact with the printed word and systematic education, and offer an organized opportunity to interact with other children. Ensuring student learning in school implies ensuring teachers the opportunities and conditions for relevant, permanent and qualitative learning.

Modern educational policies and reforms demand an ideal teacher that does not exist in reality and whose availability, in the numbers required, will take decades to develop after a major transformation of school systems and the teaching profession. While policy formulation elicits the ideal teacher, policy implementation does not take the required steps to build such a teacher. Educational change continues to be viewed as a rapid and short-term endeavour (generally coinciding with government periods or, more recently, with the end of the decade), not the long-term process required by educational—essentially cultural—change. TE continues to have a marginal place in educational policies, generally far behind—in terms of interest and budget allocation—school buildings and educational technology (including textbooks). Teachers (and teacher education, by extension) are expected to ensure good student performance but are not given the conditions to ensure teaching, much less learning.

On the verge of the twenty-first century, the abyss between what is aspired and what is available is large, and only urgent and consistent measures might start to reduce—instead of further widening—such a gap. While the gap between available and necessary financial resources has become a central issue of study and discussion, and of concrete policies and measures in all countries, the gap between the available and the required human resources has not yet become an issue, neither for research nor for action purposes. Acknowledging the latter gap would lead to an adjustment of current policies to the real teachers available in each country, and to design strategies for gradual implementation of change in order to reach, within a defined period of time, the intended profiles and competencies.

The seriousness of the situation, its consequences and prospects appears to be finally drawing the attention of governments, academic institutions, non-governmental organizations, international agencies, and teacher organizations themselves. The issue of teachers, and that of TE in particular, emerges as one of the most critical challenges of contemporary educational development. A challenge that calls not for more of the same—disguised at most with modern terminology and technology—but for a profound rethinking of the conventional TE model within the framework of an overall revitalization of the teaching profession.

The limits of the conventional teacher-education model

TE institutions, programmes and results are under heavy criticism all over the world. Empirical evidence has begun to challenge the traditional assumption that teacher certification and formal qualifications are automatically related to better performance in the classroom. In different parts of the world, primary education programmes that operate with underqualified and para-professional staff are often showing equal or even better student results than those operating with professional, certified teachers (UNICEF, 1993).

The low correlation found between TE and school learning in basic education should come as no surprise. The TE model (curriculum, pedagogy, organizational and institutional arrangements), both pre- and in-service, is obsolete. The transmissive school—which confuses teaching with learning, and information with knowledge—continues to be nurtured in the institutions, programmes, courses and manuals through which millions of teachers are trained world-wide. Some of the characteristics of such conventional TE models are well-known and identifiable around the developing world. Each new TE policy, plan or project:

- *starts from zero*, ignoring or disregarding previous knowledge and experience;
- considers education/training principally—and even solely—as a *need for teachers* and not also for head teachers, supervisors and other human resources linked to the education system in general;
- views *education/training in isolation* from other dimensions of the teaching profession (salaries, working and living conditions, promotion mechanisms, organizational arrangements, etc.);
- ignores *teachers' real conditions* (motivations, concerns, knowledge, available time and resources, etc.);
- adopts a *top-down* approach and sees teachers only in the passive roles of recipients and potential trainees and does not consult teachers or seek their participation in the design of the training plan;
- has a *homogeneous* proposal for 'teachers' in general instead of adjusting to the various types and levels of teachers and their specific needs;
- adopts *narrow and operational approaches* to teacher training (in-service training is viewed as a post-reform announcement device, a tool to persuade and implement a definite policy, programme, project or even a textbook);
- assumes that the need for training is *inversely proportional to the level of teaching*, thus ignoring the importance and complexity of teaching young children in the initial grades;
- resorts to *external incentives* and motivation mechanisms such as scores, promotions and certificates rather than reinforcing the objective of learning and improving the teaching practice;
- addresses *individual teachers* rather than groups, work teams or the school as a unified whole;

- is conducted *outside the workplace* (typically, teachers are brought to the training sites instead of bringing the training to them and making the school the training site);
- is *asystematic* and limited to a *short* period of time, either pre- or in-service, and it is not integral to a continuing education scheme;
- is centred around the *event* (course, seminar, workshop, etc.) as a privileged—and even unique—teaching and learning tool, ignoring or disregarding other modalities such as horizontal exchange, peer group discussions, class observation, distance education, self-study, study visits, etc.;
- disassociates *administrative* and *pedagogical* issues (pedagogical issues are considered the realm of teachers, and administrative issues are consigned to others, without an integral approach to both types of knowledge and skills);
- disassociates *content* and *method* (subject matter and pedagogy, knowing the subject and knowing how to teach it) and promotes the prior over the latter, thus ignoring the inseparability of subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge in good teaching;
- considers education and training to be *formal* and *rigid*, thereby denying the educational and communicational importance of an informal environment, of play, laughter and enjoyment;
- is focused on the *teaching perspective* much more than on the learning perspective;
- *rejects teachers' previous knowledge* and experience instead of starting from there and building on it;
- is oriented towards *correcting mistakes* and highlighting weaknesses rather than at stimulating and reinforcing strengths;
- is *academic* and *theoretical*, centred around the book while denying actual teaching practice as the most important source for continuous learning;
- is based on the *transmissive teaching* model (teaching as the transmission of information and learning as the passive assimilation of that information; and
- is essentially *contradictory* to the pedagogical model that is requested of teachers in their classrooms, where teachers are expected to elicit active learning, critical thinking, creativity, etc., which they themselves do not experience in their own education and training process.

The ongoing neglect of teachers

The neglect of TE is a reflection of an overall neglect of teachers and teacher-related issues. Unattractive conditions conferred to the teaching profession have configured a specific, average teacher profile for basic education systems in developing countries: poor, with little and deficient general education; products themselves of public education in whose improvement and transformation they are called upon to collaborate; with little or no professional training; and with limited contact with books, technology and contemporary science.

School systems have incorporated millions of untrained or underqualified teachers, most of them working in rural or marginal urban areas where good teachers are most needed. Together with an overall loosening of the standards for teacher recruitment, the trend has been towards reducing the time allocated to both pre- and in-service TE. In other words, teachers with less (or poor) general education themselves are being trained not in more but in less time. Both tendencies are contradictory to the declared objective of improving the quality of basic education.

The traditional subordination of teachers and TE has been reactivated by some current education policies. The modern discourse on teachers—which proclaims protagonism, autonomy, (re)valuation, empowerment and professionalization—has come together with a deterioration of the teachers' status, salary, knowledge and self-esteem. Teachers are viewed as one more input together with textbooks, time of instruction or homework. Decentralization processes have often contributed to, and even been aimed at, undermining the power of teacher associations. The current thrust towards school autonomy has not been accompanied by an equivalent thrust towards effective teacher autonomy, which may contribute to strengthen, rather than to alleviate, inefficiency, inequity and poor quality in basic education.

The erosion of teacher salaries and overall working and living conditions, accentuated by structural adjustment policies, coexists with the perception that teachers have been privileged by the educational *status quo* (World Bank, 1995). However, the real working conditions of teachers in many developing countries often contradict such perceptions.³

Towards a systemic approach: beyond binary options

It has been customary in the educational field to understand policy formulation as binary trade-offs: quantity versus quality, traditional versus modern, public versus private, formal versus non-formal, emphasizing teaching versus learning, centralized versus decentralized, content versus method, intended versus implemented curriculum, teacher-centred versus student-centred methodologies, passive versus active pedagogies, face-to-face versus distance teaching and so on.

Following this pattern, several binary policy options are currently stressed with regard to teachers and TE in particular. Such options—presented as 'blind alleys' and 'promising avenues'—form part of the World Bank's policy recommendations for primary education in developing countries: teacher salaries versus teacher training; teachers/teacher education/ training versus educational technology; pre-service (initial) training versus in-service (on-the-job or continuous) training; and residential versus distance modalities for teacher training (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1992; World Bank, 1995). The criterion that leads to the selection of one option over the other is cost-effectiveness.⁴

This binary option scheme, and the policy recommendations derived from them, have been questioned for a number of reasons (Coraggio, 1994, 1995; Heneveld & Craig, 1995; Heyneman, 1995; Reimers, 1992; Samoff, 1995; Torres, 1996*b*, 1996*c*):

- Educational research faces serious problems of reliability and comparability. With the information available it is not possible to reach definitive conclusions on these (and many other) education policy issues. Available studies present contradictory evidence on the same research subjects. It is difficult to generalize from a few studies conducted in very different contexts and often with very different conceptual and methodological frameworks.
- The very possibility of drawing conclusions and generalizing proposals for the entire 'developing world' or the 'low-income countries' is questionable given the great heterogeneity of such groups.
- In reality, no policy decision appears as a binary option, but rather as a selection from a broad menu of possibilities and shades.
- Educational change is systemic and does not operate on the basis of discrete, isolated elements: good textbooks without competent teachers are fruitless investment; teacher training, in the absence of an overall revision of the status and condition of the teaching profession, ends up increasing teacher rotation in search of better remunerated jobs; increasing instruction time does not necessarily result in improved educational outcomes if curriculum and pedagogy remain unchanged; and so on. In other words, it is not possible to rely on production function methodologies to distinguish among individual inputs and their impact on teaching, learning processes and results. Good or bad teaching and learning go far beyond the presence or predominance of specific inputs, or beyond achieving the 'right mix' of such inputs.

THE NEED FOR HOLISTIC MEASURES TO IMPROVE TEACHING QUALITY

TE policies have tended to be viewed and planned in isolation, without taking into account the other dimensions that affect the teacher's role and performance (recruitment, salary, work conditions and professional development). As regards salaries, the traditional fiscal argument has now been reinforced by an efficiency argument which asserts that (improved) teacher salaries have little impact on (improved) student learning.

TE is generally considered independent from—and even a compensatory measure for—salaries. It is believed that improvements in teacher training, in and of itself, can result in an improved school system and education quality. However, breaking with the vicious circle of low pay, low status, poor or no training, and low teaching quality requires integral measures that address professional competence in the context of teachers' working and living conditions. Otherwise, the ongoing 'de-professionalization' of the teaching profession will continue to accelerate.

Searching for technical or technological solutions is not a priority at this point. It is urgent now to concentrate all efforts on creating the conditions—political, cultural, informational and knowledge-related—that are essential for promoting changes in societal perceptions and attitudes towards teachers and their work. Understanding and assisting societies to understand that the education system is a *system*, of which teachers are only one component governed by the decisions of others, can be an important step within this public information and communication strategy. Teacher organizations must, of course, be the leading forces in this initiative, but in order to be effective they must review their own traditional agendas and methods to negotiate and gain public visibility and support.

THE NEED TO REDEFINE COST-EFFECTIVENESS IN TEACHER EDUCATION

The perception of TE as a costly and rather fruitless investment has spread rapidly since the 1980s. Such perception has been nurtured by the already mentioned studies that confirm that the best teachers are not necessarily those with the highest qualifications. However, as stated before, available studies on TE in connection with student achievement show mixed conclusions. Moreover, the concepts of efficiency, learning and learning outcome that underlie several of these studies have been questioned on their simplicity and narrowness: the definition of efficiency in evaluating the school and the teacher's performance is based on the input-output model that comes from industrial production—learning is measured by the outcome, mostly through tests and exams that generally measure the assimilation of the contents of school curriculum.

The school system cannot be analyzed with the parameters of the input-output model, a 'black box' model that disregards what takes place within the school and the classroom. It is not possible to isolate the variable teacher education/training (or teacher salary, for that matter) from the set of variables that influence learning. Moreover, there is no mechanical relationship between teacher knowledge and student learning, or between teacher training and learning outcome. Teachers control only a portion of the intra- and extra-school factors that determine student learning. Also, teachers' attitudes and expectations (not necessarily attributable to their training) can be more determinant in student learning than their mastery of the subject or of pedagogy (Arancibia, 1988; Filp et al., 1984; Gallén & Bold, 1989).

To summarize, it is not teacher education that needs to be discarded, but the conventional model of TE (both pre- and in-service) that has prevailed in the past and that continues to be replicated world-wide. There is a need to go beyond narrow notions of cost-effectiveness that are often applied to the education sector, and to TE in particular, and search for a notion of 'pedagogical "effectiveness" and "profitability" that considers the overall value of an educational project and of school experience' (Gimeno, 1992, p. 80). Costs cannot be the main criterion to invest in TE. 'While cost considerations may suggest that shorter training programmes should be preferred, considerations related to improved quality suggest

otherwise; cost savings should perhaps be explored in other sectors of education' (Avalos, 1991, p. 51).

THE NEED FOR A UNIFIED TEACHER EDUCATION SYSTEM AND FOR THE CONTINUOUS EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

The traditional divorce between pre- and in-service TE has often been related to the divorce between the school system and higher education institutions in many countries. While pre-service TE has typically been under the aegis of tertiary-level institutions, in-service TE has been under Ministries of Education. Also, pre- and in-service TE have been associated with the classical dilemma within the TE curriculum, between general knowledge (knowing the subject) and specialized or pedagogical knowledge (knowing how to teach). This has resulted in a chronic lack of co-ordination between the institutions, the curricula and the teaching modalities involved in TE.

There is growing consensus that initial TE is undergoing a serious crisis, and that traditional TE institutions, whether at the secondary or tertiary level, need major reform. Against this background, the traditional emphasis on pre-service TE is now being drastically reverted. Following the well-known pendulum that has characterized educational policy-making, pre-service TE is today being disregarded as a 'blind alley' and in-service TE promoted as a 'promising avenue'—a more rapid and cost-effective alternative to prepare school teachers. Countries are recommended to invest the savings from proposed cost-reduction measures in the education sector (i.e. increased class size and multiple shifts in schools) in 'inputs that improve student results, such as textbooks and in-service teacher training' (World Bank, 1995, p. 33). This situation has contributed to a further erosion of the attention on pre-service TE.

Here again there is no conclusive evidence of the cited greater cost-effectiveness of in-service vis-à-vis pre-service TE programmes in terms of student learning achievement (Avalos & Haddad, 1981). Descriptions of several in-service TE programmes show these facing similar problems to those faced by conventional pre-service TE programmes: poor design; overly theoretical and inapplicable to the workday needs of the teacher; tutors with outdated pedagogical knowledge; irregular schedules and too heavy workload; reaching only a small portion of the mass of untrained teachers; and not affecting student performance because the persisting poor conditions under which the teachers labour in the classrooms (Hallak, 1990).

The lack of co-ordination and evaluation of TE efforts has been often accentuated within the framework of decentralization processes. Public and private institutions, non-governmental organizations, religious groups, mass media and even editorial enterprises have become active in offering teachers on-the-job learning opportunities. Such opportunities, of a most varied nature and quality, are often limited to a couple of hours, as well as to the same conventional courses and lectures, favouring credentials over actual capacity-building.

Both the previous emphasis on pre-service TE and the current emphasis on in-service TE are wrong. Teaching, as any profession (and probably more than many other professions), requires both. Good teaching implies teachers who are prepared to learn, teachers who learn prior to and during teaching practice, mastering both subject and pedagogical knowledge. There is growing agreement that pre- and in-service TE must be viewed as part of one single process, thus supporting the concept and principles of continuing education for the teaching profession. Moreover, if, as estimated by UNESCO (UNESCO-EFA Forum Secretariat, 1996), between 1990 and 2000 the world will need some 4 million new teachers to achieve the goal of universal primary education, pre-service TE must remain a priority within school systems. Thus, 'educational reformers face the double challenge of providing much more in-service training to upgrade existing teachers and radically reforming pre-service education to raise the standard demanded of new teachers' (Carnoy & De Moura Castro, 1996, p. 43).

TEACHERS ARE *EDUCATIONAL AGENTS*;

TEXTBOOKS AND TECHNOLOGY ARE *EDUCATIONAL TOOLS*

The conventional education model has shown a clear predilection for investing in things rather than in people. Educational infrastructure and technology have been afforded a higher status in the budget, as well as in national and international attention and visibility, than the human resources for the education sector. Human development and capacity building are complicated endeavours, not easily quantifiable, and do not yield 'tangible' results in the short-term.

There is an overall trend that aims at compensating teachers' deficient general education and professional training not with more and better TE but with educational technology. The importance once attributed to educational infrastructure has now been shifted to educational technology, from the textbook to the computer. While teachers and TE tend to be underestimated, textbooks currently tend to be overestimated. In many developing countries, instructional materials occupy the second and even first place in terms of allocation of resources within World Bank-financed primary education projects (infrastructure continues to be the first priority in many of these), often with a big difference with respect to teacher training, which usually ranks third or even fourth.

Textbooks are given a double task: compensating for teachers' professional deficiencies and inexperience, and substituting for curriculum reform inasmuch as 'textbooks are the major—if not the only—definition of curriculum in most developing countries' (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1992, p. 46). Countries are recommended to invest in textbook production rather than in curriculum reform, on the basis that the latter has generally failed to affect the implemented curriculum—that which takes place in the classroom. The assumption is that textbooks are not only closer to the implemented curriculum but are themselves the implemented curriculum.

However, it is important to remember that:

- Research yields contradictory results for textbooks as well: various studies do not find a positive correlation between textbook availability and student learning improvement.
- Preparing good textbooks is a highly complex task and ‘throughout the world, few individuals possess the expertise required for writing good textbooks’ (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1992, p. 47).
- Good education requires access not only to textbooks but to reading material in general and in sufficient quantity, quality and variety. The number of books per student (the difference between the single textbook and the library) is a highly relevant indicator of educational quality.⁵
- The premise of textbooks as implemented curriculum is based on the perception of both curriculum and textbooks as a ‘ready-made-package’: centrally-produced curricula and materials providing step-by-step instructions and answers for teachers and students. The ‘packed curriculum’ and the ‘packed textbook’, although welcomed by the poorly-trained teacher, perpetuates teacher alienation and vertical schemes in decision-making, as well as increasing teacher dependency on the textbook—all of which are contradictory to the declared objectives of improving educational quality and increasing teacher professionalism and autonomy.
- Curriculum reform is ultimately about reforming the implemented curriculum (but this includes modifying the intended curriculum) and teachers are the most direct and secure way to modify such implemented curriculum. It is the teacher who, in her or his classroom, ultimately decides what and how to teach, and how and even whether to use textbooks. Research in Latin America shows that the difficulties teachers face in using textbooks adequately are related, to a great extent, to weaknesses in their own education and training (Schiefelbein et al., 1994). It is thus not possible to disassociate textbooks, textbook quality and adequate textbook use from teachers, TE and the quality of such TE.

Educational history in developing countries is replete with stories of unused or misused materials because they were distributed without attention to teachers’ conditions and learning needs. It is thus time to learn from failed experiences so as to not to repeat the same mistakes.⁶

It is not possible to choose between investing in textbooks and educational technology or investing in teachers. Good education requires both. However, from the point of view of learning and its improvement, TE undoubtedly has priority—it is educational technology that should support the teacher and not vice versa. Textbooks and other instructional materials are only tools; teachers (and also students and parents) are active, deliberate subjects and agents of education.

THE NEED FOR DIVERSIFIED MODALITIES
AND STRATEGIES FOR TEACHER LEARNING

TE has been traditionally based on the same transmissive teaching model as school: teaching equated with speaking, learning equated with listening, and face-to-face interaction as the only means of teaching and learning. In the past few years, distance teaching has increasingly been incorporated into in-service TE for primary school teachers. South Asia has been particularly active in this field (UNICEF-ROSA, 1996). 'Sandwich courses'—student teachers combining full-time teaching with correspondence courses—have been used in various countries since the 1970s.

Unfortunately, instead of further exploring the strengths and complementary natures of residential and distance modalities, the situation is again posed in terms of a binary trade-off: face-to-face versus distance. It is currently argued that 'distance education programmes for in-service (and pre-service) teacher training are typically more cost-effective than residential programmes' (World Bank, 1995, p. 83). Specific comparative advantages of distance modalities mentioned are the possibility of learning *in situ* (without taking teachers away from their classrooms) and its potential for addressing hard-to-reach populations. These 'advantages' of distance teaching have contributed to overconfidence of the potential of this modality for school instruction in general, and for TE in particular. However:

- Experience with distance modalities for TE in developing countries is still incipient, and there is insufficient information and evaluation to conclude that distance teaching is in fact less costly and more effective than residential teaching (Coldevin & Naidu, 1989; Klees, 1994; Nielsen & Tatto, 1991; Perraton, 1985). The relative efficiency of distance teaching could only be stated by comparing its results with those of an alternative method and with similar students; however, distance modalities have been typically used with disadvantaged populations.
- Low cost-estimates of distance modalities are based on two assumptions: (a) high-cost recovery, through student monetary contributions and (b) high enrolment so as to allow economies of scale. Thus costs are low for the institution offering the programme but not necessarily for the learners, for whom such programmes are usually more expensive than the conventional residential ones. It is also noted that distance training programmes have seldom extended to national coverage, the majority have not gone beyond the pilot stage (Klees, 1994), and that dropout-rates in distance programmes are normally higher than those in residential ones, 'often so high that there is a difference between the cost per student and the cost per graduate than in much full-time, face-to-face education ... and courses leading to formal examinations seldom retain more than one-half or three-quarters of those who start them' (Perraton, 1985, p. 24).
- Distance modalities have proven effective when aimed at improving teachers' background knowledge, but are admittedly weak in dealing with pedagogical knowledge and skills, that is, in teaching teachers how to teach. Also, it is

- admitted that distance modalities may be useful for in-service TE but it is not clear as yet whether they can be effective in pre-service TE (Perraton, 1985).
- Face-to-face and distance teaching are not opposing categories: face-to-face contact and feedback are essential in good distance teaching. In fact, 'the most effective form of distance education for teacher training appears to be that which is 'not too distant', combining self-instruction with school-based group interaction' (Nielsen & Tatto, 1991, p. 3). Face-to-face contact, however, raises the costs of distance teaching and thus goes against the economic argument.
 - Many of the 'advantages' attributed to distance teaching can be found in good residential programmes as well. The residential model that is taken as a stereotype is the conventional TE model that has not worked. On the other hand, distance modalities may also replicate the deficiencies of such a conventional TE model.
 - Distance education/training programmes often encounter teacher resistance. This response derives not only from fear of the new and of technology. It is a fact that distance modalities are often perceived (and even designed) as a second rate alternative, and that they often undermine the power of teachers, being that they are planned as a means to compensate for teachers' incompetence (Klees, 1994).

In conclusion, distance education is not necessarily more cost-effective and is definitely not a panacea for the problems faced by TE, nor can it be claimed effective for all contexts, purposes or contents. The false dichotomy between face-to-face and distance modalities demonstrates the need for integrated strategies.

Rethinking teacher education

The impetus required in the field of TE goes beyond adding subject matter, courses or years of instruction, introducing minor changes in the curriculum, or modernizing the infrastructure. More of the same is a useless and costly investment. It is increasingly agreed that what is needed is a new paradigm of TE that takes into account issues such as the following.

TEACHER EDUCATION IS MORE THAN TEACHER TRAINING

Teacher education has tended to be reduced to teacher training and has adopted narrow approaches. However, meeting the complex demands posed on teachers today requires a broad teacher-education effort (understanding of the phenomena and problems, and development of theoretical-practical competencies to identify and solve them) which necessarily involves a training dimension (development of skills necessary to accomplish specific tasks).⁷ In particular, it is essential to rethink and ensure the linkages between theory and practice, administrative and pedagogical dimensions of education as part of one single concept of school management

(Ezpeleta & Furlán, 1992), and school and community beyond narrow and utilitarian schemes of 'parental and community participation'.

REJECTION OF THE 'FORMULATE-THE-REFORM-PLAN-FIRST, TRAIN-TEACHERS-AFTERWARDS' SCHEME

The usual approach of adapting teachers to the reform proposal (rather than adapting the reform proposal to teachers) is still dominant. Traditional, but also more recent and participatory, educational reform processes maintain the classical scheme of incorporating teachers after the reform plan has been defined, counting on them only as potential trainees and implementers. However, teachers' knowledge, experience and active participation are essential to sound reform proposals and to successful reform implementation. If viewed as an ongoing professionalization process of teachers, TE should precede and follow the reform. Education reform itself is, of course, a long-term process. There is not *a* single reform that will do for all time.

DIVERSIFIED PARTNERS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

The immense task of teacher education and upgrading requires a concerted and sustained effort where many partners must co-operate. The State has had, and will continue to have, a major role in TE. Teacher organizations have a fundamental role in the preparation and upgrading of teachers, as a shared responsibility with the State, and their initiative and input is critical in the design and implementation of renovated TE policies and strategies. A promising phenomenon is the increasing involvement of non-governmental organizations in the field of TE; several of the innovative experiences that are emerging world-wide stem from such involvement. Academic and research centres and institutions linked to art, literature or technology are key partners for TE. The best scientists, artists, musicians, writers and craftsmen should join the collective effort of TE.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL REFORM FOR TE REFORM

Teacher learning does not start with pre-service TE. Teachers are ex-school students, and the strengths or deficiencies of their general education have a strong impact on teachers' professional performance. The acknowledged weaknesses of the current school system force TE curricula to focus on basic subject content instead of on the professional competencies essential to good teaching. During their school life, future teachers internalize an inadequate pedagogy that will tend to be replicated with their students. An improved school system is a more timely and cost-effective intervention than a remedial TE essentially aimed at filling the gaps left by poor basic education at school.

LEARNING BY DOING AND BY REFLECTING ON PRACTICE

Teachers often refer to practice as their ‘most important school’. However, traditionally this has been barely noted. Teachers’ practice remains largely confined to individual classrooms, unattended by researchers, policy makers and planners. Self-reflection and systematization of their own pedagogical practice is the best tool teachers have for their professional advancement. Teachers can only modify their practice, in a conscious and creative manner, if they develop a capacity for critically analyzing such practice (Vera, 1985).

TEACHER EDUCATION AS A STRATEGY

Preparing today’s teachers in the competencies required by modern societies and by renewed education systems requires a sustained and long-term effort. This implies adopting a strategic vision in the field of TE, and designing TE as a strategy in itself. If we consider TE as a continuous process, realized through various sources (school system, initial and on-the-job teacher education and training, teaching practice, self-study) and developed through different stages, we are faced not with options but rather with priorities, and with the need to select the most appropriate combinations and sequences: Where to start? How to continue? When and how to introduce the various topics? How to combine theory and practice? What should be included in pre-service TE and what is better learned—or can only be learned—concurrent with the teaching practice? What requires face-to-face interaction and what can be done with distance education? How and when to introduce self-instructional modalities?

STARTING FROM TEACHER NEEDS AND DEMANDS

Urged by pressing day-to-day needs, teachers usually demand training rather than education, information rather than knowledge, tips rather than explanations, and techniques rather than methods. Responding to teacher-training demands is a must but is only the starting point for any TE effort. TE itself must be viewed as a process that enables teachers to reorient their learning needs towards a more professional and autonomous role.

TEACHER EDUCATION AS ADULT EDUCATION

Teacher education is, by definition, adult education. However obvious, this fact has not been fully understood in the past, in part due to some narrow approaches that equated adult education with adult literacy. TE could benefit enormously from valuable knowledge and practical experience accumulated by the adult education movement. TE thus remains a major challenge and a fundamental future task for adult educators world-wide (Torres, 1996a).

THE IMPORTANCE OF 'SEEING' CHANGE IN ACTION

Nothing is more conducive to change than 'seeing' change in action. The idea that 'a series of schools act as catalysts in stimulating the professional development of teachers and the quality of education' (Gimeno, 1992, p. 88) has been translated into various programmes with diverse denominations: 'good practices', 'demonstrative schools', 'effective schools', etc. Access to knowledge on innovative initiatives or programmes is, of course, another way to 'see' change, making it accessible and possible. Thus the importance of identifying, documenting and disseminating inspiring and innovative basic education experiences worldwide.⁸

TEACHERS SHARING WITH OTHER TEACHERS

Teaching has developed as a solitary profession. It is finally recognized that teachers, as with professionals in other areas, need to meet among themselves in order to exchange and discuss common issues of their profession, thus favouring peer learning, revaluation of teachers' knowledge, and co-operative work. Workshops, participatory training and teacher-to-teacher approaches are all part of this thrust. Evidently, collegial work—unprecedented in school tradition and as such are considered 'innovative'—implies space and time specially reserved for this within the school calendar and routine.

SELF-STUDY

The notion of learning is strongly associated with teaching, schools and teachers. Educating for self-study, for autonomous learning, constitutes a serious deficiency of school systems. Teachers are at the same time victims and allies of that deficiency. TE programmes that are based on self-study—distribution of materials, school libraries, self-instructional manuals or modules—repeatedly face the same foreseeable problems. Therefore, there is a need to develop study habits through the TE curriculum and to reinforce distance teaching with frequent face-to-face interaction and continuous monitoring.

THE IMPORTANCE OF FUN

If laughter and play have been limited to children, and considered contrary to academic excellence and character building, they have been altogether denied to adults, and to teachers in particular. Fortunately, the increasing recognition of the importance of play in children's learning and healthy development appears to be leading to a recognition of the importance of play as a pedagogical tool for both children and teachers. Play, laughter, music and dance should be part of any TE programme.

What are teachers' basic learning needs?

The questions that need to be addressed are: in each circumstance and for each specific context, what are teachers' basic learning needs (knowledge, skills, values and attitudes) required to cope with the role demanded of them? What (and how) do teachers need to learn in order to deal with the main questions associated with good teaching: (a) teaching, for what?; (b) whom to teach?; (c) where to teach?; (d) what to teach?; (e) how to teach?; (f) with what to teach?; (g) what and how to evaluate?; and (h) how to improve teaching and learning?

TEACHERS PARTICIPATING IN THE DEFINITION OF THEIR LEARNING NEEDS

The very first step is to acknowledge the need to respond to these and other teacher-related issues with the participation of teachers themselves. Policies, plans and programmes for teachers must be designed with them.

HARMONY BETWEEN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND THE TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Contents, approaches, methods, values and attitudes prescribed in the school curriculum must be prescribed, in the first place, in the TE curriculum. In other words, there must be agreement between what (and how) teachers learn and what (and how) they are expected to teach.

GENERAL AND SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE

There is a need to overcome the classical dichotomy between general (subject) and specialized (pedagogical) knowledge in TE. School administration, students and parents expect teachers to teach certain contents stipulated within the school programme. Teachers themselves tend to perceive their self-confidence closely linked to the mastery of the subjects they teach. While it is imperative to address teachers' felt needs, it is also important to provide teachers with 'cultural capital' that goes beyond the school curriculum and the school subjects (Cox, 1989), and to build teaching competence as part of such self-confidence.

NOT ONLY COGNITIVE BUT ALSO ATTITUDINAL AND EMOTIONAL ASPECTS

There is an increasing recognition of the fact that the TE curriculum should focus not only on cognitive aspects but also—and most importantly—on attitudinal and emotional ones. In both pre- and in-service TE programmes it is essential to work with teachers on what is usually left to the 'hidden' TE and school curriculum: values and attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes.

A DIFFERENTIATED OFFER FOR DIFFERENTIATED NEEDS

Not all teachers have the same learning needs: these vary according to their knowledge and academic background, and within each particular context.

PRIORITIZING THE GAPS IN TEACHERS' OWN BASIC EDUCATION

As the school system undergoes reform, TE must continue to fulfil its remedial role, filling the critical gaps left by such system in the basic education of teachers. Among these, teachers' linguistic competencies (oral expression, comprehensive reading, autonomous and creative writing) are critical not only for their overall professional performance but for their own self-confidence and continuous learning. Such competencies must include a basic understanding of language-related issues affecting teaching and learning in the school environment, particularly in bilingual and multilingual contexts, which are the norm, rather than the exception, in developing countries.

PRIORITIZING CERTAIN CRITICAL AREAS OF SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

Both pre- and in-service TE should prioritize (and even be organized around) those areas revealed as problematic within the teaching practice. Some of these problem areas include: the teaching of reading and writing; repetition, its factors and consequences; time of instruction; multi-grade systems; and so-called 'learning difficulties' (all too often called 'learning problems' are in fact 'teaching problems'). The very distinction between teaching and learning is not clear within the school system and the education field in general.

TAKING NOTHING FOR GRANTED

It has been customary to demand from teachers competencies that are taken for granted and, as such, are not (or are only formally) included in TE, whether pre- or in-service. These include the capacity for innovation; participatory and group work; designing and administering homework; adapting the curriculum; test design; evaluation and promotion criteria and procedures; promoting parental and community involvement in school; and play and the development of so-called 'extracurricular' activities.

Notes

1. Many of the ideas contained in this article have been developed in three longer background papers: *¿Qué (y cómo) es necesario aprender? Necesidades básicas de aprendizaje y contenidos curriculares* [What—and how—is it necessary to learn? Basic learning needs and curriculum content], 1993; *¿Mejorar la calidad de la educación básica? Las estrategias del Banco Mundial* [Improving the quality of basic education? World Bank strategies], 1996c; and *Teacher education: from rhetoric to action*, 1996b. See references list.

2. In the term *teacher education* we are including both education ('organized and sustained communication designed to bring about learning' in a broad sense) and training ('education that is directed mainly towards the acquisition of skills') (International Standard Classification of Education-ISCED, in UNESCO, 1991, p. 17–18), as well as pre-service (initial) and in-service (continuing) teacher education. We refer in this paper specifically to primary school teachers. We differentiate between basic education and primary education, following the concept of basic education defined within the 'Education for All' Initiative (Jomtien, Thailand, 1990): an education that starts at birth and is defined by its capacity to meet 'basic learning needs' of children, youth and adults, rather than by a definite number of years of instruction, and which encompasses not only the school system but also the family, the media, and all other sources of learning.
3. A 1994 UNICEF/UNESCO pilot study on the conditions of primary schools in fourteen least developed countries revealed: high instability of the teaching staff; countries where 60% of teachers have only primary school education and where between 20% and 30% have no teacher training; most teachers teaching between five and six hours per school day; no country had all classrooms equipped with a teacher chair and a teacher table; in no country did every classroom have a usable chalkboard; the average class sizes in Grade 1 ranged from 25 to 112 pupils, while five countries had average classes in the sixties and seventies, and one had more than 100 students per class (Schleicher et al., 1995).
4. Based on a number of studies it has been concluded that the following educational inputs have an impact on student outcomes (in this order of importance): 1. libraries, 2. time of instruction, 3. homework, 4. textbooks, 5. teacher knowledge, 6. teacher experience, 7. laboratories, 8. teacher salaries, and 9. class size (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1992; World Bank, 1995).
5. While the single book per student is associated with rote and passive learning (characteristic of school systems in developing countries), the availability of forty or more books per student (the case of the United States, for example) is associated with more autonomous and self-generated study habits (Farrell & Heyneman, 1989).
6. Recent examples may be drawn from two large primary education projects in Mexico and India. PARE, a compensatory programme initiated in 1991 by the Mexican Ministry of Education with World Bank support, and covering the poorest four states in the country, distributed a variety of materials and auxiliary aids (notebooks, pencils, sheets of paper, blackboards, dictionaries, maps, earth globes, musical instruments, posters, puzzles, games, and manuals, among the most important). A qualitative evaluation of the programme conducted in 1994 in indigenous schools concluded that 'despite the variety of materials that they now have available, few teachers use them in teaching' (Ezpeleta and Weiss, 1994). A similar story is told about *Operation Blackboard* introduced in 1986 as an innovative policy in Gujarat State, India. A set of essential materials was distributed to all schools including a science and a mathematics kit, a tool kit, forty-five posters, maps, children's books, balls, and a blackboard. A study conducted in 1995 revealed that, after several months, 'many materials were found in boxes neatly piled at one side of the room' (Dyer, 1996, p. 10).
7. Hallak (1990, p 121) defines education as 'focusing on the cognitive and affective' and training as 'focusing on the acquisition of skills'. TE must obviously include both.

8. This is the objective of the joint UNICEF/UNESCO *Education for all: making it work* Innovations Project, launched by both organizations in 1992. The project promotes innovation in basic education by disseminating examples of educational change in various spheres and through various tools: booklets, videos, workshops, and a new series of thematic portfolios.

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WHERE ARE 60 MILLION TEACHERS?

THE MISSING VOICE IN EDUCATIONAL

REFORMS AROUND THE WORLD

Eleonora Villegas-Reimers and Fernando Reimers

Introduction

A wave of education reforms is sweeping the globe. At all levels, counties, municipalities, departments and states are expecting more and new things from schools. International organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank and regional banks are calling for renewed efforts to sustain those reforms. Globalization, the search for new sources of competitiveness, and the goals of democracy, peace, and tolerance have heightened the expectations of the public about schools and education systems.

In these calls for reform and in the options which are brought forth to change schools, there is surprisingly little attention to the role of teachers. Some of the proposals for change advocate 'teacher-proof' innovations, which can sustain the impetus for change in spite of the teachers. In some other cases, teachers are absent from the discourse about change. In yet other cases, the role of teachers is not central to the proposals for change. For example, in the latest World Bank Education

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Sector Review (World Bank, 1995a), six key options are proposed to reform education systems, none of which addresses teachers, their selection, training, supervision or participation in the reforms. While the report gives three paragraphs to teacher training and selection as means to improving quality, it does not give this option a central role among the reforms proposed.

This absence of consideration for teachers, their selection and training is important because it forms the basis of policies which reinforce educational reforms that fail to pay attention to teachers. Teacher-preparation institutions remain underfunded, with poorly trained staff, and low salaries and career incentives, thus attracting weak candidates to the profession. By omitting teachers from the spotlight of the debate, educational reforms produce education systems with ever less-competent teachers, thus fulfilling the implicit prophecy that efforts to improve education must do without the teachers.

That serious discussions of reform in education systems have overlooked the role and the potential of 60 million teachers¹ is not just politically and administratively naive (after all, who is going to implement the reforms), but it also shows poor understanding of the factors which influence educational opportunity in schools.

A possible reason to explain this oversight rests in the inadequate research foundation of many educational policy discussions. During the last twenty years, research on the determinants of student achievement has tried to sort out the relative influences of various school inputs and processes. Summaries of these production function studies have attempted to establish which are the 'best' predictors. A recent review of studies of the determinants of achievement, for instance, finds that while school libraries, instructional time, homework and textbooks are significant predictors of student learning in at least 75% of the studies, teacher knowledge and teacher experience are only significant predictors in 60% and 50% of the cases (Fuller & Clarke, 1994). A similar review of studies conducted in Latin America concludes that years of schooling, subject matter knowledge and experience of the teachers are not related to student achievement in about 50% of the cases, and that in-service training is never related (Velez, Schiefelbein & Valenzuela, 1993).

To conclude that some teacher characteristics, such as their preparation, knowledge or experience can be ignored in efforts to reform education systems because in some studies—even in about half of the studies—they do not appear to be related to student achievement is an unwarranted generalization. More important questions than in how many studies teachers make a difference are: under what circumstances do teacher-related policies matter? And how can teacher practices be changed to expand opportunities for learning gains? Unless education at some future time is re-structured in a way which no longer needs teachers, the pertinent question is not *whether* teachers are an input that matters for reform but (given how much they obviously matter) *how can their influence be optimized?*

In part, those findings stem from the limited range of variability of those factors—training and experience—within a single education system.² One reason teacher preparation shows little or no effect in many studies is because most teach-

ers are already trained and because there are no substantial variations in the quality of the training within a single country. Furthermore, most of these studies have examined a fairly restricted set of learning outcomes, focusing on achievement in a few subjects measured with tests emphasizing content mastery. The results should thus be interpreted as meaning that the existing options for teacher training have no impact,³ and not that teacher training can be dismissed as an option. Another difficulty in assessing the relative contribution of teachers' subject matter knowledge, general knowledge, specific skills (verbal or mathematical) or pedagogical knowledge is that those factors are confounded in most analyses: their independent contribution cannot be easily sorted out. Another possible explanation for the mixed results which have been found on the impact of teacher skills and training on student learning is that a number of factors mediate these links, that is while training may influence teacher behaviour, other factors mediate the influence of teacher behaviour on student learning as well as influence teachers and students behaviour.

Another possible reason teachers have been overlooked in some of the recent discourses on educational reform stems from the emphasis on 'learning' as opposed to 'teaching' present in many educational reforms. While we value the importance of emphasizing opportunities for learning gains for the students in efforts to reform education systems, we think they necessarily refer to demands in teacher behaviours and in how teachers construct their roles in all systems where teachers are present.⁴ Why reforms which attempt to change conditions in schools can overlook the specifics of how teachers will be helped to change the way they make meaning out of these reforms, to change their attitudes and behaviours, and to integrate all of these with prior knowledge and experience is hard to explain, except perhaps noticing that many of the reform advocates have not been in close contact with teachers and students for a long time.

We argue that current or future reform efforts around the world will fail unless they take notice of the 60 million teachers who, on a day to day basis, construct the practice of reformed or unreformed education systems. In this paper we will examine who the teachers are and some of the problems they face, and we will propose a range of suggestions to stimulate the dialogue we deem necessary on ways to make reforms with the teachers, and not in spite of them. The limitations of writing a paper of this type which attempts to deal with an issue on a global scale are obvious. The empirical foundation for our conclusions stems from school research conducted only in a few countries in three continents; only fragmentary evidence of that research is documented here when appropriate. We also analyze cross-national indicators for all countries, emphasizing developing countries. Finally we have reviewed a number of reports which are documented in the references. Since our aim is to stimulate a dialogue in specific contexts from a pedagogy of raising issues and asking questions rather than from a perspective of providing answers, the issues that are presented in this document can be treated as a framework of working hypotheses to be validated in specific contexts. Clearly some issues will be more relevant to some contexts than others.

Who are the teachers⁴

WHERE ARE THEY?

Most of the 60 million individuals who teach around the world do so at the first or basic (47%) and secondary levels (35%). A tenth of them teach at the pre-primary level and another tenth at the third level of instruction.

Six out of every ten teachers live in a developing country, half of them in East Asia, and one in three in China. About one in ten teachers in the world teaches in Latin America and the Caribbean and another one in ten in South Asia. One in twenty teachers works in Sub-Saharan Africa.

As the population of eligible children grows, additional teachers will be needed every year, if only to maintain current enrolment ratios around the world. The increase will have to be larger in order to expand enrolment levels if current enrolment ratios and technologies of teaching are maintained. In 1985 it was estimated that more than 8 million additional teachers would be needed in developing countries by the year 2000 to reach the goal of universal primary education (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991).

GENDER

In countries around the world, as shown in Table 1, an average of four in ten teachers are women at the primary level. One in three are women at the secondary level. The participation of women in the teaching profession is slowly increasing over time, and is greater in the Americas and Oceania, and lowest in Africa and Asia.

TABLE 1. Regional averages of percentage of female teachers

Region	First level		Second level	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
World	37%	39%	26%	28%
Africa	28%	31%	19%	20%
North America	47%	48%	32%	34%
South America	54%	55%	38%	37%
Asia	29%	34%	24%	27%
Europe	42%	44%	28%	31%
Oceania	58%	63%	43%	43%

Note: These averages have been computed using the regional groupings of UNESCO and country data reported in UNESCO, 1993. The averages have not been weighted by number of teachers per country, thus the unit of analysis is the country.

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

Globally there are great variations in the percentage of trained teachers and in how teachers are prepared. In about half of the sixty-three countries surveyed in all regions of the world, almost all teachers had been trained. There are proportion-

ately more countries in Africa with less trained teachers. In Europe most countries indicate that at least 80% of the teachers have received some professional preparation.

In spite of the 1966 ILO-UNESCO recommendation concerning the status of teachers which called for a completed secondary education and appropriate teacher preparation for those entering the profession, what it means to be trained varies greatly around the world. In some countries, such as Pakistan, graduates of nine-years of basic education are trained to be primary school teachers in a nine-month course (PTC). In other countries, such as Egypt, teachers are required to have a secondary education. In countries such as Chile and Lebanon, a primary school teacher has completed a college education. In addition, the general knowledge *acquired* before entering teaching varies greatly across the world, depending on how many years of general education are required before a person can be trained as a teacher. Large numbers of teachers around the world have not completed either a secondary education or an appropriate teacher education course. In some countries a large proportion of teachers have not completed secondary education (Burundi 49%, Togo 37%, Uganda 60%, Afghanistan 60%).

As will be discussed in greater detail later, there is also variation in the proportion of the training received which focuses on subject matter and the proportion which focuses on the development of pedagogical skills. A common problem of teacher-preparation programmes is their lack of integration with supervised and extensive practice on which new teaching knowledge can be integrated.

TEACHING LOAD

World-wide, on average, teachers at the first level have a load of about twenty-four students and fifteen students for the second level. As shown in Table 2, these loads have decreased only slightly since 1980. These world averages, however, hide variations among regions, within regions and within countries. At the primary level, the number of students per teacher is highest in Africa and lowest in Europe. Within Africa, students per teacher in primary school range from highs of ninety in the Central African Republic, sixty-seven in Burundi and sixty-four in Malawi, to lows of twenty-one in Mauritius and twenty-five in Guinea Bissau. Within a country there is a wide disparity between crowded primary schools in urban peripheral areas and isolated rural areas, and from overcrowded first grades and the less crowded highest grades. We have checked some of the countries with pupil/teacher ratios around the world average of twenty-four against our direct experience conducting school research there and our memories of classrooms packed to the roof. The distribution of class size in our samples of schools in countries such as Egypt, Jordan and Paraguay had many more students than the average. In some classrooms more than forty students, and in some cases more than fifty or sixty students, per teacher were common.

Data at the secondary level demonstrates the lowest student/teacher ratios as would be expected in systems where this level is still expanding. These estimates,

however, should be interpreted differently from those at the primary level as typically there is a switch from a single teacher per grade in the first level to multiple teachers per grade in the second level. It is not rare at the secondary level for teachers to teach in multiple schools. Therefore, the average number of students per teacher is an imperfect indication of teacher load as a teacher spends substantially less time with each group of students than a teacher at the first level.

TABLE 2. Regional averages of pupil/teacher ratio

Region	First level		Second level	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
World	25	24	16	15
Africa	38	37	21	19
North America	24	22	17	16
South America	24	22	13	13
Asia	23	21	15	27
Europe	12	11	9	8
Oceania	25	26	19	17

Note: These averages have been computed using the regional groupings of UNESCO and country data reported in UNESCO, 1993. The averages have not been weighted by number of teachers per country, thus the unit of analysis is the country.

What are some of the problems teachers face?

DEALING WITH BUREAUCRATIC REFORMERS

An important challenge to teaching effectiveness is dealing with bureaucratic reformers who want to implement 'teacher proof' reforms or who ignore the real conditions in which teachers have to work. It is surprising how consistently one can find variations of this basic problem across decades and across countries as far apart as Pakistan, Venezuela and Paraguay, for example. In Pakistan, in the early 1970s, the Ministry of Education spent several years designing an innovation to improve quality in primary schools. They came up with a teaching kit which included about 100 items such as beakers, a national flag, an abacus, and other materials. Sixty thousand of those kits were produced and delivered. The kits were based on a pedagogy that expected student participation in small groups, and learning from direct experiences rather than using the traditional pedagogy (based on rote memorization) in which teachers were trained in Pakistan. In a survey conducted in primary schools in Pakistan by one of us, we found that few (about one in five) of the teachers used it. By 'using' it, those teachers meant using it an average of seven times during the school year. According to the data in this survey, the teaching kits and their use had no impact on student achievement in mathematics and science. Why should we be surprised that the kit had such a limited impact when only 22% of the teachers had received any training on the teaching kit and when most teachers and administrators did not understand why they needed this kit? What should be surprising is that the reformers who came up with the kit

could have been so nonchalant about introducing a new teaching technology—ignoring the needs, perceptions and skills of teachers who were supposed to use it (Warwick, Reimers & McGinn, 1992).

A similar example of educational change which ignored training needs of teachers was found in the 1980 educational reform in Venezuela. In this case a new education law was passed which extended basic education from six to nine years. Accordingly, new curricula were designed which aimed at developing higher level cognitive processes. A decade later the reform was considered a failure and Venezuelan 14 year-olds had some of the lowest scores in an international study of reading achievement covering thirty countries (Elley, 1992). How did an educational reform which aimed at helping students think better end up producing students who could not read? In a study conducted by one of us, it was found that the reform had essentially ignored teacher training. The reformers had relied on passing a new law, producing new curricula and textbooks, but had left teacher training institutions unaltered as many as six years after the initiation of the reform (Villegas-Reimers, 1994).

In 1992, the Government of Paraguay decided to change the curriculum of primary education. Again new programmes were designed which proposed a greater focus on processes of cognitive development. New textbooks were produced reflecting those programmes. This time the textbooks were given to the teachers along with training. Training sessions were organized as follows. Hundreds of teachers from the same grade in nearby schools were called to a nine-day orientation. During this orientation, the new curriculum was introduced and the programmes and textbooks were delivered. After this the teachers returned to their schools. Because the training was organized for one grade each year—i.e. first grade in 1993, second grade in 1994, etc.—when the teachers returned to school they had no one with whom to discuss the new curriculum. In a series of evaluations conducted in 1995 when one of us was resident advisor to the Ministry of Education of Paraguay, we found that teachers rejected this form of training. They said it barely provided them with the motivation to attempt to teach differently, and left them to their own resources in a school where no one shared their enthusiasm and without further opportunities to continue developing skills. In a sense this training assumed that teachers had no history, no prior knowledge, and that they were not part of a system where roles are constructed in interaction with peers and principals.

THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The teaching profession is accused of presenting a flat career ladder sustained by low and unstable salaries, inefficient bureaucracies and pushy local politicians.

The performance of teachers around the world is a product not just of the training they have received, but also of the incentives and policies of teacher selection, recruitment and promotion. Who is attracted to the teaching profession? What are the incentives which influence job performance? How does one live and

retire as a teacher? It is important to notice that the answers to these questions, at a given point in time in an education system, influence not just the existing teaching pool, but the *future* teaching pool. That is, there is a lag between the moment that policies influencing hiring, salaries and promotion are enacted until they work as signals to prospective teachers who eventually enter the profession. In the short run there are modest effects one could obtain by raising teacher salaries; one would simply be paying the current teaching staff more. But the long run consequences of low and declining teacher salaries are that the quality of the applicants to the profession will decline.

Salaries of teachers around the world, relative to average salaries or to per capita GNP, vary greatly. A new entrant to the teaching profession in the public schools in the city of Boston may earn between \$23,000 and \$27,000 per year, just around the GNP per capita of \$24,740. In Paraguay, an entering primary school teacher will receive about \$2,500 a year, or 60% more than the GNP per capita (\$1,500 per capita). In low income countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, teacher salaries range from two to seven times GNP per capita. In Latin America, salaries range from 1 time to 6 times GNP per capita.⁶

Other factors which influence teacher salaries and in turn teacher performance are the stability of those salaries over time and the efficiency of disbursement of payments. In some countries, particularly in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, teacher salaries declined in real terms during the 1980s. This meant that teachers had to find alternative sources of income to make ends meet. Often those have been hard to change even after salaries increased. In Sub-Saharan Africa, primary school teacher salaries declined 13% on average in real terms and in Latin America 14% on average between 1980 and 1987 (Longo, 1993). Efforts to recuperate those losses in some countries in the 1990s have not recuperated the time which was lost with the decline in income. In Paraguay, for instance, where teacher salaries by the end of the 1980s were a third of their real value at the beginning of the decade, many teachers obtained multiple appointments. In 1996, 95% of the primary school teachers held two teaching appointments, in spite of substantial increases in salaries in real terms since 1990 which exceeded the levels of the early 1980s. This means that while teachers earn for teaching in a single school shift 60% more than the average GNP per capita, they are only willing to devote four hours a day five days a week to teaching in that shift, which makes it hard to increase the duration of the school year (one of the shortest in the world) or to find time for teacher training outside instructional time.

Because teacher salaries are typically tied to salary scales for public employees, and because there are rarely provisions for selective increases to teachers based on qualifications or performance, governments are extremely reluctant to raise salaries which would impact the total public wage bill.

Efficiency with teacher payments is another very important factor as it erodes the real value of the salary of the teacher who often has to fall in debt with local vendors, at high interest rates, thus subsidizing an inefficient system of payments in Ministries of Education.

Along with salaries, working conditions vary greatly. The influence of local politicians in securing and maintaining a teaching position is pervasive in many developing countries. This means teachers have demands on their time which compete with the demands of teaching.

In most countries professional development for teachers is only possible by moving out of teaching. Many countries lack teacher statutes which provide avenues for professional improvement. Often improvement means seniority more than training or professional growth.

Another factor influencing who elects to enter and remain in the teaching profession is the low (and declining) status of teaching in most countries in the world. The low rewards, in terms of job benefits and prestige associated with teaching, are compounded by the high demands placed on the job, particularly for those teachers working with children who receive less support from home and the community.

Most teachers work in schools with few materials to teach, little support from families, principals and supervisors, and in buildings in poor physical condition. Many work in schools which are so small and isolated from each other that teaching becomes a very solitary activity. In a series of school interviews with rural teachers in Honduras, one of the authors of this paper remembers several teachers working in single room schools saying things such as 'it drives me crazy to work only with these kids; sometimes I get to see the parents, but the only other educated person I can talk to around here is the supervisor who comes about once a year.'

For most teachers there is little time to prepare classes, reflect about what they do, receive in-service training, read and pursue other activities which are essential to learn from experience and improve practice.

The limited time teachers have for teaching is further reduced not just by the multiple jobs teachers sometimes have to take to make ends meet but also by the innumerable administrative demands made of teachers. Ministries of Education and supervisors expect teachers to complete a high number of administrative tasks that take away time for class preparation, actual teaching, and mentoring of new teachers or student-teachers. In some countries (Venezuela, for example), about half of the time spent in professional teaching practices at the initial preparation level of new teachers is spent learning how to fill out required forms for the Ministry of Education. This is done because the expectation is that in a regular teaching job the teacher will spend a significant amount of time completing that kind of administrative task.

In addition to the low incentives and high demands teachers face, first assignments are rarely opportunities for professional development—instead they are a poor and discouraging initiation to the job. The first teaching assignment is generally to an extremely demanding position, with little support or mentoring. In Latin America, for example, most teachers who lack adequate political connections are assigned to teach first grade in rural schools or in overcrowded urban-marginal schools. Thus these student populations, in a sense the most demanding of teachers, are constantly in the hands of the teachers with the least experience who try to change to easier conditions as soon as possible.

These problems affect the selection of candidates, the length of time teachers remain in the profession, and the little time in-service teachers have to devote to activities of in-service preparation. In addition, they affect the conditions under which co-operating teachers work as mentors and teacher-educators.

How have salaries, entrance and promotion criteria, and working conditions influenced candidates to enter the teaching profession? In many countries teaching is an option of last resort for students who have been unable to gain entrance to other professions in universities. In turn, the low quality of entrants to teacher training institutions diminishes the pressure to improve them.

In many cases the shortage of teachers causes training institutions to accept those who are willing, even if their academic background is deficient. A study in Chile (Gysling, 1991) shows that the grade point average of 80% of the students admitted to the Instituto Pedagógico de Chile between 1976 and 1990 was the lowest when compared with that of students entering other fields. In Peru, the University had to design a separate (and easier) admissions test for students who were applying to the teaching field as these candidates could not complete the minimum required performance in the general admissions test.

To sum up, by paying teachers poorly, offering them no career ladder, and subjecting new entrants and old timers alike to the pressures and demands of local politicians, many countries have ended up with teachers who are not the best and brightest of every generation. Additionally, the working conditions of teaching place high demands on teachers for which they are poorly prepared and hence decreases their sense of efficacy and self-esteem. This, of course, affects teachers' levels of motivation, their desire to continue with in-service education, with their mentoring role, and their willingness to cope with difficult situations in their teaching career, ultimately abandoning the field.

THE CHALLENGES OF LEARNING TO BE A TEACHER

What happens to those poorly educated candidates who enter into the teaching profession? There are seven serious shortcomings to initial teacher education: in many cases teacher education will perpetuate social inequalities reflected in schools; teachers will be trained in courses heavy on theory and weak on practice; in extremely short programmes; in institutions isolated from the education systems they intend to serve; in professional isolation; with deficient programmes; and by weak teachers.

Segregated training

Segregated training persists for male and female teachers, for those teaching rich and poor, for those teaching children from different races, cultures or religions.

In education systems with severe equity disparities, those are also reflected—and reproduced—in the teacher-preparation institutions. For example, in Pakistan and other countries which offer segregated teacher training to male and female teachers, the lower quality of training received by female teachers in mathematics

perpetuates the inequities in educational opportunities for boys and girls in primary schools.

In education systems where the lines separating public and private schools cut across social class lines, often private schools organize their own teacher training systems which endow them with a better supply of applicants, therefore reinforcing a split teacher labour market for schools attended by affluent children and for schools attended by economically disadvantaged children. The same split is found in education systems which show inequalities cutting across racial, ethnic or religious cleavages.

Theory versus practice

Most preparation is theory-based and includes little or no practicum. Teacher-preparation programmes in many developing countries emphasize learning theories and facts, and offer almost no opportunity for students to practice their teaching skills prior to graduation.

The few opportunities for teaching practice that are offered are usually included at the end of the years of preparation. This appears to be based on the belief that the practicum is a complement to the teaching preparation process rather than a fundamental part of the process. Also, it appears as if the practicum is conceived only as a way to illustrate theory, rather than as an essential part of the professional preparation of teachers and the acquisition of specific teaching skills.

Another problem is that the co-operating (or mentor) teachers and the practicum site tend to use traditional teaching methods almost all the time. As a result, many student-teachers report not taking initiatives in bringing innovations into the classroom or trying new teaching methods for fear of receiving a lower grade if they contradict the co-operating teacher's practices.

Many co-operating teachers are not good role models for student-teachers either. For example, in Paraguay teachers who teach in the practicum site are not selected by their qualities, but by the convenience of the school location. Frequently these co-operating teachers leave the classrooms while the student-teachers teach their classes. These teacher-educators are not integrated to the activities of the teacher-preparation institutions; they do not receive any kind of orientation or training to become co-operating teachers; nor do they participate in the planning activities of the teacher-preparation institutions.

Students have very few chances to see teachers practising effective teaching skills with children—so new teachers rely on what they saw when they were children, or on how their teachers at the teacher-preparation institution taught.

Short teacher-preparation programmes

In most countries, teacher-preparation programmes are much shorter than programmes in other professional fields. This has been identified as one of the reasons students choose teaching as a field of study. However, short programmes do not offer much opportunity for students to learn all the skills and knowledge necessary

to become effective teachers. This, of course, represents a dilemma: on the one hand, the demand for greater numbers of teachers justifies attracting more and better candidates and facilitates their successful completion of a programme. On the other hand, having short programmes as a way of attracting more candidates may mean that there is not enough time for the students to study everything they need to learn to become excellent teachers.

Educational isolation

Teacher training institutions are often isolated from the education systems where their graduates will have to teach. In many countries, the plans and programmes of teacher preparation do not match what teachers are expected to teach in elementary and secondary education. Thus, teachers are not being prepared to execute the plans and programmes designed by the Ministries of Education.

Most teacher-educators have little or no contact with primary and secondary schools. This limited experience of teacher-educators affects the effectiveness of their teachings, as many times their lectures and educational experiences are completely unrelated to the realities their students will face in schools after graduation. It is not uncommon for many teacher-preparation institutions to recruit teachers from among their own graduates with no practical experience. Thus a vicious circle of declining quality develops where teachers are trained by people who were trained—but never practised—to be teachers, who in turn were trained by people who were trained, etc.

A common problem facing teacher-preparation systems around the world is that they do not provide those who are to work among disadvantaged populations with effective skills. This can happen for several reasons: one is that the training offered by most teacher-preparation institutions seems to be based on the assumption that teachers will be teaching homogeneous populations. Consequently, teachers are not being prepared to respond to the needs and characteristics of large groups of children in their countries.

In Latin America, for example, teacher training systems poorly address the special needs of students in rural areas. Rural teachers are usually the worst prepared, yet the most frequently required to work in difficult conditions. There is a higher concentration of teachers with no certification in rural areas (Schiefelbein & Tedesco, 1995).

Related to the isolation of many teacher training institutions and the larger education systems where they exist, many fail to train teachers to address important issues in those countries. In Pakistan, for instance, a country with a plurality of languages and where schools in many communities include children from different linguistic backgrounds, there is not training for teachers in methodologies of bilingual education or in languages. The same is true of Paraguay, a country where most of the populations speaks Guaraní, and where Guaraní is an official language, teacher training institutions do not provide any training in bilingual education.⁷

Professional isolation

Teacher-preparation institutions are isolated from each other and from other institutions preparing professionals in other fields. There is a lack of integration of 'purposes, efforts and resources among institutions that prepare teachers, and between these and the public and private institutions in charge of education in each country' (Castro, 1991, p. 67, author's translation).

This 'isolation' is a disadvantage, as the same efforts are reproduced in many of the institutions taking time away to develop new strategies and knowledge. According to Castro (1991), the different institutions that prepare teachers in Latin America (dependent on the federal government, the provincial government, universities which are autonomous from the government, or private institutions) have different conceptions, understanding, plans and programmes of teacher preparation, regardless of the fact that most of them follow the exact same guidelines given by the Ministries of Education. And because there is no regular communication among them, they do not collaborate in their efforts.

Neglected curricula

The curriculum of teacher-preparation institutions is deficient because teacher training has been largely neglected in many education reforms. The curriculum offered in many teacher-preparation institutions is outdated and irrelevant. Some of the problems are:

- Plans and programmes either purposefully exclude or do not include current teaching of work methods and subjects such as: non-formal education, non-conventional teaching strategies, open classrooms, educational technology, community development, etc.
- Plans and programmes do not include any kind of preparation on how to deal with problems such as drop-outs, grade repetition, and poor attendance.
- It is rare for teacher training programmes to be constantly evaluated to assess their continuous fit with the changing realities in schools and classrooms.
- Plans and programmes rarely instil in new teachers the interest in and ability to do educational research, or to learn more about innovations and pedagogical renewal. They do not include the study of methods needed to know how to adapt the new curriculum to the different socio-cultural conditions in the country.
- Plans and programmes reflect no interest or little emphasis in preparing teachers to work in disadvantaged communities.
- Specific subject matters are taught in an unrelated fashion to their pedagogy.

Weak preparation of teacher-educators

Part of the reason teacher preparation is weak is due to the limited education of teacher-educators. For example, in Jamaica (Evans, 1989) teacher-educators in the Faculty of Education and in the Teachers' Colleges are required to have a Bachelor's degree. While a few have Master's degrees, it is not required. Evans (1989) also reports this is true in the Belize Teachers' Colleges. In Paraguay, most

teacher-educators only have a teaching degree (a tertiary-level degree), and there are few who have finished a university programme (Ovelar de Duarte et al., 1995).

Despite the increase in the number of years required for teachers to go through in their initial preparation, teacher-educators continue to be the same people with the same kind of preparation (Silva, 1995). There has been little in-service training for teacher-educators. They have been a forgotten part of the education system in most countries in terms of their preparation, and yet they are key players in the implementation of any innovations in teacher preparation.

KEEPING UP TO DATE

Deficient as it may be, initial teacher education will be the most serious preparation that most teachers will receive as the problems related to in-service preparation far exceed those of pre-service education. Six common problems are: the lack of an integrated system of training which meets the needs of practising teachers; the poor quality of trainers; poor quality of courses; the location of training; the heavily theoretical orientation of most training; and the lack of printed materials to support self-education or co-education among teachers.

Responding to the teachers' needs

Courses offered as part of in-service preparation do not respond to the needs of teachers. Most countries lack an integrated system of in-service teacher training. Instead courses are organized on an *ad-hoc* basis, according to the latest fad. Courses are rarely organized which take into account in-service teachers' needs. When those needs are taken into account, rarely are teachers asked directly—instead teacher supervisors decide what is needed.

Because of the piecemeal and disintegrated way in which in-service training courses are organized, teachers receive a collection of training experiences which are equally fragmented.

Poor preparation of in-service educators

For most countries, the quality of the teachers in charge of in-service courses and programmes is as low as that of educators who teach pre-service courses. In fact, many in-service courses and programmes are taught by the same educators.

Poor quality of most in-service courses

This is probably why in most studies in-service training shows no significant influence on teacher practice or student learning achievement.

Due to the limited preparation of educators in charge of these courses, the little attention that most countries have devoted to in-service preparation of teachers, and the quality of the institutions in charge of organizing and/or supervising these courses, the quality of the courses (content, teaching methods, pedagogical activities, etc.) is poor.

Difficult access to in-service courses

Many in-service courses are implemented in places difficult to reach by teachers. Because of budgetary constraints, in-service courses are implemented in places very far from where the teachers who most need them live. Because most courses take place in cities, teachers in rural areas are disproportionately excluded.

Theoretical courses

Courses are theory-oriented and leave out practical concerns. Like courses at the pre-service level, the in-service courses offered in many countries focus too much on theories and rarely address practical issues. Teachers interviewed in several studies mention the necessity to have more practical courses as one of the needs of in-service preparation (Castro, 1991; Subirats & Nogales, 1989).

In-service courses model a 'classical' approach to teaching, with an expert lecturing at the trainees, as if they had no experience or prior knowledge. Training is rarely integrated with opportunities for reflective practice.

Lack of professional journals

There are very few professional reading materials available to teachers. In addition to the problems listed above about formal courses for in-service teachers, there are also problems teachers encounter when they try to keep themselves up-to-date. One of the major challenges is that with the low salaries of teachers and the high cost of living and the demands of their jobs, teachers have few professional publications available to them and very little time to read them.

Options and questions to help teachers assist students learn

In this paper we have used a framework with four key elements which influence the extent to which teachers can support educational reform efforts: (1) dealing with bureaucratic reformers; (2) entering the profession; (3) receiving training as a teacher; and (4) keeping up with the profession. We conclude by proposing options within this framework to think about the role of teachers in education change.

THINKING OF TEACHERS AS PARTNERS

Our models of education systems act as self-fulfilling prophecies. If policy makers, administrators or parents think that teachers are unimportant to education reforms, they will act in ways which will reinforce this viewpoint. Limited efforts will be made to train teachers, the incentives to enter and remain in the profession will not attract qualified candidates, and teachers sense of self-efficacy will decline. Eventually teachers will be of such poor quality as to fulfil the worst expectations about them. A society can only have an education system as good as it can imagine it. To the that extent that formal education continues to rely on methodologies

which organize students to share time and space with teachers, it is important to think of ways to engage the teachers as partners in the reform efforts. Education systems can be only as good as the teachers they can attract, train, retain in the system and motivate to give the best of themselves to the students with whom they work.

The machine-model of an education system, where the quality of education is expected to improve as a result of placing standard inputs in schools, blinds us from tapping the potential which lies in every teacher. It is better to think of an education system as a living organization, where individuals (teachers, parents and students) can grow as the system reaches higher stages and is ready to face new problems. Even though at some lower stages of development of an education system it may be helpful to concentrate on placing physical inputs in place (building schools, hiring and training teachers, providing textbooks, etc.) those inputs represent the foundation, and not the ceiling, on which to build quality education. On this foundation the interactions between students, teachers and communities can flourish and develop to face new and growing challenges. This view of schools and of education systems as living organizations demands that we think about interventions to promote organizational learning, rather than mechanical implementation or adaptation of rules or reforms decreed from some central bureaucracy. The key question in this perspective then becomes how can one help reforms learn from the teachers, and how can reforms help teachers learn. The current emphasis of school reform on learning is well-founded if it includes not just student learning but teacher learning as well.

We think that dialogue is a necessary condition for organizational learning of the type we propose here.⁸ Educational reforms need to engage teachers in a dialogue about the reforms, both at the stages of design and implementation. While teachers are rarely consulted in the design of educational innovations, reforms can gain much from seeking teachers' feedback to re-orient design and implementation of the reforms. In Paraguay, for example, the implementation of a new basic education curriculum was reformulated after we conducted a series of rapid assessments which showed teachers were dissatisfied with the top-down approach used because it did not help them develop new skills. This change alone resulted in a major realignment of teachers towards the reform which was previously seen as an obtrusive intervention from the centre from which they had been excluded.

Making partners of teachers will require not just training teachers, but also educating administrators and politicians on new management approaches, relying more on consensus building and negotiating agreement, rather than on attempting to rule teachers by decree.

DIALOGUE ABOUT ATTRACTING NEW RECRUITS

A dialogue with teachers and other stakeholders of educational reform may lead to discovering how to attract the best and brightest students into teaching. This requires addressing the questions posed earlier about the incentives that attract

people to and retain them in teaching. Among the issues to be explored in that dialogue, and to be informed by systematic analysis and research, are: the entry level salaries of teachers relative to those of other professions with similar levels of training; the career paths available to teachers (how does one move up in the profession?); the status of the profession (how can prestige and recognition for the job of teachers be increased when necessary?); and the working conditions (what sources of pressure influence the autonomy of teachers as professionals? What are the demands placed on teachers and how can teachers be helped to meet them?).

Some of the options to be considered include making teacher salary schedules independent of the schedules of public servants, as well as introducing differentiated criteria to make selective (as opposed to across the board) salary increases for teachers. Another possible option includes raising standards for admission to teacher-training institutions and eliminating rules that guarantee graduates a job upon graduation.

DIALOGUING WITH TEACHERS AND OTHERS ABOUT HOW TO EDUCATE TEACHERS

This dialogue requires addressing seven central questions about teacher preparation.

1. *In the curriculum of teacher-preparation institutions, should emphasis be placed on knowledge-base (liberal arts education) or on teaching skills (professional education)?*

Whether to focus on liberal arts courses or on pedagogical courses is something that needs to be explored by teachers, students, policy-makers, etc., based on the current practices in the country and on the knowledge-base students bring into the teacher-preparation programmes. It seems appropriate that a balance between these two components should be kept.

2. *Should teachers be prepared to pass on information given to them in their preparation, or should they be actively creating and developing information? What kind of a curriculum should they teach?*

Traditionally, teachers would learn the contents they were going to teach. With the development of new technology and a switch in the emphasis from giving information to students to helping them 'learn how to learn', the role of the teacher needs to be modified as well. The question, however, is whether it is possible (and efficient) to prepare teachers to be creative and develop new information when they enter the profession with such poor and weak backgrounds, or whether teacher-preparation programmes should strengthen the knowledge base of new teachers so that they can be effective promoters of learning in the classroom.

This debate is not new. Recent trends emphasize the preparation of teachers who are creative researchers in their own classrooms, so that they can model for their students the processes of seeking information, of questioning, learning on

their own, checking data, etc. The question is whether it is realistic and efficient to try and develop those skills in teachers who do not have a minimum knowledge-base. Another way to pose this question is whether it is possible for a teacher to move from a content pedagogy to an emphasis in processes without a solid content base.

As with the previous issue, this is a situation that needs to be carefully evaluated by each country in order to decide how realistic it is for its education system to approach the ideal of preparing creative teachers who develop knowledge as part of their profession. The most realistic approach may be to set the long-term goal of preparing teachers who are creative and learn how to learn and how to facilitate others' learning, and realize that in order to reach that goal many smaller steps need to be taken in the immediate future, taking into consideration the characteristics of teacher candidates.

A related question is whether teachers should be prepared to use a curriculum given to them (by Ministries of Education, for example), or should they be prepared to design and develop curriculum? The answer to this question needs to take into account the particular characteristics and background of teacher-candidates and of the populations of children to be served. It would be a mistake to prepare teachers to develop curriculum when their background is not strong, and when those skills and knowledge would not be used given that the Ministry of Education prepares the national curriculum. And yet it is also a mistake only to prepare teachers to follow a standard 'recipe'. Teachers should know how to participate in curriculum design and be prepared to adapt/transform/modify objectives and activities to accommodate the needs of their heterogeneous students. Thus, a balance appears to be necessary. However, the proportion of time spent to prepare teachers for one activity or the other should be decided by each country given its particular characteristics and conditions.

3. Should teachers be prepared as generalists or as specialists?

In most countries teachers at the primary level are prepared as generalists, and those at the secondary level are prepared as specialists. This responds to the tradition of having one teacher for the elementary grades, and multiple teachers at the secondary level (one for each subject matter). However, many have recently questioned whether those teachers who are prepared as specialists are too specialized in their areas of study and know too little about pedagogy.

An alternative to this conflict is to rephrase the question, moving from 'whether to prepare a generalist or a specialist' to 'how can all teachers be prepared to teach all children?' In that case, the question is not about a conflict or dilemma, but one that requires policy-makers and educators to design a different kind of teacher-preparation programme where all teachers have the skills, the knowledge, and the attitudes needed to teach all types of children effectively.

4. Should there be a common group of subjects (similar curriculum) for all teacher-preparation institutions in a given country, or should each institution design its own curriculum?

In many countries with a centralized curriculum there is a tendency to have a common group of subjects (and, in a few cases, the whole programme) in all teacher-preparation institutions of the country. This is based on the fact that all teachers are going to teach the same curriculum to their classes and on the assumption that the classes are similar. However, there are some educators who consider that the autonomy of each institution should be preserved and respected, and therefore each institution should be free to design its own teacher-preparation programme.

The way that some countries have solved this conflict (although this is not necessarily the best solution for all countries) is to have a specific proportion of the curriculum of teacher-preparation institutions be the same for every programme, and another proportion designed by and for the particular institution. In that way, both needs (autonomy of institutions, and having teachers prepared to teach the same curriculum) are acknowledged and met.

5. Should teacher preparation be a short programme (at least 2 years) or a long programme (4 or more years)? At which level should training take place?

There is a global trend of expanding the duration of teacher preparation. This has been done for several reasons: a belief that more years of preparation will make a better teacher; a belief that having more years of preparation will give more status to the profession, and therefore it will be easier to raise salaries and bring more prestige to teachers; the need to transform teacher-preparation programmes from a tertiary-type of education to a university education, etc. However, the results of lengthening the programme have not all been positive. One serious problem that many countries have encountered is that fewer students are choosing teaching as a profession as the advantage of becoming professionals and getting a job in a short time (and sometimes with little effort) no longer exists. Now that the programme is as long as that of many other professions (most of which are better paid and have more status), many candidates opt for the other programmes.

Certainly this conflict needs to be solved by examining the particular circumstances of each country. On the one hand, countries cannot afford to have fewer and fewer teachers each year. On the other hand, countries cannot afford to continue preparing weak high school students as teachers in programmes that offer little time to acquire knowledge, develop skills, and promote the values necessary for the teaching profession. Each country must examine which of the two consequences is preferable given its particular situation. Also, each country must begin to find alternative solutions: increasing teachers' salaries based on number of years studied is an option that may motivate students to select the profession even if it means having to study two extra years to become a professional. Giving other types of incentives is another alternative. It is necessary, however, to improve the academic quality of the programmes, and for that it is necessary to have programmes that are longer than two years.

Along with the trend of expanding the duration of teacher preparation, there is a trend of aspiring to training at the university level, and for teacher-preparation programmes and degrees to become equivalent to university programmes and degrees. Yet, given that this transition has not produced the expected results in terms of academic performance of students, that university programmes tend to emphasize the liberal arts component of the preparation (and leave the pedagogical preparation as an appendix at the end), and that longer programmes mean more expenses to prepare teachers, one could question whether it would be best either to keep teacher preparation at the tertiary level (for those countries where it has not been transformed into a university degree yet), or bring it back to a tertiary degree. As with the other situations, this is something each country needs to examine carefully based on its own circumstances and characteristics.

6. Should emphasis be given to residential programmes, to distance programmes or to school-based programmes?

Distance education is a response to several needs: it is a way to attract more teachers who live in rural areas; it is a way to prepare more teachers without having to build more buildings, hire more teacher-educators, etc. However, many have questioned the quality of these types of programmes and their effectiveness given the poor academic preparation of candidates for the teaching profession and the little accountability of many of these programmes. Before making a decision, each country should evaluate the distance teacher-preparation programmes that currently exist, and compare their effectiveness and costs with residential programmes. They also should commit themselves to having distance-education programmes of high quality.

7. Should teacher-preparation programmes focus on preparation to think or to do?

Most teacher-preparation programmes emphasize the 'doing' rather than the 'thinking' based on the idea that this is what practitioners need. Yet, as described before, this focus on the 'doing' has not meant more practice during the preparation, only a focus on what teachers 'should do' when they get to the actual classroom after graduation. However, there is a recent trend that calls for a need to emphasize the 'thinking' in teacher-preparation programmes as teachers are now called to be facilitators of learning rather than communicators of knowledge, and the only way to facilitate learning is to be creative in presenting learning situations for children to develop their knowledge and skills. As with previous conflicts, it appears that a balance between preparing to think and to do is an effective response given the characteristics of teacher-candidates in the region.

DIALOGUING WITH TEACHERS AND OTHERS ABOUT HOW TO HELP
TEACHERS KEEP-UP WITH THE PROFESSION

In-service training should be seen as a necessary component supporting the career development of a teacher. Consequently in-service training should be developed as

part of an integrated system of quality, based in schools, responsive to the needs of teachers and emphasize practice.

Preparation should be built on the assumption that teachers are not blank slates and that they cannot change their knowledge, skills and behaviours overnight. Change is more feasible if it allows opportunities to understand the change, why it is needed, and to integrate the new concepts and skills with prior knowledge and experience, to discuss it with others, to practice the new ways and to reflect on the results of that practice.

In-service training can build on the practice of dialogue to help education systems learn. This type of learning can follow a pedagogy of helping teachers ask the right questions, rather than attempting to provide them with all the answers. This can be extended to every school and groups of schools, so that teachers can reflect and share ideas as they face the new challenges posed by the reform goals. This approach to training requires trainers who are, in turn, sound in content and process skills. Numerous materials—printed or in other media—which can support school-based discussions or individual study are also essential from this point of view.

This type of training will support organizational development in schools, helping schools learn from experience, and to diagnose and formulate their own plans for improvement. It is at that higher stage of development of an education system that the potential of having facilitated the growth of teachers and communities will become more obvious. When local groups of teachers, parents and students can get together to discern their own strengths and weaknesses, to develop shared vision and values, to prioritize and develop strategies for change and to determine the structures, actions and skills necessary to meet their vision, educational reforms will have truly reached the schools they so keenly want to change.

Conclusion

There are probably good reasons why current debates on educational reforms pay less attention to teachers than past debates about educational change. From a naive approach which hoped for quick fixes to the problems of education systems based on improving teacher selection and training, the current silence reflects an era of disillusionment with the realization that the relationship between recruitment, training and teacher practices and student learning gains is far more complex than initially imagined. The mixed results of the summaries of research on this relationship point out how much we still do not know about the complexity of these links.

But to respond to our ignorance and disillusionment by abandoning teachers in our efforts to improve education systems is equally naive as the expectations of the era of enchantment with teacher training just mentioned. There may not be a simple link between educating teachers and helping students learn for, among other reasons, it is not clear that teacher-preparation programmes know what works best for every student that teachers might encounter. However, reflective

teachers will make a difference by creating enabling environments to help students learn. Teachers can become more effective if they understand that change is needed, and if they are adequately supported as they try to change.

The alternative to bringing teachers to the centre of the education reform debate is to think that reflective teachers can be better obtained by chance rather than as a result of systematic efforts.

Only by recognizing that teachers are also learners and that their motivation and energies are essential components in any effort to change the conditions under which students learn will the potential of 60 million people be put into the service of the noble aspirations of the wave of education reforms sweeping the globe at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Notes

1. In 1990 there were 51 million teachers at all levels in the world. We have projected the figure for 1996 using the 1980–90 growth rate of number of teachers at different levels (UNESCO, 1993).
2. For a more detailed discussion of the limits of national surveys of student achievement see Reimers, 1992, and Warwick & Reimers, 1995.
3. To be more precise, the conclusion should be that in some studies teacher characteristics, practices and learning, as measured, within the range of variation measured in the samples studied, has no impact on differences in student achievement among students (which not always reflect learning gains), as measured, in the subjects which have been measured, emphasizing primarily content mastery. Notice should also be taken, even when those factors are measured and controlled for in the analyses, of the contributions of the levels of other school inputs (such as class size, school resources, nutrition of children, prior academic experience in school and at home, etc.) in the countries studied. It is possible that teachers cannot do much to compensate for overcrowded and impoverished classrooms, undernourished children and so on. Our knowledge about these interactions, and about threshold effects that set off these interactions, is very scarce.
4. Even if new techniques are introduced to maximize learning opportunities, such as student guides, greater student interaction, computer technology or other means to enhance student individual or group work, they too demand changes in teacher behaviors and roles, to facilitate the appropriate use of those techniques.
5. Unless otherwise noted, this section is based on data provided in UNESCO, 1993 and in UNESCO, 1992.
6. Data for GNP per capita from World Bank, 1995*b*; data for teacher salaries from Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991.
7. In Paraguay only 7% of the population speaks Spanish, 37% speaks Guaraní and 50% speaks both Spanish and Guaraní. A recent effort to implement a programme of bilingual education where Guaraní speakers are taught in that language has found a severe barrier in the lack of teachers who are qualified to teach in that language and who understand methods of bilingual education.
8. For a more in-depth elaboration of dialogue and participation as means to help learning in Ministries of Education, see Reimers, McGinn & Wild, 1995.

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PRACTICAL TRAINING AND THE PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF FUTURE TEACHERS IN ANDALUSIA

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The practical training of teachers as a field of research

This article briefly summarizes a broad-ranging study undertaken in Andalusia (Spain) between 1991 and 1995, partly into the characteristics of teaching practice in the training curriculum of future teachers in all the colleges of education in the region, and partly into the influence of practical training on the development of future teachers' thought and practice. In particular, the report reflects the conclusions taken from eight case studies on eight students undergoing practical training aimed at identifying and understanding the development of their practical pedagogic approach and the factors affecting socialization processes.

There is no doubt that one of the most basic problems in teaching concerns the complex and invariably ill-defined relationship between theory and practice. In the individual as much as in the community, and in students as much as in teachers, the construction of practical thinking, which guides and governs the interpretation of and ways of acting on reality, is the true objective of the educational process and is not to be considered in the same light as the development of theoretical knowledge, or as a simple, direct assimilation and application of the latter. Moreover,

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most specialists tend to agree that the ephemeral nature of the academic knowledge acquired by students in their scholastic establishments, whether in primary school or at university, is a consequence, amongst other factors, of its limited relevance to the development of practical thought.

The dissociation between theory and practice at school and at university can only be overcome through the development of *relevant learning*, the *reconstruction of empirical knowledge* in the student, based on the comparison, the *cognitive conflict* between empirical patterns acquired in daily experience and the public knowledge offered in an organized and systematic way in the scholastic establishment. Similarly, the training of teachers, of their thought and behaviour, presupposes the efficient, complex and enriching development of a process of interaction between theory and practice. Clearly, in order to understand the way a teacher thinks and behaves, it is not enough to identify the formal processes and strategies involved in information processing and decision-making; there is also a need to peer into the ideological web of mostly implicit theories and beliefs which determine the way the teacher attaches meaning to his/her world in general and to professional practice in particular.

In this sense it is clear that teachers or trainee teachers, in their previous life or their private lives outside their training or professional activity, will have been developing a possibly imprecise and implicit—but none the less powerful and deep-rooted—set of theories, beliefs, assumptions and values regarding the nature of educational practice and its relationship with the culture and politics of the social environment. This kind of *common or popular pedagogic knowledge*, as some have called it, is based on imitation and on the customs, habits and traditions of the profession, linking the teacher's personal biography with the characteristics of professional tradition, and offering only limited scope for any criticism, discussion or rational analysis of its sources and effects. Such knowledge may therefore be considered to be imbued with tradition and oriented towards preserving and reproducing the existing order of things in education.

How can teacher training be designed in such a way as to facilitate the reconstruction of this popular knowledge and to stimulate the development of the sort of pedagogic thinking which can interpret the diversity and complexity of reality and give rational guidance to practical action? How can the ever-present 'academicism versus socialization' dilemma be overcome in the education of future teachers (Morine-Dershimer, 1989; Feiman-Nemser, 1989; Pérez Gómez, 1992)?²

The basic principle underlying our approach is the idea of developing in the teacher an ability to understand and to act on the complex situations in which the teaching/learning process takes place. As Elliott put it:

Practice is based on the interpretations of particular situations as a whole, and cannot be improved unless those interpretations are improved. Moreover, the interpretations are not 'objective' in the rational sense of being free of the biases and prejudices of daily practical cultures. From the point of view of practical science, biases are a condition of situational understanding, since all interpretations are configured within practical cultures, systems of beliefs and values conditioned by practical problems (1991, p. 6).

The situational understanding of educational problems may be developed and perfected not by ignoring or eliminating the biases inherent in different interpretations, but by modifying them in the light of a democratic comparison of appearances, evidence and reflective interpretations.

It seems obvious, then, that the practical component of a teacher's training curriculum is a necessity derived from the actual clinical and practical nature of teaching activity, and from the need to train practical thought. The problem arises when it comes to defining ways and means of introducing practice. This appeal to practice may be no more than a rhetorical device, an umbrella concept which covers different and even contradictory positions. This is why one has to stress both the unavoidable need for practice in teacher education and the danger of its enormous socializing power.

Thus even on the assumption that the theoretical/practical training of teachers must take place in the school, in the actual situation where pedagogic values and procedures are generated and transformed, we should not forget, as recalled by Beyer (1988), Munro (1989), Hoy & Woolfolk (1990), Staton & Hunt (1992), Smith (1992), MacDonald (1984), Elliott (1991) and Zeichner (1993), the risk involved in succumbing to the powerful socializing influence exerted by the educational establishment. As the above authors have shown, the indiscriminate and ill-prepared development of practical training, merely as a way of introducing future teachers to the school environment and culture, has all too often led to a rapid and premature socialization linked with undesirable and outdated methods of working and conceiving educational activity. This tends to occur as a result of the inertia of schools in reproducing and perpetuating teaching strategies which are consistent with the school's own social, professional and institutional expectations, and at the same time of the reasonable desire of student-teachers and new teachers to develop successfully and to become socially accepted by their colleagues. In effect, practical work in itself encourages an understandable tendency to imitate and reproduce the type of social and professional behaviour which is believed to be that of the majority—and the apparently successful—within the social environment of the classroom and school.

In this way, the practical training in itself, as it usually takes place, serves not so much as an opportunity for experimentation and reflection, as a reproduction mechanism, inducing a particular vision of the school and teaching to the detriment of alternative approaches. One cannot help thinking that the acritical immersion of the future teacher in the professional environment of the school favours the development and proliferation of uniform, routine, stereotyped practices, required in some form or other to perpetuate and reproduce the status quo. Without the conceptual and theoretical backing of strict, systematic research, the socialization of the teachers, through their practical training, tends to reproduce the accumulated faults, prejudices, myths and epistemological obstacles of empirical tradition. Few exceptions have been found to these effects (Tabachnik & Zeichner, 1984), wherever practical training is conceived and developed as the mere presence and immersion of future teachers in the current culture of the classroom and school.

The best way of encouraging a reshaping of pedagogical thought in future teachers is not through practical work in itself, but by approaching educational activity as a form of reflective experimentation, which is sensitive to the particularities of every situation and oriented towards implementing educational values (Zeichner, 1987, Clandinin & Connelly, 1986).

The task of rebuilding popular pedagogic thinking necessarily implies undoing acritically and empirically consolidated patterns of thought and action. That is to say, there is a need to remove the epistemological obstacles, which have originated in the dominant pedagogic ideology and in the socializing practice of the school, and which have been assimilated into the thought, feelings and action of future teachers, to the point of constituting their semi-conscious, tacit views on practical teaching, and their personal store of theories and implicit beliefs regarding knowledge, students, the school, society and education.

The problem becomes clearer, as explained by Connelly and Clandinin (1988) and Schön (1983, 1987), if we consider that practical work is also governed by semi-ordained theories, which are only semi-explicit and semi-conscious, but which in any case constitute theoretical considerations concerning social and educational reality. The education of practical thought should be seen, therefore, as a confrontation between implicit, individual and usually disorganized theories, and public theories, developed through debate, compared opinions, reflection and experimentation with reality (Griffiths & Tann, 1992). In other words, it should be seen as a process of transformation of tacit, personal theories pertaining to the pedagogic thinking of individual future teachers, resulting from their confrontation with public theories and from shared experiments concerning real problems which arise in the classroom and the school.

The research whose main conclusions are outlined below was developed against this theoretical background. The objective of the study into practical teacher training in Andalusia was to discover the real influence of practical training programmes on the thought, interests, attitudes and classroom behaviour of future teachers in the eight institutions and faculties of education of the Andalusian Community offering training courses for primary school-teachers.

The objectives of research into practical training in Andalusia

In the light of these general research objectives, the eight case studies (one for each province) were aimed at:

- Describing the characteristics of practical teacher training, from the point of view of students undergoing practical training and from that of staff involved in planning and developing the training.
- Detecting and analysing the factors which have influenced the socialization of students, as a way of understanding the complex process of the socialization of future teachers in practical work, and identifying the personal, social, insti-

tutional, material and academic elements which most affect the configuration of their practical thought.

- Analysing the significance and effects which the period of practical teaching produces in future teachers. The implications of this period for the theory/practice relationship of teacher-training programmes is one of our main focal points.
- Identifying and reporting the development experienced by students during their period of practice as regards both their practical thought and their action in the classroom: behaviour, attitudes, motivation, beliefs, explicit and implicit theories, etc.

The eight case studies were related to the eight Andalusian provinces where primary education teacher-training programmes are offered. Each case involves following a student during his or her period of teaching practice; since the periods of practical training can take place over one, two or three academic courses, the case studies follow the same time divisions. An effort was made to cover as many academic specializations as possible, in order to detect possible influences derived not only from the design of practical training programmes developed by each university centre, but also influences generated by different approaches to the teaching profession arising from the training curricula applied in each specialized field.

The contexts of the cases are as varied as schooling itself in Andalusia as regards the organization of teaching staff, their relations, the integration of the teaching project and the quality of educational practice. With one exception, the cases are situated in public establishments in a medium to low socio-cultural environment. They may be considered 'representative' of the spectrum of academic and cultural standards found in Andalusian schools. Three of them are situated in lower class neighbourhoods,³ one may be considered to be situated in an upper class area and the remainder in areas which could be described as middle class.

Socialization factors during practical training

Across the range of cases, there were many different factors which significantly affected the socialization of students in the professional teaching culture. However, while it should be noted that their effects tend to differ from case to case, in terms both of intensity and of importance, some factors emerge as the most influential and persistent in all cases:

- The pressure of the school and classroom culture to which trainees have to adapt if they wish to survive with a certain degree of success during this period of training.
- The evaluation aspect of academic and professional acquisitions made during the period of practice within the teachers' training curriculum.
- Personal insecurity with regard to the mastery of a complex, alien medium and the fear that trainees will not be respected as teachers or that they may be perceived as students.

- The lack of informative, diversified theoretical/practical references by which to judge what they observe and experience.

It would appear that the whole of the structure built up around the period of practical training induces the reproduction of dominant forms of teaching behaviour and styles in each particular scenario. But we may now proceed in stages and take a more detailed look at each of the factors.

School culture

When they enter a class, trainee teachers do so as new elements within a microculture whose rules and climate are already set. If they wish to be accepted, they have to adapt to the normal rules of the game already approved by tradition, which they have in no way helped to establish. They have to adapt to the various relationships, to the teaching rhythm and dynamics of the class and to the teaching style of the teacher in charge, so as to make sure that their admission does not give rise to conflict or to any interruption in the normal rhythm.

The school and classroom culture is a powerful socialization factor involving many agents, such as the teaching staff, students, parents, the organization of space and time, curricular materials and general social expectations. The effect of all these influences is to reinforce the tendency towards imitation and reproduction of the status quo, as a means of preserving the delicate balance which the institution has achieved throughout its existence. It is clear, and this appears explicitly in most cases, that the agent most directly involved in this socialization process is the tutoring teacher, both on account of the relationship which trainees establish with him/her, and because he/she is the closest purveyor and defender of the patterns of behaviour required by the school culture.

The pressure exerted by the school environment and by the institutional culture, as basically transmitted by the tutoring staff, is so strong that some trainee teachers even react defensively against any attempts at analysis or critical observation by a supervisor or researcher. Similarly, it is worth noting that even some of the researchers who have been involved in activities in the course of these case studies have been aware of succumbing to unwanted pressures arising from this scenario.

A further aspect to be considered regarding the socializing pressures brought to bear by the school's cultural and professional environment—apart from the assimilation, by observation, of the teaching styles exhibited and frequently imposed by the tutoring staff—is the acceptance of the forms of pedagogic behaviour which are considered legitimate within the establishment as a whole. These routine forms of behaviour are usually propagated to the exclusion of any alternatives, especially of an innovating kind, since these would threaten the reproductive equilibrium and will be doomed to failure on the grounds that they are sterile, pernicious or lacking in the necessary realism.

Dependence and insecurity

Another decisive factor in the socialization of future teachers during their period of practical work is the dependent, provisional nature of their position within a complex environment of social exchanges which affect all those involved, especially the trainee teacher, whose situation is so uncertain and unstable.

Both the tutor's attitude and the personal feeling of insecurity of the student doing practical work when confronted with a group of students—added to the latter's expectations, for opportunities to disturb the normal course of academic events—combine and reinforce the attitude of submission and dependence which we observed in most of the trainee teachers in the case studies.

Most of the time, a student-teacher's refuge or way out of this situation of personal insecurity and extreme dependence on the tutor consists, as we found, in imitating and reproducing the behaviours he observes in the tutor's teaching style, which appear to be successful in the complex human scenario of social and academic interrelationships. Attempting to direct the life of the classroom from a clear position of institutional and professional inferiority logically encourages styles of behaviour which over-compensate in terms of authority.

One curious exception to this pattern of dependence and subordination in relation to the tutor, induced and practically demanded both by the school culture and by the students' own feeling of insecurity, happened in Seville. Luis, the selected trainee teacher, was a specialist in physical education, and as such appeared to be better equipped in terms of theoretical knowledge and practical skills than his tutor. Physical education is a relatively new area in our education system, like music, so that a student teacher's training tends to be more thorough than that of the tutor's, which makes it difficult to establish the usual relations of powerful dependence and hierarchy. The trainee teacher feels more secure and knowledgeable in the absence of close supervision by a specialized tutor. He can therefore allow himself more open and decisive attitudes in experimenting with alternatives and new ideas, and can judge himself whether they work.

Lack of theoretical/practical alternatives

The influence of the immediate school environment proves to be much more decisive when no theoretical/practical alternatives, which could be used on such occasions, have ever been offered or assimilated in the school environment or in previous academic training.

The theory inculcated at university in previous years turns out to be generally too far removed, in terms of time and interest, to be resorted to as a helpful reference area, or a store of useful knowledge and experience with which to understand current reality and to guide on-the-spot decisions. Any interaction between training, practice and tutored reflection during the period of practical work is, as we mentioned earlier, practically non-existent. On the part of university supervisors and co-ordinators of practical work, there is generally a lack of any proper moni-

toring of the students' efforts at observation, inquiry and reflection, which might enable the latter continuously to review their practical work in the light of advice regarding the real difficulties inherent in the complex school environment. The absence of any interesting, reflectively assumed alternatives then becomes a powerful factor of socialization, abandoning the trainees to the obvious tendencies which encourage the reproduction of the conventional standards established in the school environment.

Furthermore, the tutors in general act not only as the guardians of continuity in the professional and institutional culture of the school, defining what is right in practice, but also frequently pouring scorn on both other pedagogic alternatives and even the validity of 'theoretical' university studies in the eyes of students undergoing practical training. As a result, the horizon of the generation of knowledge, habits and attitudes closes in on itself within the shrunken scenario of repetitive experience.

Evaluation

Most of the researchers in this field hold the firm view, which they have expressed in the case studies we are commenting upon here, that the evaluatory aspect of the period of practical training is one of the factors which has most influence on the socialization of future teachers. If the school environment, with its institutional and professional culture, and the tutor's thoughts and actions exert so much influence on the trainee teacher's ways of feeling, thinking and acting, it is to some extent because they constitute the judges and censors of success in the learning process.

As we had occasion to note, future teachers set a high priority on establishing a close working relationship with their tutor, on accepting the classroom and school dynamic, and on avoiding confrontations or threatening the status quo, because in this way they hope successfully to pass the test of their practical work in their academic curriculum.

The socializing function of the tutor and the bureaucratic function of the supervisor

Nevertheless, despite all that may be said about the socializing effect of the tutor's influence on trainee teachers, the relationships established between them will tend to differ considerably and give rise to different results according to the personalities of the parties involved and the way they look upon this period of training and the mutual acceptance of their respective roles. It is safe to say that in most cases the socializing tendency, stimulated and encouraged by the tutor, has been conservative. The practising student, however, tended to react very differently according to the type of relationship established.

All the above evidence only confirms once again the low importance of actual educational content in the relationship between the tutor and the student teacher. We find a significant, powerful socializing influence in combination with the school culture to which they belong, but none of the case studies reflects the existence of an educational relationship, where the tutor systematically develops and performs a role of reflective mediation, stimulating student-teachers to analyse and compare the influences and tendencies to which they are exposed and which are the natural components of teaching activity. These relationships clearly encourage the reproduction of modes of conduct generated by the school culture, which are traditionally and routinely repeated from year to year, and from one school to another. Practical work is considered to be an instrument of training not because it induces a mimetic reproduction of conventional behaviour, but because it allows the possibility of knowing, comparing, questioning, reflecting and choosing. In the light of the case studies, the conclusion we have to come to, therefore, is that practical work and, more concretely, the tutor's influence only very rarely extend beyond the task of socialization, thus practically failing to stimulate any educational comparison of shared reflection and innovative experimentation.

It may be that, in the theoretical design of practical work and in the meaning and function of the part played in it by the different agents involved, the role of the university supervisor fulfils or should fulfil this job of achieving a critical detachment and reflective mediation serving to offset and compensate the powerful socializing influence of the school environment. In fact, in the case studies investigated, this function also failed to emerge at all clearly. Neither the theory assimilated in the course of previously or simultaneously studied disciplines, nor the direct and systematic intervention of the supervisor were able to offer any opportunities or conceptual instruments for analysing the educational value of practical work or the personal or shared reflection offsetting the inertia of the institutional dynamic. In most cases, the intervention of the supervisor was irrelevant in this sense, and was restricted merely to recording and checking the fulfilment of the bureaucratic requirements of the practical programme for the purposes of final assessment. Whether on account of disenchantment resulting from earlier experience, or to a poor appreciation of the educational value of this period, or due to habits acquired at university, where this period of training tends to be looked down upon academically, the fact is that the supervisor's influence is unable to offset the powerful socializing effect of the student's experience. The supervisor's attitude in general tends to be either indifferent or bureaucratic, or supportive of the socializing experience of practical work.

A reflective appraisal of practice requires investigating the effects the training is having on the students' thought, feelings and conduct, by encouraging students in the course of individual or group tutorials to express what they have experienced in their period of practical work, to comment on differences and to analyse its implications, and by facilitating contact with alternative pedagogical practices different from those experienced in the concrete, limited area of the actual establishment where the training is taking place. The function normally served by semi-

nars in terms of debate, communication, analysis of problems, stimulation of queries and consideration of alternatives, which should be the main responsibility of the university supervisor, does not appear as such in any of the case studies investigated. This means that the practical work is more than likely to be lacking in any research element and tends to reproduce itself mechanically, thereby losing its educational potential. The task of supervising practical work, as we saw in the other reports and as was confirmed in the case studies, has become a routine, bureaucratic task, of little academic value, which can be performed by any member of staff in addition to their teaching activity, regardless of training or motivation. Neither the administration nor the actual university attribute to it the importance it deserves.

The meaning of practical work

It is interesting to note the marked discrepancy between the opinions of student-teachers doing practical work and those of researchers regarding the educational function of that period of training.

There is no doubt that, as far as the majority of students doing practical work are concerned, and this was true for all our case studies, the period of practical work is considered, with greater or lesser enthusiasm, as the most important part of their training curriculum. It is seen as the real part of the curriculum, where they have the opportunity not only to come to grips with the true nature of their profession, its possibilities and limitations, but also to develop the knowledge, techniques, attitudes and behaviours which they can use in their future jobs. But, what is perhaps most important, it is the period when they have a chance to find out whether they themselves are really suited to the profession, and whether the profession is really suited to them.

This perception of the period of practical work as the key component of their professional training does not, generally speaking, entail contempt for or a rejection of the theoretical training they received at university, but more a reaffirmation of a technical conception of the relation between theory and practice. Classroom work is appreciated as an opportunity to check the validity of theoretical principles in practice, to complete previously acquired knowledge, to fill in the gaps and to select or reject aspects of theoretical training which appear unconnected and sterile when the time comes to understand and solve everyday problems. In the end, practice is the seal and crucible of theory. Nevertheless, there is a widespread feeling, encouraged by most tutors, of a lack of continuity between university theory and classroom practice, as well as a hint of contempt and disparagement for theory—not only for bad theory—and of the shortcomings of its application in practice, and even of the need for and usefulness of theoretical training.

This perception of the greater importance which should be attached to the practical as compared with the theoretical component of the professional training of future teachers does tend, however, to become mitigated as the practical work continues and the students become better acquainted with the routines, the repeti-

tion and the sheer boredom of practice where there is little room for innovation. The traditional, routine nature of most of the teaching styles met with by students in their practical work, combined with the often bureaucratic, administrative, evaluative character of the practical component of some university programmes, leads inevitably to discouragement and fatigue when practical work goes on without any innovations. Thus, as we found in the case studies, future teachers, once they have overcome their initial surprise and the illusion of entering into contact with professional practice, begin to experience fatigue and disappointment caused by the monotony of the way of working in school, which is by no means unusual and which is boring for both students and teachers. These are established styles within the school tradition, in the face of which the future teachers, considering their provisional and dependent status, feel powerless and make no attempt to change.

Logically, in a situation where practical work is seen purely in opposition to theory, or as the imitative acquisition of traditional habits, techniques and routines used successfully by experienced teachers to govern the life of the classroom, the students' experience in this period will be no more or less interesting than the practice applied by these teachers. If this consists basically in traditional routines and simple repetitive patterns of behaviour, then the outcome can only be weariness and boredom.

Yet, let us inquire a little further: what was really learned during the period of practical work in the case studies considered?

All the evidence we were able to gather appears to show that practical training serves to acquire the practical knowledge, techniques and strategies, together with the attitudes and behaviours, required by the dominant school culture. The student-teacher learns to relate to other teachers and to pupils, learns to master the classroom dynamic, learns to become a professional with the right attitudes and responsibilities for the task as defined in practice by the majority of teachers, and learns the language of the profession. In other words, he/she assimilates and assumes the predominant teaching role in our school culture. That is also to say that beginning teachers recover the memory of the school culture they experienced as a pupil—from the other side. This is why this training period appears so easy and so effective, because in fact the trainees are socialized in the same culture as they themselves experienced for at least fifteen years of their lives.

The great weakness of practical training becomes evident when this period is expected to provide a fundamental component of the reflective training of the teacher as an intellectual investigating the conditions prevailing in the scenario where they have to act; or when student-teachers are expected to develop strategies adapted to the reality they are experiencing, evaluating and reformulating in the light of analysis and on-going exchanges with the others involved; or when the future professional is supposed to be able to investigate the meaning of education in the modern world and to test the significance of his/her practical work for future generations.

One may even go so far as to assert, in the light of these arguments, that in this sense practical training becomes more of an obstacle than a tool in the educa-

tion of future teachers. Considering that neither the colleges nor the tutors are selected for the quality of their practical work, trainees are generally socialized according to a pedagogic culture dominated by reproduction, which induces, stimulates and sometimes imposes the imitation of traditions as a legitimate form of professional learning. The effect of imitation is to inhibit and remove reflection from the field of thought and action of future teachers. The status quo is accepted, while innovations are rejected and denigrated as potential threats to the precarious balance achieved by the school tradition. For this reason, when the trainees were asked if they were satisfied with what they had learned in the course of their practical training, whether they had assimilated what they had undoubtedly learned, which must have been new compared with their previous experience as students in different parts of the education system or as university students already studying education, they were unable to give a definite answer.

Alternatives: a form of practice to encourage reflection

It is generally admitted among those involved in the case studies that the period devoted to practical work in the teacher-training curriculum should be increased. It seems clear that a school-teacher's job entails learning, developing and experimenting with skills, techniques, attitudes and behaviours which can hardly be transmitted by mere communication or theoretical transfer. The development of practical professional thought adapted to understanding and acting in the complex, conflictive scenario of the classroom requires the calm sedimentation of ideas, attitudes, skills and conduct, in other words, a slow, lengthy process of experimentation and reflection, analysis, proposal, development and evaluation within the living environment of social exchanges taking place in the classroom and the school.

However, even if the need to extend the period of practical work is accepted, merely prolonging it is not the only or even the main problem of this component of the teacher-training curriculum. Most of the people involved also pointed to the need to review both the way it was organized and its location. The period of practical work should not be reduced to a kind of postscript, in which the validity of imparted theory can be tried and tested at the end of the course. It would be more sensible to establish a richer and more fruitful interaction between theory and practice by interspersing the periods given to each, so that the contact with reality stimulates an understanding of problems in their true complexity, motivates theoretical investigation, discussion and debate, and challenges the relevance of outside theories.

And yet it is hard to come across approaches which overcome the linear conception of the shift from theory to practice, derived from the instrumental, positivist view which tends to predominate in our field. The mutually enriching interaction between theory and practice would require substantial changes both in the mentality of participants and in the structures and methods of organization. It is much easier to fit programmes into the existing, routine patterns, according to

which either practice is deemed to be dependent on theory, or theory is deprecated as a guide to action.

We met with few suggestions which fully grasped the significance of practical work as an element in the training of future teachers. Combining experimentation, innovation and reflection as the basis of the theoretical and practical training of an independent professional did not appear in the case studies as one of the main concerns of those involved. There was an awareness of current shortcomings, of unsuitable conditions, or a lack of interest on the part of the administration, but not of the need to alter school methods in order to make room for questioning, searching for alternatives, undergoing cultural experience which is open to criticism, and for genuine participation on the part of students, so that they can learn at the same time as they renew culture and experience. Until such time as the significance of educational activity is challenged in every establishment or practical training scenario, there will be little opportunity to offer a significant, relevant form of professional apprenticeship, consisting of experimentation, debate, reflection, and the formulation of tentative new proposals to be tried out.

The training of future teachers will be facilitated by encouraging a pedagogic renewal in the system, by favouring and assisting groups and establishments which are proposing to innovate and experiment with new curricula, and by establishing mutual co-operation agreements with educational centres covering a great variety of specializations, scenarios and approaches, in order to discover better institutional support for practical training programmes. Future teachers have to get to know the complex, diversified reality of schools, establishments and groups of teachers involved in training future citizens. In order to achieve this, there is a need to select those schools which offer better quality, greater interest in and concern for the task of education, and worthwhile innovations, without going so far as to set up artificial laboratories with the intention of favouring unnatural experimentation and keeping future teachers away from contact with authentic difficulties. Along the same lines, it would be worth considering extending and diversifying the educational areas where practical work is carried out. The possibilities include workshops and environmental schools; municipal educational venues, such as zoological or botanical gardens, civic centres, etc.; farming schools; care centres; drug prevention centres; and the educational services of hospitals and NGOs.

The practical suggestions of tutors, supervisors and students alike also agree on the need for closer relations between schools and university teacher-education colleges, so as to ensure a continuity and an interaction between theory and practice in the training curriculum, and so that the different parties feel involved in a task whose meaning and complexity they understand in its entirety. Co-operation is essential in order to improve quality, to communicate experience, to reflect together on the effects of programmes and to propose new formulations. The tutoring teachers in schools should take a real part in the university teacher-training programme, with the feeling of being fully involved in a task which is jointly decided, analysed and reformulated, and participating in an action research programme aimed at improving the training activity of future teachers.

Notes

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2. In this connection, it is worth mentioning the results of a broad-ranging research project undertaken by the University of Malaga, on a sample of over 3,000 individuals from different universities and schools, concerning trends of opinion among teachers, ranging from academic beginners to professionals with over fifteen years of experience (Gimeno & Pérez, 1987; Pérez & Barquín, 1990). Paradoxically, at first sight, the most conservative and most similar pedagogic views were expressed by groups in the sample situated at both ends of their professional career, that is to say, those beginning their studies in the teacher-training colleges and professionals with more than fifteen years' experience. On the other hand, students completing their teacher-training courses or those completing their degrees in education expressed more elaborate, diversified and progressive educational opinions with regard to most of the areas of study (selection and organization of contents, teaching methods and procedures, conception of teacher/pupil relationships, evaluation strategies, problems of control and discipline, relationships between school and society, the educational nature of man, etc.). Nevertheless, the ephemeral character of these elaborate, progressive views, which evaporates under the impact of experience and the influence of practical work in the early years of professional activity, leads one to suppose that the academic groundwork was either weak and inconsistent or, in any case, insufficient to build up practical thought, which is used not only to make theoretical statements, but also to act in the complex, conflictive situations of the classroom.
3. The lower cultural level may be illustrated with statistics taken from studies of parents of students associated with the college of Malaga: illiterate, 15.9%; primary school not completed, 35.8%; primary school completed, 30.5%; lower secondary, 9.0%; upper secondary, 4.3%; vocational training, 2.7%; intermediate studies, 1.0%; advanced studies, 0.8%.

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THE TEACHING PROFESSION

BETWEEN PROLETARIZATION AND

PROFESSIONALIZATION:

TWO MODELS OF CHANGE

*Philippe Perrenoud*¹

The teaching profession stands at a crossroads. Given the increasingly pronounced ambitions of education systems and the growing complexity of developed societies, one of two things is unavoidable:

- either teachers will find themselves gradually ousted from the profession by what Chevallard (1991) ironically called the ‘noosphere’ or sphere of ideas, that is to say, all those who think about teaching practice without engaging in it, who design and produce curricula, educational approaches, teaching and evaluation methods and education technologies, and who claim to provide teachers with efficient teaching models; this is the path of ‘deprofessionalization’ or *proletarianization*;
- or they will become genuine professionals, concerned with problem-solving, free agents in the transfer to schoolroom practice and the choice of educational strategies (Tardif, 1992), able to work in synergy both in the school context and in a teaching team, genuine masters of their profession organized to manage their own lifelong education; this is the path of *professionalization*.

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These two trends are both possible today. They relate to different, and to a great extent opposed models of the functioning and modernization of education systems. The future is not mapped out but will depend on the strategies and strengths of the actors involved: governments, experts, training bodies, educational administrators and professional associations.

Why change?

In recent decades, education systems have oscillated between two management models, one of which seems to predominate:

Taking a close look at the profession, one is immediately struck by a dialectic on the lines of uniformity versus cultural diversity. For example, the OECD notes that member countries have adopted two models for teachers: *a minimum skills model and an open professional model*. It observes that in present-day education policies, the prevailing tendency is to view the teacher's role as something which can be described as the minimum skills model. With this model, teaching is regarded purely and simply as a *system for delivering the goods*. Decisions on what should be taught, and how, are taken at management level, above the class and the school, and result in an imposed curriculum. The teacher's job is reduced to delivering the curriculum with the greatest possible efficiency and efficacy. In such a context, it is easy to assess teachers on the way they conduct this delivery, and their training can be organized so as to remedy their deficiencies. The minimum skills model requires pre-service training to instil a high-level knowledge of their subject and instructional/educational skills. The French institute known as INSET is used regularly to update this knowledge and these skills, and also to provide remedial training for those who fall below acceptable standards.

The second model, that of *open professionalism*, gives the teacher the central place in the process for improving the quality of education. Teachers are individually or collectively responsible for analysing the requirements of the school. They are both able and willing to debate openly, not only among themselves but also with all those legitimately concerned, on the subject of possible solutions or desirable developments, and likewise to take decisions on what should be done and how to implement them. Teachers are considered to be innovating leaders, capable of self-improvement, analysing their own actions, identifying and reacting to pupils' needs, and evaluating the result of their actions. [...]

Obviously, these two models call for somewhat different qualities from teachers, hence different forms of pre-service and in-service training (Vonk, 1992, p. 4-5).

The situation of teachers is not a stable one: each society shows swings of the pendulum, probably because of the self-searching of the teaching profession. It is too skilled a profession for teachers to be supervised like underlings, mere workshop operatives, but not enough for them to be granted the independence and responsibility of doctors. A *semi-professional status* of this kind (Etzioni, 1969) might lead to a clearly circumscribed form of autonomy, less than that of doctors, but openly demanded as a right, and accorded and respected within limits, in the same way for example as for nursing care. But this is not applicable to education. The reason is no doubt that the teacher acts at one and the same time as doctor, nurse

and nursing auxiliary. In the teaching profession there is no division of labour comparable to that in the health sector; everyone does everything. Teaching combines the simplest functions—looking after and supervising pupils, and helping those pupils to learn who cannot learn on their own.

AN AMBIGUOUS KIND OF SEMI-PROFESSIONALIZATION

The semi-professionalization of the teaching profession can be interpreted in various ways. Should the relative autonomy of teachers be regarded as a stable situation? as a stage on the road to fully-fledged professionalization? or as a legacy of the past, a last-ditch stand against regression into greater dependence?

The uncertainty as to the underlying trends is linked not only to the status of teachers but also, and even more so, to the very nature of their work:

1. It is a craft profession (Huberman, 1990), still largely that of an individual on his own (Gather Thurler, 1994*b*), with little team involvement or participation in a division of labour negotiated between equals; rightly or wrongly, the teachers regards themselves as 'captain of the ship', and the question of autonomy and responsibility does not arise as regards each of their professional acts, for the simple reason that little is seen of them outside the circle of their pupils, who are witnesses with less influence than hospital patients or public transport users.
2. Unlike specialists in nursing care, programmers, technicians and social workers (other in-between professions), teachers are not systematically supervised by professionals who are more scientifically and technically qualified than they are; supervision is hierarchical and performed by school inspectors and heads who have usually risen from the ranks, and whose training in these new functions has little or no formal basis.
3. As a result, and also due to the form taken by education, teachers still live in a world largely closed in on itself: almost all those responsible have been or are still teachers, this being in many cases their sole experience of work; they are little used to the management of qualifications or dealing with the autonomy/supervision problems which arise in business firms.
4. Each education system governs the training of future teachers, either by organizing it or validating it. The idea is that orthodox practice will be guaranteed by standard training, and this frequently dispenses with the institution of personnel selection procedures and the regulation of activities.
5. Teachers are not encouraged to be mobile between national (or even regional) education systems, nor between the public and private sectors in the same country; this prevents the emergence of professional standards genuinely recognized by several systems.
6. The geographical dispersion of schools and the diversity of working conditions make it difficult to define any single line in respect of autonomy: in rural areas or mountain valleys, schools are a thousand miles away from the central administration; in the deprived suburbs of large towns they have to cope

with management problems which have no comparison with those arising in these same towns' residential areas; autonomy and supervision inevitably take on a variable geometry.

7. The power of local authorities strengthens these variations. Even where school education is a national or regional institution, it is answerable to local authorities and has to adapt to the expectations of municipal authorities, school boards, parents and local employers.
8. The school has virtually no internal tradition of considering the problems of work, the development of organizations, innovation, the role of supervisors, decentralization and project management; only recently has the world of education become permeated by these ideas spreading from the world of business or other public administrations.
9. The teachers' life cycle (Huberman, 1989) is still a highly personal matter, not yet broken down into themes such as its career aspect, regeneration, training leave, mobility, retraining or promotion. Each teacher does what he/she can to manage his/her own life; the system recognizes only administrative careers.

These various factors do not help to clarify the teacher's status and its possible or probable development from the point of view of professionalization. Yet the future of a profession is not a fatality beyond the reach of any human action; it depends in part on the dreams and strategies of those primarily concerned. Probably everyone benefits in some way from the ambiguous nature of the profession in respect of autonomy and supervision. Everyone wins on both counts: depending on whether it suits them or not, teachers claim or reject autonomy. Conversely, education authorities grant or even impose autonomy and then refuse it for reasons of 'red tape' or economic situations. This is an everyday game in all organizations. The school is adept at it.

ARE EFFICACY AND DEMOCRATIZATION THE SAME GOAL?

It may be asked why this amiable compromise should not last for a few more decades. The truth is that there is no certainty that it is condemned: the actors in a position to clamp down on the system are more numerous and powerful than those seeking change. It can however be argued that developed societies will upset these arrangements if they continue to manifest growing and totally unprecedented *expectations* from their education systems. Today the demand is for *efficient* schools which do not assume that failure is inevitable. Should we expect a mass, and above all lasting, mobilization of governments, politicians and public opinion on these lines? It may be that recession, geopolitical trends throughout the world—wars, mass migratory movements—environmental problems or the difficulties of living together in towns will impose other priorities and that the school will again be 'forgotten' for a few years' time on the grounds that, when all is said and done, 'it works'. But it is also possible that pressure on education systems will be maintained and become more definite, and that critics will be less and less content with vague or stalling answers to the questions raised and the criticisms levelled, for

example, on the basis of the repeated findings that difficulties of vocational integration exist for inadequately trained young adults, or the still more alarming recorded fact that a substantial proportion—between 10 and 20%—of young people do not really know how to read and write with ease on completion of basic education.

Those who have for long been fighting in vain for the democratization of education are entitled to remain sceptical: the question is whether this search for efficiency is supposed to apply to the greatest possible number of pupils or only to a slightly enlarged élite. When the social classes and parties who have opposed the democratization of education support the idea of efficient schools, is what they have in mind the raising of the level of education or do they merely wish to mask the fact that they are asking the school to do more with less resources? Is talk of efficiency, which is more a managerial than a humanist aim, enough to transform a left-wing idea—the democratization of education—into an apolitical objective, or even a liberal creed?

Let us beware of simplifying: the ruling classes in developed societies cannot help being ambivalent and divided as regards education policy. The democratization of education threatens the handing on of privilege, since it may increase competition at school to the detriment of children from privileged backgrounds; it also helps gradually to democratize society. Some of those who are well-to-do have therefore good reasons for combating it and denouncing 'egalitarianism', 'the lowering of standards', etc. This ingrained attitude of perpetuating a family position and reproducing a social order (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Berthelot, 1983) has by no means disappeared, but since the middle of the twentieth century—and probably in other forms since the nineteenth century—it has come up against the imperatives of competition and modernization in a worldwide economy. Any ruling class which was permanently and entirely conservative as regards education would dig its own grave. To maintain growth, and consequently the privileges of those who most benefit from it, one must draw on 'reserves of talent', and invest in training the greatest possible number of people so as to strengthen the input by workers, consumers and voters to the effort of economic modernization and competitiveness.

Added to these factors is action by left-wing forces for which democratization is not primarily an investment but a question of social justice. In recent decades, these forces have been in power in a number of European countries. Without achieving miracles, they have introduced into the education system a number of ideas—the intermediate school, the secondary school for all, priority education areas, school projects, teaching support, decompartmentalized courses of education—which are gradually being adopted by political majorities of different trends. The state of the world economy, repeated recessions, errors of management, the resistance of those holding power, and oversimplified ideas do not justify an entirely positive stock-taking of deliberate democratization policies, but there is no doubt that they have, on the whole, promoted the raising of the overall level of education (the democratization of education in the broad sense), though without

any noticeable reduction in the lack of equality of opportunity for those of different social or ethnic backgrounds. Even in societies where the parties in power do not change, left-wing forces have exerted a certain amount of influence. In addition, the middle classes have for long weighted the balance towards democratization, even if, as shown by Hutmacher (1993), they then lose interest in it when their children have access to long education, a situation which can worsen the situation of the underprivileged and deprive the democratization process of a vital driving force.

NEW EXPECTATIONS OF A THIRD KIND

Despite variations between developed countries and economic fluctuations in each of them, a fundamental trend is obvious: each decade *more* is expected of the school, as regards both skills and socialization. The rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic are no longer enough. Their mastery is now absolutely vital. When, as in France, the aim is to raise 80% of each age-group to the level of the secondary school-leaving certificate—obtained at the beginning of this century by less than one pupil out of twenty, mostly boys!—the sights are set on targets far exceeding the aim of the basic instruction sought by compulsory schooling in the nineteenth century. Much wider general education is required, and emphasis is laid—at least in official texts—on the acquisition by a majority of young people of not only knowledge but high-level skills, such as the development of the intellectual *skills* and the ability to anticipate, adapt, communicate, reason and co-operate (Perrenoud, 1995a, b, c, d and e).

Can the school rise to these expectations? The more or less unfair criticisms regularly levelled at it, and from a more positive angle, the interest shown by governments and international organizations in approaches to improve efficiency or performance, indicate that the judgement passed on education systems oscillates between 'inadequate' and 'could do better'. Why, for example, should Switzerland invest heavily in a national research programme on the efficiency of its education systems if politicians, public opinion and experts all agreed that the situation was already satisfactory? Similarly, why should OECD and other international organizations be so concerned with the efficiency of education policies and innovation if the problem were already solved?

Chronic and growing public financial deficits confuse the issues and cast doubt on the credibility of policies. In almost all cases the issue is two-fold:

- the education system is required to continue to do as well with less resources, or at least to forego the budget increases to which it has become accustomed in a period of growth;
- in some cases, simultaneously, performance is expected not merely to remain stable but even to increase, as regards not only the percentage of children at school and the number of certificates gained but also the real skills acquired by the rising generation.

If these pressures are maintained, in parallel or alternatively, it is possible that the school will find that it no longer has the right to the *status quo*, and will be forced to accept not only new curricula or structural reforms—which it is used to—but also thoroughgoing changes in the educational practice and functioning, i.e. what have been referred to as *changes of a third kind* (Perrenoud, 1990).

How would this come about? Here we might go back to the two scenarios outlined above: either an accentuation of the trend towards complete professionalization, or increased dependence on the ‘noosphere’, i.e. closer supervision. The die is not yet cast; everything will depend on those concerned, including the teachers. Before considering this point, let us look more closely into each scenario as regards teacher training, the functioning of schools and innovate processes. We shall see that the teaching profession oscillates between two highly contrasted futures, and that to some extent choices have to be made.

Proletarianization as a perverse side-effect of centralized change

The word ‘proletarianization’ has strong connotations and evokes the situation of the working class in the nineteenth century rather than the lot of skilled workers in the tertiary sector who, while aware that they are wage-earners, pretend to believe that they pursue a liberal profession or are self-employed craftsmen.

This being the case, proletarianization is no longer a question of income and economic exploitation, even though the financial situation and the employment of teachers are insecure in many countries. This form of proletarianization will not make teachers revert to working-class status or to the living standards of manual workers. It will be a more *symbolic* form of *dispossession*.

A SECRET KIND OF AUTONOMY

In developed countries, changes in industrial working conditions are such that modern employees are no longer involved in dirty work in factories or mines as they were in the nineteenth century. Does this give them any more say in the objectives, conditions, methods and products of their labour? Virtually none: their lack of professional independence places unskilled workers and employees in a situation where they are:

- subject to bosses who supervise the conformity of their professional work and assess their performance;
- dependent on research departments which develop working procedures imposed on all, since the ‘ideas men’ consider them as optimal and are empowered to enforce them as standard procedures;
- subservient to technologies which impose on human beings rhythms and gestures—portrayed by Chaplin in his film *Modern times*—and still more

markedly to ways of perceiving reality, thinking and reacting derived from computer science and automation;

- subjected to an automated division of labour which makes each individual worker interchangeable in a system over which he has no control.

It will be argued that all this concerns industry, in some cases the computerized tertiary sector. Surely education systems are not subject to such mechanisms, given the very nature of the teaching profession? How could teachers be dispossessed of their autonomy? There are various representations of this.

Some teachers do not see themselves in any way as skilled independent workers; they are content to be the docile performers of a task strictly defined by their schedule of conditions, curricula, procedures and the timetable of formal evaluation, their teaching periods and classrooms, the school's regulations, education authority guidelines, the instructional methods imposed or recommended, the official teaching materials or the inevitable official textbooks. Guidelines and inspection are never agreeable, but some teachers consider that 'it is only natural' to be subjected to authority; it doesn't annoy them, and they do not feel that their identity is flouted or threatened by injunctions or advice from experts or those above them. This does not mean that they are compliant: like soldiers in armies the world over, like unskilled workers in all firms, teachers make the best of a bad job, ride out the storm, laugh things off in self-defence, complain behind the scenes, wait for the minister of education to change or 'calm down', for the authorities to forget their own decisions or for the experts to repudiate their idols; they are cunning, they conceal what they are doing by working alone behind closed doors, and those supposed to inspect their work may turn a blind eye. They do not ask to be entirely independent; it is enough to be able to bend the rules.

Others find other ways of protecting themselves. They assert that they enjoy great freedom in their professional practice and cannot imagine this freedom being taken away. They repeat—in private—that in the schoolroom 'they do what they like'. On closer investigation, it appears that such freedom, sometimes remarkable, is in many cases hidden from sight, and all traces of it covered up. Some teachers 'don't teach grammar' or 'don't set homework', just as some workmen do not comply with safety regulations, or secretly take liberties with methodological guidelines. As soon as parents, colleagues or the authorities show signs of taking an interest, caution is the byword: 'This must be hushed up'. This is very far from the attitude of the professional who publicizes his acts because he thinks he can do better than others, and is on the other hand prepared to admit his own mistakes.

This hidden autonomy has the advantage of running few risks: so long as freedom is kept a secret—even an open secret—teachers can entrench themselves behind official curricula, methods and teaching practice. If they were given an open choice of teaching methods and strategies, they would then be concerned not with accounting for his compliance with regulations, but with accounting for the aims achieved (Hutmacher, 1990). They would then become responsible for their choices, and therefore in some cases for their erring ways.

WHAT CAN BE CHANGED?

Many teachers seem to think that this factual autonomy is something which will always form part of the profession. This may be short-sighted optimism:

- (a) the status of government employees is not 'as immovable as a rock'; a few decades from now it may be that life appointments and security of tenure will be seen as vestiges of a time when the State was not subject to rules common to all;
- (b) training systems are producing at the pre-service training level, and subsequently on the labour market, increasing numbers of highly qualified young people who are looking for jobs; this means that teachers who do not accept rationalization and inspection will be replaced by others;
- (c) methods for supervising and mobilizing teachers are moving towards what is in fact personnel management, with evaluation grids, monitoring procedures, etc. (Demailly, 1990; 1991);
- (d) as urban concentrations grow and telematics takes off, isolated schools will become the exception;
- (e) the growing autonomy of schools, changes in their legal status, and project management (Obin, 1993) are changing the nature of inspection; teachers are now increasingly required to be answerable to their colleagues and the school head rather than to a distant administration or infrequent school inspections;
- (f) the nature of supervision is also changing: school inspectors and heads aim at providing genuine leadership for school life, becoming educational counselors rather than merely inspectors who ensure minimum conformity with practice;
- (g) if they are to remain credible, professional associations will be increasingly unable to protect those of their members who do not display a high degree of conscientiousness in their work;
- (h) users (pupils and families) now increasingly raise their requirements, and dare to express them and act as well-informed consumers in a market where schools or teachers compete.

It may well be, therefore, that for schools and teachers the age of relative tranquillity is now a thing of the past, even in the absence of more ambitious education policies or increased pressures for efficiency. Where such policies or pressures exist, they may lay increased emphasis on an overhaul of the teaching profession, unless the profession itself takes a decisive step towards professionalization. It is not certain that it is yet ready for this.

It may be asked whether it is in the interest of other actors to contribute to the professionalization of the teacher. Neither the education authority nor the 'noosphere' can look on unmoved at such a trend. The 'minimum skills' model is a better safeguard of the power of the authorities and experts, following slightly different mechanisms.

Heads of schools are also confronted with a dilemma: whether to become mere intermediaries in the administrative chain or genuine 'business leaders'. The

decentralization of schools and changes in their legal status are moving in this direction. Sooner or later, professionalization of the post of school head must necessarily accompany that of the teaching profession (Gather Thurler, 1993*b*, 1996*b*; Pelletier, 1996; Perrenoud, 1993*b*, 1994*b*). However, it is not certain that those concerned are in a position at this stage to see things in this way. At the beginning, the assumption of autonomy by school heads appears to be facilitated by the docility of their staff. Whoever is granted more power as a result of decentralization has the initial reflex of confiscating it rather than passing on part of it to subordinates. It is only at the cost of a sometimes painful experience that such people realize that in a decentralized organization they cannot justify their work and exercise their responsibilities other than by mobilizing their own staff. To do this, they must exert *negotiated authority* (Perrin, 1991) and gamble on the professionalization of the teaching profession rather than on the maintenance or increase of their own dependence, offset by a secret kind of autonomy. Except if they are extremely lucid, school heads may, however, in the short term—at grips with their search for identity, the transformation of their function into a trade, and the trade into a profession—be tempted to strengthen the dependence of teachers. Not out of a perverse taste for power or a desire to treat teachers as children, but so as to gain a relative respite and not have to fight on all fronts: against the administration which calls them to account, against users and local authorities, against competing schools and against the claims of their own staff.

Specialists in instructional practices, teaching methods, technologies, evaluation, planning, research, counselling, medical/educational therapy, those who constitute the ‘noosphere’, may have the same short-sighted temptation to increase the dependence of teachers in order to consolidate the basis of their legitimacy and ‘scientific’ authority. Two factors contribute to this temptation:

- unlike inspectors and school heads, specialists are still newcomers at school, ‘strangers in the house’; their usefulness is not unanimously agreed, their skills are not recognized or are sneered at by some teachers and supervisors;
- they do not see themselves as wielding power but consider that they are holders, if not of the truth, of at least a ‘scientific’ legitimacy with the right to say what rational teaching is.

Do specialists—whether from universities, ministries or independent training, documentation or research centres—understand that their position will be strengthened rather than weakened by the professionalization of the teaching profession? This will be the case when they feel less threatened by neglect or exclusion. But the crisis is not developing on these lines: their posts are obviously more vulnerable, since in the short term the school considers that there would be no great harm in dispensing with them. Again, teachers are not prepared to defend the existence of those of their number who have left the schoolroom behind. For their part, specialists are only just beginning to realize the limits of ‘scientific’ rationality, accept the irreducible complexity of the teacher’s work as a human activity (Cifali, 1994), accord a respectable status to those who are good at odd jobs and making do with what is available (Perrenoud, 1994*a*), recognize the value of knowledge acquired

from experience (Tardif, 1993*a, b, c*) and understand that the most fruitful contribution they can make is to help increase at one and the same time the skills, autonomy and responsibility of teachers, by conducting a dialogue with them rather than dreaming of replacing traditional authority by a 'scientific' authority.

Professionalization as a driving force and regulator of decentralized change

The second path has been sketched out in the preceding section. It is now time to describe it in more detail. The professionalization of the teaching profession is at present the subject of many studies, among which the reader can consult the following: Altet, 1994; Bourdoncle, 1991 & 1993; Carbonneau, 1993; Huberman, 1993; Labaree, 1992; Lemosse, 1989; Lessard, Perron & Bélanger, 1993; Perrenoud, 1994*a*, 1996*b*. To recapitulate, as the Americans would say, professionalization becomes more marked when, in any profession, methodological guidelines and rules are superseded by autonomy guided by clear *objectives*, whose achievement can be evaluated, and an ethic forbidding practices counter to the interests of users or the community.

A QUIET REVOLUTION

In an education system, full professionalization of the teaching profession would mean that the only limit to teachers' autonomy would be the provision of two safety nets:

- on the one hand, a stock-taking of development and learning *objectives*, to be carried out with the pupils, including basic and negotiable objectives (depending on the pupils' level and interests, projects, or as the opportunity arises, etc.);
- on the other, an *ethics* of relationship, evaluation, the teaching contract, authority and competition, prohibiting methods which exert unacceptable pressures on families or pupils, alienate their freedom or involve them in perverse or degrading operations.

No doubt the need to coexist in the same buildings and to share limited resources fairly would prompt autonomous teachers to maintain co-ordinated timetables and unchanged allocations for the different disciplines, to retain partly standardized premises, furniture and teaching resources, and to keep comparable types of evaluation. But such a codified system might be much less pronounced than that imposed today by most education departments. In return, teachers would assume individually and collectively the responsibilities inherent in this autonomy.

As we have seen, teachers know how to bend the rules and take hidden liberties with curricula by observing the spirit rather than the letter; they have a flexible approach to orthodox teaching doctrine, official teaching methods, evaluation procedures, the allocation of time between disciplines and the rates of progress

advised. The professionalization of their profession would lead them to devote less energy to sleight of hand and apparent conformity, and more to achieving objectives and engaging in dialogue with those to whom they are answerable. For its part, a school would give up asking teachers to teach grammar every Thursday from 2 o'clock to 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or keep their registers scrupulously or produce reports for all their pupils at fixed dates. Their priority should be, using all legitimate methods, to enable the maximum number of pupils to acquire lasting, transposable skills, while at the same time judiciously informing and enlisting the aid of parents. The *way* of achieving this would be of a professional nature: through class management, the nature of the teaching contract, teaching resources, the layout of furniture, equipment and working areas, the method of differentiating instruction and guiding each pupil individually, the way of perceiving and conducting evaluation, educational approaches, the grouping of pupils by subject or level, variable timetables, different and negotiated types of homework, etc. This methodological autonomy would extend to the division of labour between teachers, to the decompartmentalization of classes, the monitoring of pupils in the school and their supervision by teaching teams sharing responsibility for the same pupils (Perrenoud, 1994a, 1995b).

Would this result in anarchy? In the present state of teacher training and the functioning of schools, the answer is 'possibly'. Professionalization cannot be achieved by decree; it will not come about in a day: rather it will take decades. Time is needed to learn the right way, or let us say simply to learn the responsible use of freedom. We think immediately of the risk of injustice: our relationship with the school has been so distorted, that the alarm is raised as soon as in two parallel classes teachers do not reach the same point in the syllabus at the same time of year or do not accord the same importance to homework. It would be better if parents showed an interest in greater fairness in respect of the efficiency of teachers and schools, and more visibility in the relation between the resources committed and results. Professionalization means another way of requiring teachers to be answerable, namely by evaluation and self-evaluation on basics—achieving the development and learning objectives—rather than by perfunctory rituals. The problem of what the Anglo-Saxons call *accountability* is central to 'interactive professionalization' (Gather Thurler, 1996a). The fact is that *empowerment*, or greater professionalism, cannot exist without the obligation to be accountable to one's peers, users and those in authority.

MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

A change along these lines will be easier if users and authorities place their trust in teachers, convinced that they will make the best use of their freedom because they 'know what they are doing'. Today, trust is limited. Instead, curricula or structural reforms are based on *mistrust*. The regeneration of the teaching of French in French-speaking Switzerland is a good example. In the early 1980s, the aim was to co-ordinate and modernize programmes. The new texts stressed the development

of oral and written communication skills more than the acquisition of knowledge *about* the French language. The corresponding methodology followed these lines and took the form of general guidelines valid throughout primary school, instead of the traditional teachers' textbook which marked out the programme for the year (Besson et al., 1979). No provision was made for official teaching methods: it was suggested that each teacher invent them or find them on the market or by means of exchanges. As regards teacher training, at the first stage the plan was rather to proceed by self-training, with encouragement given to types of action-research in schools or informal networks.

These innovative ideas were supported by professional associations and the authors of the reform; they were on the lines of professionalization. They had only one fault: they were seen as impossible to apply, not to say as wishful thinking, by those who considered it necessary to supervise teachers' compliance with reform and the quality of training. The risk seemed too great: 'They will do just anything; they won't understand; they won't train themselves'. This fear led to the introduction of compulsory and highly structured forms of retraining, and a first generation of official teaching resources and 'teachers' textbooks', covering all the abstract and technical aspects of teaching the mother tongue (so-called structuring activities). Paradoxically, the absence of the corresponding resources required to back up communication practices underscored the fact that they had less priority, being classified with the most traditional images of language teaching aims.

It is difficult to say whether this abandonment of self-training was wise. It is certain that by wishing to speed up professionalization one might achieve the opposite result, by providing ammunition to the sceptical. These would then say 'You see, they can't do it, they are irresponsible'. Conversely, by avoiding any risk of overstepping the line, one also prevents teachers from experimenting with autonomy and responsibility. Today, if the renewal of the teaching of French is in part a failure, at least from the point of view of teaching communication, one can accuse 'the system': inadequate training, inconsistent evaluation methods, teaching methods which emphasize technical knowledge, the introduction of textbooks at too late a stage, lack of consideration for non-French-speaking pupils, etc. Since the authorities expected teachers to adopt the prescribed approach, it was for the authorities to solve the conceptual and training problems involved and smooth out contradictions. With this approach, teachers, in fact, do what they are told to do with the resources made available to them.

If teachers were to adopt the general objectives of such a renewal of programmes and educational approach, with the inherent limitations and contradictions, obviously they should have been in the position of *fully-fledged actors*, not only at the level of the summit dialogue between the education authorities and professional associations, but at all levels. Today, specialists and authorities talk about 'them' when they refer to teachers. Teachers similarly use the word 'them' to refer to those who decide in their stead and 'with their interests at heart'.

There is no doubt that professionalization would not make major programme or structural reforms unnecessary. However, it would have two major consequences for strategies of change:

- major reforms would permit and encourage the appropriation of innovative ideas by schools, teaching teams and teachers; rather than working out the last detail of an ideal education system, doomed alas never to be applied as such, reformers would define major guidelines and a framework and procedures for regulation; there would be room for ‘actively constructing change’ (Gather Thurler, 1993a);
- the bulk of the modernization of the education system would be carried out without interruption on a decentralized basis at the level of schools, teams or other networks; it would then be unnecessary to define a ‘national’ model and a single form of active teaching, project work, differentiated instruction, the breaking down of barriers between disciplines or on-going evaluation. Each teacher would be familiar with these ideas and would work to implement them in his own classroom, without waiting to be provided with a ready-made solution. In other words, professionalism will continue to be merely rationalistic wishful thinking (Perrenoud, 1988, 1996b) so long as teachers continue to have their thinking done for them and solutions are forced on them, instead of their working together on the real *question*, which is how to differentiate instruction.

SYSTEMIC CHANGE

As we have seen, professionalization involves reconstructing the identity of teachers and the image they have of their work: they must stop feeling ‘persecuted’ (Ranjard, 1984), they must ‘produce their own profession’ (Novõa, 1991), take responsibility for the complexity of its practices and for an ‘impossible’ job (Boumard, 1992; Cifali, 1986), enter into the ‘scenario for a new profession’ suggested by Meirieu (1989b), think of themselves as professionals (Paquay et al., 1996), become ‘reflective practitioners’ (Schön, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1994), mobilize the ability to analyse as a basic skill (Altet, 1994), know how to make their practice explicit and understand the role played by the subconscious in their professional acts and commitments (Cifali, 1994; Faingold, 1993, 1996; Perrenoud, 1996b; Vermersch, 1994). Whatever the case may be, they must aim at a profession oriented towards problem-solving, the conduct of strategies based on broad objectives, and a capacity for self-criticism and self-regulation (Gather Thurler, 1994a).

This will not come about unless there are changes in pre-service and lifelong teacher training. The trend is to make pre-service training a university course (Bourdoncle & Louvet, 1991; Tschoumy, 1991). But these changes should also provide an opportunity for a *new linkage between theory and practice*, geared to the ability, from pre-service training onwards, to think about practices and about

individual and collective regulating mechanisms (Perrenoud, 1993c, 1994a, 1994d).

It is less obvious that professionalization also calls for *schools* to function in a very different way, and for the emergence of a new *professional culture* and a new *management style*. It is not to be hoped that every teacher, however competent, will come up with brilliant ideas on his or her own. Professionalization is a joint undertaking calling for a flexible division of labour with increased co-operation whenever this is necessary for efficiency.

This brings us to the possibilities of new trends in:

- professional cultures and school cultures, towards a culture of co-operation (Gather Thurler, 1994b; Hargreaves, 1992);
- supervisory functions, moving towards leadership, the renewal of education, co-operative management and negotiated authority (Demailly, 1990; Garant, 1991, 1992; Gather Thurler, 1996a; Perin, 1991; Perrenoud, 1994b);
- the relations between schools and the central education system, on the lines of self-evaluation and contract or project management (Gather Thurler, 1994a; Gather Thurler & Perrenoud, 1991; Hutmacher, 1990; Obin, 1993).

If the functioning of schools develops on these lines, professionalization will get over its teething troubles and education systems will be able to adopt new strategies for change.

Who decides the future?

The debate on efficiency is central to the management of all organizations, since organizations can be seen as objective-oriented systems whose legitimacy is linked in part to their ability to achieve their objectives in a rational way. The very idea of efficiency is therefore a fundamental issue. Each actor represents it in his or her own way, evaluates the situation and argues for or against such and such a change in the light of their definition of the objectives and of rationality, and also of their own strategies and interests (Perrenoud, 1993a). The debate on professionalization cannot evade this constructivist approach. Researchers propose professionalization criteria and study reports on the functioning of schools, the status of teachers and the achievements of pupils. Even when published and taken seriously, these research findings constitute only one of the constituents in a debate dominated by ideological and pragmatic considerations in which the stakes are not purely intellectual. If account were taken of what we know today, and if education policies sought to obtain the resources to gain their ends, there is no doubt that professionalization would be recognized as the path of the future; but our societies are full of inconsistencies.

When all is said and done, the future will depend on the balance struck between long-term prospects (raising the level of training, democratization, employment) and more short-term considerations (balancing the budget, defending acquired interests). A clear view of what is at stake would not be enough to

transform policies, but it can influence them and weigh down the balance on one side or another where societies are ambivalent in their approach.

Here all the collective actors have a certain amount of power and responsibility. No one is caught up in a train of events entirely controlled by others and no one on his own is master of the game. One must therefore *negotiate*, beginning with a negotiation of long-term representations and strategies. Instead of plunging headlong into reforms which are always disappointing, the school would do well to ask itself *how it changes* and whether it is possible for it to 'learn' (Gather Thurler & Perrenoud, 1991) in the absence of more marked professionalization of the teaching profession and the development of more co-operative school management.

Note

1. This paper was first published in the proceedings of the 1993 Congress of the Société Suisse de Recherche en Éducation, F. Vanetta, ed., *Le changement en éducation* [Changes in education], Bellinzona, Ufficio studi e ricerca, 1994, p. 29–48. It is reproduced here with the publisher's kind permission in an amended and slightly longer version.

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PROFESSIONALISM: ITS RELEVANCE FOR TEACHERS AND TEACHER EDUCATORS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Andrew Burke

Introduction

The level of attention given to teaching and teacher education over the past twenty years is unprecedented. The expansion of the knowledge base of teaching in the present century has heightened awareness of the exciting and challenging possibilities that have opened up for the teaching profession. The impact of these developments on the self-understanding of teachers, however, has not been great, even in developed countries. Consequently, the implications of a perception of the teacher as a professional person are only slowly being worked out. Indeed, the very meaning of the word 'profession' is often unclear.

The relevance, implications and connotation of the concept 'profession', as applied to teachers, has been dealt with at length elsewhere (cf. Burke, 1992) and will be summarized briefly here. The focus of the present paper will be on the relevance, or otherwise, of professionalism for teachers in developing countries, bearing in mind that significant numbers of them may have received little or no training and that some may not have completed, or even commenced, secondary education.

The meaning of 'profession'

While the classical Greeks did not have a word for it, the idea of 'profession' and 'professional education' were already beginning to take shape even at this early

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stage (Brubacher, 1962; Aristotle). In the case of occupations such as medicine, Aristotle distinguished three grades or levels of practitioner. One could regard them, I think, as three stages through which certain occupations evolve towards professional competence.

The first stage is that of the craftsman or technician who operates by rules of thumb, learns the 'tricks of the trade' through apprenticeship, and for whom the criterion of good practice is the pragmatic one of what does or does not work. The second stage is marked by a more rational and scientific approach in the search for some basic general rules/guidelines or theoretical constructs to enlighten diagnosis and guide practice. The third and final stage is characterized by increased conceptualization and a growing dependency on other disciplines.

Progress from stage to stage (or level to level) is marked by an increase in the intellectual or theoretical content or, to put it another way, a greater comprehension of the context in which one is operating. For example, Aristotle regarded disease as an instance of a person being 'out of harmony with nature' and consequently viewed medicine as, of necessity, entailing a wider study of nature. Similarly, Quintilian in Hellenistic Rome set the study of law in the wider context of religion and politics. Both had a broad contextual vision of these areas. The broader the context, the greater the degree of conceptualization that is called for. It is precisely this broadening context and ever-increasing intellectual content that has formed the core of the idea of professionalism and that necessitates and sets the parameters for professional education.

The professional standing of teaching, or of any other occupation, can be gauged primarily on the basis of an analysis of the area in question, on an examination of the level at which the claimants to professional status are operating and their competence to do so (Dreeben, 1970; Gage, 1978). In the case of each occupation, the following questions must be answered to determine its professional credibility:

- is the area in question complex and is its complexity known and understood?
- does an adequate body of specialized knowledge/research information and a history of successful knowledge-based practice exist on which to base current approaches?
- from the point of view of effective performance in the area in question, does one need the above knowledge and research information to support and inform practice or are the decisions so routine that a general education and/or practical type training equips one adequately in order to take those decisions and to conduct the satisfactory execution of the task?
- who, on a daily basis, deals with the clients, makes the critical diagnoses/decisions and takes the appropriate action?

It must be remembered that our knowledge and understanding of areas can change dramatically over time. This explains why some occupations now recognized as professions, or making strong claims thereto, were not granted such recognition in earlier times. For instance, up to quite recently, the complexity of the human body was not well known or understood. Frequently, simplistic solutions, such as bleed-

ing patients for fever, were applied and, within the limited knowledge of the time, appeared to 'work'. Similarly, a simplistic view of teaching/learning prevailed and simple techniques, such a corporal punishment, were applied and perceived as 'working'. A little over a hundred years ago the medical doctor was not viewed as being very different from members of other trades and little better than the faith healer (Berliner, 1987). Medical education in Harvard College, Massachusetts, consisted of two four-month periods. The 'art' of medicine was, to a considerable degree, learned 'on the job'. In like manner, up to the end of the nineteenth century apprenticeship training for teaching was widespread and predominated in some European countries. One might ask, therefore, why and how significant changes occurred in these and other areas over the past hundred years?

No profession can advance faster than the knowledge base on which it must rely. Prescriptions for practice and the preparation of practitioners in any occupational area are to a considerable extent determined by the knowledge and understanding of the area in question at a particular point in time (Megarry, 1980). The advent of modern science revolutionized both the practice of medicine and the preparation of medical personnel. Modern physics impacted greatly on both the practice of engineering and the education of engineers. In the same way, the advent of the behavioural sciences, developments in educational research and new thinking in the philosophy of education have thrown considerable light on and led to significant changes in the practice of teaching and the preparation of teachers.

The complexity of the education context and of the teaching/learning process is now better understood and calls for a broader perspective and better understanding on the part of teachers if they are to function adequately. Furthermore, societal changes, growing instability in family life, and the effects of both of these on young people complicate matters further (Howey & Strom, 1987). With such developments, life in professional areas, including teaching, has become much more complex and challenging. Simplistic solutions can no longer be accepted at face value or defended merely on the basis of pragmatic results because, on the basis of current knowledge, solutions that were earlier perceived as 'working' would now be considered criminal (e.g. bleeding/leeching feverish patients or physically punishing pupils).

Professional areas are characterized by complexity. The counterpart of complexity is uncertainty (Glickman, 1987; Shulman, 1983, 1986; Clark, 1988; Floden & Clark, 1988). The professional person is one who is competent to operate in such a context, has learned to cope with the inherent uncertainties of the area, has the expertise and courage to take the critical decisions on the basis of the available evidence, and has the technical skills to implement effectively the decisions taken or to retrieve the situation if initial solutions prove inappropriate, inadvisable or unworkable.

Decision-making in a professional area

Professional areas are, of their nature, complex and do not lend themselves to simplistic 'right' or 'wrong' answers. The professional person is cast in the role of 'practical artist', that is, one who departs from formulas, recipes and algorithms, who sizes up complicated situations, and who uses his/her insight, intuition and common-sense in formulating good judgements and taking appropriate and defensible action in situations where the evidence is seldom conclusive (Bok, 1984; Clark, 1988; Shulman, 1983, 1986).

Researchers have found that teachers make up to thirty non-trivial work-related decisions every hour and do so in a context of a class of between twenty-five and forty pupils where 1,500 interactions can take place daily between teacher and pupils (Berliner, 1987). In light of such evidence, Shulman (1987) has concluded that 'the only time a physician [doctor] could possibly encounter a situation of comparable complexity [to that of the teacher] would be in an emergency room of a hospital during or after a natural disaster' (p. 376). In such complex and uncertain situations informed decision-making ability is as critical, as difficult and as challenging in teaching as it is in any other professional area and training in decision-making is as important in teacher education as it is in any other form of professional preparation (Berliner, 1984; Bok, 1984).

Applicability to developing countries?

It is legitimate to ask how relevant or realistic such a vision of the teacher's role is in a developing-country context. From the perspective of reality on the ground, is not the professionalization of teachers in such situations an idealistic, unrealistic and status-seeking pipe-dream?

Professionalism is about competence at one's job (Dreeben, 1970). Status is not its essence but rather a corollary to it (Seely, 1981). 'Professional status is important' says Denemark (1985), 'not because of what that status will mean for us as individuals but rather because of its import for the quality and character of teaching in our schools' (p. 51). If painting a picture of teachers who are competent at their work, therefore, constitutes an unrealistic dream in developed or developing countries, then the present writer must plead guilty to day-dreaming in public. However, *we must remember that, whether they are competent to do so or not, every teacher in every classroom all over the world is making decisions every hour of every teaching day, and taking action on the basis of those decisions.* Decisions are taken about what is to be taught on a particular day, how it is to be taught, what approaches are to be implemented to cater for individual differences, what forms of assessment are to be used, and what rewards and sanctions are to operate. Strategies for classroom management and control have to be decided upon and very many decisions about individual pupils are made in the course of each day. Such decisions are critically important to the pupils who are directly affected by them and to their parents. If there is any doubt in this regard, one has simply to

reflect on the impact of an unfair, unjust or wrong decision that a teacher made about oneself or simply observe the effects of even the most 'insignificant' teacher decisions on one's own children (Berliner, 1987; Burke, 1992).

Ultimately, teacher decisions impact on the social and economic prospects of a nation. The critical importance of quality basic education to the well-being of countries was highlighted and agreed upon at the World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien in 1990, while research by Psacharopoulos (1987) indicates that the returns (both private and social) from investment in primary education are higher than for any other level of education. As to the importance or otherwise of the teacher's role in education, research in the 1960s and early 1970s seemed to indicate that non-school factors (e.g. socio-economic status and home background circumstances), and not school/teacher input, were the most important determinants of student achievement (Coleman et al., 1966; Jencks et al., 1972) and efforts were made to produce 'teacher-proof' curricula. It was borne out by subsequent research (Brophy & Good, 1986), however, that teachers are critical factors in the learning process and that progress can only be made by working with and through them rather than attempting to work around them. As a result, a simple but revolutionary principle began to take shape and guide policy-making in this regard. It was that 'effective school learning requires good teaching, and good teaching requires professionals who exercise judgements in constructing the education of their students' (Porter & Brophy, 1988, p. 74).

In light of the above, the question as to whether teachers in developed or developing countries merit the title 'professionals' becomes somewhat academic in the face of the simple verifiable fact that, in their daily practice, they continually make critical decisions about complex individuals in complex social situations. The much more important question, it seems to me, concerns their competence to make such decisions, their ability to implement them, and the capability of teacher educators to prepare them more adequately for such professional roles. In light of this, the challenge to all those dealing with teachers or student-teachers becomes clearer. At both the pre-service and in-service levels, it is to prepare them to make well-informed decisions, to equip them with knowledge of content and with personal and pedagogical skills to implement their decisions effectively, and to develop their ability to evaluate their own work critically. The challenge to ministries of education, as teachers become more professionally competent, will be to give them more autonomy and ownership of their area, to place greater trust in them, and to gradually withdraw the tight controls that are usually considered necessary when teachers are untrained or poorly trained (Beeby, 1966).

Teacher professionalization: risks and benefits

Teacher professionalization implies more trust in teachers and will inevitably involve more freedom for them and more control over their own area. 'Teacher empowerment' has been coined as a name for this latter process. The name is, in certain respects, unfortunate since it can be perceived by those already in control of

education as a threat to their position of power. The more centralized and authoritarian a system is, the greater this threat appears to be. 'Power' and 'responsibility' could be regarded as correlative terms since the former should imply the latter. For this reason, the French word for 'empowerment'—*responsibilisation*—may be more appropriate in the education context since it is less threatening and stresses the sharing of responsibility rather than power (Delannoy, 1995). It may also act as a healthy antidote to 'power trips' on the part of teachers through emphasizing the fact that a heavy burden of responsibility accompanies power.

This explanation does not gainsay the fact that recognizing teachers as professional persons and granting them greater autonomy will inevitably entail a different balance of power/responsibility-sharing within education systems. The implications of this are twofold. First, central authorities will have to be persuaded of the benefits of teacher professionalization, system decentralization, and other power/responsibility-sharing arrangements. They will have to be shown clear and concrete evidence of the benefits to education of changes of this nature. As such evidence accumulates, the boundaries of control will be pushed further back and the tolerance for change on the part of those with ultimate responsibility for education systems will be increased (Jangira, 1995). Second, those who are to gain and lose in the re-alignment of power/responsibility in the education area will need to be prepared and trained for their altered roles within the system (Shaeffer, 1995).

Why is the picture of the teacher as a professional person important in the context of teaching and teacher education, even in developing countries? It is important both in the short term and in the long term for the following reasons:

- it recognizes the reality of daily life in classrooms, the fact that each teacher does make critical decisions, and the consequent potential in the teacher's role for good or ill.
- it provides a vision of where the teaching and teacher education enterprise could/should go and sets the scene for a gradual withdrawal of unduly tight state/ministry of education controls which tend to downgrade and demoralize teachers, and, in many instances, constrain schools and render them less flexible and effective in meeting pupil and local needs.
- it presents teaching as a complex area where the knowledge base is incomplete, subject to change, and always open to improvement. Such a view of teaching is an antidote to dogmatism on the part of teachers. It also helps to break down defensive barriers to in-service education on their part (e.g. loss of self esteem as one realizes or is made aware of the need for change in one's own teaching). It does this by clarifying and justifying the need for constant updating and skill development on the part of all professionals, including teachers. In this context, Lockheed and Verspoor (1992) say: 'Until teaching is seen to require professional growth and responsibility, the effect that in-service workshops have on the behaviour of teachers will be short-lived' (p. 113).
- when viewed as a professional area, teacher education as Dewey (1904) claimed, has to be seen as a form of lifelong professional development sharing

critical common features with training in other professional areas (Sodor, 1988; Goodlad, 1990). Student-teachers and practising teachers should not be trained simply to perform certain skills in certain prescribed ways but, rather, must be given the mental tools needed to meet professional tasks in ways that are adaptive, questioning, critical, inventive, creative and self-reviewing (Howey & Strom, 1987; Fenstermacher, 1980). They must be given 'executive control' over those skills so that they can use them flexibly in multiple situations (Joyce & Showers, 1988, p. 68). The teacher is not just a master of procedure but of content and rationale (Shulman, 1983) and must be viewed as a lifelong 'student of teaching' (Dewey, 1904) and as a 'decision maker who handles a complex set of interacting variables in a dynamic social environment' (Berliner, 1984, p. 96). Student teachers, as well as more experienced practitioners, should be coached in reflective practice and given as much autonomy in decision making as they can take in order to learn how to exercise this critical skill and to take responsibility for their decisions, successes and failures (Dewey, 1904; Schon, 1987).

- change, especially rapid change, can lead to anxiety and resentment on the part of teachers (Fullan & Miles, 1992). A professional vision of themselves and of their future development could help to counteract resentment and reduce anxiety by providing a rationale which clarifies the nature of and need for change in all professional areas, including teaching.
- the vision of the teacher as a professional person also helps to eradicate the identity crisis from which teachers in both developed and developing countries tend to suffer. Teachers are unclear as to which category they belong—tradespersons, semi-professionals, or professionals (Burke, 1992). As a result, they are often unsure of what demands they can legitimately make on others (e.g. ministry and management bodies) or what demands others (e.g. parents) can legitimately make on them. Most important of all, they are unsure of what demands they should be making on themselves. The expectations that a professional person considers appropriate for himself/herself will, I suggest, be significantly different and more demanding than those of a tradesperson. Furthermore, the task of those who perceive themselves as educators of professionals will also be very different from that of trainers who prepare people for trades (Dewey, 1904; Schon, 1987). In addition, if teachers perceive themselves as professional persons, they will be more aware that the quality of service expected of them is analogous to what they themselves would expect from the professionals who service their needs (e.g. doctors, lawyers).
- finally, a professional vision of their occupation will give teachers pride in themselves and in their work, will challenge them to provide as competent a service as is reasonably possible to the public, will encourage them to take greater responsibility for school outcomes, and will help them to respond better to responsibilities laid on them as educators.

In brief, a professional vision of teaching raises the sights of teachers, lowers their defensive barriers, broadens their educational horizons, gives them a sense of

pride/ownership of and responsibility for their area, and creates a climate in which constant development through initial, induction and in-service education, though demanding of its nature, will be seen as normal and necessary.

Conclusion

The conceptual basis of teaching, especially primary teaching, has changed dramatically in the present century. From being a craft whose skills could be acquired through apprenticeship and/or a short teacher-training course, it has evolved to a point where policy and practice have a more comprehensive theoretical basis. In the past, teachers could truthfully be described as part professional and part technician—professional in their relationship with and concern for their clients, but unprofessional in that the skills they exercised had no theoretical basis and were merely practical techniques learned from other teachers. What Kellaghan said in 1971 would seem particularly relevant to current conditions in many developing countries at present. He wrote:

- The teacher's role today is at the point of decision. On that decision will depend whether the technical or professional aspect of the job prevails. The pressures for development in both directions are great. On the one hand, there is already the tradition of the teacher as technician. It may seem to some that the maintenance of that tradition makes it easier to control schools and what goes on in them. Compared to the view of the teacher as technician, the view of the teacher as professional is one that is being put forward increasingly by professional educators.
- The decision regarding the future role of the teacher as technician or professional is perhaps the most important one to be made in education today. If we opt for the technician's role, then we probably commit ourselves to the education system we have. If, on the other hand, we opt for the professional role, we would be reasonably assured of having teachers who will be capable of dealing with the enormous changes in knowledge and conditions that are going to take place over the next fifty years. Given professional teachers, we might reasonably expect that this knowledge will be understood and accepted by them and assimilated into educational practice (p. 24–25).

While changes in the conceptual basis of teaching and advances in the understanding of the professional nature of the teacher's role may not have impacted in any significant way, as yet, on policy or practice in most developing countries, the potential for a different approach to teaching and teacher education is there. The benefits of pursuing this path have become more apparent in recent years in many developed and in some developing countries (Burke, 1995). The following examples bear this out:

- research on in-service education for teachers (INSET) indicates that a top-down, provider-driven, cascade model of INSET determination and delivery is ineffective (Blackburn & Moisan, 1987; EURYDICE, 1995). Furthermore, if participating teachers do not recognize a need as having sufficient priority

for them, activities aimed at meeting that need will be judged irrelevant (Eraut, 1994). Consequently, teacher involvement in the identification of INSET needs, in the planning of INSET provision, and in the determination of INSET delivery would seem to be critical determinants of its success.

- there is a strong movement in many developed and some developing countries towards decentralization of control, administration and funding. In their extensive review of research on factors affecting school outcomes, Wang, Haertel and Walberg (1993) conclude that 'the actions of students, teachers, and parents matter most to student learning; policies at the program, school, district, state, and federal levels have limited effect compared to the day-to-day efforts of the people who are most involved in students' lives' (p. 279). For this reason Kellaghan (1994) argues that 'resources that are allocated to the actual teacher-learning situation are likely to be more beneficial in terms of students' achievements than resources that are allocated to activities that are remote from that situation' (p. 16). This is supportive of a decentralized approach to education. Care must be exercised, however, to ensure that schools and teachers are empowered and that local centralism does not replace national centralism. From the perspective of practising teachers this and other evidence (Blackburn & Moisan, 1987; EURYDICE, 1995) lends support to the establishment of funding mechanisms for INSET provision which channel finance directly to schools to enable them to 'buy' the in-service education which best meets teachers' needs. It is envisaged, however, that all educational provision would take place within broad parameters laid down by national governments or ministries of education but without the tight centralized constraints and controls that have operated heretofore.
- reports from experiments in teacher autonomy in both India (World Bank, 1994; Jangira, 1995) and in Colombia (Schiefelbein, 1991) also indicate that releasing teachers, even untrained and very young teachers, from tight controls and ministry of education checking mechanisms pays dividends and facilitates adaptation to local circumstances and the meeting of local needs in ways that centrally-controlled approaches have generally failed to do.

Whether born out of research, earlier policy failures and/or necessity, there is evidence of a new and different attitude developing towards teachers and a preparedness to place greater responsibility on and trust in them.

Finally, while a long-term vision for the professionalization of teachers is important, because of the shortcomings of both pre-service and in-service education in many developing countries, the focus in the short-term must, of necessity, be on meeting the immediate pedagogical needs of practising teachers, compensating for the deficiencies of their earlier training, and reforming current pre-service teacher-preparation practices. The following characteristics seem to be fairly typical of teaching techniques in developing countries and clarify the short-term agenda for teacher educators in those countries (Burke & McCann, 1993; Burke, Sugrue & Williams, 1995; Lockheed & Verspoor, 1992; World Bank, 1990; 1994):

- an approach to classroom work which is too teacher-centred, rather mechanical, unduly repetitive, and over-concentrated on recall of information;
- an over-emphasis on passivity on the part of pupils and an under-development of their problem-solving skills;
- under-use of teaching aids;
- lack of effective classroom-management skills;
- lack of strategies for attending to individuals' needs;
- under-use of grouping methods to foster co-operative learning and/or cater for different ability groups;
- inability to manage multi-grade teaching effectively;
- a preponderance of lower-order and under-use of higher-order questions.
- unsatisfactory mastery of content area knowledge;
- lack of fluency in the language used for instruction.

Such critical needs, along with curriculum development, materials' design and textbook provision, are immediate and pressing in most developing countries. They must be responded to as a matter of urgency. It would be wrong, however, to view the meeting of such short-term pedagogical objectives and the long-term goal of the professionalization of teaching as in any way incompatible. On the contrary, they complement each other. The professional vision of teaching sets broader parameters for the total development of teachers and teaching. It should be an effective factor in improving teachers' self-image and in motivating them to master the basic skills of teaching and to provide a better professional service to pupils and parents. Teachers do, after all, make and implement decisions on an hourly and daily basis that critically affect the lives and future prospects of their pupils and the welfare of their countries. The more conscious they are of this fact and the more others, especially ministries of education, recognize and accept its implications, the better the education enterprise will prosper.

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TEACHERS

AND SCHOOL MANAGEMENT IN

EUROPEAN EDUCATION SYSTEMS

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It is obvious that managing a school today means being confronted by a variety of situations that go beyond a school's strict sphere of influence. The social changes taking place in our societies, the models for lifestyles and thinking that prevail in our cultures, the economic and labour framework within which different professions are exercised all undoubtedly have a decisive impact on school management. Not only as regards the organizational changes that schools, like other institutions, must introduce into their internal functioning, but above all because of the social responsibility that is now demanded of schools and leads to far-reaching changes in their method of operation.

Consequently, the role of teachers in management is both an important question and a subject of debate. It is frequently stated, and not without justification, that teachers should become involved in schools, that they should assume responsibility for the school's educational function and, ultimately, that they have to fulfil a professional task that is of the utmost importance for the future of society. Does this mean, however, that they should be involved in running schools? Can they play the role assigned to them by society simply by acting within the four walls of the classroom alone? Finally, if they are called upon to take part in school management, can reasonable limits be placed on their level of involvement?

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The political and administrative structure of education systems

The member countries of the European Union have very different political and administrative structures whose impact on education systems varies considerably. Many studies have been carried out on this aspect, both by the Commission of the European Communities² itself and by other experts in the field. The studies by De Puelles (1992), Lauglo (1993) and Ferrer (1994) can be singled out; they describe the most traditional models of educational administration. This paper will be based on those models, together with some new thoughts on the matter.

The *centralized* model corresponds to those countries in which the government has so much power that the subordinate regional authorities have scarcely any room for independent manoeuvres. Nevertheless, because these structures are not wholly State entities, we can distinguish two sub-groups within this model: countries which over a period of time have shown a clear centralizing trend (for example, Greece and Ireland); and those which have shown a tendency towards decentralization or rather towards the delocalization of power (such as France and Portugal).

The second model could be termed *regional decentralization*, including in this term any intermediate entity situated between the national level (in the country as a whole) and the local level (based on municipalities). The designation of these entities may vary a great deal from country to country (State, province, department, region, autonomous community, etc.). This model covers those countries in which the special role of regional administration in the field of education is very important. There are, of course, countries in which responsibility for educational matters is the sole and exclusive responsibility of a regional entity (this is the case in Germany), while in others responsibility for some areas is shared with the national administrative entity (for example, Spain). In any event, the common denominator of all these systems is that the regional entity bears most of the responsibility without handing it over to a lower level (municipal authorities). When this occurs (as is the case in Switzerland), there is an intermediate level between the regional decentralization model and the model described below.

This third model is *local decentralization* and its determining feature is the important role played by municipal authorities in educational matters (especially those relating to schools). In this case the situations are not totally comparable either. In Sweden, for example, where the system is based on a relatively centralized structure, a process of decentralizing in favour of municipal authorities began in the late 1980s and this has strengthened the latter's role (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1995, p. 108).

In addition, responsibility for school matters is shared (at least partly) with national administrative bodies. Notwithstanding this, and in accordance with the trends shown below, there has been an increase in the degree of responsibility given by the central administration to schools themselves and to the sector of society concerned, and this trend makes it possible to cite another model which includes

Denmark and England (De Puelles, 1992, p. 372), namely *local and academic decentralization*.

Is it possible to define a trend in the European situation on the basis of these three models? It is my view that there is simply a certain intention to allow greater decentralization, but that this is accompanied by a large measure of prudence with regard to the tension this might cause within society. This is because the issue is closely related to the historical tradition and cultural situation in each country and any important changes are the subject of lively debate. In any event, the above description makes it possible to situate better the aspects related to school management set out below.

Independence of schools

By looking closely at the independence of curricula, one can see that this is the responsibility most easily transferred to schools themselves, even though in some countries it may be considered that in practice this process has not yet even begun.

In France, the independence of schools themselves is somewhat restricted by the over-riding harmonization role played by the Ministry of National Education, even though the latter gives school boards responsibility for deciding upon the teaching and educational organization of the establishment (France. Ministry of Education and Culture, 1992, p. 13). While the 1989 Education Act promoted education programmes at the school level, the French national curriculum is still obligatory at the national level.

Many experts consider Germany to be the European Union country that gives schools the least autonomy (even in matters related to the curriculum). The EURYDICE study (1990, p. 117–18), which contains a comparative analysis of the twelve countries that then belonged to the European Community, pointed out the following:

Germany is one of the European Community countries in which, from the legal point of view, schools have the least autonomy. The situation varies from Länder to Länder. In some, there has been an increase in the decision-making power of teachers and parents as far as the definition of the school's educational policy is concerned [. . .]. Regarding the teaching and educational aspect, the regulations of the Ministry of Education in each Land are more restrictive (for example, schools may only select textbooks on the basis of a list previously approved by the Ministry).

In Italy as well the curriculum is centralized to a large extent. 'School boards have limited powers to elaborate programmes and take decisions because the central authorities retain responsibility for financing, the obligatory curriculum and the appointment of teaching staff' (Scurati, 1995, p. 63).

In Finland, on the other hand, since 1993/94 the government has promoted greater involvement of schools in drawing up the curriculum. Although the Ministry of Education is still responsible for the subjects to be taught, both as regards the objectives and the overall content of each subject, as well as the main

guidelines for assessing students, the central government has given municipal authorities and schools a certain margin of manoeuvre to draw up the curriculum. For example, the ministry fixes the number of hours to be set aside for each subject in primary education as a whole and in the first part of secondary education. Municipal authorities and schools then divide these hours up among the various lessons (Finland. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 23). The specific aim of the Finnish Ministry of Education is to involve teachers to a greater extent in curriculum matters and 'to see the curriculum as an ongoing process and not as a static administrative document' (Finland. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 65).

Another typical case in recent years has been that of Denmark. Article 2.2 of the recent Folkeskole Act prescribes that each school shall take the relevant decisions on the 'planning and organizing of teaching' (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 3). As far as the curriculum is concerned, this means that each school, within the framework of the overall objectives of the Folkeskole, chooses its own teaching and working methods, teaching materials and the content of each subject' (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 9).

Continuing with the Nordic countries, where the influence of municipal authorities is important, Sweden provides that each school must draw up a plan of work based on the guidelines laid down by the municipal authorities and in the curriculum (Sweden. Ministry of Education and Science, 1994, p. 3).

As far as the curriculum is concerned, in Sweden teachers and schools in general have a broad degree of freedom to plan teaching, select the teaching methods they wish to use and the content they want to teach. For example, the Ministry fixes the minimum time that must be devoted to each subject, but the teachers can divide this up among various lessons (Sweden. Ministry of Education and Science, 1994, p. 11).

As mentioned above, in the Netherlands as well there is a certain level of autonomy as far as the curriculum is concerned. Schools must draw up a plan of work for a two-year period. This covers the school's educational and teaching goals, the content chosen, the teaching methods, the organizational structure of the school, the methods of evaluation and the reports on the progress made by the students, together with the extra-curricular activities. This plan must be approved, however, by the inspector (Netherlands. Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1994, p. 8).

The case of England is worth looking at separately; the changes implemented as a result of the 1988 Education Act resulted in a marked reversal of the trend in European schools towards increasing curricular autonomy. Up to 1988, England had always been considered the country that granted the greatest curricular autonomy to schools, more particularly to the teachers, since the latter drew up their own programmes without any standardized external reference.

The introduction of the so-called 'national curriculum' modified this situation. The curriculum covers ten subjects, with their ultimate objectives, and must be followed all over England. At the time, the guiding principle of the government was to assert the right of all English schoolchildren to follow a similar curriculum,

irrespective of the school they attended. Consequently, it can unequivocally be stated that English schools have lost their curricular autonomy.

As far as financial autonomy is concerned, schools in European countries in practice still manage their financial resources. This does not, however, take into account two aspects that are fundamental for greater financial autonomy: staff costs (which account for the major part of the financial resources which an organization such as a school may manage) and alternative forms of financing. There has nevertheless been a certain liberalization in this respect. For example, some countries now give schools the possibility of granting specific supplementary payments to teachers who show greater dedication or obtain good results. The controversy over these proposals, as well as the general strength of teachers' associations in the majority of European countries, has meant that these proposals have only been implemented on a very small scale.³

In Sweden, for example, since the decentralization reform in 1989, the trend has been to transfer responsibility for teachers' and head-teachers' wages, as well as for teachers' job descriptions, to municipal authorities (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1995, p. 108).

Perhaps the most novel and unique situation regarding school autonomy is once again that of England, even though it shows a trend that is the opposite of the one referred to in connection with curricular autonomy. Since the 1988 reform, English schools have enjoyed greater independence in the management of their expenditure. For example, they have the authority to manage 'staff costs, textbooks and scholastic material in general, as well as the costs of maintaining the buildings and the equipment. Investment spending is excluded' (EURYDICE, 1990, p. 77). In practice, the English reform led to greater budgetary control by schools through local education authorities (LEAs) (Caldwell, 1990, p. 11).

Precisely because of this, the government justified the Education Reform Acts of 1986 and 1988 by asserting that these reforms gave schools greater independence and ensured the participation of parents and teachers in school boards, thus giving them a greater opportunity to become involved. In the government's view: 'before the 1980 Education Act schools were in many cases simply administrative units of the LEA' (United Kingdom. Department for Education, 1992, p. 4).

Regarding another aspect of independence, such as the schools' freedom to recruit teaching staff, the differences between England and other countries are also important. In England, for example, schools 'are free to decide upon the number of teaching and non-teaching posts and to recommend appointments and dismissals to the LEA, which remains the teachers' employer' (EURYDICE, 1990, p. 68).

In the majority of countries, however, recruitment of teaching staff is almost exclusively the responsibility of the administrative authority in charge of schools.

In France, the Ministry of National Education recruits teachers for the country as a whole. The same is true in Italy, where the Ministry of Public Education exercises this authority.

In Germany, which has a federal-type political and administrative structure, each of the states composing the country is responsible for recruiting and promoting teachers within its territory (McAdams, 1993, p. 96).

In Austria, schools are not involved in recruiting teachers and head-teachers and the relevant regulations are defined at the provincial level (Austria. Ministry of Education and Art, 1994, p. 20). The situation in Spain is similar to that in Austria and the *comunidades autónomas* (autonomous communities)—which have regional scope—recruit their own teachers.

Countries with a tradition of municipal involvement in educational matters do not give the responsibility for recruitment to schools either. In Sweden, for example, head-teachers, directors of studies, teachers and school staff in general are officials appointed by the municipal school board (Sweden. Ministry of Education and Science, 1994, p. 13). In Denmark, the central government exercised this function until 1993, but it was then transferred to the municipal authorities in accordance with the educational decentralization policy (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 10). Moreover, following approval of the Folkeskole Act in 1994, a school makes a recommendation to the municipal authority when the latter is recruiting a teacher or head-teacher for that particular school (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 17).

Regarding external controls over schools that might affect the curricular autonomy granted to them, in the majority of countries the situation is that, as a minimum at the conclusion of secondary education, there is some form of control.

Once again, the case of England is different to that of the other countries because students have to pass examinations at the ages of 7, 11, 14, 16 and 18, in the form of the well-known scholastic aptitude tests (SATs).

Other countries set examinations during the latter part of secondary education (especially in the more academic schools or subjects), as is the case in Sweden, Denmark and France. Finally, other countries set examinations at the end of secondary education (Germany and Italy) or after it as a requirement for entering university (Spain).

Lastly, focusing on an aspect that is equally relevant for the teaching autonomy of schools, namely, whether or not the school has its own education programme, it can be seen that the majority of countries have promoted this idea. The cases of France, Netherlands Portugal and Spain provide good examples of the different concepts of this issue that exist in Europe.

Taking into account the different situations regarding school autonomy described above, the following conclusions and trends can be identified:

1. In the majority of European countries, the independence of schools has been reinforced in recent years, although in some countries there is a certain degree of resistance to giving schools greater powers and responsibilities.
2. In many cases, school autonomy has a threefold meaning. Firstly, from the point of view of the curriculum, it means allowing schools to play a greater part in deciding on its content, how to divide it up among classes, providing optional courses, free choice of teaching materials and methods, etc.⁴

Secondly, in many countries it means maintaining the traditional competence of schools as far as extra-curricular activities are concerned. Lastly, it means allowing each school to draw up its own programme and to highlight its characteristic features.

3. Concerning financial autonomy, in general there has been little concrete progress, even though in some countries significant progress has been made. In general terms, schools may still manage funds that are strictly for their own functioning or for carrying out certain activities (extra-curricular or training activities, etc.).
4. Regarding freedom to recruit and fix the working conditions of the teaching staff (which is closely linked to the previous aspect because it implies independent financial management), some comments are called for:
 - (a) there is a large degree of resistance to the transfer of power in this connection from the government authority to schools, which underlines its strategic importance;
 - (b) the fact that a school is not involved in the selection of the teaching staff with which it has to put into effect its teaching autonomy means that its autonomy is restricted;
 - (c) an analysis of the situation shows that the administrative authority that recruits teaching staff has the greatest power in the school sector (whether at the national, regional or local levels);
 - (d) nevertheless, a more in-depth analysis shows us that the closer the competent administrative authority is to the school, the more opportunity it gives the latter to participate in the recruitment of teaching staff.
5. Despite the curricular autonomy granted to schools, the State keeps for itself the identification and monitoring of the results of learning, particularly at the topmost levels of higher education. This is done in two ways (which can fully complement each other): the first is by fixing the ultimate objectives which students must meet at the conclusion of specified stages of education; the second is through examinations external to the schools which have an effect on the curriculum taught there. To summarize, aspects related to the learning process are delegated to schools, but not the results expected of the process.

Participatory bodies in schools

Starting with countries that have the highest degree of centralization, we can see that, as in Greece, the basic participatory body in schools is the staff body. Concretely, its responsibility is to: 'put into effect the school programme, assist the school, deal with disciplinary matters, and co-ordinate all the activities carried out by the students' (Greece. Ministry of Education and Worship, 1994, p. 8).

There is also the school board, whose role is 'to promote collaboration and better communication among the sectors and resolve problems related to the satisfactory functioning of the school' (Greece. Ministry of Education and Worship, 1994, p. 12). Nevertheless, in practice it has an advisory rather than an executive role.

In Portugal, for example, there are fundamentally two basic participatory bodies (apart from the classroom council): the school board and the teaching board. The former is composed of representatives of the teachers, the students (in secondary schools), non-teaching staff, parents' associations, the municipal authority and socio-economic interests in the area where the school is situated. Its role is 'to guide the school's activities' (Portugal. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 101).

The teaching board, on the other hand, is usually composed of the school's principal, the teachers responsible for the various departments and for training, co-ordinators, tutors, those in charge of the psychological and guidance services, representatives of the students and of parents' associations. Its role is 'to advise the other participatory bodies with regard to education, orientation and monitoring of the students, initial and lifelong training of teaching and non-teaching staff' (Portugal. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 102).

In France, the basic participatory body in schools is the administrative council. This is made up of the following: representatives of the municipal authority, the school administration, teachers and parents. Other particularly qualified people attend (representatives of the economic and trade-union sectors, etc.). The council is chaired by the principal of the school. Its responsibilities are mainly 'to draw up an annual report on teaching in the school, the implementation of the school programme, the results achieved and the objectives fixed, as well as to approve the budget in accordance with the terms prescribed by the legislation' (France. Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 13).

Italy, on the other hand, currently has participatory bodies set up under the 1974 reform. These are distinguished by the fact that, although there is a clear intention to involve the educational community in the management of schools, the considerable powers given to the staff body can but undermine the commitment of the rest of the community to the school.

Turning to countries with a more regional political and administrative structure, we can see that in Austria the staff body is involved in choosing the textbooks to be used in the school, on the basis of a list approved by the Ministry of Education (Austria. Ministry of Education and Art, 1994, p. 17). The school board plays an advisory role, in particular with regard to the educational methods adopted by the staff (Austria. Ministry of Education and Art, 1994, p. 20).

Concerning participatory bodies in the educational community, in Austria a distinction is drawn between primary schools (and a certain type of secondary school) and secondary schools. In the former, the basic participatory body is the class group composed of the teacher in charge of the class and the parents of the students, although when it is necessary to deal with more general questions in the school there is a body with broader participation. Secondary schools have school boards on which parents, teachers and students are represented (Austria. Ministry of Education and Art, 1994, p. 20).

In Belgium, it is necessary to distinguish between State schools and grant-maintained private schools. Both of them have school boards, although the com-

position varies as follows: in State schools the parents, teaching and non-teaching staff are represented, together with the municipal council (each group accounting for one-third of the membership). In private schools, on the other hand, in addition to these groups other members of the school's permanent staff are represented (each of them having at least two members on the school board). The responsibilities of these participatory bodies are greater in private schools as they have a higher level of independence (Ministry of the Flemish Community in Belgium, 1992, p. 38–40).

In State schools there is a staff body composed of the teachers. The principal participates, but does not have any voting rights (Ministry of the Flemish Community in Belgium, 1992, p. 39).

It is important to note that in the latest OECD report on the Belgian education system the experts stated that: 'The participatory bodies in schools only have an advisory role' (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1993, p. 113).

In Spain, the membership of school boards in State schools is composed of teachers, parents, the municipal authority, non-teaching staff, the director of studies and the principal (who chairs it). The numerical composition of the board means that staff working in the school have the largest membership. The board's responsibilities are the following: to draw up and approve the school programme; to elect the principal; to approve the school's internal regulations; to settle disciplinary matters; to approve the draft budget; to approve the overall general work programme of the school; to collaborate with other bodies; and to monitor the school as a whole (Spain. Ministry of Education and Science, 1995).

There is also another participatory body in Spain that is extremely important for teachers and that is the staff body. It is chaired by the principal and is composed of all the teachers working in the school. Its role is to define aspects related to the curriculum and teaching in general within the school.

In private schools, the responsibilities and participatory bodies are similar to those in State schools, although permanent staff play a particularly important role in these bodies.

Lastly, there are countries where municipal authorities play a more important role.

In Denmark, the school board is the most important participatory body in schools. It consists of between five to seven representatives of parents, two representatives of teachers and a further two representing the students (who cannot participate in discussion of certain matters), one representative of the municipal authority (although this is optional and he does not have any voting rights), and the principal of the school (who does not have any voting rights either). As laid down in Article 42.4 of the Folkeskole Act, parents are in the majority. The chairman must always be a representative of the parents and the principal acts as secretary. Parents are elected for four years, while the other sectors have a one-year term of office. The municipal authorities may grant financial assistance to parents

attending meetings of school boards to cover their travel, expenses, etc. (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 18-19).

The responsibilities of school boards in Denmark cover the following areas (in accordance with the current legislative framework laid down by the Ministry and by the particular municipal authority where the school is situated):

- organization of teaching: number of hours of teaching in each course; possibility of taking optional courses; availability of special teaching; number of pupils per class;
- co-operation between the school and families;
- information on the academic achievements of the students;
- division of work among the teachers;
- conclusion of agreements with the students on the school timetable, school camps, work experience, etc.;
- approval of the school's budget;
- approval of the teaching material and the school regulations;
- use of the school by the local community for cultural events;
- recommendations to the municipal authority on the appointment of the principal and teachers;
- drawing up the proposed curriculum for approval by the municipal authority (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 19-20).

In addition to the school board, there is also a teaching board composed of all the school's teaching staff and its task is to provide the principal with advice (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 21).

In England, following the 1986 Education Act, the composition of boards of governors in large secondary schools is as follows: five members elected by the parents, two elected by the teachers, six appointed by the LEA, and a further six who are co-opted or appointed by the headmaster if he so wishes (Field, 1993, p. 171).

In addition, following the 1988 educational reform, the powers of the boards of governors have been strengthened 'including the salaries of the headmaster and deputy headmaster, granting salary increases to teachers, and the need to approve budgets' (Deem & Brehony, 1993, p. 340). The changes introduced by the reform have meant that, at least in theory, boards of governors can only delegate two areas of their authority to headmasters, namely, all or part of their budgetary responsibilities and the appointment of the rest of the staff, with the exception of headmasters and deputy headmasters (Field, 1993, p. 168).⁵

On the basis of this outline of participatory bodies, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. In almost all countries, there is a fairly clear distinction between the responsibilities given to a teaching-type body, for example, the staff body, and a body that monitors what is going on in the school, for example, the school board.
2. With regard to the former body, it is mainly composed of the teachers in the school and parents are involved to a limited, if any, extent.
3. The greater or lesser degree of involvement of this more educational or curricular body will to a large extent depend on the level of independence of the

school with regard to the administrative authorities. It therefore appears that the balance of power on curricular matters is held by these two sectors (teachers and the administrative authority), and that parents are more marginalized with regard to technical and teaching matters.

4. School boards have a membership that varies according to a particular country's political and administrative structure. In countries where the national or regional authority is more involved, school boards are more influenced by the teaching sector; in countries where, on the other hand, the municipal authority is involved to a larger extent, parents (and other members of the non-scholastic community) have a larger number of members to the detriment of the professional sector.
5. Furthermore, an analysis of the responsibilities entrusted to school boards shows some relevant characteristics. In countries where there is a lower level of school autonomy, the responsibilities of school boards focus on extra-curricular aspects and are of an advisory or even formal nature. In countries where schools have greater independence, (irrespective of whether this concerns the curriculum, financial or staff matters), school boards have more executive and regulatory powers than in the others.

The post of principal

The principal also plays an important role as far as participation of the educational community in the school is concerned. Who appoints the head, what are his or her responsibilities, what is the procedure for appointment, are all matters that involve a certain concept of the role of the principal. Below is a short description of the situation in certain European countries.

In Italy, teachers may take part in a competition for the post of head of a school. The competition is composed of two parts: a written examination and an oral examination on 'the administrative and educational role of the principal'. In order to be able to take part in the competition, the teacher must be in possession of a special diploma and have at least five years' teaching experience. It is interesting to note that the principal is called the *direttore didattico* at the primary level and the *preside* at the secondary level (Italy. Ministry of Public Education, 1992).

In France, the head of a school is a State official who is appointed as a result of a competition and is considered to be a representative of the State in the school. There are certain differences between the primary and secondary levels, the latter being more professionalized (there is a principals' body, a distinction is drawn between the principal head-teacher and the deputy, etc.). Nevertheless, in both cases, candidates are given special training before taking up their post.

The role of the principal in France is to ensure that the regulations laid down by the competent authority are followed, to supervise the staff working in the school and—since the 1989 Education Act—to promote the school's education programme approved under the reform.

In Greece, principals and their deputies have the following responsibilities: 'to co-ordinate and supervise all the activities in the school in accordance with the legal provisions; to supervise the teaching staff and the school's financial management (Greece. Ministry of Education and Worship, 1994, p. 8).

The appointment of principals underwent some changes in 1992. Concretely, they have to undergo a three-year trial period, after which they can become principals for life if they obtain a positive assessment. The changes have also affected the selection procedure for principals in Greece (Greece. Ministry of Education and Worship, 1994, p. 46).

In Germany, because there is regional decentralization of education, the role of municipal authorities in appointing heads of schools depends on each *Land*. In any event, the head is appointed by the minister of the state to which the school belongs. Vacant posts are advertised publicly and teachers can put forward their candidatures. As mentioned by McAdams (1993, p. 119): 'Neither the actual school where the post is vacant nor the teachers play any role in the selection process. Local and regional officials seek candidates who have been good teachers [...]. Once appointed, they are trained at an administrative college'.

The responsibilities of principals in Germany are mainly the following: to establish good relations with the municipal authorities so as to obtain more resources from this administrative level, to maintain discipline in the school, to organize the teachers' timetable (together with them), to allocate the budget (also usually in agreement with the teachers), and to ensure that the curricular objectives laid down by the State are achieved. A principal naturally also represents the school as far as the parents are concerned and must act as such.

Consequently, the principal acts in conjunction with the teachers, and his margin for manoeuvre is small because of the low level of autonomy enjoyed by the schools (McAdams, 1993, p. 119).

In Denmark, the head of a school is appointed by the municipal authority. His responsibilities mainly relate to educational and administrative matters and the relationship between the school and the school board or municipal authority. The principal oversees the allocation of work among the teachers and takes all the decisions affecting the students. He also makes proposals to the school board on teaching and budgetary matters that are within the board's sphere of competence (Denmark. Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 20-21.)

On the basis of the above comments on school principals in some countries of the European Union, the following significant trends can be perceived:

1. The model for principals in an education system is closely linked to the country's political and administrative structure, as well as to the school's level of autonomy.
2. The model is also very much connected to the model of society itself, in other words, to the level of participation by society in the social institutions.
3. In countries where schools enjoy a greater measure of independence, it can be seen that principals must be professional and community leaders. This must be compatible with the commensurate technical capacity to carry out the

tasks incumbent upon the school, within the framework of co-ordination among the various sectors of the education community .

4. In countries where there is a greater level of national or regional centralization, on the other hand, heads must also be professionals—with a degree of stability—but this is for different reasons, namely to monitor the implementation of what has been decided upon at a higher level. It can be seen that this takes two forms: either through greater collaboration between the principal and the other teachers in the exercise of authority or through a more hierarchical structure in which the powers of control are more personal.
5. As a result of the foregoing, the system for choosing and appointing persons to such a post will vary according to the influence of the national, regional or municipal authorities, or the school itself, in management. The impact of each of these sectors will be reflected throughout the process.

Conclusions

An analysis of systems for the management of schools in various European countries shows that there are different models for participation by the education community (Sturman, 1990, p.281–82; Ferrer, 1995). A summary of these is given below.⁶

The first may be termed the *administrative model* and is characterized by greater political control by the administrative authority (irrespective of whether this is local, regional or national). This implies that schools only enjoy a low level of autonomy, usually within a centralized administrative structure. The function of school boards, and of the staff body, is above all advisory. The principal fulfils the role of representative of the State, which is deemed to be the owner of the school.

The second is the *professional model*. Unlike the previous model, this is characterized by delegation of State authority to the teachers. This model is based on the principle that professionals should manage the school because they have been trained for this purpose. The school's level of autonomy and the degree of educational decentralization, however, can be classified as intermediate. The main participatory body in the school is the staff body, while the school board has an advisory rather than formal character. The principal acts as the representative of the teachers.

The third could be called the *parental model*. This is characterized by the fact that the State considers that parents are the foremost, and almost the only, persons responsible for the education of their children. Because it has confidence in their capacity for initiative, it therefore delegates to parents the responsibility for managing the affairs of the school. In this case, the level of autonomy (at least in appearance) is high, within the context of more decentralized administration. The school board, which has a majority of parental representatives, has executive authority, whereas the staff body plays an essentially advisory role. The principal will always be a representative of the school model designed by the parents.

Lastly, the fourth could be termed the *community model*. This is based on the principle that there are different authorities in the school, represented by the three main sectors in the education community (administration, teachers and parents), and that these must all be respected. The degree of autonomy of the school is high, within the framework of a decentralized administrative system. The school board has executive authority over the school as a whole, although it delegates to the staff body authority for matters of a technical and teaching character. There is a certain balance of power in this type of participatory body, in which the parents are probably the weakest element because they constitute the least homogenous sector of all those represented.⁷ The principal is deemed to be the representative of the educational community.

Of all the models described, the one which best promotes the participation and involvement of the educational community is the last one. Its major disadvantage is that it requires a high degree of experience and democratic maturity. Nevertheless, the advantages it confers and the fact that it implies a learning process for sectors in the education community in respect of a management model justify its adoption.

Notes

1. This article is based on a study carried out by the author during a research mission to the International Bureau of Education early in 1996. This was made possible by a grant from the Comissionat d'Universitats i Recerca of the Generalitat of Catalonia. I should like to thank Juan Carlos Tedesco, Director of the Bureau, as well as the staff at the Documentation Centre and the professionals at the IBE for their valuable collaboration at all times. Any comments or suggestions can be sent to: Prof. Ferran Ferrer, Departamento de Pedagogía Sistemática y Social, Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona), Spain.
2. In 1990, the EURYDICE network carried out a special study entitled *Division of education responsibilities (national, regional, and local levels)*. This was subsequently completed by other more general studies. OECD, in a number of studies and publications on indicators in education systems, has incorporated indicators on the roles of various administrative levels in decision-making.
3. It should be borne in mind that, in some countries, financing for education mainly comes from municipal authorities so in some European countries the latter may have concrete experience in this field.
4. Regarding these issues, a study carried out under Eurydice can be consulted; it concerns primary education and the twelve countries of the European Community and contains a comparative table (EURYDICE, 1994, p.71).
5. For a study of the changes in the responsibilities incumbent upon boards of governors in England prior the reform and up to 1993, as well as for the most important criticism, see the articles by Deem & Brehony (1993), and Rust & Blakemore (1990).
6. As will be seen, the aim of designating the models is to show who holds power in schools, not to indicate the type of participation required on the part of each of the sectors (co-operative, hierarchical, associative, etc.).

7. This numerical imbalance in favour of parents should be seen as a method of positive discrimination because the logic of the institutions' functioning means that those who work permanently in schools will show greater cohesion when they have to defend their interests than persons who participate in a more irregular manner in school affairs. Consequently, if the aim is to achieve a certain balance of power in order to promote consensus and agreement among the parties, measures such as that proposed should be adopted. The Danish case is a good example of this.

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THE UTILIZATION, DEPLOYMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF PRIMARY TEACHERS IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

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Introduction

In many parts of the developing world, the ambition to provide primary education for all in a context of structural adjustment and austerity has attracted growing attention to the question of how to optimize the investment in the teaching personnel, on which most countries spend the lion's share of their education budget. In many instances, more pupils could be accommodated if the teaching staff available was used in a more efficient manner. At the same time, the quality and equality of the educational provision, as well as the job satisfaction of teachers, depend to a large extent on their appropriate deployment and utilization. However—surprisingly—little systematic research has been done on how to make the best possible use of the teaching force available, and in particular, how to make sure that teachers are allocated to the place where they are most needed and that their potential is tapped and promoted in an optimal way, from both the system's and the teacher's perspective.

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This paper presents some of the major results of the country monographs carried out in Botswana, Malawi, South Africa and Uganda within the framework of the International Institute for Educational Planning's (IIEP-UNESCO) project on 'The Deployment and Management of Teachers'.¹ It attempts to outline the main challenges and policies relating to the utilization and deployment of primary teachers in these four countries, as well as a few issues which appear to be particularly important with a view to managing this area in an efficient way.

Present challenges and policies of teacher deployment and utilization

CURRENT CHALLENGES OF PRIMARY TEACHER PROVISION

In the countries studied, primary enrolment has recorded a substantial increase since the 1980s; this could be due in particular to an unprecedented expansion of the teaching staff employed at this level. Botswana and South Africa have attained universal primary education enrolment for both boys and girls. Malawi and Uganda can have hopes of approaching the target of universal primary education within the next ten years, if the present pace of enrolment growth is maintained; this, however, has challenging implications. Given the projected high growth of the primary population on the one hand and the particularly serious financial constraints which they are facing on the other hand, these latter two countries will have to address the challenge of *providing an increasing number of primary teachers while containing the expenditure on teachers*. The most efficient use of the staff available will be high on the agenda of their educational managers.

In Botswana, the *quantitative* provision of primary teachers appears to be less problematic, while in South Africa there is even a surplus of teachers in some provinces of the country. However, as the mediocre survival rates of the respective primary cohorts until grade 5 suggest, all four countries have to cope with problems of internal efficiency and quality in many primary schools and need to be concerned about the *qualitative aspects* of the deployment of their primary teachers. In certain contexts, particularly that of the present post-*apartheid* era in South Africa, the adequate response to this challenge will be of crucial importance, not only for the functioning of the education system, but also for the overall social and political stability of the country.

ISSUES RELATED TO THE PRESENT PROFILE OF PRIMARY TEACHERS

Primary teachers in the four countries considered are on average relatively young: the majority are below the age of 35 and one-third or more have less than five years of professional experience. The number and proportion of *young and inexperienced teachers* can be extremely high, as in the case of Malawi where the recent introduction of free primary education has entailed massive recruitment of new teachers.

In Botswana, Malawi, Uganda and—to a lesser extent—South Africa, the primary teaching corps is comprised of a significant proportion of *unqualified or underqualified staff*. In Uganda and Malawi, about 40% of all primary teachers are unqualified; even the formally ‘qualified’ teachers are generally considered to have received professional training of rather poor quality. In South Africa, a large proportion of primary teachers have qualification levels below the official norm. A major common challenge is, in a short-term perspective, to deploy the un- or underqualified teachers in the most efficient way possible across the different schools of the country, i.e. particularly taking into account the availability of qualified teaching and support staff who are able to provide these teachers with help and advice.

A second challenge relating to the efficient use of un- and/or underqualified teachers consists of providing them with adequate training. In Malawi, where the number of newly recruited unqualified primary teachers is particularly high, special teacher education programmes and projects have been conducted over recent years in order to provide training to these teachers as rapidly as possible. The current MIITEP (Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme) constitutes a particularly interesting scheme for rapid and large-scale in-service training; it combines a three-month residential course with distance training, follow-up seminars and workshops organized at local (sub-zonal) level. This training programme is offered to three cohorts of 3,000 trainees per year. Considerable efforts in the area of in-service teacher training have also been undertaken—with obvious success—in South Africa, where a large number of underqualified primary teachers have been upgraded within the last few years. There is ample evidence that, in order for the competencies thus acquired to be fully utilized on the job, the newly trained teachers need certain favourable conditions. *Careful posting and adequate follow-up support play a crucial role in this respect, but they do not seem to be common in practice.*

Apart from a certain number of similarities, the comparison of the primary teaching staff of the four countries also shows some *contrasting features*. In particular, the *percentage of females in the primary teaching staff* differs to a large extent from one country to another. Among the primary teachers of Uganda and Malawi, for instance, only about one-third are women, whereas they form three-quarters of the primary teaching staff in Botswana and South Africa. Even in the two latter countries, women teachers still tend to be under-represented in posts with special responsibilities (heads and deputy heads of schools, etc.). Educational decision-makers and managers have to consider that the provision of female teachers can have a positive impact on the participation and retention of girls in primary education, especially in the more traditional rural communities. Therefore, it is desirable to reach an *adequate level of representation and an even distribution of women teachers* across the different areas and primary schools of the country. Some of the country monographs suggest (although precise reliable data on this point are not available) that absenteeism tends to be higher among female than among male teachers, the main explanatory factors mentioned being pregnancy,

child-care and other family duties which women have to fulfil in society. The conclusion for educational managers is, of course, not to limit the number of women teachers employed but rather to *create appropriate conditions for their optimal use* (recruitment and posting in their community of origin, if possible; provision of child-care centres annexed to schools, etc.).

REMUNERATION AND SATISFACTION OF PRIMARY TEACHERS

Teachers' presence and satisfaction on the job appear to depend, to a significant extent, on their level of remuneration and the regular payment of salaries. The morale of primary teachers tends to be mediocre where, as in the case of Uganda, the reported salaries of primary teachers are extremely low; on average the latter earn only slightly more than US\$400 per year—which is ten times less than someone with the same level of formal qualification working in the private sector. The situation is significantly different in South Africa where primary teachers receive entry salaries between US\$7,000 and 13,000 per year, according to their level of qualification and post; i.e. they earn the equivalent of an executive secretary and half the salary of an electrical engineer in the private sector. In Malawi and Uganda, primary teachers have, furthermore, been facing serious problems of delays in the payment of their salaries, which tend to reinforce absenteeism and low commitment among teachers. In Malawi, teachers who went on transfer reported that it takes as long as three months before their pay is sent to their new station. Botswana on the other hand, seems to have been successful in addressing the issue of regular payment through the spread of banking services and the institution of special 'pay days' on which teachers are not on duty and can go to collect their pay from their bank account, if necessary.

NORMS AND PRACTICES OF TEACHER UTILIZATION

The staffing of primary schools is commonly guided by prescribed official pupil/teacher ratios and, in some cases, staffing formula taking into account the size of schools.

The *officially prescribed teacher/pupil ratio* is relatively high in the four countries, with 1:40 in Uganda and South Africa, 1:45 in Botswana (although the government aims at reducing it to 1:40 in the medium term) and 1:60 in Malawi. More than the official norms, however, it is the large variation of actual pupil/teacher ratios among schools that raises serious problems in practice. Thus, in Malawi for instance, it is not uncommon that a primary teacher teaches up to 150 pupils. The teacher 'double-shift' system—i.e. the same teacher teaching two classes/streams, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon—exists in South Africa and Uganda in certain schools. Malawi and Botswana do not use this teaching mode (but they apply another type of 'double-shift' which consists of using the same classroom for two classes with two different teachers). The pros and cons of using this strategy for reducing the class size without increasing the teaching staff

have to be carefully balanced. The same holds true for multi-grade teaching, which constitutes another way of rationalizing the utilization of teachers, especially in sparsely populated areas, but this is not very common in the four countries studied. However, there is an apparent need to *review and, if necessary, further differentiate and refine the official norms and standards that are guiding the utilization of teachers* (i.e. staffing of primary schools, teacher workload, teaching mode, etc.), taking into account the actual constraints and conditions which schools and teachers are facing.

Another central question for countries in search of ways of making a more 'rational' use of their available teaching force may indeed be to what extent it is possible to increase its workload. The figures from Malawi and South Africa indicate that there are substantial *variations in the workload* of primary teachers between the two countries mentioned. At the same time, however, there may be variations in teachers' workload within a country. Such is the case of Malawi, for instance, where the number of contact hours for Standard 5 to 8 teachers is much higher than that for Standard 1 and 2 teachers. However, hasty conclusions from international comparisons on possible increases of teachers' workload should be avoided. Where salaries are so low that primary teachers are obliged to have a second job to make ends meet, raising the teachers' workload—without adopting any accompanying measures—does not appear to be a promising strategy.

In any context, however, it is important for educational managers to take into account the amount of class contact which teachers actually have. In this respect, it is surprising to note that all four countries have neglected to monitor this indicator and suffer from a lack of related data at the central and intermediate levels of administration.

IMBALANCES IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF PRIMARY TEACHERS

Imbalances in the geographical distribution of qualified teachers can be observed in each of the countries studied—although in South Africa the most serious imbalances exist among schools rather than geographical areas. In Malawi, the number of untrained primary teachers is particularly high in the Southern Region, with some 47% of the total primary teaching staff in this region being unqualified (the national average is 40%). In Uganda one can observe similar proportions of unqualified teachers in a certain number of districts. In both of these countries, the capital and a few other urbanized areas suffer the least from a shortage of qualified teachers. As the respective country monographs suggest, thorough investigations could even reveal that in certain urban areas a significant proportion of teachers receiving full salaries are idle or largely under-utilized. South Africa and Botswana, on the other hand, have been able to reduce geographical disparities in the distribution of qualified primary teachers: the first through the spread of a rather large number of teacher training institutions over the country's territory; the second through a whole array of measures, in particular compulsory posting, special

allowances for voluntary and mandatory transfer to vacant posts and accelerated promotion for teachers serving in remote areas.

Geographical imbalances also exist with respect to the distribution of *female teachers* who tend to be concentrated in urban areas. At present, the balanced provision of qualified female teachers in rural areas remains an open problem in Uganda and Malawi, as well as in some of the remotest areas in Botswana. This may at least partly be attributed to the 'urban/rural gap' characterizing the living conditions in some of the countries studied, as well as to posting rules and practices, which have facilitated the deployment of female teachers to posts in proximity to their spouses (who tend to be employed in white-collar jobs in the urbanized areas). Where geographical disparities in the infrastructures provided are limited and where the mentioned posting rules are not applied, as in the case of South Africa, the remaining problem consists of the relatively high proportion of under-qualified staff among the female teachers employed in remote areas.

Because of their relatively difficult living and working conditions, certain remote areas do not only have problems in attracting qualified and experienced teachers; in certain countries (Botswana, for example), they also suffer from a relatively high rate of teacher turnover due to attrition and *frequent requests for transfer* out of these areas. Overall, the rate of attrition among primary teachers has been declining or stabilized over recent years, since alternative employment opportunities for trained teachers have become scarcer. It is alarming, however, to note that in Malawi and Uganda health problems and death (which are partly attributed to HIV diseases) have become the main reason of *teacher attrition*.

PROBLEMS OF MISMATCH BETWEEN POSTS AND THEIR TENANTS

The majority of the countries considered here seem to be facing rather serious problems of mismatch between the theoretical requirements of senior posts, especially those of head-teacher posts, on the one hand, and the actual profile of the tenants of such posts on the other. In most cases, such posts are filled with applicants satisfying certain requirements in terms of formal qualification levels and years of experience in the teaching service. Some attempts have been made to introduce certain 'merit' criteria in teacher promotion to higher grades; in Botswana for instance, it is actually not uncommon that junior 'high flyers' are promoted more quickly to a senior grade than many of their colleagues with more years of service.

Another critical issue is the under-representation of women in senior posts. Uganda is presently trying to address this problem through the application of a special quota for women in head-teacher and deputy head-teacher posts.

However, specific training for the new responsibilities is often not provided or else offered only once the person has been nominated for and taken over the new post. Unfortunately, this and other precise and detailed information on the existing mismatch between posts and tenants are presently lacking. The lack of data and qualitative information on many critical questions regarding teachers

actually appears to be one of the major causes of inefficiencies in the management of teacher deployment and utilization in the countries studied. This and other central management issues will be tackled in the next part of the present paper.

Crucial issues in managing teacher deployment and utilization

The monographs on Botswana, Malawi, South Africa and Uganda commonly point out that problems of primary teacher deployment and utilization have been and could be further attenuated through appropriate management arrangements. The efficiency of the latter appear to be influenced in particular by the information system, the structures of administration and the specific rules and procedures on which the management of teacher deployment and utilization is based.

INFORMATION FOR TEACHER MANAGEMENT

The development of comprehensive and reliable information systems to assist in the management of the education sector constitutes a major current concern everywhere. It seems to be widely agreed that, without reliable, accurate and up-to-date information, it is impossible to plan coherently and systematically for the development of the education sector and, in particular, to manage efficiently and effectively its most important and expensive resource—teachers.

In the countries studied, relevant information for the efficient utilization, deployment and management of teachers is generally collected in the framework of school censuses. District offices are in charge of gathering the information required from schools and of transmitting them to the central (and/or provincial/regional) headquarters of the Ministry of Education. The latter is commonly responsible for global planning tasks, including forecasts of teacher supply and demand, and the allocation of teachers to the different regions or other geographical units of the educational administration. At the same time, information for teacher management is also needed at the intermediate, especially regional and/or district levels, to which certain staff management tasks are—at least on paper—increasingly devolved.

The reality is that, although some progress has been made, countries are experiencing major difficulties in setting up and maintaining systems which will provide the relevant and reliable information required for staff planning and management.

Comprehensiveness and relevance of the data base

In all four countries, the databases available for teacher management contain only a very restricted set of relevant information. The data which are commonly collected, processed and accessible at a nationwide (or sometimes at regional/provincial) level generally concern the number, age, sex and level of qualification of the permanent teaching staff. Some information on staff utilization—namely,

teacher/pupil ratios—and on the geographical balance of teacher allocation is also widely available. However, there are many other important aspects of teacher utilization and deployment on which relevant data are missing, piecemeal and unreliable, such as teacher attrition, absenteeism, frequency of transfer, attendance at in-service training courses, working and living conditions of teachers, and the actual workload and class contact of teachers. There is also very little systematic information on so-called ‘temporary teachers’ (hired on the basis of short-term—but renewable—contracts), the number of whom is presently expanding rather rapidly in many countries of Africa South of the Sahara. In some cases the information on teachers available at central (or provincial/regional) level is incomplete because not all districts send in the requested data. Governments are increasingly aware of the importance of efficient educational management information systems, and there is hope that, when these are developed, the area of teacher management will be given particular attention. There is also a case for carrying out more surveys (looking at samples of teachers and schools) and for educational research in general which could complement the existing statistical and administrative information on teachers and their utilization.

Availability of up-to-date information

In some of the countries studied, administrative bodies involved in teacher management do not have computers and other modern technical facilities, which could help in processing rapidly a comprehensive set of relevant data and presenting them in adequate formats for individual and system-management purposes. Over recent years, growing efforts have been made to develop computerized information systems for the administration of teachers’ salaries and allowances. South Africa, for example, introduced at the beginning of the 1990s, an electronic Personnel and Salary System (PerSal) which seems to have greatly enhanced the administration of personnel and financial matters in the education sector. However, considerable ‘teething troubles’ have been experienced in implementing the system, which still does not function as a ‘unified’ database comprising all South African teachers and cutting across the different administrative units which formerly governed the separate segments of the *apartheid* school system, but are now supposed to merge and form one single administrative apparatus.

Coherence and reliability of the data bases

The lack of coherence and reliability of data on teachers have also been of great concern to educational managers in most countries. Shortcomings in the coherence of data are mainly attributed to a lack of co-operation among the different units involved in the management of teachers. Lack of reliability, on the other hand, is often a result of inaccuracies and sometimes even of falsification of data made by school heads and teachers.

In many cases the collection of data which are relevant for their efficient utilization and management is, indeed, not synchronized and co-ordinated among the different ministries and concerned services and the methods and formats used for

data collection are not uniform. Botswana, however, seems to have made considerable progress in this area over recent years in institutionalizing the co-ordination between the various services collecting data from schools and teachers. Promising measures have also been undertaken in order to get to grips with unreliable data on actual teacher demand and non-satisfied teacher requirements—a problem which brings the forecasting of teacher supply and planning of teacher allocation in certain cases close to a ‘trial and error’ exercise. Thus, in Botswana, the reliability of data transmitted from the school level has been improved mainly by increasing the accountability of school heads through various incentive and disincentive measures, and also thanks to a rather close supervision by education officers based at regional and district levels.

Another interesting initiative involving several departments has been conducted in Uganda in order to make the database on teachers more uniform and reliable and to eliminate ‘phantom’ teachers’ from the payroll. Teachers wanting to be paid were requested to provide a certain amount of personal data separately to all the different administrations concerned (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, Teaching Service Commission); cross-checking of the data was then carried out and in the case of discrepancies it could be decided to eliminate those concerned from the payroll.

Easy access to relevant management information

Easy access to the relevant data of teacher management for all those concerned (including teachers themselves) remains a widely unsolved problem. In certain cases the relevant data are kept in paper files which may easily be misplaced; a more rational organization of the teacher record system still needs to be established. In other cases, computerized databases exist, but those in charge of planning and managing the deployment and utilization of teachers do not have sufficient knowledge of their existence, content and possible use. In all cases, however, it is particularly the district and regional offices which suffer most from a lack of access to comprehensive and systematized databases for the completion of their managerial tasks in the areas of teacher posting, transfer, in-service training, etc. These intermediate levels often do not have the technical, human and institutional capacities to build up a management information system of their own and use it in an efficient way.

Outlook

The development and effective use of information systems for teacher management will require significant funding, but a cost-benefit analysis would almost certainly prove the case for an immediate investment of time and money, as the present lack of systematic and reliable data represents the very heart of the problem.

A beginning has been made in many countries. However, as the preliminary results of the studies mentioned suggest, the existing information systems need to be significantly improved to become comprehensive, relevant and operational. At the same time, it will be of paramount importance for the successful functioning of

decentralized teacher management to promote the development and use of adequate databases and related staff training at the intermediate levels, particularly at the district level, of teacher administration.

The shaping and organization of information systems to be used at these levels will be largely influenced by the forms and degrees of decentralization and decongestion of powers. The following section will tackle the main current trends and structures of teacher administration in the four countries and reflect on their impact on the deployment and utilization of teachers.

CURRENT STRUCTURES AND TRENDS OF TEACHER ADMINISTRATION

In all four countries, the central Ministry of Education has retained the responsibility for planning and policy making. Between the ministry and local levels there are, depending on the country, two or three intermediate levels—e.g. province, region and districts—that in the main have a responsibility for implementing educational policy and carrying out a great number of tasks, such as identification of vacancies, and posting and transfer of primary teachers within the district/region. South Africa has devolved most of the responsibilities relating to teacher management to the provinces and the declared policy of most provinces is to decentralize management further by increasing the power of the districts in this area. In Uganda, districts have already been given the power to hire and fire primary teachers. Malawi, furthermore, has a Public Service Commission and Uganda a Teaching Service Commissions at both national and district levels involved in teacher administration. These commissions are generally in charge of registering and administering decisions concerning teacher appointment, assignment and promotion. The community councils in Uganda and, even more so, the school boards in the case of South Africa also have an important say in teacher posting, transfer and certain other administrative (especially disciplinary) matters concerning primary teachers.

When comparing the four countries, it is interesting to note that there has not been a uniform constant trend towards increasing decentralization of teacher administration. Botswana has actually moved from educational administration based on local education authorities towards a more centralized system in which the Teaching Service Management unit of the Ministry of Education monitors and controls rather closely the deployment and utilization of teachers, although many administrative and supervisory tasks are carried out by the regional and district offices. In Uganda, on the contrary, the declared policy of power devolution to the districts constitutes a move away from the traditionally very centralized system of educational administration.

Both centralized and decentralized systems seem to have their specific problems with regard to the management of teacher deployment and utilization. Where teacher administration is rather centralized, as in Botswana and Malawi, there tend to be long delays or other 'unplanned' obstacles in the implementation, posting and transfer of decisions. On the other hand, the recent decentralization of teacher recruitment and transfer in Uganda is reported to have accentuated exist-

ing inequalities in teacher provision and to have worsened the situation of under-privileged districts or local communities, which have been unable to attract good teachers. Moves towards community participation in teacher management also seem to have reinforced the phenomena of local preference, thus biasing decisions on teacher deployment and promotion.

A criticism which appears in almost all contexts undergoing processes of educational decentralization is that district education officers do not provide the level and type of professional and administrative support that central administrations, teachers and principals expect from them. The main explanatory factors are the shortage of staff, the lack of appropriate training and of adequate resources which districts receive for carrying out their tasks. Another open issue in all four countries is how much power and responsibilities should be devolved to school heads. Where they are given significant influence on decisions relating to the recruitment, transfer, appraisal and promotion of teachers, there seems to be a case for setting up mechanisms ensuring their accountability towards both the general public and the administration.

School inspectors or other supervisory bodies can be given a very important role in the processes of 'checking and balancing' the respective interests and action of all those concerned with or by the deployment and utilization of teachers (including teachers themselves). However, they are only in a position to do this when they can visit schools regularly and when their supervisory role is clearly defined and recognized by the school heads and teachers. These conditions seem to be met in the case of the education officers in Botswana, but not in Uganda and South Africa where the authority of school inspectors has been eroded during the recent period of political instability and change.

In any case, the results suggest that 'satisfactory' management in this area, from both the system's and the teacher's perspective, depends less on the degree of decentralization than on the rules and procedures on which it is based.

MANAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DEPLOYMENT AND UTILIZATION OF TEACHERS

From the country monographs summarized here, it appears that there are particular shortcomings in the existing arrangements for inefficiencies in the deployment and utilization of primary teachers. They seem to be particularly due to shortcomings in: (a) the planning and management of teacher supply and allocation; (b) the regulation of posting and transfer; (c) the management of staff development though promotion and training.

Supply and allocation of primary teachers

Lack of accuracy in projections of teacher demand and supply is still a widespread problem which eventually leads to significant inefficiencies in teacher allocation. It is mainly attributed to shortcomings in the established links of communication and co-ordination between the planning department and other departments holding

information and taking decisions regarding teachers, e.g. those in charge of pre-service and in-service teacher training. With a view to addressing this problem, steps have recently been taken in Uganda to strengthen the Planning Department of the Ministry of Education and to incorporate in it, henceforth, the function of planning teacher supply which was formerly performed by the Teacher-Training Department.

Almost everywhere the accurate identification of actual teacher requirements raises particular difficulties. One major reason for this is the widely applied rule that teachers are allocated according to the number of pupils on the school roll—a rule by which school heads are ‘tempted’ to inflate pupil enrolment figures. Errors in the identification of actual teacher requirements are also made because data on enrolments, expected for the beginning of the school year, are either not available in time or change in the course of the school year due to seasonal fluctuations or variations caused by pupil movements from one school to another. These problems have been partly addressed in some of the countries through early pupil registration (three months before the beginning of the school year in the case of South Africa) and through the checking of school rolls at regular intervals (in the case of Botswana, ten days after the beginning of the school year, as well as in the middle and at the end of the school year).

Another initiative aimed at rationalizing the use of the teaching staff has been conducted in Uganda where ‘staffing ceilings’ are, henceforth, imposed on all primary schools and excess teachers to be redeployed. A significant number of teachers have thus been redeployed to posts which had been left vacant. However, there are limits to this strategy; not all teachers identified as excess staff accept the vacant post offered to them. On the other hand, school heads have a tendency to identify as ‘excess’ staff those teachers who raise disciplinary or other problems and who also tend to encounter difficulties of being accepted as new staff by any other head-teacher.

In order to fill the vacancies left open, the hiring of temporary teachers has become a common strategy. Rapid and flexible adjustments to teacher requirements may thus be made, especially where education officers operating at regional or district level are given the power to decide on the employment of temporary teachers. Certain posting and transfer arrangements may also help to address the problem of vacant posts.

Posting and transfer arrangements

The benefits of efficient postings and transfers are well documented. The latter can, in particular, contribute to providing a more equitable balance of teachers by grade, age, sex, etc., across the different schools of the country; if carefully done, they may also help in restoring discipline and eventually improve the academic performance of particularly weak schools.

In all countries there are posting and transfer arrangements which are aimed at addressing imbalances in teacher deployment. Hence, it is common to oblige newly trained teachers and those asking for promotion to serve for a certain num-

ber of years in a remote area where vacancies are difficult to fill. On the other hand, however, transfer practices also take the personal (e.g. health) and family situation (e.g. workplace of the spouse) of the teachers concerned into account. Actually—with the exception of South Africa—countries generally grant a significant number of transfers to allow wives to follow their spouses. These transfers, while helpful to the teachers, do little to correct the imbalance or disparity between schools, districts or regions.

In most countries, teacher transfers occur mainly on a voluntary basis and are requested by teachers, either because of personal or family circumstances or sometimes to gain wider teaching experience. The imposed or compulsory transfer appears to be used only occasionally to help balance the number of teachers, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Hence, the overall effect is that there are still very significant imbalances in staffing between similar sized schools. In Botswana, however, compulsory transfers are not only legal but also actually implemented with the help of certain accompanying compensatory measures (free transportation, special allowances), although there are still cases of teachers' resistance to imposed transfer decisions. Mandatory transfers are more difficult to achieve where the necessary funds to provide incentives to transfer, disturbance allowances, transport, decent accommodation, etc., are lacking. In Malawi, for instance, a significant number of transfer decisions cannot be implemented because the administration is not in a position to provide the required transport facilities.

Last, but not least, it is of interest to educational policy makers and managers to consider the possible impact of decentralization on the management of imbalances in teacher deployment. Generally, transfers *within* the different districts are managed by the district offices themselves. Teacher transfers *between* districts are usually managed at regional level and inter-regional transfers are managed by the headquarters. Uganda constitutes an exception, as the power to decide on transfers between districts was recently devolved to the district level. In practice, however, district offices seem to have great difficulties ensuring the flow of information on vacancies in other districts and handling transfer requests fairly and rapidly. As a result, most decisions on transfers from one district to another continue to be taken via the headquarters. Moving away from centralized regulation seems to be a difficult undertaking which is accompanied by growing rather than diminishing risks of generating or reinforcing imbalances in teacher deployment.

Managing staff development

As indicated in the first part of this article, a significant part of the staff appointed to teaching and head-teacher posts does not meet the theoretical requirements related to these jobs. In all four countries studied, a variety of training programmes have been conducted over recent years, particularly for un- and underqualified teachers, but also for those who wish to be upgraded or eligible for promotion. Surprisingly, little information, is presently available on the management aspects (e.g. the cost-effectiveness) of the various training programmes and how the latter are planned and co-ordinated with policies of teacher deployment and utilization.

Access to in-service teacher training is generally regulated by certain rules and criteria. However, little systematic provision seems to be made to ensure that, on the one hand, individual decisions about enrolment in in-service training take sufficient account of the staffing needs of the schools concerned and that, on the other hand, follow-up in the form of consequent deployment and support be provided to those having completed such training. In the case of countries such as South Africa, where almost half of the teaching staff employed is involved in further training, the planning and management of teacher utilization and deployment becomes an extremely difficult task. The setting up of precise global staff development plans is recognized to be an urgent need; yet, in none of the four countries do such plans presently exist. It also seems to be widely acknowledged that a move towards more school-based 'in-service training' would serve both the system's interests and those of many teachers.

Almost everywhere, particularly in South Africa, enrolment in training for upgrading purposes constitutes a major reason for teacher 'attrition', i.e. teachers' absence from their job over a relatively long period of time. This can hardly be avoided when the teachers' remuneration is closely linked with their formal level of qualification. However, especially in countries facing austerity measures in the education sector, managers may be led to critically assess the cost and other implications of such a policy.

In Botswana, as in South Africa, there have been improvements in the institutional arrangements and procedures regulating access to promotional posts in primary schools. Promotional posts are advertised and some indications are given concerning the job functions and specification of the profile of eligible candidates. Applicants are short listed on the basis of their respective file and then interviewed locally by a panel comprising the regional/district officer and the school head. In the case of South Africa, the decision-making power is largely decentralized, with representatives of the school board and of the teacher unions also participating in decisions on promotional matters. In Botswana, on the other hand—as well as in Uganda—the headquarters has maintained a certain control over decisions in this area; its representatives are on the 'Mobile Boards' (comprising, furthermore, the regional/district education officers and school heads concerned) which are formed at district level to decide on appointment to promotional posts.

There are certain indications however, that in many instances promotion decisions continue to suffer from a lack of transparency and fairness, and that the established mechanisms of supervision and consultation need to be further improved in order to address this problem.

A few general conclusions

A variety of policies have been developed to improve teacher posting, transfer and promotion, as well as staffing standards, in order to make the deployment and utilization of teachers more efficient and equitable. The most successful among them have often been designed in consultation and partnership with the various stake-

holders. The main difficulties however, seem to arise in relation to the implementation of such policies. Little attempt seems, for example, to have been made to counteract the remaining imbalances in teacher deployment and utilization in effecting imposed transfer or by establishing better systems of control and regulation. Although, in the future, the development and appropriate use of management information systems constitutes a major avenue for possible improvements, the crux of the problem may be more about how local management confronts difficult decisions and how the main elements of the staffing of schools—establishing staffing standards, planning of teacher provision, transfers, promotions, postings etc.—are co-ordinated and managed jointly at central, intermediate and school/local levels.

Note

1. The four monographs to be published within the IIEP's project 'The Deployment and Management of Teachers' are: *The deployment and management of teachers in Botswana* by Kgomoetso Motlotle; *The management of teacher deployment in Malawi* by H. Mchazime and H. Siege; *Managing the deployment and utilization of teachers: South Africa in transition* by Jane Hofmeyr and Rosamund Jaff; and *The deployment and management of primary teachers in Uganda* by Joseph Eilor.

TRENDS / CASES

STANDARDIZATION AND DIVERSITY

IN CURRICULUM DESIGN:

THE CASE OF ONTARIO

Vandra Lea Masemann

Introduction

The main focus of this paper is to examine curriculum reforms in Ontario, Canada, as an example of two seemingly contradictory reforms: the centripetal tendency to standardize curriculum to enhance 'excellence' and the centrifugal tendency (which is currently known as the issue of 'equity') to diversify educational offerings for an increasingly diverse population. The goals of these two activities have not been officially seen as contradictory and certainly not as polar opposites, but as two strands moving in the same direction in a linear model of improving graduation outcomes, decreasing the drop-out rate from secondary schools, and producing a cohort of graduates who will be better equipped to compete in a global economy. The purpose of this paper is to examine recent reforms in Ontario, as well as the document called 'The Common Curriculum', to see to what extent these reforms are congruent or contradictory.

Background

The focus of interest of many comparativists who teach courses in the foundations of education has in the past *not* been on curriculum. However, in recent years,

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there has been an unprecedented amount of discussion in several countries about what is popularly called in Ontario 'The Curriculum'. This interest has been demonstrated by students in courses at faculties of education, by policy-makers, by parents, and even by newspaper columnists. It was also referred to by eminent scholars such as Patricia Broadfoot and other comparativists in their presentations at the fifteenth Conference of the Comparative Education Society in Europe held in Dijon, which focused on comparative perspectives in the evaluation of education (Broadfoot, 1992).

The topic of creating innovative curriculum units at the school or classroom level has been discussed for a considerably longer period of time, particularly since large school administrations in Canada loosened their control over the standardization of textbooks in the 1960s or 1970s. With the development of the concept of 'learning resources' and computerization of instruction and information banks, it has been less possible for individual school boards to enforce standardized content or teaching methods. At the same time, other pressures are mounting on school boards to standardize their evaluation procedures.

Ontario is a case in point. After the publication of the Hall-Dennis Report in 1968 (Hall & Dennis, 1968)—a wide-ranging review of the state of education in the province—standardized textbooks were abandoned for a set of guidelines of approved resources, the graduation examinations at the end of high school were abolished and the role of school inspector was redefined.

Although the language used now by critics to describe these reforms sounds quite negative, these changes were not phrased in such terms at the time; and the motives of school reformers of that period were quite positive, in that they believed that teachers would have much more room to design their own curriculum, and students would have a much greater choice of subjects, particularly at the secondary school level. In elementary school, the emphasis was to be on finding the teaching method that best suited the learning style of the student.

From a professional standpoint, the teacher was to have much greater individual discretion in purveying the basics of education, and thus would have enhanced professional status. Teacher unions were very active in this period, and the rise in teacher salaries was justified, in part, by this increased professional responsibility (Ray, 1991). Moreover, as teachers' colleges were gradually being closed, elementary teachers were required to have a university degree and to attend university for their teacher education. In a comparative perspective, teachers in Canada are some of the most highly remunerated in the world, although they are not civil servants, as is the case in Germany, for example.

Various critics have pointed out that this shift in the shape of education and the subsequent changes in the curriculum did not necessarily work to the betterment of the position of teachers. Michael Apple has linked the development and standardization of curriculum resources, 'kits' and computer software to the ultimate de-skilling of teachers (Apple, 1990). In a collection of essays on reforms in teaching, edited by Weis et al., it is argued that even the differentiated staffing model will not enhance teachers' professional status, since administrators will

challenge the encroachment into their professional terrain (Weis et al., 1989). Moreover, Linda McNeil argues in the same book that efforts to mandate state-wide standardized reforms in school practices will cause the most creative teachers to leave the profession (McNeil, 1989, p. 160).

The other context in which the curriculum has received a great deal of recent attention has been in the efforts of various countries to centralize curriculum planning or standardize curriculum requirements. The case of the United Kingdom has been of particular interest at several recent conferences, including one on Educational Decision-Making in Open Societies held at the Max Planck Institute in Berlin in March 1993 (Morris, 1993). The efforts to implement a National Curriculum in England and Wales have been of such scope that parents' manuals are available in even the mass circulation bookstores (Gillespie, Bishop & Greenwood, 1991). Several of the major issues in that case are applicable to the Ontario situation, and even some of the terminology of the documents is the same.

The publication of the results of the International Educational Assessment (IEA) studies in the 1980s and 1990s had also served to bring the issues of assessment and accountability to the public mind (Postlethwaite, 1987). Although the total educational expenditures in Canada's provinces and territories are the second highest in the world, the results given in the IEA studies were not as high. The fact that nearly half of Canada's immigrants settle in Ontario has been advanced as an explanation of why Ontario results in the IEA studies are lower than in several other provinces. For several years, it was also a major reason why the Minister of Education in Ontario did not wish the province to be included in nation-wide testing. By 1991, however, Ontario had agreed to give up its observer status and participate in the national School Achievement Indicators Program planned by the Council of Ministers of Education (CMEC) to test literacy and numeracy levels (Ontario, Ministry of Education, 1991).

In an attempt to diversify evaluation procedures, to standardize teaching aims, and to invent some acceptable form of accountability, the Ontario Ministry of Education, as well as the Toronto Board of Education and other school boards in Ontario, invested heavily in the development of a series of 'Benchmarks' for grades 3, 6, and 8/9 in languages and mathematics (Toronto, Board of Education, 1991). The 'Benchmarks' were standards of performance based on the observation of how students performed on various tasks which were defined as part of the curriculum at the various grade levels. Each task had five levels associated with it, which were outlined in booklets for each level and subject. A series of videos was also produced showing students performing at various levels. Workshops have been held for several years for teachers throughout the Toronto system. The Toronto 'Benchmarks' have been sold to many school administrations around the world.

The provincial 'Benchmarks' were devised more as a set of demonstration standards, 'a comprehensive set of publicly agreed on standards that would be part of an overall assessment or evaluation framework' (Rappolt, 1993, p. 2). Moreover, they were linked to a basic shift in the concept of curriculum itself: 'the

shift from what we called an “intentions-based” curriculum [. . .] where the curriculum is stated in terms of the objectives and the teacher is the person responsible for the action [. . .] to an outcomes-based system [where] the student is now accountable for the outcome’ (Rappolt, 1993, p. 3). The second shift was to separate the desired result from the performance. These shifts have enormous and seemingly so far unacknowledged implications for the philosophical consideration of the nature of schooling, the conception of the student, and the definition of knowledge. These implications are, however, not the focus of this paper.

Parents have not seen the subtleties of some of these distinctions and have complained publicly that the ‘Benchmarks’ project was an attempt to obfuscate the lack of accountability of the system and to create a multiple set of standards that diverted attention away from the refusal to participate in the nation-wide testing (V. Masemann, Personal observations, Parents’ meetings in Toronto, 1993, 1994).

The development of ‘The Common Curriculum’ was the logical outcome of the shift to an intentions-based curriculum. It became necessary to outline what was expected of students at particular grade levels and upon graduation (Ontario, Ministry of Education and Training, 1993a). It is interesting to note that the development of ‘The Common Curriculum’ occurred during the same time period as the development of the document ‘A resource guide for anti-racist and ethno-cultural equity education,’ without a doubt the most far-reaching document on these issues ever to be published by the Ministry of Education (Ontario, Ministry of Education and Training, 1993b). There was certainly not universal consensus on its content in school districts throughout the province, although the Ministry of Education made strenuous efforts to have its recommendations implemented.

In the next section of this paper, some historical and political factors particular to Ontario will be discussed before the focus shifts to the curriculum documents.

Historical and political factors

In addition to the IEA studies, the development of ‘Benchmarks’, and the influence of the National Curriculum in England and Wales, several very specific events in Ontario led up to the policy emphasis on educational outcomes.

In the political sphere, Ontario was led by a Conservative government from 1943 to 1985; as of June 1995, the Conservatives regained power at the provincial level. ‘Until the late 1960s, the policy process was distinctly slow, incremental, top-down, and in a tradition that dates back to Egerton Ryerson, the first Chief Superintendent of Education and its inspectorate’ (Paquette, 1991, p. 3). From 1985 to 1992, the government was Liberal, and the New Democratic Party governed with an overwhelming majority from 1992 to 1995. Reforms in the ten or so years under Liberal and New Democratic Party governments can be interpreted from a political point of view as advancing the cause of racial and ethno-cultural equity (centrifugalism) in line with the official policies of these governments. At the same time, the governments of that period were affected by the forces of cen-

tripetalism that were the result of increasing public demand for accountability and results during a time of fiscal restraint. Moreover, both governments were strongly influenced by the arguments based on human capital theorizing that they were and are linked by business leaders to anxieties about the preparation of graduates to compete in the global economy and specifically in the North American economy after the conclusion of the North American Free Trade Agreement (Calvert & Kuehn, 1993).

The human capital resource development agenda was presaged in another important review of education in Ontario carried out in 1987. The then Liberal Premier contracted George Radwanski, a journalist and newspaper editor, to 'identify and recommend ways of ensuring that Ontario's education system is, and is perceived to be, fully relevant to the needs of young people, and to the realities of the labour market they are preparing to enter, with particular emphasis on the issue of high school dropouts' (Radwanski, 1988). The first conclusion of the report was 'that the emphasis of educational philosophy in Ontario be shifted from process to outcomes, and that the objectives of education be defined in terms of the acquisition of specified demonstrable knowledge and skills by all children' (Radwanski, 1988, p. 195).

Although the report made many other policy recommendations, the reforms that followed were not implemented in a holistic manner as the report's author had intended. Moreover, since two provincial elections ensued, it eventuated that the elected officials responsible for some of the reforms had not been in the government when the original report was written. Thus the contradiction occurred in the early 1990s of a New Democratic government carrying out and continuing reforms in the direction of standardization that were not necessarily based on an underlying set of assumptions about education that were in accord with the main tenets of its avowed philosophy regarding diversity or 'equity'. There were unelected civil service employees, however, who continued much of the substantive work that had begun under the preceding governments.

The New Democratic government also instituted wide-ranging reforms in regard to racial and ethno-cultural equity, increased participation of parents in educational decision-making, and the appointment of a Royal Commission to study education in the province, reforms which were perceived to be more in keeping with their philosophical and political agenda (Royal Commission on Learning, 1994). Nevertheless, the force of the curriculum reform agenda powered by economic pressures was unrelenting, and even more in evidence with the return to a Conservative government.

Moreover, the economic agenda was the primary election issue, as voters continued to deal with the continuing effects of the recession and calls to reduce the role of government, lessen the provincial debt and lower taxes. Furthermore, one of the major reasons for the defeat of the New Democratic government was its programme to implement 'Affirmative Action' (in the hiring of staff drawn from minorities, women, the disabled and aboriginal persons) in the government and its attempts to introduce it elsewhere in the workforce.

Thus, it can be seen that the struggle between the forces of standardization and diversity were not in any sense merely curricular issues in Ontario. They were exemplified in the political platforms of two contending political parties, and popular support for at least one choice was demonstrated in the election results: a victory for the Conservatives. How the strands of standardization and diversity were constructed in the curriculum documents is the focus of the next section.

'The Common Curriculum'

'The Common Curriculum' was first released as a working document in 1993 (Ontario, Ministry of Education and Training, 1993a). It was widely distributed to educators, parents, and the public for their comments and suggestions. It was published in its print form in three volumes in 1995 (Ontario, Ministry of Education and Training, 1995a, 1995b and 1995c).

Since it was conceived of as a 'work in progress', it was intended that it should be 'revised, strengthened, and updated on a regular basis, much like a piece of computer software, based on the comments of the people using it' (Wideman, 1995, p. 3). It is also available from the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training Gopher on the Internet at *gopher@edu.gov.on.ca* in English and French, so the computer-based analogy is becoming increasingly apt.

'The Common Curriculum' working document and the 1995 version are organized into three parts. Part I outlines the principles that guide practices in classrooms and schools. Part II identifies the ten essential cross-curricular learning outcomes, and Part III outlines the four programme areas and their specific outcomes. The material covers three levels of outcomes, for grades 3, 6 and 9.

In the working document and in the 1995 version, the following aspects are noted as 'key features':

1. It is defined in terms of learning outcomes rather than objectives or allotted time.
2. It is designed for all students; that is, a school's programmes must accommodate the various abilities, needs and interests, as well as the differing racial and ethno-cultural backgrounds, of all the students in the school.
3. It is holistic in its view of an increasingly complex and interdependent world; that is, it places emphasis on connections and relationships—among ideas, among people and among phenomena.
4. It requires that programmes at the school board and school levels be planned collaboratively by staff, students and the community to ensure that local needs are met.
5. In emphasizing outcomes, it provides a basis for evaluating student achievement and programme effectiveness.

Moreover, the 1993 version states a commitment to the principles of accountability, excellence, equity and partnership (Ontario, Ministry of Education and Training, 1993a, p. 2).

In the 1995 version, the principles of 'excellence' and 'equity' have been added as a sixth 'key feature' and have been 'linked together [...] to highlight their connectedness' (Wideman, 1995, p. 4). A former government official who had co-ordinated the development and review of the document justified this change in emphasis in this manner:

A school that is able to respond to the needs of all its students is also a school that is best able to promote educational excellence. The Common Curriculum challenges us to break down the barriers that have produced inequitable outcomes for students from some social groups, to view the diversity of Ontario society as a means to enhance all students' achievement, and to develop students who appreciate diversity and are equipped for responsible citizenship (Wideman, 1995, p. 4).

Part I, the section on principles, summarizes sets of principles underlying learning, teaching, curriculum and evaluation. It is stated that

the curriculum shall be free of bias and shall reflect the diverse groups that compose our society. The curriculum must reflect the variety of peoples and cultures in Ontario and Canadian society and accurately reflect the contributions and accomplishments of men and women of all races, cultures, religions, ages, abilities, and backgrounds (Ontario, Ministry of Education and Training, 1993a, p. 8).

In Part II, the section on learning outcomes, there are ten general goals pertaining to: (1) language; (2) mathematics; (3) science; (4) technology; (5) history and social studies; (6) commitment to peace, social justice, protection of the environment and a global perspective; (7) human relations, human rights and citizenship; (8) valuing work and learning and developing plans for the future; (9) exercising aesthetic judgements; and (10) building healthy lifestyles and relationships.

In the four core programme areas of Part III, there are four components: language; the arts; self and society; and mathematics, science and technology. In all four areas, issues of diversity are explicitly addressed.

In the 'language' core area, both first- and second-language learning are addressed: 'Research in the field of language learning has confirmed that learning another language or several languages has positive effects for learners when they are allowed to maintain their first language' (ibid., p. 16). However, the Education Act of Ontario still mandates only English and French as official languages of instruction, while throughout the province, 'Heritage' (also called 'International') language classes may be run by continuing education departments in other languages requested by parents. (These language programmes have been under severe threat because of budget cuts announced since the 1995 election.)

In the section on 'arts', there is explicit linkage with culture: 'In studying works from different cultures, the focus should be not only on the range and variety of artistic themes and forms, but also on the connections and shared elements that demonstrate the universality of much of human experience' (ibid., p.20).

In the section on 'self and society', there is a specific focus on 'Understanding diversity':

The study of their own history, culture and linguistic background and of the background of others in the community, province and country helps students to develop an understanding of their roots, pride in their cultural heritage and identity, and awareness of the contributions that men and women from diverse ethno-cultural and racial groups have made to the development of Canada and the world [. . .] helps students begin to understand, among other things, political and social conflict and movements, as well as the ways in which people's aspirations have been, and still are, shaped by such variables as gender, disability, race, location, and socio-economic, cultural, and religious background (ibid., p. 23).

In the 'mathematics and science' section, there is one general learning outcome that states that students will 'understand that mathematics, science, and technology do not exist in isolation but shape and are shaped by a variety of societies and cultures' (ibid., p. 29). There is also reference to the fact that students should learn about the contributions of Canadians and others to mathematics, science and technology.

The last and largest section of the document is the one that lists all of the learning outcomes in the four core areas for grades 3, 6, and 9. In the part of this section dealing with language, the principles of first- and second-language learning are explicitly articulated and supported. It is noted that:

Many students come to school literate in a language that is different from the language of the curriculum. Students' first-language literacy enhances many aspects of second-language development that are related to overall conceptual ability and academic achievement (ibid., p.31).

First-language outcomes are then listed for English and *Français*/French as languages of instruction in Ontario in reading, writing, listening and speaking.

However, outcomes are also listed for second-language proficiency outcomes in English-as-a-second-language and *Actualisation linguistique en français* [French-language update] for students who come to school with little or no knowledge of the language of instruction. Outcomes for French-as-a-second-language (FSL) and *Anglais*/English for students learning the other official language are also included. The last two categories are proficiency outcomes in Native-as-a-second-language (NSL) for speakers of aboriginal languages and those for Heritage/International languages (sometimes called third languages). The five areas of outcomes are listening, reading, speaking, writing, cultural understanding and language-learning awareness. In the last two areas, students are to gain the ability to think about language in a social context and to become cross-culturally aware and linguistically adept.

Similarly, in the other three core areas, there is a strong cross-cultural emphasis in many aspects of the learning outcomes. The outcomes are consistent throughout with the precepts in the Ministry of Education's document on anti-racism and ethno-cultural equity (Ontario, Ministry of Education, 1993b)

Conclusion

In this very brief analysis of the new curriculum documents in Ontario, it can be seen to what extent forces moving toward diversity (concerns of 'equity') and forces moving toward standardization (concerns of 'excellence') were present and whether they conflicted with or were co-terminous with one another. Although the political origins of both tendencies seem to be entirely different, the document 'The Common Curriculum' seems to exemplify a surprisingly harmonious blending of the two. The explanation can be advanced that perhaps this blending was an unforeseen result of being formulated at a historical moment when there was a government in power that had already done the groundwork of formulating a policy and sets of principles underlying an anti-racist and ethno-culturally equitable agenda. Even though curriculum developers were compelled by political pressure, to some extent by popular demand and even by some indirect pressure from the terms of the North American Free Trade Agreement to submit to forces of standardization, they already had enough material from community and professional consultations on equity issues to enable them to incorporate it into the document without giving way entirely to agendas of standardization.

In this case, it was a historical accident that allowed this synthesis to be achieved. In other documents that address learning outcomes, such as the 'National Curriculum' in England and Wales, or the 'Blueprint 2000' document from the State of Florida (Florida, Department of Education, 1995), the issues of diversity are very much subsumed within the framework of standardization as it pertains to minority underachievement.

When the Director of Education for the Toronto Board of Education was asked if minority groups in Toronto had a distinct position on educational standards and benchmarks, she replied:

The leaders of our different parent groups believe that their children should be performing at the same level, with the same range of opportunities, as other children have traditionally. So they don't want remedial programs [. . .] They also want their children's evaluation to reflect that experience (Joan Green, quoted in Russell, 1993, p. 19).

The document, 'The Common Curriculum' seems to bear out the spirit of that assertion, and reflects the Ministry of Education and Training's response to it. The inclusion of the principles of 'equity' and 'excellence' as key features of the final curriculum document further attests that the curriculum developers were aware of the possibility of these being seen as two competing agendas in the public mind.

An analysis of the reasons for the blending of the two principles as one linked concept needs to go beyond a merely political explanation. These reasons must be examined in relation to the philosophy of a multicultural and multiracial society that underlies the documents. The concept of 'minority group' is not used in this formulation, nor is it assumed that society consists of a number of layers of ethno-cultural and/or racial groups that have a predictable hierarchy in measured outputs

of the education system, reflected in standardized test scores, as in many American school districts, for example.

The document does not set up one culture as superior to another as a charter culture, nor does it argue issues of elitism or 'cultural literacy.' It certainly avoids any English/French conflict. It proposes a model of language learning that ensures that immigrants are integrated into the school system, and that they retain as much as possible of their first languages. It takes into account the experience of Aboriginal students and of Black students and the problems of racism in society. It acknowledges the diversity of culture of all students, and proposes forms of education that respect and acknowledge differences in persons and culture. It focuses on the needs of the information age, the labour market and the global environment. These goals seem to be effectively twisted together into a single thread, rather than leading in opposite directions.

Is there any criticism at all that can be made of 'The Common Curriculum'? Critics of centralized curriculum documents will reject the superimposed framework that the document implies (but even they will acknowledge the thoroughness of the local consultation process). From a cultural perspective, the fragmentation of the subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic into over several hundred learning outcomes might seem to situate knowledge or curriculum in the post-modern era. Even the attempt to re-knit all the strands by having inter-related curriculum goals seems to be an artifice. The essential wholeness of the knowledge base seems to be gone forever, since entire cultures have been obliterated or are being forgotten.

However, the emphasis is now on the individual learner, rather than on groups or cultures as such, and the task of re-integrating knowledge seems to be the major task for future learners. Since cultures have been breached, the boundaries among culture-bearing individuals are going to have to be negotiated in new ways. As individuals and their families become increasingly mobile, and travel to various countries during their educational and occupational careers, this form of cultural fragmentation is rather adaptive, provided that people share common values about the importance of 'excellence' in the relationship of education to career success in an increasingly credentialized world (Ilon, 1994) and the role of 'equity' in building civil multicultural, multiracial societies. The people who are not part of this 'globalized' view of culture are those who are still embedded in a high-context cultural nexus, in which their possibilities for mobility are limited, by value system, economic necessity, remoteness from population centres or other factors (which may be seen as either positive or negative). Those who are internationally mobile may consider it a fair price to pay for anti-racist and equitable education: that they all carry only part of a culture with them and that they participate in the wider consumer/political culture as individuals who master 'outcomes'. In this vision, excellence can be entwined with equity in a global vision of education on the world scene. The voices of those who do not share this vision, or who are already dispossessed, are heard more and more faintly.

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EDUCATION REFORM IN SPAIN:

FIVE YEARS ON

Elena Martín Ortega

Introduction

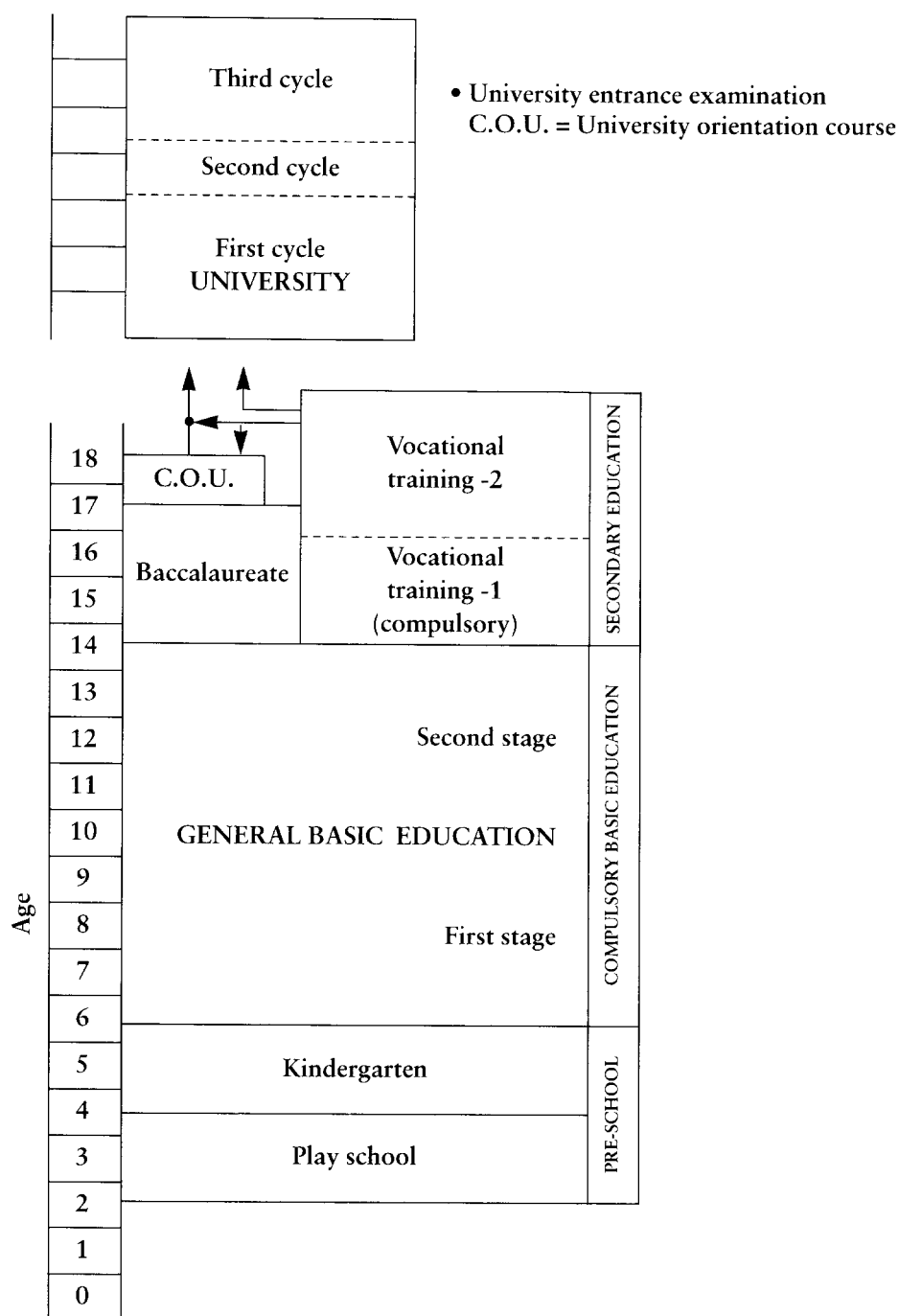
In 1987 the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science published a white paper on what was to become the Organic Law on General Reform of the Education System (Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo, LOGSE), together with initial information material on the new proposed curriculum. The most controversial aspects of both the structure and the curriculum proposed under the reform were debated throughout an academic year. In October 1990 the new Organic Law on Education (LOGSE) was approved by Parliament with the endorsement of most political parties. Reorganization was broadly initiated in the primary grades during the 1990/91 school year and, tentatively, in some secondary schools. The corresponding curricula were gradually introduced in the subsequent years and more than 80% of the new courses are expected to be in place by 1996/97.

Educational reform in Spain has significantly modified the earlier system, particularly where compulsory secondary education and the new model of vocational training are concerned. Comparisons between the stages of education under the Law of 1970 and under the Organic Law on Education are provided in Figure 1. Nevertheless, in implementing the profound and comprehensive changes

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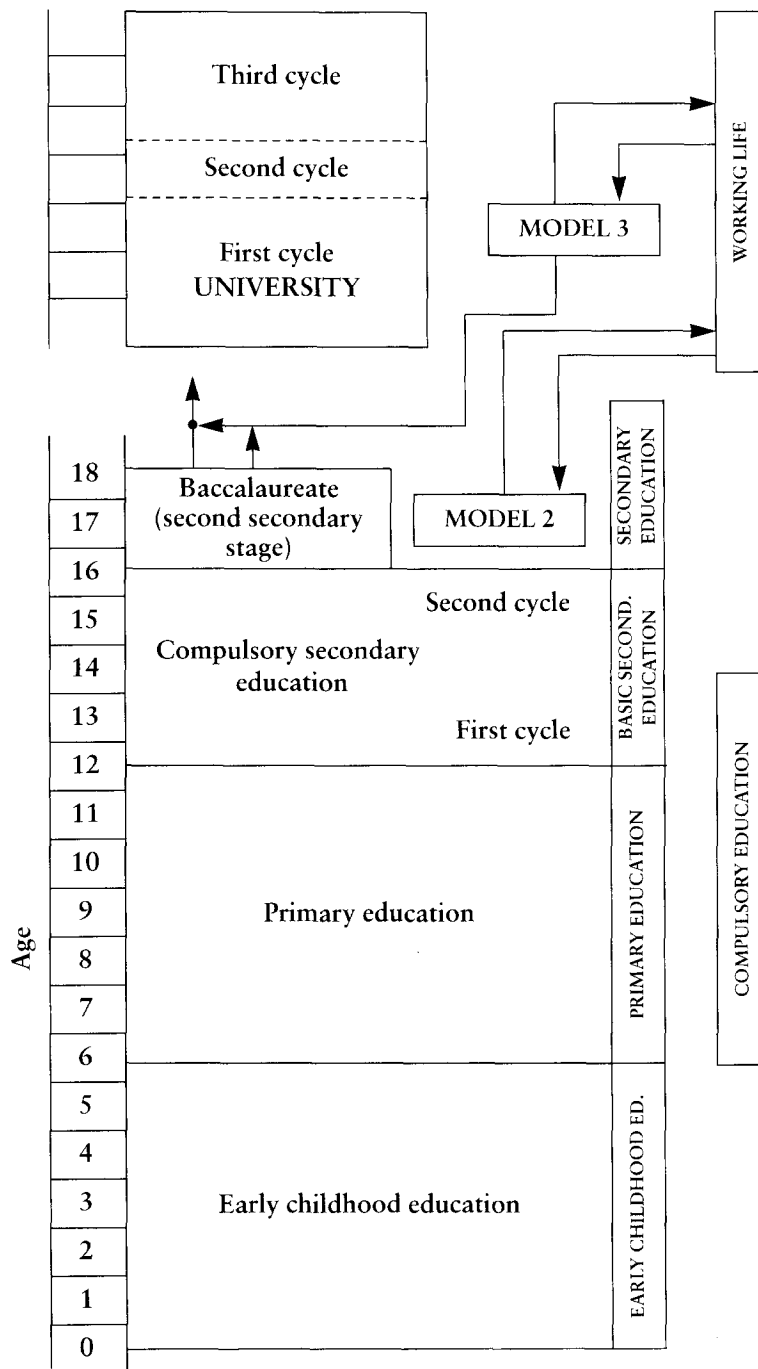
Ph.D. in psychology from the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, professor of developmental psychology and education at the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid, Director-General of the Ministry of Education and Science. For the past ten years, she has been involved in preparing and applying educational reform. Research has focused on curriculum-related issues, psycho-educational counselling, and evaluation of the learning process, teaching staff and schools. She is the author of various articles published in *El papel de la psicología del aprendizaje en la formación inicial del profesorado* (1995) [The role of the psychology of learning in basic teacher training] and in the reviews *Desarrollo psicológico y educación* [Psychological development and education] and *Aula de innovación educativa* [Innovation in the classroom].

FIGURE 1. The education system before and after reform



FORMER EDUCATION SYSTEM
GENERAL LAW ON EDUCATION 1970

• University entrance examination



NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM
LOGSE, 1990

required under the new law, the educational administration was not seeking only, or even chiefly, to alter the structure but rather to introduce specific changes in the system for the sake of a gradual improvement in the quality of teaching.

This article will discuss the basic principles underlying the new educational reform in Spain and review what these initiatives have achieved five years on.

The educational administration decided on six priority areas for action to improve the quality of teaching: curriculum development; psycho-educational support; teacher training and professional development; autonomy of educational establishments; their organization; and assessment procedures. While undoubtedly not exhausting the list of areas where reform might lead to better-quality teaching—a notion, incidentally, very hard to pinpoint—the elements identified certainly feature among those put forward in the most significant literature in the field (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1989; Chapman, 1991; Reynolds, 1991; Mortimore, 1994). The fundamental purpose of action in those important areas is to ensure that educational establishments can respond adequately to the diversity of abilities and interests among pupils. From the viewpoint of educational reform in Spain, that criterion is the best indicator of the quality of education, quality in this sense meaning equality of educational opportunity and avoidance of any notion of efficacy in school that might mean excluding the most disadvantaged pupils on personal, social or cultural grounds.

A decentralized and meaningful curriculum in support of diversity

The curriculum, as an expression of educational goals and a practical guide for classroom teachers, is a fundamental aspect where innovation and better teaching are concerned. The new model of curriculum development sprang from the belief that decisions regarding curriculum should be decentralized. More precisely, the curriculum should be defined at different levels of specificity and different people should be responsible for the task at each level. The new curriculum plans provided for under the Organic Law on Education are established at three levels, as outlined in Figure 2. The government laid down the minimum common educational requirements for the entire country, which must therefore be followed in all teaching establishments. At the second level of elaboration, the basic curriculum is broadened to include courses reflecting the special features of each autonomous community, as established by the competent educational authorities. At the third level, each educational establishment gives concrete form to the official curriculum by adapting it to the special characteristics of the pupils and to the particular social needs of their environment. Under this system, each school designs its own specific educational plan and curriculum plan, as illustrated in Figure 3. Lastly, individual classroom teachers adapt the agreed curriculum to the particular characteristics of their pupils.

FIGURE 2. Curriculum elaboration levels

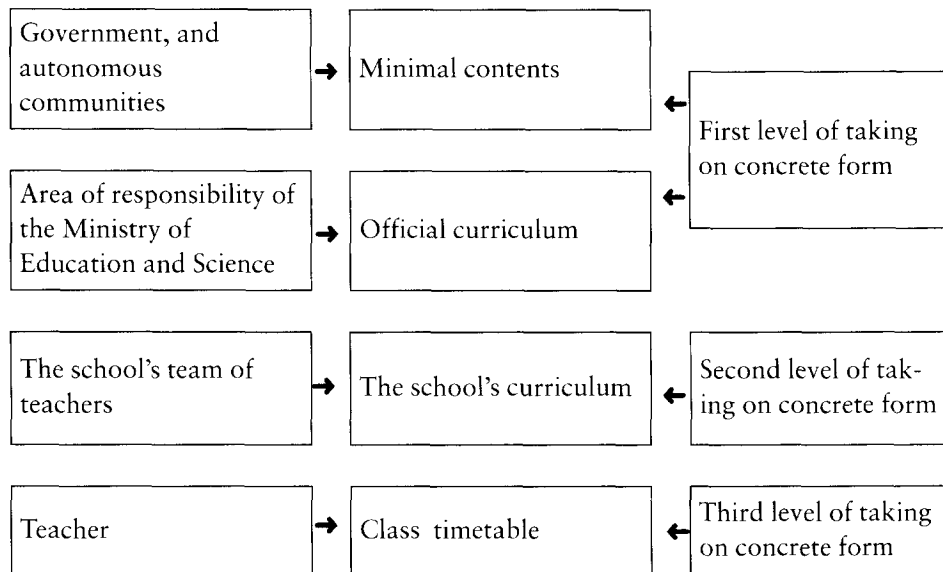


FIGURE 3. The school's educational plan and the curriculum plan

School's educational plan	Curriculum plan
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Distinguishing features ● Proposals put forward by the school ● General objectives by stage ● Contributions from parents, pupils and teachers ● Operating standards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● General objectives by stage ● Sequence of objectives and subjects to be studied at each level or in each course ● Methodological strategies ● Assessment strategies and methods ● Guidance and tutoring

The autonomy of educational institutions, inasmuch as determining their own identity and the extension of their instructional opportunities are concerned, is regarded as a factor for improving the quality of education since it leads to a response more in line with pupils' particular needs. From that perspective, the levels of curriculum elaboration (Coll, 1987) are, in fact, levels of adaptation to the diverse social and cultural environment and to the individual characteristics of the pupils.

Together with the option of a decentralized model, the new curriculum has additional features and structural characteristics which also reflect the basic goal

of adapting the teaching and learning process to the different abilities and interests of the pupils.

SELECTING OBJECTIVES AND SUBJECT-MATTER

One of these characteristics is that identification of the general objectives of the various stages of education, which indicate due achievement as a result of schooling, is seen in terms of skills rather than behaviour patterns. Skills may be reflected in various kinds of behaviour. Hence, it is more appropriate to set academic goals in the light of what it is considered that all pupils should have in common, namely the skill in question, and to let teachers determine specific types of conduct, thereby catering for a variety of phenomena that would otherwise be excluded.

This is nevertheless not the only thing about the objectives that makes for diversity. The range of development areas, with their corresponding skills, is likewise a useful tool for adjusting educational provision. The objectives refer to five types of skills encompassing the major areas of development: cognitive development; personal equilibrium; interpersonal relations; social involvement and activity; and motor skills. This helps to enhance all the facets where pupils may display greater proficiency, hence discarding the usual approach whereby cognitive aspects come first and foremost, and much other potential may be overlooked.

In line with this educational and developmental approach, the course content and classifications are also being broadened. The incorporation into the curriculum not only of conceptual subject-matter but also of functional capacities—the skills, expertise and techniques which correspond to various subjects—in addition to values, norms and attitudes, results in a more comprehensive and meaningful picture of the world and underlines the importance of teaching not only ‘knowledge’ but also ‘know-how’ and ‘life skills’, to use current phraseology (Mauri et al., 1992; Zabala et al., 1993).

Noteworthy among the limitations of most curricula in countries more or less close to Spain is an excessive, and in some cases exclusive, focus on facts and concepts. The unbalanced emphasis on such content within those curricula reflects the assumption that knowledge is acquired through conceptual learning. We now know that such an assumption is misguided and that acquiring knowledge naturally not only involves learning concepts but also depends on acquiring skills, expertise and techniques, together with specific values that generate certain norms, attitudes or types of behaviour.

On the basis of this conception of the significance of building knowledge that may explain reality, it is essential to incorporate the three types of learning into the curriculum. This has been done in the Royal Decree on Minimum Educational Requirements and the Royal Decree on the Curriculum, which regulate education under the reform. Knowledge is acquired through three types of learning, while deliberate educational action in the different subject areas makes the process of teaching and learning more complete and meaningful.

Not only have these innovations not caused problems, they have institutionalized what was already being done by most teachers, who had seen the need to teach both content and method, as prescribed in educational forums. At the same time, the case for teaching pupils values, norms and attitudes has kindled serious controversy within the teaching profession. This controversy is quite warranted and cannot be ignored. Indeed, only when the basis of this educational approach is understood and accepted can the undoubtedly difficult task of teaching value-oriented content begin.

At the risk of over-simplifying the matter, the introduction into the curriculum of value-oriented subject-matter can be justified on two grounds. First, even a cursory examination of the world in which we live shows that, in addition to conceptual knowledge and procedural know-how, there is a need for ethical inquiry and that the act of teaching in itself requires a particular stance in respect of what is to be learned. Social problems provide an obvious illustration of the need for such an approach. In order to understand a conflict, such as that in Rwanda, pupils must have a grasp of specific geographic, economic and cultural concepts. But that alone is not sufficient: once the roots of the conflict have been understood, pupils must then learn to form an opinion and take a stand with regard to the matter and to act accordingly.

Secondly, in addition to epistemological arguments, there is the logic that derives from pure introspection. Anyone reflecting on the matter will readily see that norms, values and attitudes are part of what is learned at school. Thus, it is only reasonable to integrate norms, values and attitudes into the curriculum: what pupils learn at school should be part of the planned course content rather than the product of a 'hidden curriculum'. While pupils may be learning this type of material *de facto*, teachers need to promote such knowledge by teaching it in their classrooms.

Another aspect of the curriculum that was stressed in the reform is the significance and functionality of the subject-matter as a criterion for its selection. To make learning meaningful and, in so doing, to avoid difficulties throughout the process, the subject-matter must be meaningful to the pupils and stimulate their desire to learn (Solé, 1993). Providing functional lessons is thus a way of avoiding possible problems. Functional here means not only and not chiefly the relationship between course content and everyday life and its immediate practical application, but also the tie between current courses and future courses, that is, the usefulness of the material as a tool for future learning. A functional curriculum is a basic requirement for all pupils and, even more so, for those with learning difficulties.

TRANSVERSE THEMES

Closely linked to the importance of teaching values is the new approach in the reformed curriculum prompted by social concerns: the incorporation of transverse themes. Transverse education refers to teaching subjects that have a strong social impact. Transverse themes are areas of knowledge of particular concern to society

and in reference to which the consciousness of children and adolescents should be developed.

Education in the areas of environment, health, equality of opportunity between the sexes, peace and consumer practices is intended to raise awareness of problems whose resolution is essential for the future of society. The framework for teaching these issues is the moral education curriculum, intended not to replace religious instruction but to provide knowledge that is basic and essential to all, regardless of religious belief.

Some of those subjects were, of course, part of the curriculum under the previous system. However, the process of reform has introduced three new features: regularity, priority and a transverse nature. Individual teachers may no longer decide, according to their concerns and sensibility, whether to focus on such matters. From now on, and at a gradual pace, as is necessary with any new approach requiring a change in attitudes, transverse themes will be systematically taught at the different levels of education and as part of the various subject areas and stages.

Transverse themes do not answer the question what to teach, but rather why to teach it. For example, a traditional subject like energy could be presented from a strictly physical point of view or within a wider framework of environmental education, with emphasis on topics such as energy waste or the differences in energy consumption and production between countries of the North and the South. The same could be applied to subjects relating to the human body, which take on special meaning when placed in the context of health education.

Transverse themes are, particularly in the case of the core curriculum, issues to which priority must be given. The reform does not go so far as to define the curriculum entirely in terms of transverse themes. At the same time, they are considered to be basic elements of the curriculum. The reason is that when contemporary society expresses concern about the defects of certain individuals, it tends to associate those flaws not so much with deficient academic knowledge as with a lack of tolerance and solidarity, and a lack of awareness about the importance of protecting the environment and refusing any form of discrimination, appreciation of consumer issues, and so on.

The curriculum has thus been broadened to include systematic, high-priority and transverse themes. The fact of being 'transverse' encompasses a number of aspects. First, the themes do not constitute separate subjects, isolated from the rest of the course; instead, they are integrated into the main part of the course content found at each educational level. To provide a sound education, the teaching of transverse themes has to draw upon various areas of knowledge.

Partly as a result of the foregoing, but mainly because of their very nature, the themes in question are also transverse in the sense that they are the responsibility of the teaching team as a whole, rather than of a single teacher. The consistency of the teaching provided, both in the classroom and elsewhere, will determine whether pupils have clearly perceived the message.

This, in turn, ties in with another aspect of these themes—also transverse to some extent—which is that they transcend the curriculum and should influence the

general atmosphere of the school. A transverse theme is, by definition, one about which pupils acquire knowledge both inside and outside the classroom. For that reason it is vital to analyse any aspect of a school's overall structure and operations which might reflect those themes. It is of little use, for example, to provide excellent classes in health education when squalid lavatories or filthy kitchens reveal quite another notion of cleanliness and healthy eating. It is pointless to sing the praises of participation and democracy when, in reality, some groups in the school are debarred from decisions in which they should have a say.

ASSESSMENT

In terms of innovations in curriculum planning and development, the reform has emphasized the way in which the learning process is assessed. It is vital, in that regard, to draw a clear distinction between estimations for training purposes and those for assessing academic progress. From the pedagogical standpoint the most important function of assessment is to help determine how far the planned goals have been attained, in order to modify the teaching process accordingly. Without any 'continuous' and 'formative' assessment, the teaching process could not be readjusted. Assessment must therefore be carried out so as to provide information relevant to that function. It is not enough to discover that a pupil has failed to learn something; the assessment should determine exactly how far the process has gone, since learning always advances in a stepwise fashion, where and why the pupil 'got lost', and why the pupil has been unable to complete the remaining steps in acquiring that particular knowledge. Assessments undertaken for that purpose must be based on specific procedures and instruments (Coll & Martin, 1993), which introduce greater complexity into the educational process but also provide one of the most effective tools for avoiding learning difficulties.

The idea of 'comprehensive' or 'integrative' assessment, as proposed under the reform and understood as covering the full range of skills stated in the general educational objectives, likewise has great potential where catering for the diverse abilities of pupils. According to this concept, decisions regarding assessment, both for training and for the purposes of promotions and credentials, should be based more on the skills identified in the curriculum than on specific areas of knowledge. Skills cannot, of course, be acquired in the abstract and are always learned in the context of specific subject-matter which has, moreover, been selected for its cultural pertinence and hence must form part of the basic knowledge to be learned. Still, when all is said and done, the real aim of compulsory education is to help pupils build up the specific abilities regarded as necessary for adult life or for further studies. Abilities are thus the ultimate goal of education and this, for the reasons just noted, implies an assessment process giving recognition to many more pupils than would be the case if it were just focused on specific knowledge acquired or not acquired in each content area taken separately.

Psycho-educational support for schools

It has not been an easy task to apply the principle of equal opportunity and its corollary, attention to diversity, which form the backbone of educational reform in Spain, especially at the secondary school level. Consequently, as the new system was launched, great emphasis has been placed on setting up counselling and psycho-educational units in the schools. At the primary level, sectoral teams of psychologists, educators, social workers and, where necessary, speech therapists, provide these services for groupings of pre-primary and primary schools.

The secondary schools have a counselling department similar in structure to the other teaching departments and staffed by a psychologist or educator and three secondary teachers in the humanities, science and technology. In the case of schools providing special education services, the counselling department includes a further two teachers, one trained in special education and the other in hearing and language. The use of a range of professionals in the counselling department is based on the belief that, to offer teachers suitable psycho-educational support, counselling is needed in concrete curricular terms. It is not enough to provide teachers with general recommendations on the most effective teaching methods; those general principles must be linked to the specific subjects taught under each section of the curriculum. This, it seems to us, requires the collaboration of various professionals—from experts in educational psychology to specialists in the major areas of knowledge. Furthermore, these teachers are responsible for organizing and, in most cases, teaching in tutorial groups pupils in compulsory secondary education who experience greater learning difficulties.

As envisaged under the new system, psycho-educational services are designed to prevent the need for clinical-type action at school. Thus, the principal task of these back-up units—which may be sectoral teams or counselling departments—is to act as consultants during the preparation of educational and curricular plans and to help ensure that the teaching and learning processes are adapted to the pupils' varied needs, thereby avoiding potential learning problems.

Psycho-educational work affects the basic operations of the school. The teachers need advice to ensure that the curriculum is adapted to the specific circumstances of the school, addresses existing problems, is internally consistent and can be put into practice. It will likewise be an important function to advise teachers on the best programming to cater for variations in the rates of learning, and on teaching materials available and the most appropriate system of assessment. It is advisable that psycho-educational staff should work with the administration to produce organizational structures and guidelines for the various sectors of the educational community that help improve the functioning of the school.

The psycho-educational personnel must work in conjunction with the teaching staff rather than set themselves up as a body of experts prescribing cut-and-dried recipes for teachers who then have merely to apply them. Psycho-educational counselling is conceived as a learning process for teachers enabling them to incorporate new teaching skills and thus to improve their professional expertise.

Teacher training and professional development

Although reform undoubtedly requires the agreement and co-operation of the entire educational community, the teaching corps is the key to any far-reaching change in the education system. The initiatives taken in the Spanish reform in respect of the teaching corps relate basically to training and the establishment of career development paths.

The reform has introduced major changes in both initial and in-service teacher training. The basic innovation with respect to initial training has to do with the preparation of secondary teachers at university as from next year. One of the main defects of the Spanish education system before LOGSE was the lack of teacher training for secondary teachers. Graduates in various disciplines could join the civil service with very little background in educational content. In terms of both duration and content, the teacher's diploma course provided by universities lacked the necessary rigour to ensure proper teacher training. LOGSE introduces a university course of at least one year with a major component consisting of training in psycho-educational and practical teaching aspects of the speciality itself, and a very large portion of the timetable is devoted to practical work in educational institutions, a prerequisite for rigorous training.

With regard to continuing or in-service training, the reform has made teacher-training and resource centres—new units set up specifically to organize training—part of the education system. These centres are furnished with educators from the various specialist fields, who are picked from among the finest teachers and are completely dedicated to this task, which is based on two fundamental principles, namely, the 'training in centres' model and reflection on teaching practice as the most suitable means of providing training. The conception of education put forward in the Spanish reform lays special emphasis on the need to direct training processes more towards teams of teachers than towards teachers individually. The curricular model described under the first point affords the centres greater autonomy and, consequently, requires teachers to agree on decisions that must be taken specifically within each educational institution to ensure coherence and consistency in the instruction that an individual pupil ultimately receives from a large number of teachers. From this point of view, training is more effective if provided for the entire staff of a school or, should this not be possible, at least for groups of teachers who work together in a specific area of curriculum development, that is to say, for the same stage of education, in a particular educational department or for a team of teachers who teach their subjects to a specific classroom group. This does not, of course, mean that they no longer teach courses attended by teachers from different centres; it means that the strategy of training bigger teams has been given pride of place since it obviates the difficulty that has been observed in innovation processes whereby a teacher, in isolation, tries to bring about changes in a school's overall operations.

In addition to requiring this training option, the curricular model implies another principle that has major training implications. The choice of a decentral-

ized curriculum rests on the belief that teachers are not mere executors of decisions taken by the administration, but that it is they who should draw up the curriculum for their school and later on for their classroom, adapting it, as stated earlier, to the distinctive features of their environment. This means that the profile required is that of a teacher who thinks and exercises judgement in making curricular decisions, and that training should focus on reflection in practice and not merely on the transmission of new knowledge to teachers. The 'training in centres' model therefore constitutes a holistic process of training directed at an entire school in order to meet needs identified by the school itself, and which is provided in the school to teams of teachers who reflect on their own practice.

Training, career development paths and the improved working conditions for teachers are indispensable elements for increasing their satisfaction as a group and enhancing their social standing, balancing out the effort undoubtedly inherent in making the changes that reform entails. In this connection, the educational administration has established a salary supplement for teachers depending upon their involvement in training and innovation. Furthermore, teachers may request one year's leave on full pay after eight years' service as civil servants. Lastly, the links between primary and secondary teachers and those in higher education have been strengthened—something that teachers have been demanding for years. These links may take the form of shared teaching at the two levels of education, or practical tutorships for students who are being prepared at university for a career in teaching, and also includes working together on research and innovation projects.

Autonomy of educational institutions

This curricular model is based then on the belief that education systems must be decentralized. The distinctive socio-economic and cultural contexts of the institutions mean that they must be able to take realistic decisions that meet the specific demands of pupils and their families. The curriculum is no doubt an extremely important area of autonomy, but it is not the only one. It is necessary to encourage in the schools other areas of autonomy related to the management of human and material resources, independent provision of education and relations with the other institutions and associated services.

With regard to the management of the school's human and material resources, the new legal framework of the Spanish reform enables institutions to conclude agreements with non-profit bodies, sign contracts with service firms and use their own facilities and human resources for activities that can earn them extra income. The appointment of teachers in the Spanish system continues to be the prerogative of educational administrations, which leaves school managers little leeway. Under the new legal framework, however, their authority over internal staff organization and their discretion as to the employment of staff with no fixed position in the establishment and the awarding of professional incentives have increased considerably.

The second aspect of autonomy has to do with the school's own identity and its effects on the provision of education. Insistence that schools should prepare their own education plan is based on the desire to reduce the excessive homogeneity typical of public institutions in the Spanish education system, and on the intention to make these schools reflect on their own educational options, as their distinguishing characteristics, in the light of their pupils' specific demands and the conception that all those who make up the educational community have of education. In addition to affecting all the decisions that must be taken to plan and apply the teaching and learning process, these distinguishing characteristics must encourage schools to expand their provision of education in the light of these priorities. Optional subjects and the choice of senior secondary streams or of vocational training are the main means of defining this independent provision. But, in addition, extra-curricular activities and the opening of the school to the community constitute excellent means of attaining this goal.

In the Spanish education system, schools have been too reluctant to allow their premises to be used for other than strictly scholastic purposes, especially where public institutions are concerned. At present, the educational administration is stressing the need for schools to remain open after classes are over, weekends included, and to offer sports programmes and cultural activities, making their facilities available to the entire community—not only educational but also social.

This trend towards greater autonomy of institutions must be accompanied by greater social participation and an improvement in the flow of information. The various groups that make up the educational community must take part in the school's decision-making and in subsequent monitoring and evaluation, which means that they must have access to information on its operations. It is necessary to ensure that this information is complete and balanced, and that parents and the groups concerned are not kept in the dark about specific areas of the school's activities. This information must also cover all those indicators that the entire education community considers important, and not only those that have traditionally been considered to be of academic interest. Better information by scholastic institutions guides users of education services towards more knowledgeable choices and makes parents, teachers and pupils more committed to the school in question. The recently approved new law on participation, evaluation and management of schools establishes measures designed to ensure progress in achieving this.

Organization of the school

Both LOGSE and its standard-setting formulation as the organic law on participation, evaluation and management of educational institutions also pay special attention to questions of organization that hardly ever featured among Spain's educational priorities. Great difficulties were encountered in raising awareness of the need to reflect on the school as an institution, since this conflicted with a more communal tradition which, too simplistically, opposes structural rigidity to participation and democracy. One of the most controversial issues, basically within the

teaching corps, is precisely this subject. The teaching corps is still very wary of initiatives to organize teaching centres in which lines of responsibility would be identified and it resists concessions that would give other groups in the educational community a greater say. Such resistance is also evident among parents, when they speak of the inordinate power of the teaching corps. The school's organization is therefore one of the aspects on which the Spanish education system has to make the greatest headway. Many of the innovations offered in the laws mentioned earlier therefore refer to this question.

The initiatives that have been taken in that regard concern, firstly, the head-teacher. The law on participation, evaluation and management of educational institutions introduces a major change in that it requires teachers running for election to the school council to first undergo a process of endorsement by the administration. Teachers wishing to be endorsed must fulfil at least two requirements: they must have a specific training record in matters relating to school organization and management; and they must have had a good report from the inspectorate for previous educational management or teaching. These greater requirements for the position of head-teacher are balanced out by an increase in the head's real power and by economic compensation, both during and after the term of office, subject to satisfactory performance.

With the same objective of strengthening the organization of schools, LOGSE creates the office of administrator in secondary schools. To date, the task of managing resources has been the responsibility of a teacher who, in most instances, lacked specific training in that area and also has to perform teaching duties. Under the new law, the administrator is a non-teaching official with training and experience in the area of management and who works full-time on the task.

The reform has also introduced some innovations in the organization of the schools' educational co-ordination structures. Since the introduction of the new educational measures, all educational institutions have an educational co-ordinating committee made up of managing teams and educational co-ordinators or department heads, depending on whether they are primary or secondary schools. The role of this co-ordination structure is to ensure consistency in the school's decision-making regarding its curricular plan from the vertical point of view, that is to say, continuity in the teaching/learning process throughout school courses, and from the horizontal point of view through the various subjects taught to pupils in the same class.

Similarly, in close relation with the point made in the section relating to psycho-educational support, special attention has been paid to the work of class teachers for each classroom group; these teachers' timetables have been reduced and they receive support from the Counselling Department or the Educational and Psycho-educational Counselling Team.

Assessment

The last area in which the reform has introduced changes, due to its importance as a factor of quality, is assessment. LOGSE and the recent law on participation, assessment and management of educational institutions have set an innovative standard for the education system in Spain with regard to the assessment of teachers, schools and the administration itself. LOGSE has set up the National Institute of Quality and Assessment (INCE) with full powers, which has jurisdiction over the entire Spanish education system and is therefore managed jointly by all the educational administrations. The information put out by the institute is not intended to endorse pupils or schools individually. On the other hand, the data give an overview of the results of the introduction of new educational measures and make it possible to identify differences among the various autonomous communities in those components of the regulations that apply in all the country's schools and hence come under government supervision. INCE's assessment findings, which are made public, refer to samples of unnamed schools and pupils, so as to avoid any possible comparison among schools and among the pupils themselves. With regard to assessments of pupil performance, in addition to giving general learning levels of different areas of the curriculum, the findings serve as a reference for educational institutions to compare their own results with general data at the national level.

With regard to the assessment of educational institutions, the regulations stipulate that each college or institute will be reviewed at least once every five years. The evaluation is carried out simultaneously by the school's internal resources—that is to say, parents, teachers and pupils—and by the education inspectorate, which works with them to ensure that each institution knows how it stands and makes the changes it considers desirable to improve its educational process. The aim is basically to provide training and, therefore, the administration is committed to working with the school on the measures that are considered indispensable for that improvement. The information obtained about the schools through these assessment processes is made available to members of the educational community, but no reports are produced that compare some schools with others.

Furthermore, the assessment of institutions must take account of their socio-economic context and the resources provided to them by the administration, since these two factors do not depend directly on the efficiency of school management. It is equally important when conducting the assessment to use indicators that refer both to the processes and to the outcomes of education. While it is true that pupils' qualifications are an important factor in assessing the quality of teaching, they cannot be the only criterion, since the same mark may have a different meaning when analysed in the specific context of each school. It is therefore fundamental, together with the pupils' results, to give consideration to other types of indicators, such as the school's ability to cater for diversity, relations with and attention given to families, on-going innovation and training, the school's receptiveness and ability

to relate to its surroundings, or the satisfaction of various groups that make up the educational community. All these complex and qualified indicators will help us to situate a school in relation to its own development.

Lastly, the Spanish reform implies progress in teacher assessment. This assessment was initially being carried out in specific circumstances, such as when teachers applied for some training or career development activity involving sabbaticals, teaching posts abroad, co-operation with universities, and so on. The intention of the Ministry of Education is ultimately to make the process standard practice in assessment of the education system. The procedure used for this assessment draws on various sources of information: the candidate's report; interviews with the entire team of managers and the candidate's immediate superior (head of department or education stage co-ordinator, depending on whether the school in question is primary or secondary); analysis of educational documentation, and observation in the classroom. The assessment is conducted by the Inspectorate, which, when necessary, calls on the assistance of an expert in the teacher's specific area of teaching.

The various levels of assessment that have been mentioned call for co-ordination and interaction, both of which are still uncommon in the Spanish education system. The basic aim of the educational administration is to achieve coherence among the various components of the system and to amplify the culture of assessment to ensure that it is considered intrinsic to the learning process and becomes part of the daily life of educational institutions.

Strengths and flaws in the introduction process

Although reforms take a very long time to show results, the five years since the new educational measures were introduced have permitted an initial, albeit partial, assessment of the aspects that have proved instrumental in the smooth introduction of the reforms and those needing modification. We shall merely refer to the most outstanding ones in each category.

The first strong point has to do with the fact that the proposed reform was comprehensive, covering all pre-university education and concerning not only structural changes but also changes in the curriculum, the general approach to teaching and learning, and the requisite support processes. The obvious drawback of this type of reform is that the entire system remains in the process of transformation for a certain time, with all the attendant complications. But partial reforms carry the inherent risk of not producing significant changes in education, since the interrelation between the factors at work in the education system makes it difficult to modify one without at the same time changing those aspects of the other factors which a coherent approach would require. With a comprehensive reform, the real state of affairs in education can be examined in all its complexity and the necessary changes proposed with due regard for their mutual relations. This does not, of course, blind us to the fact that not all items of a reform are adopted, but in this respect a comprehensive approach spells progress, not regression.

The second strong point has to do with the administration's effort to present a solid theoretical framework as justification and foundation of the proposed changes. The copious material prepared before and during the introduction of the reform has been explaining why decisions were taken in each case, setting out the advantages of the option chosen, so that teachers and the entire educational community could take the changes on board in an informed manner and modify their practice accordingly. The administration has therefore tried at all times not to demand changes that would exceed the actual capacity of the Spanish education system, however sound they might look on paper.

The pace of the reform has, in our opinion, been the third strong point. The preparation of a timetable (see Table 1), under which the new educational measures are advanced, starting with the first years of primary education, then applied generally to all in these age-groups before being introduced in secondary education in a steadily growing number of schools, has enabled the new system to make headway by means of trial and error (Coll & Martín, 1994). It was indeed logical to start off with a new generation that was beginning primary studies and would gradually make way for the new educational measures. But then, owing to the complexity of the new stage of compulsory secondary education, it was necessary to begin introducing it in some schools in order to learn from experience. Owing to this two-speed introduction, in the 1996/97 school year, when the first year of compulsory secondary education will be generally established, more than 70% of schools will already be teaching this stage in one or more classes.

Lastly, it is necessary to single out what has probably been the greatest success, namely keeping channels of dialogue and negotiation with the various sectors of the education community open throughout the process. As noted at the beginning of the article, the white paper on the reform and curriculum proposals was published three years before LOGSE was approved. Its publication marked the beginning of a debate that lasted one year and permitted specific modifications to be

TABLE 1. Timetable for the introduction of LOGSE: primary and secondary education

	Primary						Compulsory secondary				Upper secondary	
	1st stage		2nd stage		3rd stage		1st stage		2nd stage		Course	Course
Year of general provision	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	1	2
1992-93	X	X										
1993-94	X	X	X	X								
1994-95	X	X	X	X	X							
1995-96	X	X	X	X	X	X						
1996-97	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
1997-98	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
1998-99	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
1999-00	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

made to the initial proposal. This mood of dialogue and negotiation has prevailed during the introductory years and has been reflected in successive agreements with teachers' unions. Of course, this does not mean that the reform is not coming under fire and that its development is trouble-free. There are many problems, as was only to be expected in a reform on this scale, but it has been possible to overcome them precisely because of the existence of these channels of debate and negotiation.

The success stories are matched by some shortcomings. First, there has been the inability of the reform, for budgetary reasons, to extend free education to the pre-primary stage (3 to 6 year olds). When the law was approved, people were fully aware of the importance of early childhood education as a factor contributing to quality, especially in connection with equality of opportunity. Funding for another two years of compulsory education—for 14 to 16 year olds—the newly introduced vocational education and the other improvements in the system mentioned earlier have made it impossible, however, to provide for free pre-primary education at the same time.

In addition, and this would be the second shortcoming, the reform of non-university and university education has not been co-ordinated properly. While comprehensive reform of all pre-university education was indeed a complex undertaking, it has been impossible to reform both levels at the same time. This has led to some inconsistencies in the linkages between upper secondary syllabuses and those of the early years of university faculties and schools, and this has also been reflected in initial teacher training.

Lastly, early application of the reform to compulsory secondary and upper secondary education has made it clear that, in some of its aspects, the upper secondary stage is short, with only two years of schooling. Some decisions are being taken now in order to redress this imbalance. These decisions concern both the last year of compulsory secondary education and the very internal structure of the senior secondary stage. But continued reflection will be needed on this point for the sake of measures to ensure that the curriculum of a stage which, though not compulsory, is of fundamental importance to any education system is properly designed.

In any event, these introductory years have been satisfactory on balance and represent an already consolidated process. Furthermore, the majority support that LOGSE won when it came before Parliament affords hope that the reform will be implemented in full, even, as recently confirmed, with a different political party in power.

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PROFILES OF FAMOUS EDUCATORS

PHILIPP MELANCHTHON

(1497–1560)

Horst F. Rupp

No great historical movement, unless it deliberately chooses to be an ephemeral phenomenon, can fail to engage in educational activities: the new body of thought has to be transmitted to future generations. These activities are, in most cases, personified by a particular historical figure or figures. Both of the above observations apply to the period of the Reformation, which had its beginnings as well as its culmination in Germany. Side by side with such historic events as the discovery of the Americas, the invention of the printing press and the replacement of the geocentric world image by a heliocentric one, the Reformation represented one of the epoch-making turning points between the Middle Ages and modern times. It brought to an end the religious and philosophical consensus that had prevailed until then in the western world on the basis of the Roman Catholic faith and the Church headed by the Pope in Rome, the personification of that faith. In terms of the history of mentalities, the religious and philosophical dualism—with Catholicism on one side and Protestantism on the other—which came into being with the Reformation marked the beginning of the pluralism which was to become the fundamental feature of the contemporary world right up to the present day.

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In Germany, the Reformation is personified above all by Martin Luther (1483–1546), who gave his name to the churches based upon his faith and his theology. His message of God's unqualified love of mankind and of man's pious acceptance of that love as the sole precondition for salvation shook the very foundations of the medieval Roman Church, which had dogmatically proclaimed itself to be the only path towards salvation.

Luther himself was very much aware of the vital need for educational reflection and activity as a means of bestowing permanence upon the movement he had initiated. Apart from those of his writings that deal explicitly with the subject of educational reform, such as *To the city councillors of all German cities: that they establish and maintain Christian schools* (1524), the *Sermon propounding that children be sent to school* (1530) and the *Message to the clergy in the Electorate of Saxony on the instruction of visitors* (1538), references which testify to the importance he attached to the educational aspect of his reforms are to be found again and again at scattered points in his extensive written legacy.

Yet, the mutually complementary and mutually stimulating function of Reformation and teaching was not accepted by everyone at the start. Among the main currents of opinion within the new Reformation movement, there was at first one that was definitely critical of education and rejected medieval ecclesiastical-scholastic scholarship, which it equated with education as a whole (cf. Reble, 1981, p. 84 ff.). The 'Enthusiasts' attitude sometimes involved teaching and practising a form of religious spiritualism and absolutism that treated the spirituality present within every human being as a second source of divine revelation on a level with the Christian Scriptures. To illustrate this position, we may refer to Andreas Bodenstein, also known under the name of his native town of Carlstadt (ca. 1480–1541), who advocated the radical abandonment of school and university education and invited his followers to practise agriculture instead (Hofmann, 1986, p. 19). This stance reflected the old gnostic-mystical idea that the mind of every human being is the embodiment, or an emanation, of the divine force.

Luther, for his part, became aware of the importance of educational activities at an early stage. In one of his first reformation writings, entitled *An address to the Christian nobility of the German nation on the improvement of the Christian estate* (1520), he establishes a link between education and the Christian faith:

That which should be read first and most universally in the higher and lower schools must be the Holy Scriptures, and for the youngest boys, the Gospels. And would God that every town also had a girls' school wherein the maidens might hear the Gospel for an hour every day, be it in German or Latin . . . Is it not meet that every Christian should know the whole of the Holy Gospel, wherein His name and His life are written, by the age of 9 or 10?

Several aspects of this passage deserve attention: the fact that education is here, as it were, democratized—all Christians, including girls, are to partake of the enjoyment of education, a demand which, at that time, was surely well-nigh revolutionary. Furthermore, education was no longer to be a privilege of the clerics—one that was at variance with Luther's theological tenet of the universal priesthood of all

the faithful. Such a call for the launching of educational efforts, motivated at first by religious considerations, naturally released other potentialities beyond the strictly religious sphere: because of its inherent formal structures, the work of education, once begun, was no longer tied exclusively to religion but could also develop naturally in other areas. This was a fact of exceptional importance to the history of Protestantism. In this way, Protestantism became an educational factor of the first order. Since Luther's day and right up to the present, it has produced countless poets and thinkers, scientists and philosophers who have left their mark upon the life of the intellect, and not only in Germany.

The man generally and rightly regarded as the German Reformation's main educational protagonist in the sixteenth century is Philipp Melanchthon, Luther's closest collaborator at Wittenberg from 1518 onward. It is surely not wrong to suppose that Luther's own ideas on education emanated to a large extent from Melanchthon. Melanchthon's importance to the German Reformation movement as an educationist and teacher is reflected in the honorary title of 'Praeceptor Germaniae' [teacher of the Germans] that was bestowed upon him quite early on in his career.

The early years

Philipp Melanchthon was born on 16 February 1497 at Bretten, an administrative centre in the Palatinate, as the son of Georg Schwarzerdt, gunsmith and armourer to the Prince Elector, and Barbara Reuter, daughter of the prominent Bretten burgher Hans Reuter and his wife Elisabeth Reuchlin of Pforzheim, a sister of Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) who was probably, with Erasmus,¹ the best-known humanist north of the Alps, whose services to the study of biblical Hebrew and to the freedom of scientific research were particularly outstanding. Philipp grew up in his grandparents' spacious house adjoining the marketplace at Bretten, surrounded by four younger siblings, a brother and three sisters. A tutor was employed to introduce Philipp, his brother and one of his mother's younger brothers to the Latin language.

Following his father's and grandfather's deaths in 1508 Philipp, together with his grandmother, moved to the latter's home town of Pforzheim, whose flourishing grammar school he attended. He rapidly made great strides in both Latin and Greek, receiving generous encouragement in his studies from his great-uncle Reuchlin, then living in Stuttgart as a member of the College of Judges of the Swabian League. It was Reuchlin, too, who—as was the custom in humanist circles at that time—gave him the Greek form of his surname in the year 1509, thus turning him into Philipp Melanchthon.

After only one year's study of ancient languages at Pforzheim, the 12-year-old Melanchthon was ready in 1509 to move on to the University of Heidelberg, where he lodged in the house of the theologian Pallas Spangel. Here again the young Melanchthon completed the prescribed course of studies without any problems and obtained the degree of *Baccalaureus artium in via antiqua* [bachelor in classic

arts] in 1511. The same year, his fifteenth, saw the publication of his first works—several poems included in a volume edited by the humanist Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528). In addition to his own studies, he acted as tutor to the two sons of a Count von Löwenstein. Finally, in the autumn of 1512, he moved on to Tübingen, where, although declaring himself to be an adherent of ‘Nominalism’, he continued the prescribed studies in both systems of scholastic philosophy. In 1514 he received the academic degree of Master of Arts of Tübingen University. But it was the new circle of acquaintances and friends he formed in Tübingen, all eagerly pursuing studies in humanism and the other new sciences that were beginning to flourish at that time, that was of the greatest importance to his development. Special mention may be made here of his friends Johannes Öcolampadius, later to become one of the Swiss reformers, and Ambrosius Blarer, destined to render signal services to the Reformation in the Württemberg area. Together they would read the Greek authors, study the latest discoveries in astronomy and astrology, and discuss the *Dialectics* of Rudolf Agricola, published in 1515, a major milestone towards the triumph of scholastic logic. In such a stimulating intellectual climate, new publications of his own were not slow to appear: thus, Melanchthon, together with a colleague, was commissioned by Reuchlin to write the preface to the *Clarorum virorum epistolae* [Correspondence of famous men] (1514), in which the humanist defended himself against attacks from the so-called ‘Obscurantists’; this was followed by an edition of the works of Terence (1516) with an introduction on the history of comedy, Melanchthon’s first major philological work. Towards the end of 1517, on the occasion of an academic celebration at Tübingen, he made a speech on the subject of the disciplines taught at the university, in which he proposed that history and poetry should be added to the original seven liberal arts, the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and dialectics) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy), whose study at the Faculty of Arts was supposed to prepare students for the three higher faculties of medicine, law and theology.

The meeting with Martin Luther

All these activities were bound to bring the hopeful young scholar to the attention of the intellectual world. A logical consequence of this was Melanchthon’s appointment to the Chair of Greek at the University of Wittenberg created by Friedrich the Wise, the elector of Saxony, as part of that university’s humanist reform. In his inaugural lecture, delivered at Wittenberg on 28 August 1518, Melanchthon again spoke about the ‘Improvement of studies for the young’. The central issue for him in this context was the humanists’ call for a return *ad fontes* [to the sources], and he believed that the ancient languages provided the best methodological means of achieving that end. Like the good humanist that he was, he strongly advocated the study of the ancient classical languages as a way of dethroning the degenerate medieval Latin in use at that time. But he also stressed the importance of history, the natural sciences and mathematics.

The call to Wittenberg was the event that definitively determined the course of Melanchthon's life. It was here, in the cradle of the new religious reformation movement, that he came into contact with the movement itself and with its leading figure, the Augustinian monk and Professor of Biblical Science Martin Luther, whose *Theses on indulgences* published late in 1517 had made him famous throughout Germany (and who, incidentally, had not been among the supporters of Melanchthon's candidacy for the new chair). However, a close friendship and collaboration developed very quickly between the two men, different though they were in more respects than merely that of age—the intransigent, sometimes coarse Luther, ever ready for the fray, tormented by his own existential problems, contrasting sharply with the arch-intellectual Melanchthon, the academic whose whole life was devoted to scholarship and who in almost every instance sought to achieve a compromise with his opponents.

Besides his own activities, Melanchthon attended Luther's lectures in the philosophical faculty, registered for a regular course in theology and obtained the degree of Bachelor of Biblical Studies, entitling him to give biblical lectures of his own. Luther, too, was quick to recognize his new companion's theological competence. But the close association with Luther also involved some painful choices: Melanchthon's great-uncle Reuchlin did not like to see him at the centre of the dispute with Rome and tried to obtain his transfer to Ingolstadt, a move to which, however, Melanchthon could not agree. The break with the famous relative was thus made complete.

The symbiotic association between Luther and Melanchthon, and consequently between the new Reformation movement and humanism, was to prove of importance to them both. Luther benefited especially from Melanchthon's knowledge of the ancient and biblical languages—his translations of the New (1522) and Old (1534) Testaments, those great landmarks in the history of the German language, would probably not have been possible without Melanchthon's assistance, at least not in the form in which we know them—while Melanchthon succeeded, with Luther's help, in penetrating the innermost depths of theology and in placing his newly-won knowledge at the service of the Reformation movement. Without realizing it, Melanchthon, still a young man, had thus become a centrally significant figure within the new movement and Luther's foremost companion-in-arms. He retained this position for almost three decades until Luther's death in 1545 and was then recognized as the great reformer's natural successor. Although he never matched Luther's outstanding charismatic qualities as a leader of the new movement, he nevertheless succeeded in steering the new church, with its rapidly developing institutional and organizational structures and its progressive separation from Rome, through the shoals of an increasingly difficult period, thus contributing towards its permanence.

But, in addition to philosophy and theology, Melanchthon possessed yet another competence which may well have been the most essential reason for his importance to the new movement, namely his pedagogical capacity in the widest

sense, three particular aspects of which we propose to discuss here (see also Hofmann, 1963).

The first point to be made is that all educational endeavours must be founded upon an underlying anthropological concept, without which the work of education cannot be practised meaningfully. Melanchthon was well aware of this essential need for an anthropological basis to pedagogics; in his view, too, no educational action was possible without a clear notion of the whence, the wherefore and the whither of man.

Secondly, we see in Melanchthon the founder of Protestant schooling. As a scholar stamped with the imprint of humanism, he believed in the ideal of the universally and encyclopaedically educated human being aspiring to receive, as much as possible, the entire store of knowledge available in his time. In order to make this possibility available to the rising generation, Melanchthon designed a great number of preparatory courses in various sciences belonging to a wide range of disciplines, and he strove to create a new philosophical and theological basis for the scientific system of his time.

Third and last, we propose to mention Melanchthon's ideas and proposals for the reorganization of the schools and the whole education system of his time, with special emphasis upon higher education.

Melanchthon, the humanist and educator

Because of his humanist background and training, Melanchthon was greatly attached to a form of anthropological optimism rooted in the belief that man, if only he be properly formed and educated in the human virtues, is intrinsically capable of improving the state of the world. As with all humanists, his trust in the quasi-automatic power of science—*eruditio*—was initially very strong. According to this theory you need only to acquaint a person with the accumulated knowledge of mankind in order to improve that person's attitude and therefore, ultimately, also the state of the world and of mankind in general; and the human being is certainly capable of achieving this if only he or she desires to do so.

The new faith of the Reformation was, however, strictly opposed on religious and theological grounds to this humanistic trust in man's potential perfectibility. If man was to trust wholly and exclusively in God's gracious will, if his entire faith was to rest upon this, then it had to follow that man was not intrinsically capable of goodness. But, while in strictly theological terms the chief significance of this is simply that man is not capable on his own of determining his relationship to God, a strong implication of this theological tenet is that man on his own is likewise incapable of achieving goodness in his relationship to the world and to his fellow-men.

When, in the years 1524–25, Luther conducted his argument with Erasmus of Rotterdam, the uncrowned head of the humanist school, on the related question of the freedom of will, he opposed humanism and its doctrine of freewill by his theological teaching of the non-freedom of the human will, speculatively thrusting deep

into the mysteries of divine determination of man and the world in order to illustrate his biblically-founded belief in the intrinsic depravity of human nature and, consequently, in its dependence on the grace of God. This disputation between Luther and Erasmus was decisive for the relationship between the Reformation and humanism, which had long been suspicious of the Reformation's critical attitude towards education and its anthropological pessimism.

Melanchthon's undoubted humanistically-founded anthropological optimism of the pre-Wittenberg period was, as it were, put to flight by theology during the first few years of his contacts with Luther. The culmination of this process of coming closer to Luther's theology is probably represented by the *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicae* [Basic principles of theology or theological hypotheses] of 1521, in which Melanchthon finds himself unable to concede 'any freedom whatever' to man's internal or external actions: 'Si ad praedestinationem referas humanam voluntatem, nec in externis nec in internis operibus ulla est libertas, sed eveniunt omnia juxta destinationem divinam.' [If you refer the human will to predestination, there is no freedom whatever neither for external nor internal actions, but everything that happens is by divine will] (quoted from *Loci communes* (1521), 1993, p. 44). Theological preconceptions of this kind, if strictly applied, would have reduced any educational project *ad absurdum*, which is why they could not represent the last word on the subject for Melanchthon or the Reformation movement as a whole.

When, following the clarifications and schisms of the first half of the 1520s, especially in the Reformation's relations with the 'Old Believers' and those whom Luther described as the 'Enthusiasts', it became necessary for the Wittenberg theologians to create organizational and institutional structures in order to give permanence to the new movement, a change also occurred in the movement's theological and educational theories. So far as the anthropological concept was concerned, this meant that man was now believed to be capable of intervening usefully in the ordering of secular matters, including educational ones, and was recognized as having the right to do so. This ultimately resulted in a synergetic concept which viewed God as the unique source of salvation in all matters pertaining to the hereafter, but granted relative autonomy to the human will inasmuch as earthly matters were concerned. In this way, ethics and education could preserve their relative rights vis-à-vis theology.

Melanchthon had thus advanced towards a model synthesis of theology and education, Reformation and humanism, that was to have historical repercussions well beyond and outside the problems of the century of the Reformation. His contribution towards resolving those problems was also undoubtedly one towards the elaboration and founding of the Reformation's basic theological model of thought and action, later to be known as the Protestant 'doctrine of the two realms', which in matters of faith based all things upon God's love of man but allowed man a good deal of elbow room in matters pertaining to the shaping of immanence, thus succeeding in a characteristically complementary manner in reconciling anthropological pessimism with anthropological optimism.

In our biographical sketch of Melanchthon's early life, we have already touched upon his views on the traditional scientific theories of medieval Aristotelianism. He believed that the disciplinary system of the classical 'seven liberal arts' and the sciences studied in the higher faculties could not encompass the new revolutionary discoveries of the age in terms of either content or method. He expanded the traditional categorization of science in several directions, incorporating not only history, geography and poetry but also the new natural sciences in his system of scholarly disciplines. We have also mentioned a number of preparatory texts which he composed in his early pre-Wittenberg days with a view to introducing students to various sciences. Under Luther's dominating influence in Wittenberg at the beginning of the 1520s, and armed with the new reformed theology, Melanchthon was in danger of adopting an attitude of rejection of all human scientific aspirations in general; the theological recognition of man's need of salvation, overshadowing all else, threatened to displace learning in his scale of values. But in the debate with the 'enthusiastic spirits' and their rejection of scholarship, Melanchthon became aware once more of the importance of scientific cognition, although he also believed that scholarship should never become an end in itself and must always remain the servant of theology and the cognition of God. On the basis of these premises Melanchthon turned once more, after the mid-1520s, to the composition of foundation courses in various sciences which, without presenting any radically new research findings, nevertheless summarize the knowledge of his time in an encyclopedically-oriented manner that is exemplary as regards both content and method and which would pass that knowledge on to young students and scholars. In this way, Melanchthon became the author of authoritative textbooks in almost all scholarly disciplines of his time, from the classical 'seven liberal arts' to psychology (*Commentarius de anima* [Comments on the soul], 1540) and, repeatedly, in ethics (e.g. *Ethicae doctrinae elementa* [Principles of ethics] 1550). Many of these textbooks remained in use well into the following century and thus exerted a far-reaching influence on scholarship. As for the study of dogmatic theology, his *Loci communes*, already mentioned, which he revised several times, represented a completely new type of textbook in which the elementary *topoi* [basics] of theology were treated in turn. Lastly, within the framework of the teaching reform he had initiated at the university, Melanchthon enriched the training of students by such methods as disputation and declamation, in both of which he was himself a master (Stupperich, 1960, p. 56).

The third area in which Melanchthon's influence reached far beyond his time is that of educational and schools policy. The exceptional importance of the Reformation to the history and development of the German school system has been emphasized on many occasions. E. Spranger and W. Flitner regarded the Reformation as that system's centrally significant 'root' or 'source'. Whereas, as we have already seen, Luther's prime concern in this area was the creation of elementary schools for the people as a means of providing all Christians with access to the word of God, as contained in the Bible, and to the elements of Christian culture, Melanchthon the humanist was specially concerned with higher education or,

in other words, with grammar schools and universities. Both Luther and Melanchthon assigned the duty of organizing the new education system, as well as of protecting the new Church, to the rulers and territorial authorities, a duty which the latter were not reluctant to accept because they saw in it an additional means of extending their power in the perspective of creating the early absolutist State (Rupp, 1994, p. 36 f.). As a reflection of these early arrangements, the German schools system remained, even into the present century, a *res mixta*, somewhere between a Church and a State institution. This meant that the various sets of rules governing the Church in the sixteenth and following centuries always affected the schools as well. Melanchthon's organizational plans for the higher schools also aroused the interest of many local rulers and city magistrates, who hoped that well-ordered higher education would provide them with competent administrators, as well as preachers well trained in theology. Latin continued to be the main teaching language in these schools. Melanchthon was also concerned with having the contents of teaching concentrated upon essentials, thus reducing 'diversity' and achieving the exclusion of a good deal of superfluous matter.

Lastly, mention should be made of the structuring principle he introduced in his grammar schools, whereby students were divided into three groups according to their level of knowledge, a system which aimed at—and achieved—greater efficiency in teaching. The three-class grammar school outlined in article 18 of his *Instruction of visitors* (1538) thus became a model for the upper school for several generations. Not a few rulers of cities and principalities sought Melanchthon's advice in the ordering of their upper schools, and some of them hoped to lure him away from Wittenberg and into their own service—but without success (cf. Stupperich 1960, p. 51). Although Melanchthon's authorship of many school statutes of the period has not as yet been clearly established, clear traces of his influence can be found in the statutes of the schools of such cities as Nuremberg and Eisleben (Stempel, 1979). His influence was equally lasting in the sphere of the reform of German universities, where again his advice was always most welcome. This is true, for example, of the universities of Tübingen, Frankfurt on the Oder, Leipzig and Heidelberg.

An effective figure of the sixteenth century

When Melanchthon died at Wittenberg on 19 April 1560, feeling persecuted, as he was to put it near the end of his life, by the *rabies theologorum*, the theologians' fury, because of the arguments about the correct interpretation of Luther's theology that were raging within Protestantism, he could look back on a richly fulfilled life. The historical role of his life's work was in part assured by his skill in gathering around him friends and pupils who would carry on that work in the same spirit after his demise. The most important factor in this respect, besides his successful activities as a Professor at Wittenberg University and his far-ranging correspondence with most of the leading personalities of his time, was no doubt the *schola domestica* he established in his home, where selected students, many of them from

outside Germany, lived and studied in the midst of Melanchthon's own family. From Wittenberg, frequently as a result of arrangements made by him in response to requests received from the outside, his students and pupils went out to all parts of Germany, and indeed beyond the confines of the Holy Roman Empire, as preachers, visitors, school rectors, influential administrators, university lecturers, etc., continuing to work in his spirit and spreading their master's and Praeceptor's fame far and wide. We may surely echo, without fear of exaggeration, Robert Stupperich's comment on Melanchthon's historical significance (Stupperich, 1981, p. 324): 'He was one of the sixteenth century's most effective figures.'

Note

1. A profile of Erasmus from an educational perspective can be found in: Thinkers on education—1, *Prospects* (Paris, UNESCO), vol. XXIII, nos. 85-86, 1993, p. 333-52.

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